

Viewpoints Special Edition

The Islamization of Pakistan, 1979-2009

*The Middle East Institute
Washington, DC*





Middle East Institute

The mission of the Middle East Institute is to promote knowledge of the Middle East in America and strengthen understanding of the United States by the people and governments of the region.

For more than 60 years, MEI has dealt with the momentous events in the Middle East — from the birth of the state of Israel to the invasion of Iraq. Today, MEI is a foremost authority on contemporary Middle East issues. It provides a vital forum for honest and open debate that attracts politicians, scholars, government officials, and policy experts from the US, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. MEI enjoys wide access to political and business leaders in countries throughout the region. Along with information exchanges, facilities for research, objective analysis, and thoughtful commentary, MEI's programs and publications help counter simplistic notions about the Middle East and America. We are at the forefront of private sector public diplomacy. *Viewpoints* are another MEI service to audiences interested in learning more about the complexities of issues affecting the Middle East and US relations with the region.

To learn more about the Middle East Institute, visit our website at <http://www.mei.edu>

Cover photos, clockwise from the top left hand corner: Government of Pakistan; Flickr user Kash_if; Flickr user Kash_if; Department of Defense; European Parliament; Flickr user Al Jazeera English; Flickr user groundreporter; Flickr user groundreporter.

***Viewpoints* Special Edition**

**The Islamization of Pakistan,
1979-2009**

Viewpoints: 1979

The year 1979 was among the most tumultuous, and important, in the history of the modern Middle East. The Middle East Institute is marking the 30th anniversary of these events in 2009 by launching a year-long special series of our acclaimed publication, *Viewpoints*, which offers perspectives on these events and the influence that they continue to exert on the region today. Each special issue of *Viewpoints* will combine the diverse commentaries of policymakers and scholars from around the world with a robust complement of statistics, maps, and bibliographic information in order to encourage and facilitate further research. Each special issue will be available, free of charge, on our website, www.mei.edu.



February

Viewpoints: The Iranian Revolution



March

Viewpoints: The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty



July

Viewpoints: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Fall and Pakistan's New Direction



August

Viewpoints: Oil Shock



November

Viewpoints: The Seizure of the Great Mosque



December

Viewpoints: The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

Don't miss an issue!
Be sure to bookmark www.mei.edu today.

The Islamization of Pakistan, 1979-2009

A Special Edition of *Viewpoints*

Introduction	7
I. Origins and Consequences of Pakistan’s Multiple Crises	
Post-1979 Pakistan: What Went Wrong?, <i>by Touqir Hussain</i>	9
Pakistan’s Reverse Revolution, <i>by Imtiaz Gul</i>	12
Pakistan: Reclaiming the Founding Moment, <i>by Suroosh Irfani</i>	15
II. Debating Pakistan’s Muslim Identity	
Reclaiming Pakistan’s Pacifist Religious Creed, <i>by Ishtiaq Ahmad</i>	19
Moving beyond “Islamic,” <i>by Aasim Sajjad Akhtar</i>	22
The Islamization of Pakistan’s Educational System: 1979-1989 <i>by Nasim Ashraf</i>	25
Jamaat-e Islami, <i>by Farhat Haq</i>	28
The Legacy of Bhutto and Zia’s Contending Visions and Security Policies, <i>by Lawrence Ziring</i>	31
III. Domestic Concerns, Regional Implications	
Imperialism, Extremism, and the Withering State, <i>by Imran Ali</i>	36
Upheaval in West and South Asia: Public Opinion in Pakistan, <i>by Ijaz Shafi Gilani</i>	39

Pakistan's Non-Proliferation Policy, <i>by Zulfqar Khan</i>	48
Thirty Years after 1979: Is Pakistan Changing Its Strategic Paradigm? <i>by Jean-Luc Racine</i>	54
IV. Women and Minorities	
The Pakistani Shi'a, <i>by Hassan Abbas</i>	58
Sindh's Ethnic Predicament and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), <i>by Moonis Ahmar</i>	61
Baluchistan: A Hotbed for Insurgency, <i>by Syed Farooq Hasnat</i>	64
Sectarianism in Pakistan: A Profile of Sipah-e Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), <i>by Tahir Kamran</i>	67
Decades of Disaster: Islamization and the Women of Pakistan, <i>by Rubina Saigol</i>	71
Women's Rights in Pakistan, <i>by Anita M. Weiss</i>	74
Maps	78
Statistics	
Demographics	88
Economy	92
Education, Gender, and Technology	95
From the Pages of <i>The Middle East Journal's</i> "Chronology:" Pakistan in 1979	98
Selected Bibliography	108

Introduction

Since 2007, Pakistan, though not on the verge of becoming a failed state, nonetheless has been gripped by a series of interrelated crises. As the contributors to this volume demonstrate, Pakistan's current travails have deep and tangled historical roots. They also demonstrate that Pakistan's domestic situation historically has been influenced by, and has affected developments in neighboring countries as well as those farther afield.

The origins of many of Pakistan's troubles today lie not just in the circumstances in which the state of Pakistan emerged, but in the manner in which various domestic political forces have defined and sought to advance their competing visions of the state since independence. Over the years, successive national political leaders, the military, and other actors have appropriated the symbols, institutions, tools of statecraft, and even the rhetoric of Pakistan's founding father, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in order to advance their own narrow agendas.

As the contributors emphasize, much of the present turmoil in Pakistan dates from the late 1970s, when the rise to power of General Zia ul Haq and his Islamization program intersected with the momentous events of 1979, most importantly, the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The 18 essays comprising this volume examine the tight interplay between these domestic and regional factors, discuss the key domestic and foreign policies adopted during the Zia years, and disclose the heavy cost that Pakistan and its people have borne as a consequence. Taken together, the essays present a grim, tragic account of the past 30 years — of a country's founding creed violated, much of its resources misspent, and its social fabric rent. And they suggest an uncertain future. At the same time, however, they point hopefully, if not confidently, to what Pakistan's fragile civilian government must seek to reclaim and can achieve — provided that its leaders prove to be moderate, resourceful, and determined, and that the West (especially the United States) implements policies which support rather than undermine them.

In his Eid-ul-Azha Message to the Nation on October 24, 1947, Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared: "My message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilize all our resources in a systematic and organized way and tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline worthy of a great nation." More than a half-century has elapsed since Jinnah made this statement, yet the issues facing Pakistan are no less grave. One hopes that the current and next generation of Jinnah's successors, together with Pakistan's friends will be able to summon the necessary will and bolster the state's capacity to deal with these issues effectively.

I. Origins and Consequences of Pakistan's Multiple Crises

Post-1979 Pakistan: What Went Wrong?

Touqir Hussain

No single year has reflected and effected more significant changes in the Islamic world than 1979. Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran were epicenters as well as tributaries, and confluences of the history-making events of that year.

The year began with the Iranian Revolution, which immediately changed the strategic landscape not only of the Persian Gulf but also of the entire Middle East. In April 1979 in Pakistan, an elected Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was executed by a military dictator, Zia ul-Haq, laying the foundation for an 11-year army rule that, on the one hand, unleashed the army's overweening political and strategic ambitions and, on the other, set in motion the process of the Islamization of the country. The two merged as part of a religiously denominated national security doctrine that turned Pakistan's regional policy into a *jihad*.

In November 1979, the holy sites in Mecca were occupied by an anti-monarchy group. False rumors that American forces had entered these sites to help Saudis end the siege led to the burning of the US Embassy in Islamabad and the start of a wave of anti-Americanism in Pakistan that already had been incited by US-Pakistan tensions over the nuclear issue and the Iranian Revolution. The same month saw the beginning of the American hostage crisis in Tehran, unfolding three decades of Iranian-US tensions and feeding anti-Americanism in the entire Islamic world. Pakistani and Iranian anti-Americanism came to reinforce each other, providing the nucleus of a broader sentiment against the US in the Islamic world. Pakistan embarked on a national vision that made it vulnerable to political Islam.

The year's most consequential event occurred in December, when Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan. The US-led *jihad* against the Soviets in Afghanistan, assisted by Pakistan under the military rule of Zia ul-Haq, laid the foundation of an extremist religious infrastructure that not only served US strategic interests but also helped other Islamic countries and fueled especially the Saudi-Iranian rivalry. The forces unleashed by these actions had a horrendously adverse impact on the region and on US and global security.

General Zia had begun to give new meaning to the concepts of war, conflict, and *jihad*. *Jihad* no longer remained defensive, but became an offensive war. Thus during Zia's time was born Pakistani-style jihadist Islam, spawning a whole generation of militants. The



Touqir Hussain is a former senior diplomat from Pakistan who has served as Ambassador to Brazil, Spain, and Japan. He also held senior positions in the Pakistani Foreign Office, including that of Additional Foreign Secretary, heading the bureaus of the Middle East and of the Americas and Europe. From 1996 to 1998, he was the Diplomatic Adviser to the Prime Minister. Additionally, he was a Senior Fellow at the US Institute of Peace in 2004-5, and subsequently has been a Research Fellow at the George Washington University and an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University and the University of Virginia.

army became its major stakeholder. Indeed, many personal ambitions also came to find focus on it. Understandable security concerns were inflated by the army's political ambitions and institutional pride, making rivalry and competition with India an end in and of itself. A powerful army began feeding on a weak and insecure state and, of course, on US aid.

[S]ecurity concerns were inflated by the army's political ambitions and institutional pride, making rivalry and competition with India an end in and of itself. A powerful army began feeding on a weak and insecure state and, of course, on US aid.

cy, the ISI. First Afghanistan and then Pakistan became the home of this radicalism, which began searching for new targets within and beyond the region.

The army, especially the ISI, enhanced its potential to find new targets during the *jihad* against the Soviets in the 1980s. Following their victory over the Soviets, the Americans had left behind a broken Afghanistan, a restive jihad, and an embittered Pakistan — abandoned and sanctioned for its nuclear program in October 1990.

Isolated and suffused with anti-Americanism, Pakistan was left to its own devices. The national purpose yielded to illusions, emotions, and a passion for dangerous causes. The army and the *jihad* found easy targets of opportunity and new causes — Kashmir and then the Taliban. In the process, both Afghanistan and Pakistan played havoc with each other, in the end becoming tributaries and confluences of extremist influences.

During the so-called “decade of democracy” in the 1990s, Pakistan's leading politicians played along by outbidding each other in their commitment to Islam and support for the army's ambitions. Islam, which always had been important to Pakistan's national identity, became populist. And populist and political Islam began beating to the rhythm of global Islamic revivalism, whose focus was on anti-Americanism.

This national vision, embraced by years of authoritarian rule and deformed democracy, led to a weak institutional architecture that collided with the crosscurrents of sectarian, ethno-linguistic, and other domestic tensions, opening up Pakistan to instability.

As institutions crumbled and became adjuncts to centers of power, the rule of law and social stability were degraded and preyed on by the forces of extremism. The state lacked the political will, moral authority, and effective instruments of law and order. The worst affected were the weak and vulnerable strata of society who, lacking physical and economic security, could do no more than despair and contemplate extreme and illusory avenues to empowerment, including radical Islamism.

Although the majority of people were moderate, and remain so, they were becoming vulnerable to radical thought and propaganda and losing a sense of national direction. Pakistan was becoming fractious and ungovernable.

It was this troubled Pakistan with which a deeply unpopular America re-engaged after 9/11 to fight a war that was unpopular to begin with and became more so as it came to sustain an authoritarian ruler. Pakistanis feel that Pervez Musharraf's partnership with Washington harmed the country, especially as the war on terrorism came to undermine Pakistan's stability through suicide attacks, challenged its sovereignty, and threatened its territorial integrity by fomenting religious-based nationalism in the smaller provinces.

Pakistan now faces an existential threat. Where do we go from here? Indeed, all stakeholders have a role to play in influencing Pakistan's future. But the vision for the future must be different. The Pakistani army needs to rethink its national role and relationship with the people. By over-reaching, the army has brought Pakistan to grief. In the end, if the army is consumed by its strategic over-extension and overweening political ambitions, it may be left as the sole guarantor of Pakistan's survival and will be as much the loser as the people of Pakistan. For the politicians, too, this is the last chance for redemption. The Islamists also must join the fight against the radicals because if the country collapses it will be their turn, and that is not an option, for them or for Pakistan.

The Pakistani people also need to change their attitudes, especially their outlook on religion. Suffused with anti-Americanism and religious fervor, Pakistanis are filtering their worldview through the prism of religion and the tensions between Islam and the West, making them vulnerable to the radical propaganda and paralyzing their will to act against forces of extremism.

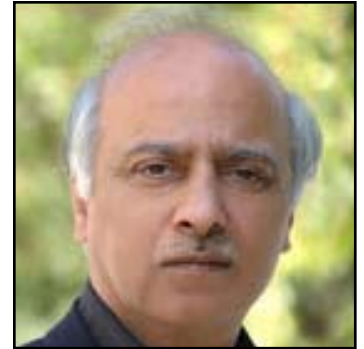
The United States, too, needs a strategic change in its Pakistan policy. A way has to be found to harmonize US strategic interests, Pakistan's core national interests, and people's aspirations for empowerment and good governance. Pakistan will remain a crucial partner in fighting extremism and terrorism, but only a stable and reformed Pakistan can be a useful partner. Therefore, the biggest challenge for the United States is to craft policies in and towards Pakistan that help not just the latter's governing elite and American strategic interests but the people of Pakistan and a reformed vision of Pakistan. A reformed Pakistan headed toward moderation is likely to find America's interests to be consistent with its own.

Given the enormity of the self-inflicted damage to the country, mere survival has been a great achievement. Hopefully, the Swat operation represents the first stirrings of the changes that are necessary to ensure not just that the country survives but that it prospers.

Pakistan's Reverse Revolution

Imtiaz Gul

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian Revolution in 1979 marked the beginning of a painful journey for Pakistan that has culminated in a reverse socio-political revolution on two counts. First, instead of reaping rich dividends from a partnership with the United States that engineered the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan, Pakistan today faces its gravest security challenge, as some of the forces with which it had partnered to defeat the Soviets and later used to force the Indians out of Kashmir are biting back. Second, post-revolutionary Iran's expanding cultural presence and influence engendered a Saudi Salafist counter-reaction, thereby turning Pakistan into a battleground for a Saudi-Iranian proxy war which sowed the seeds of sectarian acrimony and violence between the country's minority Shi'a and majority Sunni populations.



Imtiaz Gul, Chairman, Centre for Research and Security Studies (CRSS), Islamabad.

Although the questionable “War against Terrorism” unleashed in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks by the US-led coalition introduced a different dynamic into Pakistan's political landscape, the genesis of the reaction to this war clearly lies in the Afghan *jihad* that the United States had led and funded to drive the Soviets out of Afghanistan. That *jihad* gave birth to a new generation of anti-Western warriors — *jihadists* inspired by Usama bin Ladin and his deputy, Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri. Some of them denounce Pakistan as a US collaborator, which they then use to justify their “*jihad*” against organs of the Pakistani state, particularly the security apparatus comprising the army, police, and the intelligence services.

Ironically, following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Pakistan had a ready-made fighting force in the form of the *mujahidin* — Afghan as well as local. Pakistan also had a ready-made champion of this fighting force — the Pakistani military, which thought that the *mujahidin* could be useful for engineering Kashmir's separation from India, either through a militant struggle or a UN-led plebiscite. The ensuing nexus between Kashmiri Muslims who wanted independence from New Delhi and Pakistan's intelligence outfits proved to be disastrous. From mid-1988 onward, relations with India deteriorated. During the mid- and late 1990s, Pakistani military institutions actively supported Kashmiri separatist groups, using Afghanistan, which was ruled by the obscurantist Taliban regime, as a training ground. The Pakistani establishment considered this effort to be a masterful, cost-effective tactical maneuver. But the strategic consequences of this policy were disastrous.

Gul...

Forced into international isolation and hamstrung by a mighty military establishment whose strength was rooted in the Afghan *jihad* of the 1980s, none of the four civilian governments in the 1990s could turn Pakistan's foreign policy around, particularly its India and Afghanistan policy. When in 1999 then-Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif attempted to open up to India, the army undercut the move in May of that year by moving into the Indian part of Kashmir and occupying the strategic heights of Kargil. This revived the acrimony between India and Pakistan, and sowed discord between Sharif and then-Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf.

Mired in the Kashmir-centric policy and given to the idea of "*jihad*" there, Musharraf, who came to power in a bloodless coup in 1999, became an international pariah. Following the 9/11 attacks, however, Musharraf's fortunes turned; he went on to become one of the most sought-after heads of state by virtue of Pakistan's emergence as the central front in the US-led effort to wage a successful war against terrorism in Afghanistan.

Thus, much of the recent and current turmoil in the country has roots in the seismic events of 1979 and policies taken in response to them. This turmoil is as tragic as it is worrisome. Since January 2008, Pakistan, 75% of whose 170 million inhabitants live on less than two dollars a day, has been rocked by 110 suicide bombings conducted by groups opposed to NATO's presence in Afghanistan. During this period, hundreds of explosions and ambushes have taken close to 2,000 lives. In fact, in April 2009 things had turned so ugly that the international community began talking and thinking aloud of "Pakistan's disintegration in the face of mounting Islamist insurgency — the mortal threat." Since early May 2009, the military operations in Pakistan's border regions against some of the remnants of the Afghan *Jihad* have resulted in the displacement of nearly 2.5 million people.

Since early May 2009, the military operations in Pakistan's border regions against some of the remnants of the Afghan *Jihad* have resulted in the displacement of nearly 2.5 million people.

Besides the army, the United States has been the other common element that has influenced Pakistan's political development in the last three decades. In Iran, Americans retreated, while in Afghanistan, Americans mounted a methodical proxy war. In both of these American foreign policy experiments, Pakistan served as the laboratory. While the Americans left Pakistan to its own devices after the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan in February 1989, the Bush Administration lapped up Pakistan soon after 9/11 — but this time with a few words of regret and expression of determination never again to leave the country in a lurch. In May 2009, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton also apologized for what the Americans had done to Pakistan in the late 1990s. Pakistanis have been bearing the brunt of "incoherent US policies for the past 30 years," Clinton admitted. Although Pakistan's numerous problems prompted former US Secretary of State Madeline Albright to refer to Pakistan as the "global migraine" in December 2008, President Barack Obama promises to cure the country of all its ills. So do other international figures, such as British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, and French President Nicolas Sarkozy. Unlike in the past when these nations extended unquestioned support to military dictators, this time they seem to be following a two-track policy: supporting the military in counter-insurgency on the one hand, and standing behind the civilian government on the other.

Gul...

But the damage inflicted upon Pakistan will be difficult to repair. The tumultuous year of 1979 began a long, painful, and destructive period for the country. The US practice of expediency combined with the self-serving policies of Pakistan's military dictators increased the state's reliance on extremist non-state actors who are now eating into the very vitals of the state of Pakistan. Unless neutralized — a task that will be neither quick nor easy to accomplish — these groups will continue to threaten the peace and stability not only of Pakistan but of the entire region.

Pakistan: Reclaiming the Founding Moment

Suroosh Irfani

Rooted in a democratic struggle that ended British rule in the subcontinent, there was something remarkable about Pakistan's emergence on August 14, 1947 as a sovereign Muslim state. This was as much reflected in the founding father Muhammad Ali Jinnah's address to Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly as in its national anthem and flag celebrating Pakistan's founding moment. Jinnah's speech set the direction for Pakistan as a modern democratic state, where religion was a personal matter that had "nothing to do with the business of the state," and people could creatively rework a divisive past for a promising future.¹ At the same time, the inclusive spirit of a South Asian Muslim identity was reflected, on the one hand, in the national anthem composed by Jagan Nath Azad, a scholar of Indo-Persian culture, and on the other hand, in a flag that celebrated Pakistan's 3% religious minority population by giving them 25% of the flag's space — its white section. Such eclecticism, rooted in Indo-Persian culture, also prevailed in the new national anthem adopted seven years later: the anthem is as much in Urdu as Persian, the composition is by a Zoroastrian, and the chorus giving it an "Indian" aura comprises almost equal numbers of female and male singers (respectively five and six).²

Indeed, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's populist slogan of "Islam, Democracy, and Socialism" that gave him a landslide win in Pakistan's first general elections held in 1970 also reflected the eclectic spirit of Pakistan's South Asian Muslim identity. However, General Zia ul-Haq, who toppled Bhutto's government in a military coup in 1977 and had him hanged two years later, set Pakistan on a different track that eroded the South Asian spirit of its identity. Lacking a political or social base of his own other than the army, Zia carved out a constituency for himself through a Saudi-backed polity of "Islamization." This policy infused Islamic conservatism in the state and society and co-opted religio-political parties, especially the Jamaat-e Islami — Pakistan's best organized religious party that historically stood in opposition to Jinnah and Pakistan. Moreover, Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in support of Kabul's Marxist regime in 1979 helped to entrench General Zia's regime and turn Pakistan into "America's most allied ally" as a Cold War frontline state.



Suroosh Irfani is a writer and columnist based in Lahore. He was senior Fellow at the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, and co-director of the Graduate Program in Communication and Cultural Studies at National College of Arts, Lahore. His current interests include the transformation of popular Muslim imagination, and the dialogical self in Sufism and Jungian Psychology.

1. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's address to Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly, August 11, 1947.

2. Composed by Ghulam Ahmed Chagla, the new anthem was first played at Karachi airport on March 30, 1950, when the Shah of Iran visited Pakistan. It took another four years for an official Committee to select Hafeez Jallanduri's poem for the anthem's lyrics, from over 700 entries.

Indeed, if the Cold war had given General Zia a shortcut to legitimacy on the international front, the Afghan *jihad* enabled Zia to stake Pakistan's future on the *jihadi* politics in Afghanistan, giving rise to a plethora of homegrown militant groups. Clearly, the US-Saudi backed Afghan *Jihad*, occurring in a regional context shaken by Shi'a revivalist Ayatollahs of the Iranian Revolution, had fateful consequences for Pakistan. At the same time, with the virtual collapse of state education, religious schools linked with *jihadi* groups rapidly expanded as breeders of a violent *jihadi* culture that eclipsed Pakistan's South Asian identity while promoting an "Arabist shift." This tendency to view the Arab as the only "real"/pure Muslim uses this trope of purity as a self-righteous weapon for recasting the present in a glorified imaginary of a triumphal Arab past.³ Such reasoning is reflected in a detained Pakistani suicide bomber's recent interview on Geo Television, the largest satellite channel in the country. The would-be bomber justified the killing of innocent children and citizens in the ongoing spate of suicide bombings by invoking the *fatwa* of "a great Arab cleric," to the effect that those who died in the bombings were not innocent victims as they did not support Taliban's *jihad*.⁴

Indeed, in the 1990s, when Pakistan helped the Taliban rise to power in Afghanistan, Talibanic Islam became virtually synonymous with Usama bin Ladin and al-Qa'ida through fusion with Wahhabi-Salafi radicalism, even as Peshawar became "the capital of the Islamic world."⁵ According to al-Qa'ida strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri, "Every ongoing discussion and debate [in Peshawar] quickly spread out to the rest of the world, through audio *communiqués*, books, leaflets, audiocassettes, and through couriers and visitors."⁶ Moreover, if the founding moment of Indo-Persian culture was rooted in the 11th century publication of *Kashf ul Mahjub*, [*The Unveiling of the Hidden*], a treatise on Sufism by Lahore's patron saint, Ali Uthman Hujwiri (d. 1077),⁷ the publication in Peshawar of al Suri's *The Experience and Lessons of the Islamic Jihadi Revolution*⁸ in 1991 might well have signaled the internalization of an Arabist shift in Pakistan.

[R]eligious schools linked with *jihadi* groups rapidly expanded as breeders of a violent *jihadi* culture that eclipsed Pakistan's South Asian identity while promoting an "Arabist shift" — a tendency to view the Arab as the only "real"/pure Muslim ...

At the same time, Arab and Pakistani *jihadis* continued to flourish in the training camps of Afghanistan and Pakistani administered Kashmir after Zia's death and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, even as Pakistan briefly realized its dream of gaining "strategic depth" in Afghanistan under Taliban rule from 1996-2001. However, all this changed following the September 11, 2001 suicide attacks on the United States. And

3. Suroosh Irfani, "Pakistan's sectarian violence: Between the 'Arabist Shift' and Indo-Persian Culture., in Satu Limaye *et al.*, ed., *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia* (Honolulu: Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2004), p. 148.

4. Geo current affairs program *Jirga*, July 2, 2009.

5. Brynjar Lia, *Architect of Global Jihad: the Life of Al Qaeda Strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri* (London: Hurst, 2007), p. 87.

6. Lia, *Architect of Global Jihad*.

7. Translated by R.A. Nicholson into English in 1911, Hujwiri's was the first encyclopedic work on Sufism in Persian. As Persian became the administrative language of successive Muslim rulers in northern India, it also became the medium for a new cultural force symbolized by Sufism, reflecting a spiritual humanism that triggered a cultural efflorescence in Indian art, architecture, literature, and music.

8. Lia, *Architect of Global Jihad*, p. 486. Al-Suri later went on to write *The Global Islamic Resistance Call* (2004), the "Bible" of violent global *jihad*, available online in Arabic.

although the invasion by US forces in October 2001 led to the rout of Taliban and al-Qa'ida in Afghanistan, this further radicalized Pakistan's Islamist groups, even as Taliban and al-Qa'ida members sought refuge in Pakistan. Indeed, most Pakistanis regarded the Taliban as "true Muslims" and bin Ladin as a "hero of Islam," thereby enabling the terrorists to exploit local hospitality in Pakistan. It is therefore not surprising that Pakistani security forces arrested Khalid Shaykh Muhammad, al-Qa'ida's 9/11 mastermind, from the house of a Jamaat-e Islami member, while Taliban leader Abdullah Mehsud blew himself up in the house of a leader of Jamiat-e Ulama-e Islam (Fazalur Rehman group). Indeed, when former President Pervez Musharraf's government stepped up its campaign to hunt bin Ladin and other "religious terrorists," the rage of religio-political parties was summed up by former leader of Jamaat-e Islami, Qazi Hussein Ahmed, who denounced the campaign "a Zionist conspiracy."⁹

Clearly, the infusion of violent *jihadi* culture in Pakistan — spawned by the Afghan *Jihad* and state sponsored militant groups for *jihad* in Indian held Kashmir — poses a "mortal threat" to Pakistan. The ongoing Taliban insurgency in Pakistan's northwestern areas is a graphic example of this threat. The existential threat that Pakistan faces is not only because of Taliban *per se*, but also a complicit culture largely blurring the boundaries between "extremist" and "mainstream" in the Islamist spectrum.

According to a new public opinion survey held in Pakistan in May, 2009, over 81% regard al-Qa'ida and Pakistani Taliban "a critical threat to Pakistan" — a huge increase from 34% in late 2007.

However, a sea change has occurred in Pakistan's public perceptions of al-Qa'ida and the Taliban since the Pakistani Army moved into Pakistan's northwestern areas in May, 2009 to crush the Taliban insurgency. The airing of video clips of Taliban brutalities on Pakistan's TV channels were as critical as the Taliban's boasting of suicide bombings of Pakistan's civilian and security spaces in turning the tide of public opinion against the Taliban. According to a new public opinion survey held in Pakistan in May 2009, over 81% regard al-Qa'ida and Pakistani Taliban "a critical threat to Pakistan" — a huge increase from 34% in late 2007. As for the Afghan Taliban, "87 percent think that groups fighting to overthrow the Afghan government should not be allowed to have base in Pakistan."¹⁰

Even so, military action against the Taliban would remain inconclusive without socio-economic and educational measures for winning "hearts and minds," especially of the people displaced by recent fighting. At the same time, such measures should aim to promote a new political culture in sync with Pakistan's founding moment, summed up by Jinnah's speech to the Constituent Assembly. Indeed, reclamation of Pakistan's South Asian Muslim identity, so poignantly reflected in Jinnah's speech, is as crucial to the survival of a democratic Pakistan as the battle to defeat the Taliban.

9. *The Nation*, July 2, 2002.

10. World Public Opinion Poll (WorldPublicOpinion.org), reported in *Dawn*, July 2, 2009.

II. Debating Pakistan's Muslim Identity

Reclaiming Pakistan's Pacifist Religious Creed

Ishtiaq Ahmad

If there is a cut-off point in the 62-year life of Pakistan, a country created in the name of Islam by secular Muslim leadership, it is 1979. For whatever traditionally pacifist sub-continental Islamic creed with a strong Persian influence that the country had retained since the partition of 1947 effectively ended that year. Since then, until the rise of al-Qa'ida/Wahhabi-inspired Taliban extremism and terrorism in recent years, Pakistan has seen the consistent erosion of the broadly inclusive religious tradition it had inherited from the pre-independence Subcontinent — a heritage, in particular, of the centuries of Muslim rule under the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire.

The two epoch-making regional developments of 1979 — the revolution in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan — were instrumental in conservative military leader General Zia ul-Haq's efforts to consolidate political power and institutionalize religious radicalism in the country. Pakistan's association with the Afghan *Jihad* during his rule and with the Kashmir *jihad* in its aftermath strengthened radical religious tendencies in state and society. The extremist ideologies and terrorist practices of al-Qa'ida and its local affiliates, especially since the start of the Afghan war in 2001, also have reinvigorated religious radicalism in the country.

The Musharraf regime was no doubt an antidote to Zia's rule, but its inherently authoritarian nature was perhaps the main hurdle in reversing Zia's radical religious legacy. Pakistan's current civilian democratic government does not face such a limitation, and, therefore, has a unique opportunity to do what its civilian and military predecessors could not in the past couple of decades: re-institutionalize the founding ideals of the nation, which were grounded in one of the finest statements on secularism ever made. Pakistan's founding father, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, said in his August 11, 1947 presidential address before the Constituent Assembly:

You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State ... We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State ... Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Pakistan's greatest tragedy is that the last three decades negate every visionary word Jinnah uttered about the future destiny of the country on the eve of its creation. What



Ishtiaq Ahmad is an Associate Professor of International Relations at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. A known Pakistani columnist and Fulbright scholar, Dr Ahmad has authored several publications on the conflict in Afghanistan and South Asian security, including Gulbuddin Hekmatyar: An Afghan Trail from Jihad to Terrorism and India and Pakistan: Charting a Path to Peace.

Ahmad...

could be more ironic than the fact that the same Islamists who had opposed the very idea of Pakistan, including Jamaat-e Islami, have hijacked its destiny during this period, which has seen bloody Sunni-Shi'ite sectarianism starting in late 80s and culminating into Taliban-led suicide terrorism at present.

The question of *Shari'a* in Swat, Taliban sanctuaries in Waziristan, the spread of Talibanization to regions far from the country's frontier with Afghanistan, and much more: Was it for all this that Jinnah had founded a separate homeland

Pakistan's greatest tragedy is that the last three decades negate every visionary word Jinnah uttered about the future destiny of the country on the eve of its creation.

for the Muslims of the Subcontinent? His idea of Pakistan was simply that of a constitutionally secular, politically progressive, and religiously tolerant nation — one that would emulate all the attributes which had helped the Delhi Sultans and Mughals establish a benevolent Muslim reign in Hindu-majority India for several centuries before the arrival of the British.

Had Jinnah not died so early, the face of Pakistan might have been different today. For like Mustafa Kemal Ataturk of Turkey and Jawaharlal Nehru in India, he would have had enough time to consolidate the basic constitution-

al and structural foundations of a secular state, thereby clearing away all of the societal confusion about the country's real national destiny. Consequently, even in the wake of the radical regional developments of 1979, the country might not have experienced the consistently regressive trend leading up to the current religiously rooted terrorist quagmire.

It is true that the national context for the sudden upsurge of religious radicalism in the 1980s was already there. Within a year of Jinnah's death, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Objectives Resolution, which stated:

Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone, and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust ... Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed ...Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teaching and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Qur'an and the Sunna.

This Resolution forms a preamble to every Constitution Pakistan has had, and is a direct rebuke to Jinnah's secular vision for the country as expressed in his historic speech before the Constituent Assembly. It empowered the Islamists, reinforcing their claim to be the custodians of Pakistan as an Islamic state, and providing a legitimate excuse for today's neo-Taliban organizations such as Tehrik-e Nifaz-e Shariat-e Muhammadi operating in Swat today to demand *Shari'a*.

Despite this, it can be safely argued that religious radicalism remained a peripheral force in the country until the end of the 1970s. Except the anti-Ahmadi riots of the 1950s, Pakistan never experienced any major instance of violence in the name of religion until the 1970s, which in itself is a popular reference point for all those who have seen exclusivist dogmatic Islam overtake the country's traditionally pacifist Islamic creed in the last 30 years. Those who have lived in

Ahmad...

the 1970s often recall the nightlife of Karachi, and liquor shops doing business in broad daylight across the country during those golden years. The era of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is still hailed as the last of the liberal times that the people enjoyed.

However, factors such as the 1971 dismemberment of East Pakistan on the basis of ethnicity, Mr. Bhutto's weakening power base, and deterioration in US-Pakistan ties pushed the Bhutto regime to play the Islamic card to prevent ethnic disunity, appease the religious right, and bring the country closer to Saudi Arabia. All of this may have had the unintended consequence of empowering radical Islamic forces and transforming the country's traditionally pacifist religious creed with strong Persian/Subcontinental influences into a new, potentially violent, Arabist-Wahhabist Islamist culture that has gripped the entire nation since 1979.

[F]actors such as the 1971 dismemberment of East Pakistan on the basis of ethnicity, Mr. Bhutto's weakening power base, and deterioration in US-Pakistan ties pushed the Bhutto regime to play the Islamic card to prevent ethnic disunity, appease the religious right, and bring the country closer to Saudi Arabia.

Reclaiming Pakistan's pacifist religious creed may take as much time, if not more, than the three decades during which it eroded. However, an essential first step in this regard may be to initiate immediately a national debate on rethinking the country's founding ideals in accordance with the secular vision of Muhammad Ali Jinnah — the need for which is all the more clear and urgent when the very Islamic basis of the state has become its principal weakness and a major source of religious extremism and terrorism.

Moving beyond “Islamic”

Aasim Sajjad Akhtar

Throughout the Cold War period, and even more so after it, American scholars have attempted to understand Muslim societies. Every decade has brought with it new paradigms, although the broad tendency has been towards a limiting, and thus problematic, cultural essentialism. Since the beginning of the “War on Terror,” this tendency unfortunately has been reinforced, thanks in large part to the Bush Administration’s words and actions; the atrocious term “Islamofascism” comes to mind.



Yet, the need for Americans (and others for that matter) to become more knowledgeable about Muslim societies remains acute. Ethnocentric premises need to be discarded and more meaningful categories of analysis unearthed. The challenge lies, in the first instance, in recognizing that societies in which the majority of people are Muslim might not share as much with one another as is typically assumed. While Islam is undoubtedly a major factor in shaping the politics and culture of Muslim societies, it is essential to dedicate time and effort to understanding the other fault lines that pervade these societies.

Aasim Sajjad Akhtar is a political activist associated with the People’s Rights Movement (PRM). He also teaches colonial history and political economy at Lahore University of Management Sciences.

Unlike any other Muslim country, the modern state of Pakistan always has sought to overwrite other fault lines under the guise that Pakistanis (or at the very least the vast majority of them) all share the same religious identity. In contrast, Iranians do not shun their pre-Islamic past, and Arabs too recognize that they were Arabs before they were Muslims. The same can be said for Turks and Malays. But Pakistan is defined as the state for the Subcontinent’s Muslims, and thus Pakistanis do not know of any identity that supersedes their religious one — at least that is what the official discourse of the state always has posited.

In fact, Pakistan is fractured significantly along many lines that reflect pre-Pakistani identifications. Arguably the most obvious distinction in Pakistan is ethno-linguistic. The Pakistani state’s relationship with Pashtuns, Baluchs, Sindhis, and Bengalis has been strained since the very inception of the state. Most notably, Bengalis — or then, East Pakistanis — seceded in 1971 after relations deteriorated to the point of no return.

During Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s tenure, all sorts of symbolic attempts were made to rescue the ideology of Pakistan, or in other words, the notion that all those who reside within Pakistan are Muslims and not anything else. Given that over half of Pakistan’s population had given up on this notion and seceded, it might be argued that Bhutto’s attempts

were doomed from the beginning. As it turned out, General Zia ul-Haq overthrew Bhutto in a coup in 1977 on the back of a political movement calling for “Islamization” and proceeded to consolidate the ethnic imbalance in the state.

Zia ul-Haq of course employed the idiom of “*jihad*” to achieve strategic foreign policy objectives and to neuter domestic opposition. However, this epic attempt to use Islam to forge unity did not work. More than 30 years later, the trend towards fragmentation has intensified. Severe disaffection grips Baluchistan and the Pashtun-majority Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). Indeed, it is in the latter that the much-touted policy of patronizing *jihad* has backfired spectacularly. Has this “blowback” represented the final nail in the coffin for Pakistan’s state ideology?

Pakistan’s constitution-writing process in the late 1940s and early 1950s was painfully slow because of the machinations of the civil bureaucracy and military and also because of the lack of consensus over the role that Islam should play in the polity. Ultimately, the so-called “Objectives Resolution” was written into the preamble of the Constitution, clearly stating that Islam would underwrite the law of the land. This was nothing less than a mandate — albeit a vaguely understood one — for the state to instrumentalize Islam.

The 1973 constitution confirmed this: Article 227 reiterated that all legislation would conform to Islamic injunctions. Zia ul-Haq ruled by invoking this mandate repeatedly; indeed, he made “Islamisation” the *raison d’être* of his regime. No government that has followed the Zia regime (or preceded it for that matter) has dared to reopen the question of Islam’s role in the polity.

Article 227 reiterated that all legislation would conform to Islamic injunctions. Zia ul Haq ruled by invoking this mandate repeatedly; indeed, he made “Islamisation” the *raison d’être* of his regime. No government that has followed ... has dared to reopen the question of Islam’s role in the polity.

The Taliban’s project for a creation of a *Shari’a* state in the NWFP is not, therefore, a simple matter of the state’s writ being challenged by insurgents. There is much more at stake here. This is why the state appeared to “surrender” to the insurgents when it came to the question of instituting “Islamic” law in the Malakand division of the NWFP. In fact, the state was not surrendering at all — it was simply acceding to the demand of the “people” to make good on the commitment made in the Constitution to make Islam the basis of all law.

Munawar Hasan, the head of the Jamaat-e Islami, the most prominent religious party in Pakistan, clearly noted that his organization and the insurgents share the same aspiration and differ only in terms of their methods. In the aftermath of the failed agreement between the insurgents and the government in Malakand, state functionaries have been insistent that they made all possible attempts to implement the agreement but that ultimately it was the insurgents who were not “sincere” in making *Shari’a* the law of the land.

Akhtar...

This is, needless to say, a tenuous claim. Pakistan was one of three states (the others being Saudi Arabia and UAE) to recognize the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which came to power in the name of implementing *Shari'a* through the use of force. The state is using force against the Taliban insurgents very reluctantly. The latter have long been considered “strategic assets” and also represent the logical culmination of the state ideology.

The state remains committed to an obsolete official nationalism in the face of enormous contradictions, even while the pull of dissident nationalisms based primarily on ethno-linguistic identity becomes more pronounced. The overwhelming majority of Pakistanis might be Muslim, but this Muslim identity is not necessarily the primary operative identity in the political realm. The state may have tried to downplay ethnic and other identities, but has not succeeded in putting together a viable nation-building project. Understanding Pakistan and its society requires deeper interrogation of the multiple identities of ordinary people and the contradictions of official nationalism.

The Islamization of Pakistan's Educational System: 1979-1989

Nasim Ashraf

The decade of 1979-1989 can be viewed as the turning point for Pakistan's educational system. It was the bedrock on which militant extremism was founded, and has left indelible imprints on the Pakistani nation.

Religion was the justification given by General Zia ul-Haq to legitimize his dictatorship, as well as to consolidate his rule, which spanned more than 11 years. Coupled with geopolitical and sectarian struggles, Zia's Islamization reforms completely transformed the educational system of Pakistan. Religious schools, or *madrasas*, not only mushroomed, but also received official government patronage and international funding. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the United States prodded Afghanistan and Pakistan to support a "holy war" or *jihad* against the Soviets. Arab states were asked to fund this *jihad* against the Communists, and also to contain the new Islamic Revolution in Iran led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Thanks to the failed educational policies of the previous regimes, Pakistan's educational system in the late 1970s was in total collapse. Zia's Islamization reforms, as well as the indoctrination of state institutions, instigated Islamic organizations that filled the gap by opening up *madrasas* in large numbers. In the first few years of General Zia ul-Haq's rule (1979-1982), only 151 new *madrasas* were opened, but over the next five years nearly 1,000 of them were established.¹ This was part of the strategy to mobilize *muja-hidin* in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

General Zia relied heavily on the religious constituency for the political legitimacy of his regime. He wooed the clergy in Pakistan by offering them financial incentives and official recognition. A special committee² set up for this purpose suggested improvement in the economic conditions of *madrasas* through "unconditional and direct government financial assistance." *Zakat* funds were suggested to be used as the source of government support³. As a policy to increase the employment prospects of *madrasa* graduates, the Government instructed the University Grants Commission, the body responsible for accreditation of educational institutions, to issue equivalency certificates



Dr. Nasim Ashraf is Executive Director of the Center for Pakistan Studies at the Middle East Institute.

1. *Pakistan: Madrasas, Extremism and the Military*, ICG Asia Report No. 36, July 29, 2002.

2. The Halepota Committee, named after its chairman, Dr. A.W.J. Halepota, an educator who also had been associated with Ayub Khan's commission for *madrasa* reform in the 1960s. Jamal Malik, *Colonialisation of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional* (Lahore: Institutions in Pakistan, 1996), pp. 133-134.

3. Malik, *Colonialisation of Islam*.

to graduates of religious schools with the highest certificate from a *Wafaq* (Religious Accreditation Body) recognized as Masters in Islamic Studies.⁴ This greatly boosted the importance of *madrasas* and encouraged their growth.

The New Education Policy of 1979 changed the educational landscape in Pakistan. Five thousand mosque schools were approved and the curriculum of the public schools was rewritten with an emphasis on *jihad* and Islamization. The message of *jihad* initially targeted Communism. International patrons supplied funds, arms, and religious literature that were used freely in Pakistani *madrasas*.⁵ The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) paid the University of Nebraska, Omaha \$5.1 million between 1984-1994 to develop and design textbooks to promote *jihad*.⁶ Overall, about \$13 million worth of such textbooks were distributed in Pakistan in the Afghan refugees camps,⁷ schools, and Pakistani *madrasas* where students learned basic arithmetic by counting dead Russian soldiers and AK-47 rifles.

USAID paid the University of Nebraska, Omaha \$5.1 million between 1984-1994 to develop and design textbooks to promote *jihad* students learned basic arithmetic by counting dead Russian soldiers and AK-47 rifles.

Foreign funding and patronage from the Gulf countries also fueled sectarian conflict between Sunnis and Shi'ites in Pakistan.⁸ *Madrasas* became the recruiting grounds for the militant wings of various sectarian religious groups. In fact, Pakistan became a battleground for Arab-Iranian rivalry, with a tremendous rise in the number of Shi'a *madrasas* and militant groups in response to the rapidly increasing strength and numbers of Deobandi followers, in particular the Ahl-e Hadith sect, which is the closest to the official Saudi creed. Indeed, the roots of the destabilizing sectarian conflict in Pakistan can be traced back to the decade of 1979-1989.

Pakistan's educational system can be subdivided into four tiers of education providers. Private elite schools usually cater to the rich, while up to 90% of the population attends public government schools. Non-elite private schools primarily attract the upper middle class population, and offer a comparatively better quality education to those who can afford it. *Madrasas*, the fourth tier of the country's educational system, usually are attended by less than 1% of school-age children.⁹ From 1979-1989 and continuing until today, public education has progressively deteriorated. Not only was the state unable to provide access to education — the basic constitutional right of every citizen — but the quality of education also declined significantly.¹⁰ The big gap in the public education system was gradually filled by the other three providers, i.e. private schools, both elite and non-elite, and the *madrasas*. Although the enrollment in *madrasas* always has been grossly overestimated, the real worry arises from the fact that 10-15% of the

4. Malik, *Colonialisation of Islam*.

5. Zia Rukhsana, "Religion and Education In Pakistan: An Overview," *Prospects Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2003), pp. 165-178.

6. *Pakistan: Madrasas, Extremism and the Military*.

7. Joe Stephens and David B. Ottaway, "From U.S., the ABC's of Jihad," *Washington Post*, March 23, 2002.

8. *Pakistan: Madrasas, Extremism and the Military*.

9. Tahir Andrabi *et al*, "Religious School Enrollment in Pakistan: A Look at the Data," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol, 50, No. 3 (2006).

10. *Pakistan: reforming the education sector*, International Crisis Group Asia Report No. 84, October 7, 2004.

schools are affiliated with extremist religious and political groups.¹¹ It is this small but extremely potent minority that provides a pool of graduates for transnational terrorist networks. Extremist groups have been able to draw upon these students for furthering conflict in Kashmir, Afghanistan, Chechnya, and elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

After suffering from neglect and chronic under-resourcing due to an absence of political will in Pakistan's governments since its independence in 1947, the country's education system was damaged and transformed by Islamic indoctrination from 1979-1989. The current state of affairs in Pakistan reveals that policies which promoted the inclusion of extremist literature in *madrassa* syllabi are exacting a heavy price. In contrast to the years of 1979-1989, today's extremist message condones offensive, violent action against state infrastructure and ordinary Pakistanis, in addition to the Western world.

The future of Pakistan is a key concern for the world and there is an emphasis on the provision of health, education, and economic opportunity to its people. A concerted effort is required not just to reform a reluctant *madrassa* establishment, but also to channel domestic spending and international aid towards quality education — one that is affordable, offers employment prospects, and fosters open-mindedness.

11. P.W. Singer, *Pakistan's Madrassahs: Ensuring a System of Education not Jihad*, Brookings Papers, No. 41 (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2001).

Jamaat-e Islami

Farhat Haq

Nineteen seventy-nine was a momentous year for the Jamaat-e Islami in Pakistan. Maulana Maududi, whose writings provided both the financial and intellectual foundation for the party, died after a long bout with kidney disease in Buffalo, New York. The same year, the arch-nemesis of the Jamaat, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, became a victim of what most Pakistanis considered a judicial murder at the hands of its erstwhile ally, General Zia ul-Haq. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian Revolution proved to be equally important in shaping Jamaat's role in Pakistani politics and its participation in Sunni Islamist politics. After 1979 the Jamaat became less of what it always had viewed itself to be — the vanguard of Islamic Revolution — and more what its opponents had often accused it of being, an opportunistic player willing to make compromises with authoritarian leaders to gain political advantages.

While there had been broad agreement within the Jamaat-e Islami since its inception in 1941 on the goal of creating an Islamic state, there had been a robust debate over the means. For the first several years of its existence, the Jamaat had argued that it would focus on the creation of *salih* (virtuous) Muslims by focusing on changing the hearts and minds of ordinary people through its literature (written mostly by Maududi) and by the exemplary character and behavior of its members. Though the Jamaat had opposed the creation of Pakistan, it quickly became the major proponent of the creation of an Islamic state in Pakistan and led the movement towards incorporating Islamic clauses into all three Pakistani constitutions (1956, 1964, and 1973). A minority of Jamaat's members felt that engaging in electoral politics and working within the system would take it away from its goal of an Islamic revolution resulting in an Islamic state. Maududi convinced the majority that now that Pakistan was a reality, working within the political system was the best option. During the first few years of its existence, Jamaat was skeptical of Western-style democracy, but the first coup by Ayub Khan and his attempts to limit the influence of religion in public life made Jamaat a strong proponent of establishing a parliamentary democracy and protecting the civil and political rights of citizens. This anti-establishment posture continued and even deepened during Bhutto's rule.

Although the Jamaat had railed against communism and socialism in its printed literature for many decades, Bhutto's government intensified Jamaat's venom against socialism. Bhutto had insisted that he was not interested in "God-less" socialism, but rather that he sought to bring about Islamic socialism. To this, Maududi retorted: "They found out that their Socialism cannot dance naked, after realizing this they started calling



Dr. Farhat Haq is Chair of the Political Science and Coordinator of the International Studies Program at Monmouth College in Monmouth, IL. She is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Institute for Pakistan Studies (AIPS).

Haq...

socialism 'Islamic.' But if it is really based on the Quran and the Sunnah then what is the need for calling it Socialism? Now when they can see that this too does not work they have started calling it Islamic equality (musawat). But their object is the same — pure socialism.”¹

Under Zia ul-Haq's rule, there was a fundamental shift in Jamaat's posture towards the state. The Jamaat proved to be an important "civilian" support base for Zia's military rule. For example, the Jamiat-e Tulaba (the student federation affiliated with the Jamaat), the largest and most disciplined student organization in the country, and the NLF (National Labor Federation) had kept the students and the labor unions from presenting any strong challenges to Zia's regime.² Moreover, the Jamaat had urged its teachers, doctors, lawyers, farmers, and 'ulama' organizations to mobilize support for Zia's Islamization program.

In return for its support of the regime, the Jamaat was able to participate directly in government between August 1978 and June 1979, albeit as a part of an alliance with the PNA (a nine-party alliance against Bhutto). Moreover Zia's Islamization policies led to the creation of bodies such as the Majlis-e Shura (a body of advisors chosen by Zia), the Islamic Ideological Council, the Islamic University, local Sala' (prayer) and Zakat (Islamic tax) committees, and the Shari'a Courts — all of which were filled either by Jamaat members or its sympathizers.

Zia ul-Haq's Islamization policy renewed the debate within the Jamaat's ranks about the best tactics to achieve an Islamic state in Pakistan. Was the imposition of *Shari'a* the most important objective — and therefore did it not matter that it was imposed by a military general or by a monarch, as in Saudi Arabia? Some of the younger members of the Jamaat who were inspired by the Iranian Revolution argued that monarchy or dictatorship was incapable of introducing a truly Islamic system; therefore, the Jamaat should distance itself from Zia's government and Saudi patronage. Jamaat's ties to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini went back to 1963, when Maududi met him during the *Haj* season in Mecca. In the same year, the Jamaat published an article in the October issue of *Tarjuman al-Quran* which was highly critical of the Shah's policy toward the 'ulama' in Iran. The Iranian Embassy lodged a protest against the article to the Pakistani government. During the Iranian Revolution, the Jamaat gave its full support to Ayatollah Khomeini. Then, in January 1979, Khomeini sent two of his representatives to Maududi to thank him for the Jamaat's support. In February 1979, Mian Tufial Muhammad, the Jamaat's "Amir," led a delegation to Iran.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan ensured that the Jamaat would lean more toward the Saudi model of the imposition of Islam from above and less towards the Iranian model of an Islamic revolution. Until 1994, when the Taliban became

Though the Jamaat had opposed the creation of Pakistan, it quickly became the major proponent of the creation of an Islamic state in Pakistan and led the movement towards incorporating Islamic clauses into all three Pakistani constitutions.

1. See *Criterion*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1970), pp. 62-63.

2. See Stephen Cohen and Marvin Weinbaum, "Pakistan in 1982: Holding On," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (1983), p.123.

the favored client of the Pakistani state, the Jamaat's ally, Gulbuddin Hekmetyar, was the greatest beneficiary of the Intelligence Services Directorate's (ISI) channeling of money and weapons. The Jamaat had maintained a close working relationship with Hekmetyar since the early 1970s, and after the invasion its relationship with Hekmetyer's Hezb-e Islami (Islamic Party) became even closer. In the 1980s things seemed to be going Jamaat's way. The Jamaat finally had the chance to fight the "Godless" communists by working closely with the ISI and the Saudis; its members also had gained access to Saudi charity funds and lucrative jobs in Saudi Arabia. Under Zia's regime, the Jamaat wielded considerable influence over the content of textbooks and radio and television programs.

But, as the 1990s revealed, there was a price to be paid for getting in bed with dictators. The Jamaat lost one of its most important electoral bases, Karachi, to the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM). The rise of the Taliban meant an increase in the influence of its competitor and sometime ally, the Jamiat-e Ulama Islam, Deobandi '*ulama*' organization whose madrasas had been the nurseries for the young Taliban. Zia ul-Haq's rule had offered an exceptional opportunity to the Jamaat — a share in governmental power and a chance to implement Islamic programs. The Jamaat had received some short-term benefits but incurred many long-term costs. The stigma of closely collaborating with a military regime was compounded by the Jamaat's participation in an Islamization process that many Pakistanis viewed as a sham. As one of Jamaat's own leaders so aptly put it in 1985: "Islam cannot be imposed from above through martial-law decrees."³

3. Interview with Munnawar Hassan, the Vice-President of the Karachi branch of the Jamaat, April 23, 1985. Munnawar Hassan is now the Amir (head) of the Jamaat-e Islami and has become a more conservative figure.

The Legacy of Bhutto and Zia's Contending Visions and Security Policies

Lawrence Ziring

The war perpetrated by the Pakistani army in 1971 against its own Bengali population came to an end only through New Delhi's intervention and the resulting loss of East Pakistan. The now-contiguous Pakistan that re-emerged in 1972, brought to power a new government dominated by civilians and led by the charismatic Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and a new army commander, General Zia ul-Haq. This essay examines Bhutto's and Zia's contending visions for the newly reconstructed Pakistan, their differing approaches to the Kashmir dispute, and the long-lasting consequences of their actions.



Lawrence Ziring, Emeritus Professor of Political Science, Western Michigan University

Bhutto represented the idea of a secular Pakistan based on consensus and inter-ethnic cooperation, equitable and just laws, and national order derived from constitutional constraints on the arbitrary exercise of government power. In contrast, Zia was not only the legate of a military tradition that stressed the hierarchy of power, but he also believed that governance and spiritual belief were inextricably intertwined. Importantly, and the key to their interaction, both men were flawed expressions of national leadership. Each man assumed a role larger than his personality could manage, and each imposed a legacy on Pakistan that those who followed could neither evade nor ignore.

Bhutto emphasized the need to restore the primacy of civilian government that was lost with Mohammad Ali Jinnah's death in 1948, and certainly after the 1951 assassination of Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan. All of the politicians who followed them had failed to address the central question of the country's democratic experiment: Could a state founded on religious sentiment adapt itself to the secular traditions and processes of the nation-state? Although Bhutto stood out from the other politicians, he was more inclined to arrogate power than promote the cause of limited government. He succeeded in developing a formidable political organization, but he came up short in demanding the subordination of the country's military establishment. Most critically, Bhutto failed to accept his role in the loss of East Pakistan, nor did he interpret accurately the impact of that loss on the country's armed forces, which, though humbled by the defeat, were not prepared to acknowledge him as their supreme leader.

Bhutto's apparent inclination to write off Kashmir, much as he did East Pakistan, by negotiating the Simla Accord with India in 1972 was more than the army was prepared to tolerate. In the immediate aftermath of the civil war, the army could only stand by as Bhutto consolidated his power, sought diplomatic arrangements with New Delhi, and managed the release of the 93,000 prisoners of war languishing in the now-independent

Ziring...

Bangladesh. He also selected Zia ul-Haq — an officer who was not in the country during the civil war — to lead the army, and thus appeared to have eliminated all the higher ranking officers that might have challenged his authority. Zia, however, refused to be beholden to Bhutto and moved quickly to restore the shattered image of the army and reposition it as the watchdog of the country's national interests. Bhutto's flagging popularity within his own coterie and party gave Zia the opening needed to reassert the army's power. Nowhere was this power more quickly exercised than in reversing Bhutto's Kashmir policy. Zia's strategy went beyond reordering the army. Zia, who believed neither in self-government nor in democratic norms, strove to build an Islamic state that corresponded to his perception of Pakistan's needs.

In pursuit of this aim, Zia reorganized the army to include an array of clandestine services. Acknowledging India's superiority in conventional warfare, he made a commitment to irregular operations conducted by shadow organizations resembling guerrilla units but heavily schooled in religious zealotry and prepared to make huge sacrifices in the name of faith. Thus it was Zia who authorized the restructuring and expansion of the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI) and made it the central operating force in the revived army. Moreover, unlike Bhutto who seemed determined to bury the hatchet with India, Zia intended to use the ISI and its jihadist offspring to extend Pakistan's power into Indian-occupied Kashmir.

Zia cited Kashmir as the *raison d'être* of the new Pakistan and gave the ISI broad power to assemble the jihadist organizations that would carry the fight to the Indian army in Kashmir ...

Although Bhutto's diplomatic efforts had succeeded in bringing Islamabad and New Delhi into a formal relationship, his waning fortunes became evident in the aftermath of the 1977 elections. Bhutto was compelled to urge the army to quell street demonstrations and corral his opposition. Zia, however, had prepared for just such circumstances and used them to terminate Bhutto's rule and restore the army's position at the top of the political power structure. Believing that he had the support of the masses, Zia orchestrated the arrest, indictment for murder, trial, and hanging of the ousted Prime Minister. Thereafter, Zia launched a process of "Islamization" in the country, which, importantly, brought long-marginalized orthodox and obscurantist political organizations into the mainstream of Pakistani political life. Zia made it clear his objective was nothing less than a transformed country wedded to Islamic mores and traditions.

Under Zia's program of renewal, the army was given several additional responsibilities, the most important of which were oversight of the country's nuclear program and management of the Kashmir issue. Without emphasizing a shift in national security policy, Zia cited Kashmir as the *raison d'être* of the new Pakistan and gave the ISI broad power to assemble the jihadist organizations that would carry the fight to the Indian army in Kashmir while at the same time avoiding direct confrontation. New Delhi was reluctant to reignite major hostilities so long as the forays were limited and unlikely to change the balance of power in the region. This forbearance proved somewhat justified when the Soviet Red Army invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, compelling Pakistan to redeploy a substantial portion of its forces and intelligence service operations to the Pashtun areas in the country's northwest.

Ziring...

The Islamic zealotry stoked by Zia's Islamization policies were now applied to Afghanistan, where Islamabad sensed the need for a broader national security policy that not only protected Pakistan from Soviet machinations, but helped reinforce the country's defenses against any future Indian encroachment. The army had failed to prevent the loss of East Pakistan, but it was determined not to repeat that experience in the reconstituted Pakistan. Holding the Red Army at the Pakistani frontier was one strategy, but building new territorial defenses against a possible Indian thrust toward the country's heartland was equally important. Clandestine operations in Kashmir, therefore, were expanded to include Afghanistan. Therefore, what began as a supposed popular uprising in Kashmir designed to weaken India's claim quickly matured into a full-blown strategy that enlisted the services of the Afghan *mujahidin*.

Holding the Red Army at the Pakistani frontier was one strategy, but building new territorial defenses against a possible Indian thrust was equally important ... Clandestine operations in Kashmir, therefore, were expanded to include Afghanistan.

Pakistan survived, albeit in truncated form, following India's liberation of East Pakistan and the termination of the Muslim country's two-winged experiment. It survived again in the no less momentous conflict in Afghanistan. Zia's national security program was deemed to have succeeded in preserving what remained of the country, but the General left a questionable legacy. In the end, although Pakistan became the first Islamic nation to possess nuclear weapons, the country was more insecure and its future had become even more precarious. The jihadist program managed by the ISI in Kashmir assumed even larger significance in Afghanistan under the umbrella of restored civilian government. The protracted Kashmir dispute hardened prospects for a negotiated settlement with India, and Afghanistan was denied its anticipated tranquility even after the last Soviet soldier withdrew in February 1989.

Taking on a life of its own, the ISI was uninterested in solutions to vexing problems. By now too committed to its forward strategy in Afghanistan, the ISI strategized to produce an Afghan government not only tied to Islamabad, but inextricably linked to the larger Pashtun nation. Recognizing that Afghanistan would not easily fall within Pakistan's orbit, the ISI set in motion yet another irregular force, the Taliban. Sanctioned by Pakistan's civilian governments in the 1990s, the ISI provided its army of Taliban fighters with fresh recruits and arms. The Taliban conquered Kabul in 1996 and from there fanned out to the most remote areas of Afghanistan. By the next Pakistan army coup in 1999, the Taliban had taken on the mantle of Islamic crusaders. Jihadists were attracted from throughout the Muslim world, most significant among them al-Qa'ida and Usama bin Ladin. Interaction between the Taliban and al-Qa'ida was immediate and intimate, and in its initial phase the ISI, whether directly or indirectly, nourished both movements.

The Taliban and al-Qa'ida added new dimensions to the Afghan dilemma that no outsider could control. With al-Qa'ida and bin Ladin determined to formulate a far more ambitious agenda, the ISI hold on developments slipped away. Even after the United States-led coalition brought down the Taliban emirate in 2001, scattering its leaders and foot soldiers to the high mountains of Afghanistan and Pakistan, the struggle continued. Al-Qa'ida likewise remained viable, moving

Ziring...

between Afghanistan and Pakistan and plotting its next operation. Of the two states, however, Pakistan continued to exhibit the greater dilemma. Its questionable nuclear security, its renegade ISI remnants, and its failed social and economic programs were especially worrisome. But arguably the greatest threat to the future of Pakistan was manifested in the same jihadist irregulars that the ISI and the Pakistan army had nurtured in the unending conflict with India. By continuing to nurture jihadists, Islamabad has opened the floodgates to all manner of dissidence. Moreover, the rapport that binds the Pakistani masses to the likes of Taliban and al-Qa'ida gives new dimensions to the definition of the failed state. Thus the Bhutto-Zia confrontation continues to frame developments and events in Pakistan — events that have brought South Asia to the abyss.

III. Domestic Concerns, Regional Implications

Imperialism, Extremism, and the Withering State

Imran Ali

The multiple crises that Pakistan faces in the post-Musharraf period appear to be of an almost existential nature. The resumption of a democratically elected civilian government following the elections of February 2008, and the subsequent removal of Musharraf in mid-2008, have failed to alleviate the sense of crisis, but rather have elevated it to even the level of chaos for certain Western analysts. Perhaps as a corollary to the transition to democracy, and in contrast to their silence during the period of dictatorship, these interlocutors are depicting Pakistan as a fragile and failing state about to be overtaken by religious extremists. Having reached an impasse in Afghanistan with a foreign invasion and occupation that is already longer in duration than World War II, the West is possibly eyeing Pakistan as the next extended battleground in its Global War against Terrorism. This dangerous enterprise could include the possible balkanization of the country, if that better serves imperialist designs. This essay attempts to enquire how and why the people of Pakistan have come to face such dire prospects.

Pakistan experienced strong continuities from colonial to post-colonial political economy. The entrenched authority of a triad of power and resource absorption emerged during British rule from the construction an extensive canal system and subsequent agricultural colonization in the Indus basin, which then served as the backbone of the Pakistani economy. The triad consisted of the military, which gained extensive landed resources through soldier settlement and breeding schemes for military animals (especially the soon-to-be obsolete cavalry horses); the civil and irrigation bureaucracy that managed this hydraulic society; and the larger landowners who were imperialism's favored intermediaries. Much more extensively, new land was allotted to the upper peasantry, comprising the traditional landowning lineages. The rural masses were excluded from proprietary or even occupancy access to canal irrigated land. Allied to the British, the landlord segment could leverage the support from the upper peasantry to determine factional access through electoral politics. Through such alliances, the nationalist movement remained stunted, and Pakistan failed to develop a counterpart to the Congress Party that stabilized Indian political economy in the half century after independence. One contributing factor was the emasculation of the professional and entrepreneurial middle class, which at Partition had to exit to India since it was predominantly non-Muslim.

In Pakistan, the ruling triad, in its endeavor to deny democracy to the people, went back for support in the post-colonial era to the new imperial hegemon, the United States. The



Imran Ali is Professor of Economic History and Business Policy at the Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan. He is author of The Punjab Under Imperialism, 1885-1947. He has taught economic history at the New South Wales and Melbourne Universities in Australia, and he has been a visiting scholar at several universities in Australia, the UK, and North America. His recent work has been on Pakistan's political economy.

Ali...

repeated relapse into military dictatorship cemented this relationship of vassalage, with the US preferring to deal with military autocrats over elected politicians, but also demanding of the military a role ever more malign for the welfare of Pakistan itself. For a poverty stricken country, the maintenance of a million-strong military was hardly justified by the presumed objective: defense against Indian belligerence. More likely, Western interests were being served by having a sizeable and pliant force abreast of western Asia's oil resources, and to provide a counter for any southern expansion by the Soviet Union. Like the British Indian army, maintained from domestic revenues, the fiscal burden of maintaining the Pakistani military was met by the hapless people of Pakistan itself. With the failure of substantive direct taxation, through a combination of inefficiency and corruption, but also to placate intermediary groups, the shift in revenue generation to indirect taxes, especially from the early 1990s, placed this material burden squarely on the masses. Moreover, the opportunity cost of the deprivation of democracy, and of the starving of social sector funding, was incalculable.

Western interests were being served by having a sizeable and pliant force abreast of western Asia's oil resources, and to provide a counter for any southern expansion by the Soviet Union.

The shift in vassalage to a more onerous mode in the 1980s, under the Zia-ul-Haq dictatorship, involved the CIA-sponsored "*jihad*" against the Soviets in Afghanistan. The West could gloat over the winning of a bloodless independence for eastern Europe and the Central Asian republics; at the cost, however, of a million dead and over five million displaced in Afghanistan, and with Pakistan awash with drugs and arms. The last, along with the breakdown in transparency and accountability, was the price paid to local intermediaries for their incipient lack of opposition to the Afghan "*jihad*." The enhanced foreign assistance under Zia was another way to feed rent-seeking intermediaries, whether in business, the public sector, politics, or the intelligentsia. Significantly, prior to and after the Zia dictatorship, periods of civilian rule saw dramatically reduced foreign aid flows; and in the 1990s, Pakistan was not only demonized at the behest of India, but even suffered sanctions for responding to India's nuclear tests. The economic malaise that Pakistan suffered constituted the opportunity cost of not having dictatorship.

Currently, and several years into the imperialist invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, anarcho-vassalage in Pakistan has taken an even more virulent turn. With the emergence of a movement of national resistance in Afghanistan, narrated in the West through such euphemisms as "Taliban insurgency" and "al-Qa'ida terrorism," and with the resurgence in that country of a narco-economy under the noses of US-NATO occupation forces, the regionalization of the war and its inevitable spread to Pakistan has gained lethal momentum. The repeated killing of civilians in both countries by the "civilized" West, and grave misgivings over its long term designs, has forsaken support for its cause. Simultaneously, the legitimacy of an already frayed vassal apparatus has suffered further erosion, as Pakistan has been goaded into killing its own people, while the roots of the problem lie in the continued foreign occupation of a neighboring country. There can be no blank check for civil war: military action against internal enemies is only viable if accompanied by an expeditious phaseout of occupation troops from Afghanistan. Meanwhile, an emerging politicized and alarmist narrative of chaos-mongering on Pakistan's own viability, from "experts" centered on Washington's military-security establishment, is a further destabiliz-

Ali...

ing element. This has a detrimental impact on business and investment confidence, and on international perceptions.

This is not to say that the “Taliban” in Pakistan should not be confronted. They pose an evident threat to national stability, and a misogynist challenge to civilized values. The solution, however, does not lie and cannot be achieved in Pakistan. It rests solidly with the exit of Western occupation forces from Afghanistan, without which peace appears unattainable. The prolonging of Western aggression could lead “withering” Pakistan itself to spiral into uncontrollable instability, the consequences of which are difficult to comprehend. However, just as the “Taliban” appear unconscionably committed to their Islamist extremism, the West is also likely to remain hostage to its entrenched imperialist values, mindless of the slaughter of Muslims that such policies have perpetrated since the mid-20th century. Regardless of the truth, there are apprehensions in Pakistan that violent militancy is being funded by India, the United States, and Israel. It appears that sectarian tension has for some time been encouraged by Saudi Arabia and Iran, using a poor country for a proxy conflict.

The solution, however, does not lie and cannot be achieved in Pakistan. It rests solidly with the exit of Western occupation forces from Afghanistan ...

External interventions have combined with internal weaknesses and distortions to enhance the complexity of Pakistan’s problems. The failed elite has violated moral economy through deinstitutionalization, extreme economic inequality and continued resource transfer, processes which the Western-preferred military rule has actively abetted. The Pakistani establishment also failed to curb a growing *madrassa* culture and *jihadi* mobilization, operating under cover of a general over-emphasis on religion and cultural atavism. Through misgovernance, public mismanagement, and a lack of services, the state had already ceded much control on the ground to virtually criminalized intermediaries. This has left a void that could be exploited by religious radicalism. The Pakistani people need a national movement to gain real, rather than nominal, freedom, but this might now metamorphasize into foreign aggression, civil war, or violent revolution.

Despite the challenges it faces, Pakistan can hardly be written off as a failing state. With the world’s largest contiguous irrigation system, a cultivated area in excess of 20 million hectares, a livestock herd equivalent in numbers to that of the EU and USA, and an extensive arable crop mix, the country has huge potential for food and textile production. In most economic and social indicators — including telecommunications densities, per capita exports, and energy consumption — Pakistan remains ahead of India. With improvements in the existing low level of regional economic integration, Pakistan can benefit from increased trade and investment flows within South Asia. High population growth levels can be an opportunity, but also pose risks for political stability. Unlike the global recessionary trends, demand levels remain high in Pakistan, straining supply systems and creating inflationary spirals. While intensely involved in the geo-strategic elements of globalization, Pakistan has been a neglected area for international investment. Therefore, it is imperative that regional peace be secured, otherwise the welfare of 180 million people will be further threatened.

Upheaval in West and South Asia: Public Opinion in Pakistan

Ijaz Shafi Gilani

The year 1979 was a time of great upheaval throughout Asia. Given the importance of the critical events of that year to Pakistan and the wider region, it is interesting to examine in retrospect how the Pakistani public at the time perceived them. This essay first sets the context for exploring these public attitudes. It then summarizes Pakistani opinion on major foreign policy and domestic issues, drawing upon the surveys carried out by the author under the auspices of the Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion, the Pakistani affiliate of the Gallup International Association during the year 1979.¹



Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani holds a doctorate in Political Science from MIT and is a specialist in public opinion research. He pioneered the field of opinion polling in Pakistan and established the Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion, the Pakistani affiliate of the Gallup International Association in 1980. He is currently the Chairman of PIPO.

SETTING THE CONTEXT

Situated between West Asia and South Asia, Pakistan has become an active theater of conflict and convulsion. In hindsight, one could say that 1979 was the year when the seeds were sown for a globally active Islamist Pakistan. The new “Globalized Pakistan” positioned its foreign policy as staunchly anti-Soviet and its domestic policy as passionately Islamist.

The year 1979 was United States President Jimmy Carter’s last year in office. The Carter Administration was suspicious of the new, undemocratic military regime in Pakistan, which introduced a set of punishments (mostly against political activities) that blended British colonial penal practices with Islamic criminal law and accelerated Pakistan’s nuclear program.

Initially, the Pakistani military regime had to expend much effort to sell the Americans on its ability to become a “frontline” state against Soviet aggression. The American government appeared divided on whether to treat the expulsion of the last of the royal family in Afghanistan by a civilian Marxist leadership as a positive or a negative step, particularly when it had enjoyed close working relationship with at least some of the Afghan Marxists.

On the Pakistani domestic scene, the situation in 1979 was best captured by the April 5 hanging of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

1. All surveys were nationwide, conducted in both rural and urban areas of all four provinces of the country. The sample comprised nearly 1,700 adults from a cross-section of various age, income, education, and language backgrounds. At the end of the essay, the findings are presented in tabular form.

Views on the Iranian Revolution

In April 1979, Pakistani views on the Iranian Revolution were divided. The first and largest group (35%) of respondents believed that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was better than his predecessor, Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi; a second group (25%) thought the Shah was better. The third group (30%) was still undecided (See Table 1.1). In later years, as the revolution consolidated, a larger majority tended to favor the revolution.

Among detractors of the revolution, there was considerable concern about the imposition of death penalties. When asked in a national poll, 40% opposed such punishment, 28% favored it, and 32% said they did not know (See Table 1.2).

Views on Afghanistan

This was the year when the avowedly Socialist/Marxist regime of Nur Muhammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin ruled Afghanistan. They had overthrown the government of President Muhammad Daud Khan. Daud, Crown Prince and cousin of King Zahir Shah, had ruled Afghanistan since 1973 when he overthrew the king and abrogated monarchy. But the regime had remained largely intact.

Public opinion in Pakistan was opposed to the Tarakai-Amin government. When asked whether this government would last or collapse, 48% of a national sample in Pakistan believed it would quickly collapse. Only 8% thought it would last. Forty-four percent said they did not know (See Table 2.1). As for the Afghan refugees who had started to arrive in Pakistan in large numbers, 81% of the respondents believed they should be welcomed and helped, 10% opposed such an effort, and 9% did not give a view (See Table 2.2).

80% of Pakistanis named Saudi Arabia in an open-ended question which asked: “Which Muslim majority country (other than Pakistan itself) did they like the most.”

Views on Saudi Arabia and Muslim World Issues

Notwithstanding the political turmoil caused by the violent takeover of the Holy Mosque in Mecca in November 1979, 80% of Pakistanis named Saudi Arabia in an open-ended question which asked: “Which Muslim majority country (other than Pakistan itself) did they like the most.” The only other country that made the list was Libya at 3% (See Table 4.1).

This same year Egyptian President Anwar Sadat travelled to Jerusalem, breaking the boycott of relations with Israel. The

Gilani...

Pakistanis surveyed largely opposed Sadat's move. When asked whether Sadat's initiative was in or against the interest of Muslims, only 11% supported the move, 44% opposed it, and 45% did not know (See Table 4.2).

Although the Saudi leadership was viewed with great respect in Pakistan, interestingly, in 1979, Colonel Mu'ammad Qadhafi was a close runner-up as most popular Muslim leader. He was seen as an outspoken leader who supported

[W]hen asked their views on whether Pakistan should proceed to acquire nuclear weapons, 90% of the respondents favored doing so, 6% opposed, and 4% said they did not know.

Pakistan's nuclear program and also as someone who had stood by the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his last difficult days. In response to the question of who, among Muslim world leaders, did they most like, 55% of those surveyed identified the Saudi king (44% mentioned King Fahd, 10% mentioned the late King Faysal). Colonel Qadhafi was next at 34%. Yasir 'Arafat was third at 12%. A number of other leaders were mentioned at much lower levels of approval, such as King Husayn of Jordan (5%), Anwar Sadat of Egypt (4%), Hafiz al-Asad of Syria (4%), and Sultan Nahyan of the UAE (3%) (See Table 4.3).

Views on the United States

In the aftermath of General Zia ul-Haq's establishment of martial law and continued insistence on pursuing the nuclear program, the Carter Administration had terminated Pakistan's economic aid program and imposed a variety of sanctions on the country. Opinion was sought to gauge the level of resentment on this issue. Apparently, the views among the Pakistani public at the time were mixed. The respondents were asked: "Should the United States offer to resume its economic aid operations in Pakistan, should it [Pakistan] accept or reject such offer?" Fourth-six percent (46%) counselled acceptance, while 43% favored rejecting such as offer. The remaining 11% did not know (See Table 3.1).

However, a very large majority of those polled favored continuing the nuclear program, which was an important bone of contention between the US and Pakistan. Thus, when asked their views on whether Pakistan should proceed to acquire nuclear weapons, 90% of the respondents favored doing so, 6% opposed, and 4% said they did not know (See Table 3.2).

On the whole, Pakistanis appeared in 1979 to be latecomer adherents to the idea of non-alignment. In response to a polling question on this subject, 58% favored non-alignment in world politics, 22% favored choosing sides in the Cold War, and 20% said they did not know (See Table 3.3).

China was the nation most trusted or liked by those surveyed. Choosing among the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and China, 34% mentioned China as the country they regarded most favorably, as opposed to a mere 7% for the United States, 6% for France, and 2% for the Soviet Union. A large proportion of the sample, 47%, did not answer (See Table 3.4).

The Soviet Union at the time was seen as a close second to the United States as a global power. When asked about which of the two countries they considered more powerful, 33% ranked the United States on top, 22% placed the Soviet Union on top, and 16% believed they were an equal match. The remaining 29% did not answer (See Table 3.5).

PAKISTANI POPULAR OPINION — THE DOMESTIC SCENE

A new alignment of views whereby the Pakistani population was split between pro-Bhutto and anti-Bhutto opinions was forged in the years 1977-79. This alignment would come to dominate national politics in Pakistan for the next quarter of a century. It should therefore be of interest to read some facets of that opinion in 1979.

The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), whose head, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, had been hung earlier in the year, was perceived by most Pakistanis as the likely winner if elections were held that year: 29% held that view, while just 16% viewed the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) as the likely winner (See Table 5.1). The PNA had emerged as an alliance of anti-Bhutto political parties during the 1977 elections and a popular movement to remove Bhutto after the elections, which were seen as flawed by the opposition. However, many mentioned the PNA's component parties as the likely winners. None, though, exceeded 4%. In fact, by this time, the PNA had started to split apart; the answer to this question was a good indication of that split. The PNA constituted a mix of religious parties, Jamaat-e Islami, Jamaat-e Ulema-e Pakistan, and Jamaat ul-Ulema-e Islam, as well as the conservative Muslim League and small parties, the profile of whose voters and organizational structures was fairly similar to the Muslim League. Together this group had scored more votes than the Peoples Party in the 1970 Elections (PPP: 39%; three religious parties: 21%; Muslim League: 23%). In the 1977 elections and post-election protest movement, the PPP had been defeated due to its total isolation from the Islamists, traditionalists, and even the secular nationalist parties of the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan.

34% mentioned China as the country they regarded most favorably, as opposed to a mere 7% for the United States, 6% for France, and 2% for the Soviet Union.

In 1979, while the PPP constituency was able to withstand pressure from the military and retain its voter base, the PNA began to break up. While the religious parties still held their voters through party discipline, the Muslim League became an empty shell, whose followers were either attracted to the PNA or became inactive. This decline of the Muslim League and rise of the religious parties in the anti-Bhutto constituency continued until about 1985. But 1979 can be seen as the year in which the Pakistan National Alliance disintegrated.

However, while the PNA disintegrated, the anti-Bhutto constituency did not. In fact, it was further consolidated. The divisive events of 1979, notably the execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the suppression of PPP activists by the military government, deepened the cleavages between the two political tendencies of Pakistani politics. Bhuttoism never became

Gilani...

an ideology, but it did turn into a political platform. It attracted a significant share of the Pakistani electorate — those who loved Bhutto and his legacy. But possibly a larger number aligned themselves in direct opposition to Bhuttoism. For the next ten years, until his death in a plane crash. General Zia ul-Haq rode the crest of the anti-Bhutto constituency.

CONCLUSION

The 1979 survey data help to capture the popular mood and attitudes of a period of great upheaval throughout West and South Asia and in Pakistan itself. The data not only record the public's views of critically important events occurring outside the country but also reveal 1979 as an important landmark in aligning Pakistani politics away from traditional cleavages to Bhuttoism as the defining political battle for years to come.

ON THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Table 1.1

Question: Is the new Government of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran superior to the Shah's regime?

	Percent of Respondents
Superior	35%
Inferior	25%
Nothing can be said as yet	30%

Table 1.2

Question: Are the death penalties in Iran appropriate?

	Percent of Respondents
Yes	28%
No	40%
No Opinion	32%

ON AFGHANISTAN

Table 2.1

Question: In your view, will the present Afghan government continue or soon dissolve?

	Percent of Respondents
Continue	8%
Dissolve soon	48%
No opinion	44%

Table 2.2

Question: Should the Pakistani government assist the Afghan *Mujahidin*?

	Percent of Respondents
Should assist	81%
Should not assist	10%
No Opinion	9%

ON THE UNITED STATES

Table 3.1

Question: The US has stopped aid to Pakistan. If the US now desired to assist Pakistan again, should the latter accept this offer?

	Percent of Respondents
Accept	46%
Should not accept	43%
No Opinion	11%

Table 3.2

Question: Should Pakistan build an atom bomb?

	Percent of Respondents
Yes	90%
No	6%
No Opinion	4%

Table 3.3

Question: Should Pakistan remain non-aligned or associate with a superpower?

	Percent of Respondents
Should remain non-aligned	58%
Should remain associated with some superpower	22%
No Opinion	20%

Table 3.4

Question: Which country is most liked by you among the US, UK, USSR, China, and France?

	Percent of Respondents
China	34%
US	7%
UK	6%
USSR	2%
France	2%
No Opinion	47%

Table 3.5

Question: Which country is more powerful in your view: the USA or the USSR?

	Percent of Respondents
US	33%
USSR	22%
Equally strong	16%
No Opinion	29%

ON SAUDI ARABIA AND THE MUSLIM WORLD

Table 4.1

Question: Which country is most liked by you among the Muslim countries, in addition to Pakistan?

	Percent of Respondents
Saudi Arabia	80%
Libya	3%
Others	4%
UAE	1%
No Opinion	2%

Table 4.2

Question: In your view, is the accord arrived at between Egypt and Israel beneficial to Muslims or not?

	Percent of Respondents
Beneficial	11%
Not beneficial	44%
No Opinion	45%

Table 4.3

Question: Who are your most liked leaders among leaders of the Muslim countries?

	Percent of Respondents
Shah Fahd	44%
Shah Faysal	10%
Qadhafi	34%
Yasir 'Arafat	12%
King Husayn of Jordan	5%
Zia ul Haq	6%
Anwar Sadat	4%
Hafiz al-Asad	4%
Sultan Nayhan	3%

DOMESTIC SCENE

Table 5.1

Question: In your view, which party will succeed in national polls?

	Percent of Respondents
PPP	29%
PNA	16%
JUP	4%
JI	1%
ML	1%
IP	2%
None	10%
Different parties in different provinces	4%
Polls will not be held	3%
No Opinion	30%

Source: Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion (the Pakistani affiliate of the Gallup International Association), National Opinion Poll, 1979.

Pakistan's Non-Proliferation Policy

Zulfqar Khan

Since 1979, Pakistan has emerged as a nuclear weapons state. A great deal of attention has focused recently on just three aspects of Pakistan's nuclear program: the 1998 nuclear tests, the revelations surrounding the activities of A.Q. Khan, and the issue of the security of nuclear materials and facilities in the face of the country's battle against extremists. As a result, the longevity and extensiveness not only of the nuclear program, but also of Pakistan's non-proliferation efforts have been obscured.



Dr. Zulfqar Khan, Senior Analyst, Pakistan Ministry of Defence and Visiting Fellow, Islamabad Policy Research Institute

In fact, Pakistan's non-proliferation policy dates from the 1950s. Beginning in the 1950s, Pakistan has established a number of institutions and mechanisms to oversee nuclear power generation and to manage safety and security issues in accordance with the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) The Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and Nuclear Facilities document, which was used as the model for inspection and enforcement objectives.¹ (See Table 1)

The principles of Pakistan's nuclear non-proliferation policy were premised on adherence to the ideals and norms of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) of 1968, despite Pakistan's non-acceptance of the Treaty. The Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) was established on January 22, 2001 under the obligation of International Nuclear Safety Convention Article 8(2) to ensure effective separation between the functions of the regulatory body (PNRA) and those of any other body or organization concerned with the promotion or utilization of nuclear energy.

Since the nuclear explosions of May 1998, Pakistan has extensively reorganized the different departments dealing with nuclear facilities (See Table 2) in an effort to augment their security, acting as a responsible nuclear weapon state. Pakistan consistently has striven to fulfil its obligations under the diverse elements of the international nuclear non-proliferation regime, including specifically with respect to United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR Res) 1540, issued on April 28, 2004. Consonant with UNSCR Res 1540, Pakistan instituted a host of non-proliferation legislation/measures. In fact, even earlier (i.e., after the 1998 nuclear tests), Pakistan had strengthened export control mechanisms in order to prevent the illicit proliferation of weapons of mass destruction-related (WMD) technologies and their means of delivery to any entity, including to non-state actors.

1. This document ((INFCIRC/225) continues to serve as the basis for the IAEA Code of Conduct on Safety and Security of Radioactive Sources and the Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials (CPPNM).

Table 1: History of Nuclear Safety in Pakistan

Organization	Objectives	Year
A twelve-member Atomic Energy Committee was set-up	Explore scientific and industrial applications for nuclear energy	1954
Pakistan Atomic Energy Research Council (PAERC)	Promote nuclear technology	1956
Pakistan Nuclear Safety Committee	Ensure nuclear safety	1964
Pakistan Institute of Science and Technology (PINSTECH)	Conduct research and development for peaceful uses of atomic energy	1965
Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC)	Develop nuclear power and fuel-cycle facilities; promote research on peaceful uses of atomic energy	1965
Centre of Nuclear Studies (CNS)	Train Pakistani scientists/engineers	1969
Nuclear Safety & Licensing Division	Ensure nuclear safety	1970
Directorate of Nuclear Safety & Radiation Protection	Ensure nuclear safety and radiation protection	1984
Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Board (PNRB)	Regulate nuclear safety	1994
Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA)	Responsibility for formulation of regulations and their implementation	2001
Directorate of Safety (DOS)	Created to cater to the safety needs of PAEC	2002

Table 2: Pakistan's Export Control/Execution Architecture

Institution/Regime	Subsidiary Institutions/Bodies/Basic Principles
National Command Authority – NCA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Strategic Plans Division – SPD ➤ Strategic Commands & Security Division ➤ Employment Control Committee ➤ Development Control Committee ➤ Arms Control & Disarmament Agency
Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority – PNRA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Licensing of all the nuclear/radiological facilities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Safety and security of facilities ➤ Functions under the President/PM Offices ➤ Augments Nuclear Safety Convention ➤ Signed Illicit Trafficking Data Base-IAEA to share data on seizures
Container Security Initiative – CSI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakistan has signed a MoU with the US, and it was designated the Model State for the Pilot Programme of the CSI <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Pakistan-US Customs ➤ Declaration of Principles of the CSI ➤ Manning of scanners at entry/exit points ➤ Pakistan-US Customs direct network links ➤ Intelligence Agencies ➤ Border/coast guards/maritime agencies
Mega Port Initiative-MPI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultations in progress
Export Control Act 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mechanism to criminalize/prosecute offenders <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Imprisonment up to 14 years ➤ Fine of up to Rs. 5 million ➤ Confiscation of property/assets
Statutory Regulatory Orders – SROs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In vogue since the early 1950s <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Relevant Customs acts
National Control List – NCL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on the EU/NSG/Australia Group/MTCR Models <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Listing of NBC-related technologies/materials ➤ Periodical reviewing/updating
Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Ordinance – 2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakistan is party to the CWC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Strengthens export/re-export/trans-shipment of goods ➤ Jurisdiction over overseas Pakistanis as well ➤ Regulates technologies/materials/equipments ➤ Possesses National Authority on CWC in Foreign Office
BWC – signed in 1974	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakistan is party to the BWC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Meets all the existing obligations ➤ However, no mechanism is embedded in the BWC to verify compliance by the state parties ➤ Biological/delivery aspects covered by the Export Control Act 2004
Strategic Export Control Division (SEC DIV) – Approved by the Government of Pakistan in 2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To ensure the overall implementation of the Export Control Act 2004 & the Export Policy Procedure Order 2006 • It would also have an independent Oversight Board to supervise the implementation of Export Control Act 2004 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Initially function under the Foreign Office ➤ Subsequently, to take a shape of an independent division ➤ To control the export of nuclear, missile technology, biological agents, and toxins-related items

In addition to the safety and security measures/architecture for Pakistan's nuclear assets and facilities previously mentioned, the following non-proliferation laws are now in force:

- December 22, 1998: The PAEC Directorate of the Pakistan Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection (PNSRP) promulgated new regulations concerning the physical protection of nuclear materials/facilities in the PNSRP Regulations 1990.
- July 1998, February 1999, and August 1999: Pakistan enacted three statutory regulatory orders to prevent the export of fissionable material; and to make mandatory “no objection certificates” for the export of nuclear substances, radioactive materials, and nuclear energy-related equipment.
- February 17, 2004: The Ministry of Commerce published amendments to the Imports and Exports (Control) Act of 1950 and to the Export Policy and Procedures Order of 2000, thereby reconciling these pieces of legislation in conformity with the new requirements.
- September 14, 2004: The National Assembly adopted the Nuclear Export Control Bill aimed at preventing the proliferation of sensitive technologies in accordance with UNSCR Res 1540. (On October 5, 2004, PNRA also published a new Regulation in this regard.)
- 2005: In accordance with the Nuclear Security Action Plan (of the PNRA), Pakistan joined the IAEA's Illicit Trafficking Data Base (ITDB) information system, thereby agreeing to share data on seizures with the Agency.
- April 13, 2005: Pakistan endorsed the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism initiative in the UN General Assembly.
- October 2005: Pakistan issued fresh lists of technologies and materials related to the nuclear and biological weapons that will be subject to an intrusive export control system. Pakistan also issued a comprehensive National Control List (NCL) of various controlled items based on the European Union (EU) system of classification/model and the lists drawn up by the Australia Group, the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), and the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).
- September 2006: Pakistan supported the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and its Plan of Action in the General Assembly, which was supposed to advance 1540s' objectives. Pakistan established a Strategic Export Control Division in 2007 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which also has an Oversight Board that would independently supervise the implementation of the Export Control Act 2004 and the other laws relating to the illicit trafficking and export control mechanisms.
- June 2007: Pakistan joined the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, which demonstrates its determination to effectively uproot the menace of nuclear proliferation.
- August 2008: During the Inter-Sessional Process Meeting of Experts to the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, Pakistan endorsed the basic objectives of the Convention regime.

In addition, as reflected in Tables 3-5, Pakistan is a signatory to a host of international conventions; most of its nuclear facilities are under IAEA safeguards; and the PNRA is vigilantly enforcing stringent safety and security measures.²

Table 3: Pakistan’s Safeguarded Nuclear Facilities

Facilities	IAEA Safeguards
Pakistan Research Reactor-1-2	Yes
Karachi Nuclear Power Plant	Yes
Chashma Nuclear Power Plant-1	Yes
Chashma Nuclear Power Plant (CHASNUPP-1) and CHASNUPP -2 (in advanced stages of construction)	Yes
PINSTECH	Yes

Table 4: Pakistan’s Ratification of Different Conventions

Conventions
Convention on Nuclear Safety
Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident
Convention on Assistance in Case of a Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency
Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material
Biological Weapons Convention
Chemical Weapons Convention

Table 5: PNRA’s Regulations

Regulation on the Licensing of NPPs (Nuclear Power Plants) - (PAK/909)
Regulation on the Safety in NPP Design (PAK/911)
Regulation on the Safety in NPP Quality Assurance (PAK/912)
Regulation on Radiation Protection (PAK/904)
Regulation on the Licensing of Facilities other than NPPs (PAK/908)
Regulation on the Safety in NPP Operations (PAK/913)
Regulation for Radioactive Waste Management in Pakistan (PAK/915)
Regulation on the Safety in NPP Sites (PAK/910)
Regulation for Transportation of Radioactive Waste in Pakistan (PAK/916)
Regulation on Management of a Nuclear or Radiological Emergency (PAK/914)
Regulation for Licensing of safety class equipment and component manufacture (PAK/907)

2. For the command and control structure of Pakistan’s National Command Authority (NCA), see, “Nuclear Weapons R&D Organizations in Nine Nations,” *Congressional Research Service* (March 16, 2009) available at www.crs.gov

SUPPORTING PAKISTAN'S NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS

According to Ken Berry of the East-West Institute, regardless of the A. Q. Khan nuclear network's activities, the latest crises caused by the Taliban/terrorists in the tribal areas, and the over-stretching of Pakistan's armed forces, "Pakistan's nuclear assets apparently remained under the firm control of not only the military, but also the large, specially trained security force created precisely to protect those assets."³ Nevertheless, in a globalized world, where non-state actors can move freely from country-to-country, the proliferation risks are real — as Pakistani officials readily acknowledge and have taken numerous steps to reduce.

The international community's assistance to Pakistan in bolstering security around its nuclear facilities would go a long way towards strengthening its safety and security apparatus and non-proliferation mechanisms. Since 2001, the United States and Pakistan reportedly have been cooperating with each other on nuclear (and biological) safety and security, including the provision of US support in the form of equipment and training.⁴ This and other similar collaboration should be sustained and further elaborated in order to bolster Pakistan's increasingly extensive non-proliferation efforts and thus strengthen the international nuclear non-proliferation regime — in spite of its discriminatory aspects.

3. Ken Berry, "How Safe Are Pakistan's Nuclear Facilities?" *EastWest Institute Policy Paper 2/2008* (February 2008), <http://www.ewi.info/pdf/SecurityPakistan.pdf>

4. In this context, the US Central Command urged its allies "to provide technical advice and assistance in strengthening government capacity, such as improving Pakistani institutions ... In 2009-2010 the Taliban's momentum must be reversed ... and the international community must work with Pakistan to disrupt the threats to security along Pakistan's western border;" *United States Central Command - White Paper of the Interagency Policy Group's Report on US Policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan*, Department of Defense (March 2009), http://www.centcom.mil/index2.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1424&pop See also remarks by nuclear expert Leonard Spector, who stated that, "the United States has been working with Pakistan pretty actively for the last decade to try to enhance security and to share kind of best practices that we have. So I think in that sense, there really probably has been substantial improvement." Remarks delivered at the conference on "Nuclear Crisis Points: Iran, North Korea, Syria and Pakistan," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, April 6, 2009.

Thirty Years after 1979: Is Pakistan Changing Its Strategic Paradigm?

Jean-Luc Racine

While the partition of the British Raj was supposed to offer the Muslims of India, along with a new country, the solution to their problems, the first war between India and Pakistan started as early as 1947, under the guise of what later became one of the classic modes of operation of the State of Pakistan: “free” militias supposed to fight on their own to liberate Kashmir. After two more wars (in 1965 and 1971), Kashmir constantly was defined as “the core issue” to be resolved before the relationship between India and Pakistan could be normalized. Beyond Kashmir, the trust deficit between the two countries is fed by the ideological legacy of the “two nations theory,” which provided the rationale for a separate Muslim homeland free from Hindu supremacy and by the controversies about common goods, particularly the Indus waters. The mistrust was deliberately entertained in textbooks, and it increased when Indian support of Bengali insurgents compelled Pakistani troops to surrender in Dhaka, before East Pakistan seceded in 1971, becoming Bangladesh. The loss of its Eastern province brought more coherence to a now-diminished Pakistan centered on the Indus valley, but increased a lasting sense of vulnerability. On both fronts, in fact, Pakistan had uneasy neighbors, for Afghanistan has never formally recognized as an official border the Durand Line, which was inherited from the British and cuts across Pashtun territory. The first Indian nuclear test conducted in 1974 increased this sense of fragility, and pushed the Pakistani Army to redefine its strategic paradigm: in order to counter India’s superior conventional forces, Pakistan had to search for “strategic depth” and henceforth increase its influence in Afghanistan, in order to reduce the risk of being squeezed between India and an eventually pro-India regime in Kabul.



Jean-Luc Racine is Senior CNRS Fellow at the Centre for South Asian Studies, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris

In this context, the entry of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan in late 1979 offered General Zia ul-Haq a wonderful opportunity to gain — in the short run — on all fronts. Turning Pakistan into a frontline state against the Soviets, Zia gained the active support of the United States to help the Afghan *mujahidin* fight the Red Army in what was to become the last major Cold War theater before the collapse of the USSR. The execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was forgotten. Provisionally forgotten as well was the clandestine Pakistani nuclear program. When Soviet troops left Afghanistan ten years later, Zia had died in a suspect plane crash, but his policy endured. The Inter Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI) was now the most powerful tool in the hands of the army for deploying a strategy of extending Pakistan’s influence across borders. When a genuine local insurgency emerged in 1989 against Indian rule in Kashmir, Pakistan helped the Kashmiri insurgents fight Indian forces. Success was uncertain, and Islamabad decided

in 1993 to inject irregulars who had been recruited by Islamist militias protected by the ISI, such as the Laskhar-e Taiba, in India-governed Kashmir. On the West, when the Islamabad-supported *mujahidin* (particularly the Hezb-e Islami of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar) failed to control Kabul for good, Islamabad launched a new militia, the Taliban, recruited from the *madrasas* of Afghan refugees that had been established in Pakistan. They took over Kabul in 1996, and welcomed to their emirate a veteran of the anti-Soviet war, Usama bin Ladin.

September 11 changed the rules of the game, although not completely. The new strongman of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, made Pakistan a pro-US frontline state again — this time against the Taliban. While Musharraf arrested a number of top al-Qa'ida leaders, he allowed the Taliban to establish sanctuaries inside the Federally Administered Tribal

The delay with which Musharraf reacted during the siege of the radical Red Mosque in Islamabad in 2007 was matched by the delay with which Kayani ... reacted to the challenges raised by the Pakistani Taliban ...

Areas (FATA) after the fall of their regime in Afghanistan. He did condemn the terrorist attacks against the Indian Parliament in December 2001, and even declared in January 2002 that Pakistan did not support the concept of jihad across borders. If he restrained the jihadists operating in Kashmir, he did not dismantle their camps or their organizations. This policy of ambiguity attempted to preserve the established strategic paradigm under the constraints of the new international context. Musharraf moved on Kashmir, “pushing aside” the old UN resolutions calling for an improbable referendum, and opening a “composite dialogue” with India. However, he did not accept the Line of Control (LOC) as a possible border. On his western flank, Musharraf sent the Army into the FATA for the first time. He tried to strike

deals with local chieftains against the foreign allies of the Taliban, but not against the Taliban themselves. These half-baked measures were too much for Islamist radicals, who tried to kill Musharraf twice in 2003, but too little for India and for the Bush Administration, who were concerned about the Taliban revival in Afghanistan in 2005-2006.

The new civilian government elected in early 2008 and the new Army chief selected by Musharraf in 2007, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, face the same dilemma as their predecessors, but in a much degraded context. A new force has emerged on the front of radical Islam: the Pakistani Taliban, strongly established in the FATA with Beitullah Mehsud's militia in South Waziristan, and in the Swat valley under the leadership of Fazlullah. The delay with which Musharraf reacted during the siege of the radical Red Mosque in Islamabad in 2007 was matched by the delay with which Kayani (and new President Asif Ali Zardari) reacted to the challenges raised by the Pakistani Taliban and by the terrorist networks striking across Pakistan. When the odd agreement struck in February 2009 with Sufi Mohammad, a relative of Fazlullah, collapsed in May, the Army finally decided to act in Swat, under strong pressure from Washington, and at the cost of a million refugees.

For more than six decades, Pakistan has defined India as a structural threat. For three decades, Islamabad has used Islamist fighters as instruments for the sake of its strategic paradigm: the Afghan *mujahidin* in the 1980s, then the Pakistani jihadists in Kashmir and the Afghan Taliban in the 1990s. Today, this policy is unsustainable for three reasons. First, a

segment of the old jihadist networks has turned against the state and indulge in terrorist attacks targeting the country's civilians and security forces. Second, the new Pakistani Taliban have built up strongholds they are trying to expand in territories where the primacy of the state is negated. Third, Washington has become impatient with Pakistan's weak (or inefficient) resolve to fight the extremists, particularly since the Obama Administration defined the new "AfPak" concept.

A few years ago, General Musharraf was the first military chief to concede that the major threat to Pakistan was now "internal." It remains to be seen if the Army has fully accepted this judgment, and has drawn from it the right conclusions. As long as the answer to this question is not clear, India will not redefine with full confidence its relationship with Pakistan, particularly after the terrorist attacks launched in Mumbai in November 2008. The US administration alone will not be able to break the deadlock. The 60-year-old partition syndrome might weaken. Many Pakistanis would accept better relations with India. But turning the page opened by Zia ul-Haq 30 years ago is another challenge, whose key is still in the hands of the military.

IV. Women and Minorities

The Pakistani Shi'a

Hassan Abbas

The Shi'a Muslims of Pakistan, constituting roughly 18-20% of the country's 170 million inhabitants, are a vibrant and energetic minority. Shi'a financial and political leaders, including Pakistan's founding father Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, played important roles in the Pakistan movement of the 1940s. Since then, they largely have remained part of the political mainstream. Traditionally, they have been well represented in the country's civilian and military power structures, and in the media.

The marginalization and, in some cases, the victimization of the Shi'a minority is a recent phenomenon rooted in three critically important events of the late 1970s: the redefinition of Pakistan by the military dictator, General Muhammad Zia ul-Haq; the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the consequent Afghan "jihad" sponsored by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the West; and the Islamic Revolution in Iran. These developments changed the status of Pakistani Shi'ites in dramatic ways.

THE REDEFINITION OF PAKISTAN UNDER GENERAL ZIA

By and large, Pakistani Shi'ites always had aligned themselves with liberal and progressive political parties. Being a minority, it suited them to remain close to comparatively secular and non-religious political forces. Their en-bloc support for the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto-led Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s substantiates this. Before the rise of General Zia, who was a conservative Sunni with Deobandi inclinations, Shi'a-Sunni relations in the country largely had been peaceful and cordial (though some sectarian conflict did occur in 1960s in a limited area in Sindh province). Zia's "Islamization" policies, which were meant to introduce Sunni Hanafi law in the country, changed this. Zia used religion to legitimize unconstitutional acts. In the name of "Islamic reforms," he severely damaged the sectarian harmony in the country. Sunni and Ahl-e Hadith (Wahhabi-influenced) political parties largely supported these efforts. However, Shi'ites rose in protest under Mufti Jafar Hussein, a leading Shi'a cleric, who resigned in protest from the official Council of Islamic Ideology.

THE IMPACT OF IRANIAN DEVELOPMENTS ON PAKISTAN

Parallel to the religious transformation imposed on Pakistan by Zia, the rise of Shi'ism as a popular religious symbol in Iran under the inspirational leadership of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini significantly influenced Pakistani Shi'ites. Even some Sunni politi-



Dr. Hassan Abbas is a Research Fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Centre for Science and International Affairs and is the author of Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army and America's War on Terror.

cal forces, such as Jamaat-e Islami initially supported the revolution in Iran, seeing in it a model for Pakistan and a role for themselves. In contrast, Pakistani Shi'a initially were reluctant to take a clear position, because historically they had been supportive of the Shah of Iran and were more connected with the Iraqi Shi'a clerical establishment, who believed in remaining aloof from the political arena. This began to change as the younger Shi'a generation in Pakistan was galvanized. Young Pakistani Shi'ites felt empowered by the rise of "Shi'a" Iran and attracted to the anti-imperialist and revolutionary tone of the movement in Iran.

Young Pakistani Shi'ites felt empowered by the rise of "Shi'a" Iran and attracted to the anti-imperialist and revolutionary tone of the movement in Iran.

The year 1979 also marks the emergence of the Tehrik-e Nifaz-e fiqh-e Jafria (the Movement for the Implementation of Jafaria Law, or TNFJ). Through the TNFJ, Pakistani Shi'ites started demanding from the Zia government a) the recognition of Shi'a law by the courts and the appointment of Shi'a 'ulama' to judicial positions, b) the formation of a Shi'a *Waqf* (endowment) Board, and c) Shi'a representation in educational committees tasked with crafting the country's educational policies. The Shi'a minority threatened

Zia with agitation unless their demands were met. Though initially Zia was unmoved, a three-day siege of the Federal Secretariat in Islamabad in July 1980 by approximately 100,000 Shi'a forced him to listen to these demands more attentively, at the very least. The expanding Iranian religious fervor was palpable.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AFGHAN JIHAD

Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan started supporting the Afghan resistance. Within a short time, the "freedom struggle" of Afghans was converted to a "jihad project" in order to add religious zeal to the effort and attract fighters from Muslim countries. Western support (especially from the United States and Britain) helped Pakistan in this endeavor. Saudi Arabia, disturbed by the "Shi'a revolution" in Iran, helped to finance the anti-Soviet effort. As a result, the Afghan *mujahidin* received ample funds to wage their ultimately successful guerrilla war against Soviet forces. However, few realized at the time that these religious warriors launched from Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) were staunchly anti-Shi'a. The Saudi-sponsored *madrasa* network played its role in this scenario. For the new religious warriors produced by this network, Shi'a assertiveness was deemed very threatening. Meanwhile, the new clerical regime of Iran, which was indeed interested in expanding their influence in the region, provided financial aid to various Pakistani Shi'a organizations. Hundreds of Pakistani Shi'a traveled to Iran and, benefiting from Iranian scholarships, studied in the theological centers of Qom. These opportunities reinvigorated the self-assertion of Pakistani Shi'a identity.

With the outbreak of a Saudi-Iran proxy war in Pakistan, sectarian conflict intensified. Shi'a leaders and activists increasingly became victims of targeted killings, and in a few cases, Pakistani Shi'a responded in kind. Iranian diplomats in Pakistan also came under attack. The rise in 1985 of Sipah-e Sahaba Pakistan (the army of the companions of the Prophet, or SSP), a rabidly anti-Shi'a militant group added fuel to the fire. In a tit-for-tat response, Sipah-e Mohammad (the

Abbas...

army of Muhammad), a Shi'a militant group, emerged in the early 1990s. The ascendancy of the Taliban in Afghanistan after 1994 provided a safe heaven to anti-Shi'a militants while Islamabad stood idle as the country became engulfed by sectarianism. These groups were finally banned by General Pervez Musharraf in 2001. Experts believe that although Iranian funding for the Shi'a militant group in Pakistan subsided in the late 1990s, Saudi influence in the country through the Wahhabi *madrassa* network is still largely intact. Of late, the Saudi-Iran rivalry in Pakistan is diminishing, but the sectarian confrontation that it generated has become deeply rooted in the process. Being a minority, Pakistani Shi'a remain the more affected group, as is evident from regular attacks (including suicide attacks) on Shi'a religious centers, most recently in Peshawar, Chakwal, Kohat, and FATA's Kurram agency.

CONCLUSION

The Talibanization of FATA and NWFP today is a product of Zia-era domestic and foreign policies and Pakistan's ill-advised and counterproductive support for the Taliban in the 1990s. Support of militant groups in Indian-controlled Kashmir in the 1990s was a natural corollary of the Afghan *jihad*, further complicating India-Pakistan relations. The Islamic Revolution in Iran was a separate development in this scenario, as different social, political, and economic factors were involved in its genesis. However, due to their geographic proximity to Pakistan, the turmoil in Afghanistan and the revolutionary transformation of Iran had a considerable, long-lasting, and largely problematic impact on the country's social, political, and religious dynamics.

Few realized at the time, however, that these religious warriors launched from Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) were staunchly anti-Shi'a.

Sindh's Ethnic Predicament and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

Moonis Ahmar

Sindh, the second most populous province after Punjab, is a complex ethnic mosaic. Inter-ethnic tensions in the province, and particularly in its capital city of Karachi, are rising, primarily due to the influx of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the conflict zones of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Malakand Division of Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) following the recent anti-terrorist military operation. The arrival of these IDPs in Sindh has triggered a widespread nationalist backlash, placing at risk the stability of the province and Pakistan itself.



Moonis Ahmar, Professor and Chairman, Department of International Relations, University of Karachi and Director, Program on Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution.

Sindh's ethnic predicament has deep and tangled historical roots. The year 1979 is an important landmark in the manner in which this predicament has unfolded. The December 1979 Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan resulted in a massive influx of refugees into Pakistan. Although the bulk of the estimated three million Afghan refugees took shelter in the NWFP and Baluchistan, thousands fled to Karachi. A segment of the refugee population subsequently became involved in drug trafficking, arms smuggling, and other illicit activities. Afghan drug dealers were involved in the Pashtun-Mohajir riots that erupted in the winter of 1987. Moreover, since the majority of Afghan refugees in Karachi were Pashto-speaking, their links to the local Pashtun community caused insecurity among the Urdu-speaking Mohajir and Sindhi communities. The military regime of General Zia ul-Haq promoted Afghan-Pashtun interests in Karachi and Sindh as a whole in order to neutralize the mainstream political parties, particularly in the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP).

The current manifestation of Sindh's ethnic predicament stems from the inflow of IDPs into the province, which has disturbed anew the fragile ethnic balance. Karachi, which has a population of around 15 million, is under serious threat of ethnic upheaval because of decades-old ethnic polarization among four important ethnic groups: Mohajirs (people who migrated from India at the time of partition and settled primarily in Sindh), native Sindhis, Pashtuns, and Punjabis. Pashtuns constitute the second largest ethnic group in Karachi after Mohajirs, followed by Punjabis and Sindhis. Ironically, the Sindhi-speaking population of the city is barely 5%; the rest are Mohajirs, Pashtuns, Punjabis, or Baluchs. There are also illegal migrants in Karachi from Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Afghanistan, and Iran. A sense of insecurity prevails among native Sindhis, many of whom believe that they will become a minority in their own province if the flow of IDPs into the province is not stanchied. The military operation in Malakand division and FATA led to the displacement of three million people. While the majority of

the IDPs are in camps in NWFP, some have crossed into Sindh.

Many of those who oppose the settlement of IDPs in Sindh also believe that, embedded in the midst of these newcomers will be all sorts of miscreants who will play havoc with the lives of innocent people. They argue that Karachi already faces a serious threat from terrorist groups, drug mafias, and other criminal organizations — a threat that will surely worsen in the event that the settlement of IDPs goes unchecked.

Ethnic tensions have boiled over in Sindh on previous occasions. In the early 1970s, riots erupted between Mohajirs and native Sindhis on the language issue, employment, and resources. In the 1980s, ethnic infighting took place, involving Mohajirs, Pashtuns, Mohajirs, and Punjabis.

Today, as in the past, Karachi is a magnet for migrants, refugees, and displaced persons. This is not surprising. After all, Karachi is the provincial capital, the country's largest city, the home to its only viable port, and an industrial and commercial hub that generates 60% of Pakistan's federal revenue. However, the city's transportation, housing, energy, and water infrastructure are severely underfunded. As a result, these services are straining to meet the needs of the population. These basic infrastructural challenges feed into the fragile ethnic mix.

A sense of insecurity prevails among native Sindhis, many of whom believe that they will become a minority in their own province if the flow of IDPs into the province is not stanchied.

Karachi's diversity is evident from the fact that there are more Pashtuns living in this city than in Peshawar, the capital of NWFP. In ethnic terms, Karachi is a microcosm of Pakistan. Despite their history of discord, the Mohajir and Sindhi communities are in agreement that the province cannot bear the burden of a further influx of people from other parts of Pakistan. For the past several years, the leading Mohajir political party, the Muttadha Quami Movement (United National Movement or MQM) has warned of the possible "Talibanization" of Karachi. MQM argues that the influx of IDPs from NWFP and FATA will intensify the threat of religious militancy and terrorism, particularly in the cosmopolitan city of Karachi.

Similarly, organizations representing the Sindhi community have voiced their apprehension about the influx of IDPs into the province, because they regard the province as already over-stretched. They suggest that the IDPs should be settled closer to their original homes. Organizations such as the Sindh Democratic Front, Women Action Forum, and the Sindhi Adabi Sangat have expressed concern that the flow of IDPs into the province is likely to change the demographic ratio and provide cover for terrorists and criminals to operate.

When the military operation was launched in the Malakand Division, particularly in the Swat district, widespread protests and demonstrations against the possible influx and settlement of IDPs occurred in Sindh. The MQM and the Sindhi nationalist forces demanded that either the IDPs should not be allowed to enter Sindh or they should be strictly

confined to camps outside cities. They also demanded the registration of IDPs so that criminal and terrorist elements would be prevented from destabilizing the province.

The Deputy Convener of the MQM Coordination Committee, Dr. Farooq Sattar, demanded that the government make compulsory the registration of all displaced families in Sindh, Baluchistan, and Punjab and restrict the movement of IDPs to their makeshift camps. According to him, “a number of Taliban are also coming to Karachi and other areas in the cover of this migration and they can at any time launch suicide attacks or other acts of terrorism.”

The issue of IDPs also has led to a serious law and order problem in Sindh. The Sindhi nationalist parties, with the support of MQM, called a strike on May 23 to protest against the influx of IDPs. Two people were killed and several injured during the strike.

Ethnicity is a “time tomb” in the ethnically diverse province of Sindh, particularly Karachi. In the battle to gain control of Karachi ... one can expect more violence and bloodshed.

In a show of unity, the Mohajir and Sindhi groups and parties demanded that the government rehabilitate IDPs somewhere near Swat in Mardan or Charsadda, arguing that there was no point in rehabilitating such people 1,000 miles away in Sindh. About 50,000 IDPs arrived in Sindh during the month of May and took shelter either in camps or with their relatives. The Pashtun-dominated Awami National Party (ANP) raised serious concerns over the manner in which the nationalist parties in Sindh were trying to

prevent the influx of IDPs. They accused MQM and Sindhi nationalist parties of not acknowledging the plight of IDPs and of pursuing a very parochial approach to an issue which is no less than a human catastrophe.

Ethnicity is a “time tomb” in the ethnically diverse province of Sindh, particularly Karachi. In the battle to gain control of the country’s financial and industrial hub, one can expect more violence and bloodshed. If the IDP issue is not resolved soon, it will exacerbate inter-ethnic tension. But even if it is, the presence of armed groups in Karachi and their nexus with the drug mafia and the underworld will remain a major destabilizing factor — threatening the peace in this large metropolis while jeopardizing Pakistan’s fragile stability.

Baluchistan: A Hotbed for Insurgency

Syed Farooq Hasnat

Any uneasiness, disturbance, or uprising in Pakistan's Baluchistan province is considered a national security concern with regional and international implications. This strategically important province borders Iran and Afghanistan and has a coastline of 750 kilometers, stretching from Hab (near Karachi) to the port of Gwadar (being built with Chinese assistance) along the Arabian Sea. The westernmost part of Baluchistan is not far from the Strait of Hormuz.¹ The province is rich in minerals; the country's largest natural gas reserve (in Sui) is located there. Baluchistan is also the homeland of the aggressive Bugti tribe.

Baluchistan fits awkwardly into the federation of Pakistan. Although the province constitutes 44% of the country's total land mass, its population of 10 million represents about 5% of country's residents, making the Baluch people the smallest ethnic minority in multiethnic Pakistan. The Baluch, together with their ethnic cousins, the Brahvis, comprise only 47% of the population of Baluchistan. The rest are Pashtuns (46%), Hazaras (Farsi speakers), Sindhis, and Punjabis. But Baluchi tribes stand out as vocal, aggressive, and at times defiant towards the central authority in Islamabad.

Over the years, Pakistan has faced insurgencies by Baluchi groups with secular and jihadist agendas, notably in 1948, 1958, and 1974. The current conflict, which started in 2004, primarily resulted from the highhanded policies of General Pervez Musharraf. This insurgency is secular in nature and bears no similarity to the Taliban insurgency in the country's north. The roots of these numerous revolts date from the period of British rule. The British authorities recognized and supported the institution of *Sardars* (heads of tribes) in an effort to extend their influence. Yet, the tribal revolts that have taken place since independence normally have focused on securing equal rights within the federation. At times, however, Baluch nationalists have sought complete independence from Pakistan — an agenda that has had negative regional repercussions, especially for Iran, where Tehran's relations with the Baluch minority is itself complicated.

Whereas Baluch nationalists have professed national "unity," they have pursued competing objectives and agendas. There is a long history of inter-tribal feuds leading to brutal murders, long-lasting vendettas, arson, and looting. The symbolic importance

1. The port of Gwadar changed hands in 1783 when it was gifted to Oman by the ruler of Kalat. In 1958, the Pakistani government ultimately purchased it back. As a result, Oman has a sizable Baluchi population working in different fields, including in the Omani armed forces and as palace guards.



Dr. Farooq Hasnat is an Adjunct Scholar at the Middle East Institute and Visiting Professor at Government College University, Lahore.

of the Baluch language to Baluch national identity and nationalist aspirations suffered a serious setback when the first provincial government adopted Urdu as a provincial language in 1974.²

Pakistan's weak political and federal structures made the Baluch susceptible to various anxieties: from deprivation-driven demand for legitimate constitutional rights to ideologically motivated groups emerging with a leftist ideology and leaning towards the Soviet Union. Lengthy periods of centralized dictatorial military rule kept the Baluch tribes from the decision-making process and hindered their political maturation. *Sardars* have led ordinary Baluchis, most of whom are illiterate and poor, to believe that the policies of the federal government and the province of Punjab are responsible for their misery. However, on the numerous occasions these tribal *Sardars* and *Nawabs* (a title conferred for services rendered to the British Raj) had the chance to govern, but produced little change.

Baluchistan had calmed in the immediate post-Musharraf democratic period, providing hope that its chronic sense of deprivation and frustration was near redress. But this has not been the case. The government has been too slow to act — busy consolidating its strength in all parts of Pakistan, even where it needed to pause and compromise. In recent months, much

It is also important to recognize who actually rules Baluchistan — neither the government nor bureaucrats imported from other provinces, but a team of Baluch tribal *Sardars* and representatives of the people.

has been said and written about the volatile situation in parts of Baluchistan, but the federal and provincial governments have taken few, if any, steps even to understand the real issues. The killings of three Baluch nationalist leaders in April 2009 added fuel to the fire, triggering protest marches and strikes in the far-flung areas of the province. Protest meetings in solidarity with the slain also were held in Lahore, Islamabad, and Karachi.

The highlight of the current situation was Interior Advisor Rehman Malik's April 23 explanations of the killings and other happenings in Baluchistan at a closed-door Senate session, which was rejected by Baluch Senators. Well known and respected Senator Hasil Bizenjo of the National Party remarked

after the session that the government had not addressed the real issues of Baluchistan and that Malik's allegation of foreign involvement required more evidence.

The troubles in Baluchistan are taking place at a time when Pakistan is threatened by further intrusion of the Taliban into the settled areas of the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). Against this background, attending to the problems in Baluchistan is urgently necessary. This requires, first of all, recognizing that a large segment of the Baluch population feels aggrieved, and that a common source of this frustration is the belief that the province receives little attention from the government and a smaller share of resources than are due. It is also important to recognize who actually rules Baluchistan — neither the government nor bureaucrats imported from other provinces, but a team of Baluch tribal *Sardars* and representatives of the people.

2. At that time, the Baluchi language did not have a script. In addition, there are various dialects among the Baluch tribes with Barahvi being a dialect of Dravidian origin. The Baluch population has greater illiteracy than the Baluchistani Pashtuns; therefore, the introduction of the Baluchi language, even if possible, cannot have any meaningful results. In any case, since the Baluch are a minority in the province, they would be unable to enforce their language on the majority.

In the past few months the Zardari government has made several half-hearted attempts to address the convulsions in Pakistan's largest and most strategic province. The government tried to repair the damage inflicted by its predecessor's murder of a Baluch tribal chief, Akbar Bugti, and other "anti-Baluch" policies. President Zardari publicly apologized to the people of the province for past unjust practices and promised to constitute a commission to take stock of the demands of the Baluchi people. On his first visit to Quetta, President Zardari announced a development package of Rs 46.6 billion for the province, and promised more to come.

There is no doubt that Baluchistan should be a top priority of the government, notwithstanding the challenges of confronting militants in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Swat. The following steps could help improve the dismal situation in Baluchistan and to bring its people into the national mainstream both in socioeconomic and political terms:

- An all-party conference should be convened without delay to discuss all aspects of Baluchistan province. There should be no time limit for the meeting. Every opinion should be heard, especially those from the aggrieved province. The conference must include intellectuals, the media, and other personalities.
- The activities of intelligence agencies should cease immediately. By interfering in domestic affairs, these agencies have done more harm than good to Pakistan.
- The Concurrent List should be removed from the Constitution, forthwith. The province should be given more autonomy as provided under the original 1973 Constitution.
- The Senate should be made a more powerful legislative body, thereby acting on the promise of a true federation.
- The National Finance Commission (NFC) must allocate resources according to the requirements of the provinces. Punjab already has conceded its stance of making population the basis for the distribution of resources.
- Baluchistan needs "freedom" from some of its "anti-development" *Sardars*. The people of the province should be involved in massive developmental projects. In the past these *Sardars* and *Nawabs* usurped Baluch resources, leaving the people poor, illiterate, and frustrated.

In his visit to Quetta, President Zardari remarked: "My government won't hesitate to make constitutional amendments in the light of legislators' recommendations to solve problems of the province." However, little has come of these promises. In any case, the urgency of redress is much slower than the speed of events, violent and otherwise, that are taking place on a daily basis.

Sectarianism in Pakistan: A Profile of Sipah-e Sahaba Pakistan (SSP)

Tahir Kamran

There are a number of general studies of sectarianism in Pakistan,¹ most of which link increased sectarianism with Zia ul-Haq's Islamization, the Afghan War, the proliferation of Deobandi *madrasas*, and the Iranian Revolution. This essay shows how sectarian mobilization intersected with and competed with *biraderi* (patrilineal kinship networks) politics in the district of Jhang, a city in southeastern Punjab. It also situates sectarian militancy within the context of a rising urban commercial class that was locked out of political power by landowners who traditionally dominated district politics. Local traders and bazaar merchants who had wealth but no political clout extended unequivocal support and funding to sectarian Sunni organizations such as Sipah-e Sahaba (SSP) and its offshoot Lashkar-e Jhangvi (LJ).

Like most militant struggles, the anti-Shi'a campaign of the SSP thrived on bloodshed. Sectarian killing began with the murders of Ehsan Ellahi Zaheer in 1987 and Tehreek Nifaz-e Fiqh Jafariya Pakistan (TNFJ) leader Allama Arif ul-Husseini in 1988. On February 22, 1990, Haq Nawaz Jhangvi, the SSP's founder, was killed in a retaliatory bomb attack. Following Haq Nawaz's death, his successors² used the cult of the martyr — around which, ironically, Shi'a theological discourse is structured — to enhance the SSP's electoral standing and its renown. Scores of martyrs and ongoing sectarian strife afforded the SSP “functional utility”³ that contributed immensely to perpetuating its hold.

The SSP's rhetoric always had been aggressive, but following Haq Nawaz's death, its deeds matched its words. In 1996, Lashkar-e Jhangvi (LJ) emerged as an armed offshoot of SSP. Militancy not only intimidated Shi'ites, but also increased the SSP's electoral support. From the outset, the SSP leadership sought influence in the National Assembly



Dr. Tahir Kamran is Associate Professor in History and currently Head of the Department at Government College University Lahore, Pakistan.

1. Vali Reza Nasr, “The Rise of Sunni Militancy in Pakistan: The Changing role of Islamism and the Ulema in Society and Politics,” *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2000); Qasim Zaman, “Sectarianism in Pakistan: The Radicalization of Shii and Sunni Identities,” *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1998); Mohammad Waseem, “Political Sources of Islamic Militancy in Pakistan,” in Ian Talbot, ed., *The Deadly Embrace: Religion, Violence and Politics in India and Pakistan 1947-2002* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.145-163. The Crisis Group Asia Report No. 95 on *The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan* adopts a similar approach.

2. Maulana Zia ur Rehman Faruqi became the Chief Patron of SSP after Haq Nawaz Jhangvi's assassination. Before that he was *Imam* and *Khateeb* of a mosque run by Auqaf Deptt at Sumundri, in District Faisalabad. *Zindagi*, Lahore, March 14-20, 1991.

3. Paul R. Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), p. 377.

in order to amend the Constitution and create a Sunnification of the Pakistani state. On that occasion, the government of the Punjab was visibly perplexed about the law and order situation during the period of mourning, as this followed hard on the heels of the murder of Haq Nawaz. As a pre-emptive measure, the government called together urban notables and the leaders of the SSP to negotiate. Malik Saleem Iqbal, the Health Minister of the Punjab, presided over the proceedings. Members of the Jhang District administration, the SSP leadership, and other notables were included in negotiations that led to an *Aman Muahida* (peace treaty).⁴ But only a few days after the accord was reached, a bomb exploded in Jhang, killing three Sunnis and injuring 28. This effectively sabotaged the peace efforts. Indeed, the site of the bomb explosion was not far away from Amanullah Khan Sial's *haveli* (mansion) in Jhang city.⁵ This is highly suggestive that the efforts to bring peace to the conflict-ridden city were stymied because important *biraderis* had been excluded from the process.

The SSP expanded beyond its roots in sectarian rivalries and *biraderi* politics in Jhang. It organized itself remarkably well at the district and *tehsil* level. According to one estimate, by the time that the SSP was outlawed in January 2002, it controlled 74 district- and 225 *tehsil*-level units. In addition, the SSP ran 17 foreign branches, in countries that included Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Canada, and the UK. With its 6,000 trained and professional cadres and 100,000 registered workers,⁶ the SSP was the best organized Islamic party in Pakistan after Jamaat-e Islami.

With its 6,000 trained and professional cadres and 100,000 registered workers, the SSP was the best organized Islamic party in Pakistan after Jamaat-e Islami.

The SSP's growing influence was accompanied by an association with violence. While Jhang was the scene of many sectarian killings, they spread to other areas of Punjab and beyond. Although the SSP attempted to distance itself from the activities of its armed offshoot, Lashkar-e Jhangvi, this was never done convincingly. The LJ had links with "international terrorist" movements, which led then-President Pervez Musharraf to ban it and the SSP. The ban merely drove supporters of the SSP and LJ underground.

The Taliban had been a great source of inspiration for SSP leaders, who sought to replicate their policies in Pakistan. In October 2000, Azam Tariq, while speaking at an International Difa-e Sahaba Conference in Karachi, stated that "the SSP aims to transform 28 large Pakistani cities into model Islamic cities where television, cinema and music would be

4. Along with Malik Saleem Iqbal, Arshad Lodhi, the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police, the persons who took part in the negotiations were: Maulana Rashid Ahmad Madni, Mohalla Chandanwalla, Dildar Ali (Secretary Anjuman-i-Tajran), Haji Muhammad Ali (President, Anjuman-i-Tajran), Mian Iqbal Hussain, Muhammad Zahur Chuhan Advocate, Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal (Chairman Municipal Committee, Jhang), Muhammad Farooq (President Anjuman-i-Tajran, Jhang City), Muhammad Rafique Saqi (General Secretary Anjuman-i-Tajran Jhang city), Muhammad Aslam (Joint Secretary Anjuman-i-Tajran, Jhang City) and Maulana Esar ul-Qasimi. See, *Aman Muahida (Manzur Shuda) Zilai Intizamia wa membreaan e Committee Anjuman-i-Sipah-i-Sihaba wa Muazizeen-i-Jhang* (Jhang: 1990).

5. Amanullah Khan is a leader of a *sial* clan in Jhang and adheres to the sect.

6. See *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan*, Terrorist Group of Pakistan, South Asia Terrorism Portal, June 21, 2004, <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp?countries/Pakistan/terroristoutfits/ssp.htm>

banned.”⁷ Azam Tariq was an ardent supporter of *jihād* in Indian-controlled Kashmir. When Masud Azhar founded Jaish-e Mohammad in the aftermath of his release in Kandahar, following the hijacking of an Indian aircraft in December 1999, Azam Tariq pledged to send 500,000 *jihadis* to Jammu and Kashmir to fight Indian security forces.⁸

The SSP extremists had two major modes of operation: targeted killings and indiscriminate shootings in places of worship. A number of leading Shi’ites were assassinated. By 1992, the SSP activists had gained access to sophisticated weapons systems. Saudi Arabia was the major source of funding, while Iran provided financial support to Shi’a outfits. In June 1992, SSP adherents used a rocket launcher in an attack that killed five police officers.⁹ The attempted assassination of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in January 1999 is yet another example of the growing scale of SSP attacks.

By 1992, the SSP activists had gained access to sophisticated weapons systems. Saudi Arabia was the major source of funding, while Iran provided financial support to Shi’a outfits.

During the 1990s, Iranian officials who were serving in various capacities in Pakistan also were victims of SSP militants. Most prominent among them was Agha Sadiq Ganji, the Iranian Consul General, who was gunned down on December 19, 1990.¹⁰ (Although Ganji was widely believed by SSP supporters to have masterminded Haq Nawaz Jhangvi’s murder, there is no tenable evidence of his involvement other than his presence in Jhang that day.) Muhammad Ali Rahimi, an Iranian diplomat, was another victim of a targeted killing in Multan in 1997. The Iranian Cultural Centre at Lahore was set ablaze in January of that year, in retribution for the assassination of Zia ur-Rehman Farooqi along with 26 others at the Lahore Session Court.

Five members of the Iranian armed forces were fatally ambushed in Multan in September, sparking a serious diplomatic row between Islamabad and Tehran.

Sectarian polarization enabled the SSP to increase its vote bank. In the central Jhang constituency in the 1990 election, Maulana Esar ul-Qasimi, Haq Nawaz’s successor and Vice Patron, secured victory with a considerable majority. As the Islami Jamohri Ittehad’s (IJI) candidate for the National Assembly, he obtained 62,486 votes. He also contested a Provincial Assembly seat as an independent candidate, defeating the IJI ticket holder and favorite, Sheikh Iqbal, by the margin of almost 10,000 votes.¹¹

Nawaz Sharif’s crackdown on militancy during 1997-9, together with an atmosphere of the general disapproval of violence and militancy, saw a considerable decline in sectarian killing in Punjab. From January 1999 to December 2000

7. *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan*, Terrorist Group of Pakistan, <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/Pakistan/terroristoutfits/Ssp.htm>

8. “In the Spotlight: *Sipah-i-Sahaba Pakistan* (SSP),” July 9, 2004, [http://www.cdi.org/.../friendly version/printversion.cfm](http://www.cdi.org/.../friendly%20version/printversion.cfm).

9. *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan*, Terrorist Group of Pakistan, <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/Pakistan/terroristoutfits/Ssp.htm>.

10. *Zindagi*, Lahore, December 14-20, 1991. Sheikh Haq Nawaz was hung in Mianwali on February 28, 2001. Kaka Balli, a relative of Amanullah Sial, was sentenced to life imprisonment for the assassination of Haq Nawaz Jhangvi. *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan*, Terrorist Group of Pakistan.

11. General Elections Report, p. 243. He contested that election from the JUI (Sami ul-Haq Group) quota. See *Zindagi*, Lahore, March 14-20, 1991.

not a single incident of sectarian violence was reported. The military takeover on October 12, 1999 may be one of the reasons that militant groups had assumed a low profile. However, the 2002 elections, which were held under military rule, reversed the process. Azam Tariq won the election despite being in jail. Although both the LJ and the SSP, along with their Shi'a rivals, the SMP and the TNFJ, had been banned,¹² Azam Tariq was allowed to contest the elections as an independent candidate. This decision evoked a sharp reaction from many quarters. Azam Tariq's victory was quite unexpected, though it fits well into a pattern whereby representatives of religious militant outfits tend to do well in conditions of "guided democracy" because of the marginalization of mainstream parties. However, after 9/11, figures such as Azam Tariq have had to act circumspectly. After securing electoral victory instead of siding with the opposition alliance of religious parties the MMA, Tariq went along with the pro-Musharraf Muslim League (PML-Q) and managed to secure the release of imprisoned SSP activists.

In October 2003, Azam Tariq was killed in Islamabad. There had been 20 previous attempts on his life. Azam Tariq's murder may be the death knell of the SSP or Millat-e Islamiya (the name given to the organization after it was proscribed in 2002). The resulting leadership vacuum has rendered the organization rudderless. Consequently, its immediate future seems bleak. Yet, the nature and scale of violence in post-Saddam Iraq and the role and tenacity of Hizbullah in Lebanon suggest that sectarianism has become a salient feature of the contemporary Middle Eastern and South Asian landscape. The possibility of a "clash within Muslim civilization" cannot be ruled out.

12. See for further detail Ch. Akhter Ali, "Reference under 6(2) of the Political Parties Act (as amended)", Supreme Court of Pakistan, Islamabad, January 29, 2002.

Decades of Disaster: Islamization and the Women of Pakistan

Rubina Saigol

General Zia ul-Haq rode to power on the back of the Nizam-e Mustapha [System of the Prophet] movement led by religious parties against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government and its alleged rigging in the 1977 elections. Having seized power illegally on the pretext of establishing an Islamic system, General Zia harnessed a conservative and fundamentalist notion of Islam to provide legitimacy to his unconstitutional regime. He relied on the Deobandi Jamaat-e Islami's interpretation of religion to impose his will on the country.

While all sections of society suffered the impact of so-called Islamization — journalists were flogged, the curricula and textbooks were altered to reflect the values of *jihad*, severe restrictions were placed on the media, and the judicial system was decimated by a parallel Islamic legal system appended to it — women became the main targets of a redefined state which was in the process of repositioning itself in response to the geo-strategic changes in the region. Unable, for various reasons, to enforce Islamic regulation on the banking and economic systems, the state experimented with its retrogressive version of religion on women.

A series of laws that were highly detrimental to the status and position of women in society were passed in order to regulate their behavior and in particular contain and control female sexuality. In 1979 the Hudood Ordinances were promulgated, eliminating the distinction between rape and adultery. The Zina Ordinance (one of five ordinances passed under the Hudood laws) required a woman to produce four adult male Muslim witnesses to prove that she had been raped. Failure to do so would lead to her own conviction for adultery on the grounds that she had confessed to the act of illicit intercourse when she complained of rape! Yet, in the first place, no rapist would commit the crime in the presence of witnesses, and if he did, it could safely be assumed that they were accomplices. It became impossible for women to prove rape or even file a complaint for fear of being prosecuted for adultery. A large number of women from the poor and rural areas were first raped by their employers or landlords and, if they complained, they were thrown into jail on the grounds of fornication or adultery. This travesty of justice was reported in the press around the globe. The enormous outrage finally resulted in a change through the Criminal Laws Amendment Act 2006 when the crime of rape was once again placed within the Pakistan Criminal Procedure Code so that it could be duly investigated and the culprits brought to trial. The state's attempt to write its Islamic credentials on the bodies of women was finally reversed.



Rubina Saigol is an independent researcher in social development and is based in Lahore. She is currently engaged in multi-country research project on religions and development.

The social regulation of women's bodies and morals through legal structures was also accomplished through the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance originally proposed during General Zia's era by the Council for Islamic Ideology, but which was deferred, as it would have prevented the hanging of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. It was passed as an ordinance in 1990 and became an Act of Parliament during Nawaz Sharif's second term in 1997. The major flaw in the Qisas and Diyat law, which covers all offenses against the human body, is that it makes such offenses open to compromise as a private matter between two parties by providing for *Qisas* (retribution) or *Diyat* (blood money). The heirs of the victim can forgive the murderer without receiving any compensation, or *Diyat*, or may compromise after receiving a specified amount. This tribal law in effect privatizes the crime of murder, making it no longer a crime against the state but, instead, a crime against a person. The law has been widely used to allow perpetrators of "honor killings" to go free. Blood relatives (brothers or fathers) can murder a girl on mere suspicion (or for annexing her property) and forgive one another for the crime! The state, instead of being an instrument of the modernization of law, became a tribal entity by capitulating to customary and cultural norms upheld by local patriarchies.

In 1984 the Law of Evidence was passed, effectively reducing the citizenship of women and non-Muslims to second-class status. According to this law, the sworn testimony of two women would be deemed equal to that of one male

Muslim in a court of law. The more the state came to define itself in narrowly religious terms, the more it rendered itself an exclusivist state intolerant of difference, diversity, and contestation. Increasing numbers of people became lesser citizens, unequal in the eyes of the law and unable to defend their basic rights and freedoms. The essential pluralism of society was negated in state law and policy which seemed to recognize only male, Sunni, Punjabi citizens, belonging to well-to-do classes, as full citizens. All others — women, non-Muslims, ethnic minorities, and Shi'ites — became lesser citizens with fewer rights and privileges. While some of the inequality was institutionalized through constitutional means, the rest was encouraged through tacit state policy. The state's processes of alienating and "othering" were further exacerbated by its deep involvement in the Afghan war, where competing US and Soviet imperialisms were exploited by the Pakistani military government to shore up its strength.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the subsequent American imperative to drive the USSR out of that country, dovetailed neatly with General Zia's need to deploy Islam as a weapon in the struggle to gain legitimacy. The US encouraged a radical, purist, and uncompromising Wahhabi version of Islam to create the *mujahidin* as a counter to the Soviets. President Jimmy Carter's administration created a secret fund of \$500 million to create terror outfits to fight the Soviets. Nicknamed "Operation Cyclone," this fund was kept secret even from Congress and the American public. Subsequently, the Reagan Administration and Saudi Arabia provided \$3.5 billion to General Zia's regime for the funding of *madrassas* for the Afghan *Jihad*.

**The Zina Ordinance
... required a woman
to produce four adult
male Muslim witnesses
to prove that she had
been raped. Failure to
do so would lead to
her own conviction for
adultery**

Militants were trained in the Brooklyn School in New York and in Virginia by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). In Pakistan they were trained by MI6 and Pakistan's Inter-Services-Intelligence (ISI). Religious indoctrination — which fostered the Taliban — was carried out by the Jamiat ul-Ulema-e Islam, a Wahhabi-Deobandi fundamentalist religious-political party based in the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). Between 1979 and 1990 there was a mushrooming

[T]ribal law in effect privatizes the crime of murder, making it no longer a crime against the state but, instead, a crime against a person.

of *madrasas*, *jihad*-related organizations doubled and sectarian outfits increased at the rate of 90%. By 1986 the rate of increase of *deeni madaris* (religious seminaries) was 136% whereas previously it had been a mere 3% annually. By 2002, 7,000 religious institutions were offering higher education degrees. Currently, it is estimated that there are between 18,000 and 22,000 *madrasas* operating in Pakistan, teaching over 1.5 million children. Pakistan is in fact located at the nexus of multiple and competing imperialisms representing the US (and the so-called “West”), Saudi Arabian Wahhabism, and Iranian forms. With massive funds pouring in from Saudi Arabia and

Iran for Sunni and Shi'ite institutions respectively, sectarian clashes and violence intensified in the decades following the imposition of Islamization at gunpoint.

The steady descent into the Taliban's version of an archaic and virulent Islam has had a devastating impact on women. Over at least the past two decades, the Taliban have gained ground in the northern, western, and tribal regions of Pakistan. Tehreek-e Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud is entrenched in Waziristan, whereas Maulana Fazlullah, son-in-law of Sufi Muhammad, founder of the Tehreek-e Nifaz-e Shariat-e Muhammadi (TNSM), is comfortably ensconced in the scenic Swat valley, once a tourist haven in Pakistan. In the last two years the Taliban have burned, torched, and bombed 200 girls' schools in the Malakand Division and have ordered an end to the education of women. They have threatened to mete out dire punishments to women who work for a living, and have strictly forbidden them from going to the market to buy essential needs. The Taliban have prohibited barbers from shaving men's beards and have either destroyed or forced shut music and DVD shops. Musicians and barbers have been forced out of the area at gunpoint. The video of a 17-year-old girl being flogged publicly by the Taliban for alleged immoral activity is representative of the kinds of medieval punishments that the Taliban's distorted notion of justice imposes on the hapless people of an area that was once under governmental writ.

What began as the reconstitution of state policy in 1979 in response to global imperial pressures and the military's need to entrench itself in government, has become a nightmare in 2009. The Nizam-e Adl agreement concluded recently between the TNSM's Sufi Muhammad and the ANP government of NWFP essentially cedes sovereignty to the Taliban and acknowledges the end of the writ of state. As the state disintegrates through a policy of appeasement, women — already diminished citizens — are left at the mercy of the inhuman Taliban.

Women's Rights in Pakistan

Anita M. Weiss

Two momentous events occurred in Pakistan in 1979 that continue to have implications for women's rights: the promulgation of Zia ul-Haq's Islamization program (including the Hudood Ordinance)¹ and the creation of the Women's Division (precursor to the Ministry for Women's Development) in response to international pressure during the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85). These two actions provoked contradictory political enterprises, namely those which demand that the state incorporate more laws and institutions derived from or at least associated with Islam, and those which demand the rights of women along the lines of those advocated within the global community.

The Islamist coalition, the Muttahida Majlis-e Amal (MMA) came to head the opposition at the federal level and formed a government in the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) after the October 2003 elections and Pakistan witnessed the rise of extremist, militant Islamist groups in the areas bordering Afghanistan. Since that time, the debates over the roles and rights of women and the role Islam (and which interpretation of Islam) should play in society has intensified. Most, albeit not all, members of these Islamist groups embrace views about women that they understand to be derived from Islam, and which place women in a subservient, perhaps even subjugated role. The other side of the debate comprises myriad voices — the state, civil society groups, women, external donor agencies — all of whom profess to promote the empowerment of women, eliminate discrimination, and enhance women's access to opportunities. Within each constituency, there are deep divides as well.

Though 97% of its population is Muslim, Pakistan is still searching for an appropriate role for Islam in civic and political life. To many, being a Muslim is intrinsically tied to local cultural practices which they regard as inextricably intertwined with faith. There is a great deal of confusion over where the lines should be drawn between what is Islamic, what is codified tradition, and how (if at all) to delineate their separate jurisdictions. Consensus remains particularly elusive in identifying what constitutes women's rights. In spite of this scenario, there have been some noteworthy developments in the advancement of women's rights over the past decade, including the restoration of reserved parliamentary seats for women, reform of the Hudood Ordinance which resulted in the

1. The Hudood Ordinance, enacted in 1979 as part of General Zia ul-Haq's Islamization program, was aimed at imposing *Shari'a* law by implementing punishments mentioned in the Qur'an and *sunna* for *zina* (extramarital sex), *qazf* (false accusation of *zina*), the consumption of alcohol, and theft.



Anita M. Weiss, Professor and Department Head of International Studies at the University of Oregon. Weiss has published four books and numerous articles and book chapters on social development and gender issues in Pakistan. Weiss is a member of the editorial boards of *Citizenship Studies* and *Globalizations*, is on the editorial advisory board of *Kumarian Press*, and currently serves as the Treasurer of the *American Institute of Pakistan Studies*.

Protection of Women Act 2006 and other legislation under consideration now by Parliament, and acceptance of Pakistan's CEDAW Report by the United Nations in May 2007.²

Nevertheless, achieving a Pakistani consensus on defining women's rights remains elusive, as exemplified by the struggle to ensure the right of female education. Those who promote female education argue that it is indispensable to advancing women's rights in their entirety. Yet, to accomplish this, there must be an adequate number of schools where girls are taught useful skills and all students are taught about women's rights. Indeed, there is no consensus that substantive female education in schools that teach more than *Islamiyat* is valuable for Pakistan's future as well as for the future of the individual girls. This consensus is lacking not only in Swat and elsewhere in northwestern Pakistan, where some militant Islamist extremists have decreed all girls schools should be shuttered, but also in many homes throughout the country, especially in rural areas. It is therefore not surprising that less than half of all women in Pakistan over age ten are literate; these numbers are appreciably lower in the western parts of the country. Fewer than 6% of all children who enroll in primary education make it to secondary school (ninth grade).³

The challenge of ensuring only one specific right — female education — displays the need for a consensus that women in Pakistan have a right, to paraphrase Fatima Mernissi, to design a future for themselves instead of just growing old.⁴ Sometimes this may mean that ensuring rights we presume Pakistani women are accorded because they are consistent with Islamic *Shari'a* — such as retaining inherited land or divorcing abusive husbands — are actually enjoyed, or that new rights need to be enshrined to rectify abuses which have existed in traditional society, such as outlawing *swara*, *karo-kari*⁵ and other practices which cause women to bear the consequences for wrongs committed by others.

Pakistan reached a crossroads in November 2006 when two of the most controversial parts of the Hudood Ordinance were reformed, which placed the crimes of rape and adultery back into the Penal Code. This was the culmination of women's rights activism that had begun shortly after Zia's promulgation of the Islamization program in 1979. The reform was finally set in motion when Pakistan became a States Party to the United Nations CEDAW Convention in 1996 and, as such, pledged to the global community that it would review existing laws and social institutions to eliminate discrimination against women. Little was done in this regard until Pervez Musharraf's government revived the issue of women's empowerment early in

2. CEDAW is the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, to which Pakistan became a States Party in 1996.

3. Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Table 5, "Pakistan Education Statistics 2005-06."

4. Fatima Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: a Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam*, trans., Mary Jo Lakeland (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1991).

5. *Swara* is a custom in tribal areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan whereby a young girl is forcibly married to a member of a different clan to resolve a feud. *Karo-kari* is a custom whereby an individual can kill another, claiming that he/she has brought dishonor to the family.

this decade as a key component of its policies to promote Pakistan's progress. It established distinct quotas to promote women's greater participation in public arenas of society: 5% for women in government service (now 10%), 17% for women in the national and provincial parliaments, and 33% for women in most tiers of local government. It formalized the National Commission on the Status of Women, sought national consensus on a National Policy on Women, and set in motion a series of reforms to promote women's rights consistent with globalized norms articulated in the CEDAW Convention. Parliament is now considering a national domestic violence act that will afford protection against physical, emotional, sexual, verbal, and economic abuse not only to women but also to children and other vulnerable persons. A second bill under consideration, concerning sexual harassment, proposes amendments to expand the ambit of the Pakistan Penal Code to cover manifestations of harassment at the workplace.

However, these legal reforms are clearly counter to what the majority of Islamist political groups argue is necessary to secure women's rights. Many would argue that studying the Qur'an and the *sunna* and following the dictates of Islam more closely is valuable for women, and that anything more may expose

them to ideas that are *shirk* (unacceptable beliefs) and be disruptive for households and the wider community. In interviews I conducted in 2008 in Islamabad at the al-Huda Centre, which provides female education to women consistent with ideas that political Islamist groups would support, its staff were quite clear about their views on protecting women's rights, which include the right to love as a daughter and a wife, the right of inheritance, and the right to learn (to gain knowledge), which, as laid out in the *hadith*, is the obligation of every Muslim. Hence, these various groups emphasize the reinforcing of traditional norms of propriety and female subservience over debating women's other rights.

These debates draw the Pakistan state further into the discourse of defining women's rights through the institutional structures it promotes. An example is seen in its consideration of the role of the *wali*, or guardian. The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1997) lays out the method for distribution of *qisas* and *diyat* (blood money) in the event of a murder. While the *wali* is defined in gender-neutral terms, in both language and practice the *wali* is always a male. For the state to contend that the *wali* need not be a man would be to invalidate longstanding local patriarchal interpretations of men's responsibilities and would likely result in further opposition to the writ of the state.

What is happening in Swat and other Taliban-controlled areas not only threatens to undermine state policies concerned with eliminating discrimination against women as well as the small gains made thus far in empowering women, but is serving to polarize the country. The Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan⁶ are exerting pressure on the Government of Pakistan to compromise on women's rights in return for political accommodations. In these circumstances, there are few people who are able to champion the cause of women's rights and pressure the federal government not to capitulate to Taliban demands; even the position of head of the Ministry for Women's Development is currently vacant.

[T]here are few people who are able to champion the cause of women's rights and pressure the federal government not to capitulate to Taliban demands ...

6. I am using this term to include the whole gamut of Islamist political groups which have taken up arms against the Government of Pakistan in FATA and NWFP in recent years.

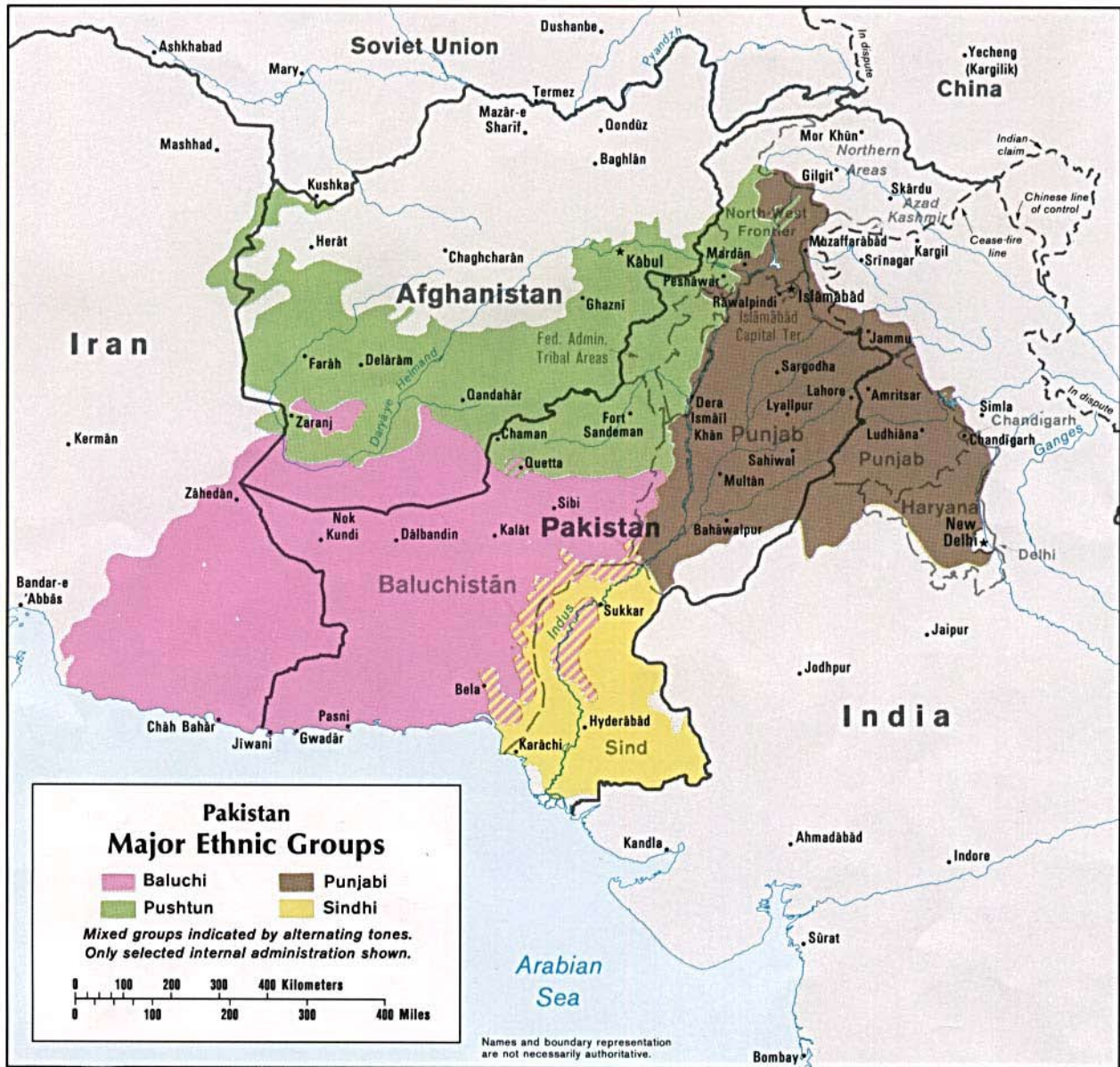
Weiss...

To the Government of Pakistan's credit, it has finally decided to act against those who seek to impose an extremist view of Islam's vision of women's rights in the country. Hopefully, the military action will create an environment in which the advocates of the two contradictory political enterprises — those prioritizing global rights for women and those advocating a closer adherence to Islamic precepts — can reach an accommodation. As Pakistan's Planning Commission concludes in a recent report, "without the empowerment and emancipation of women, the country will not achieve its Vision for 2030." The realization of that vision — of a healthy, prosperous, and viable future for the country as a whole — rests in no small part on forging a national consensus on what constitutes the rights of women.

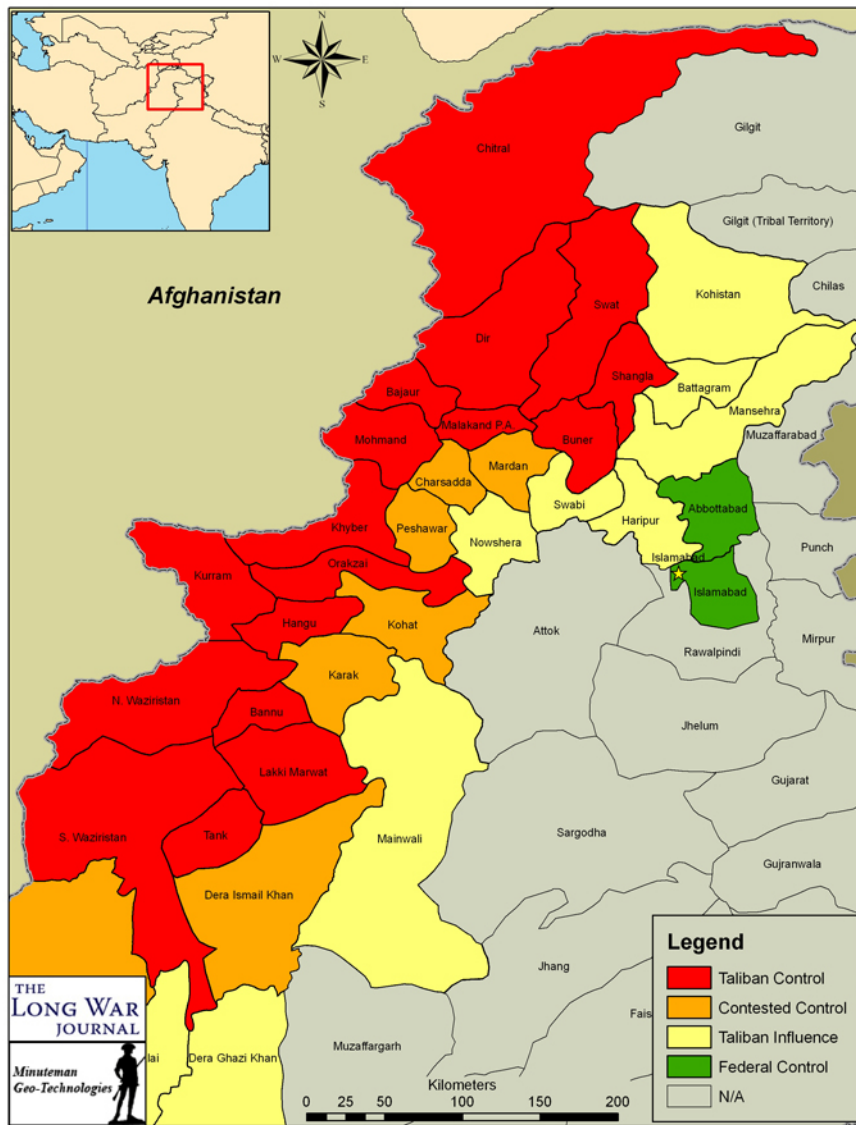
Maps

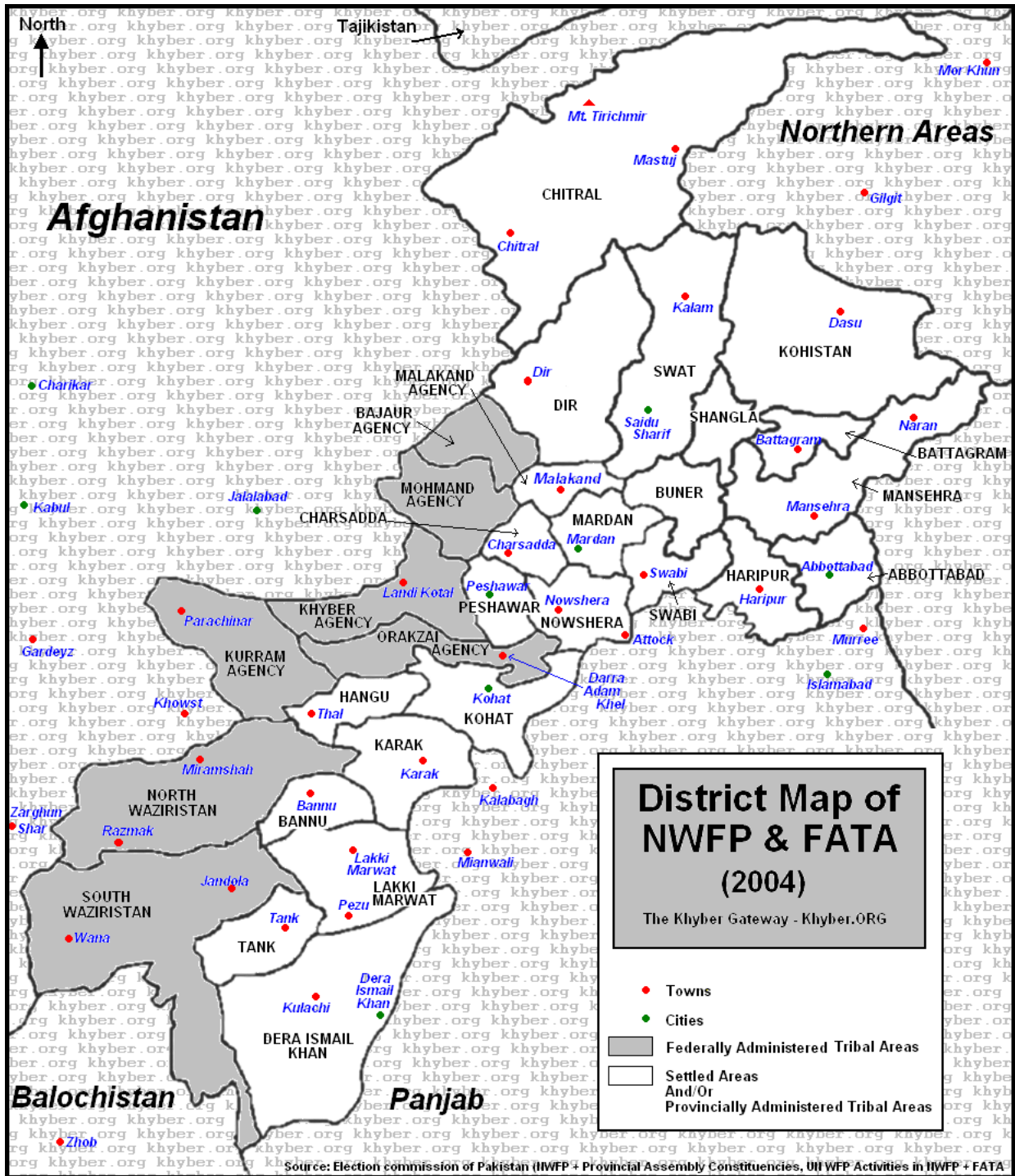


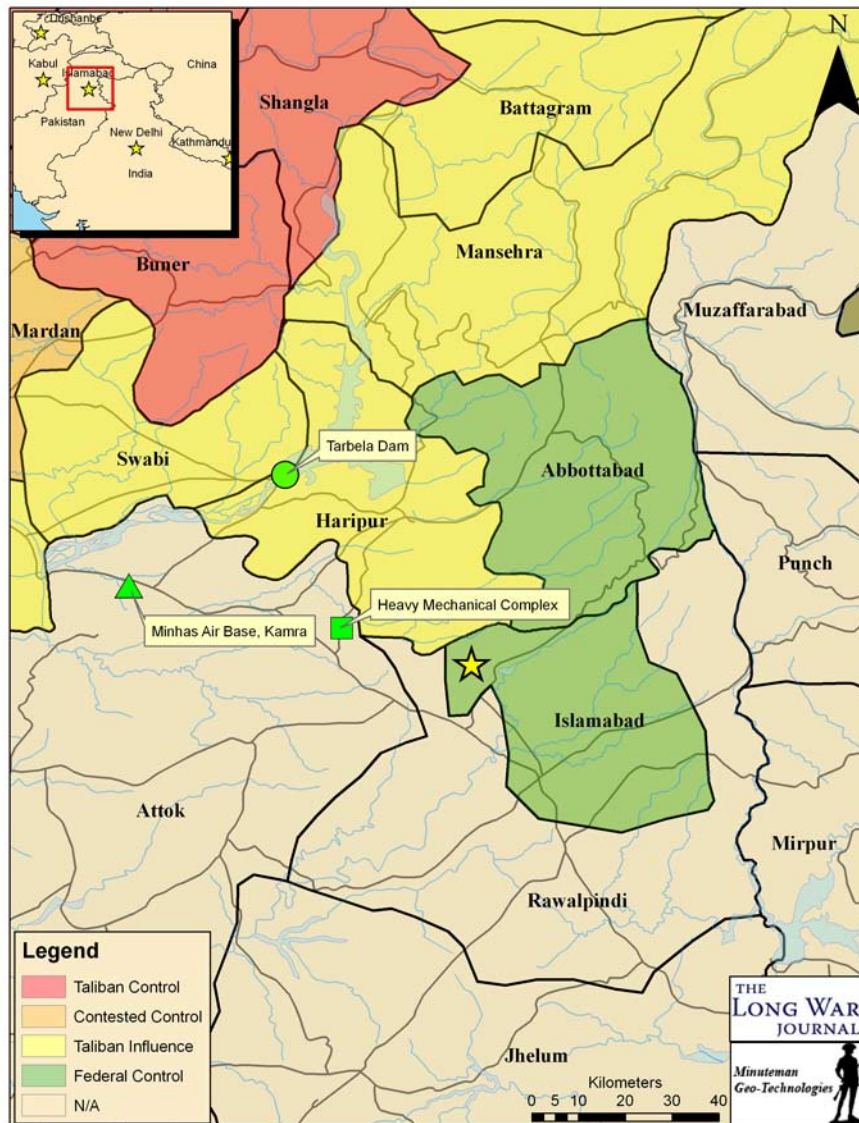
Maps are US government unless otherwise marked.

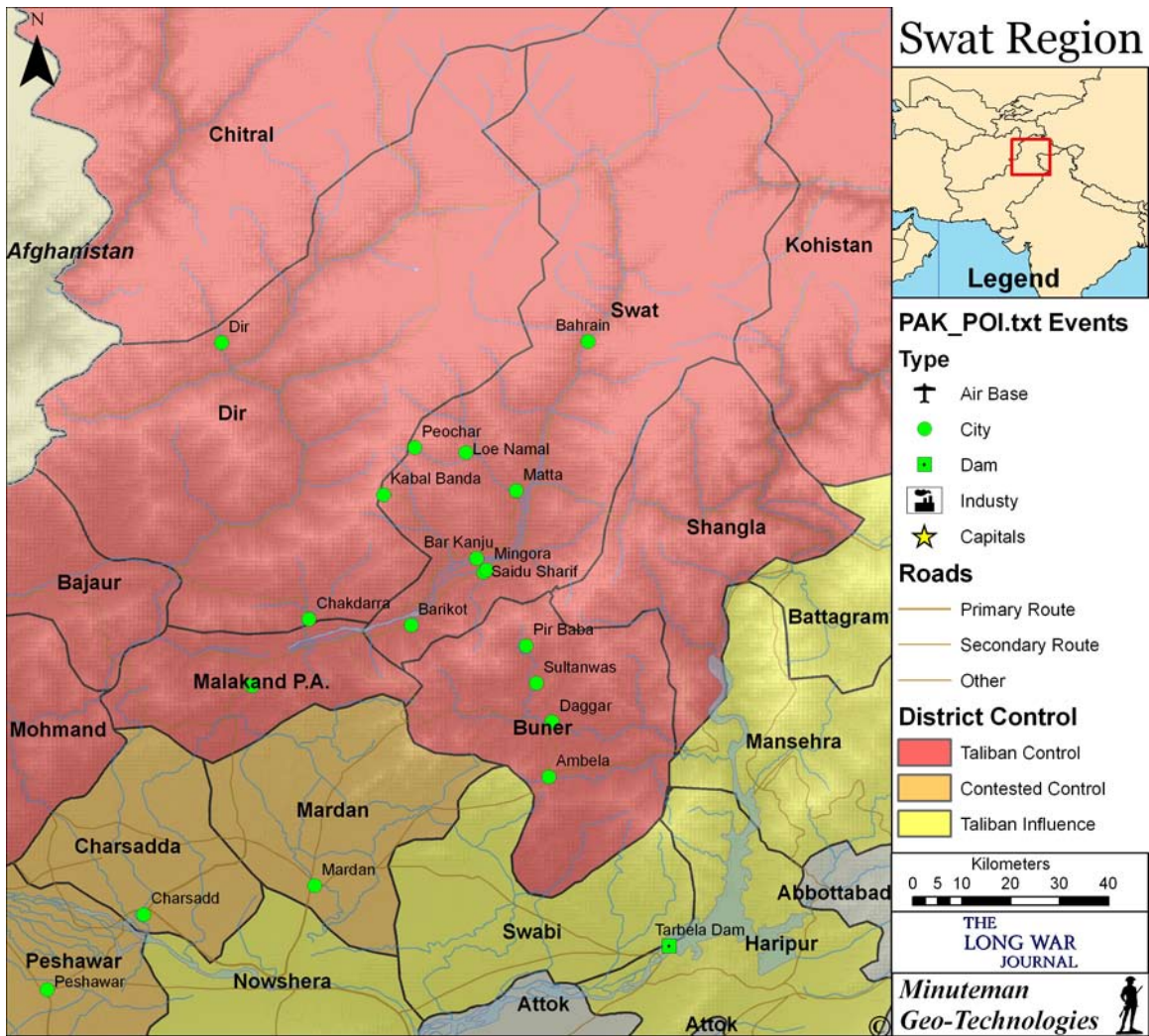


504491 5-80 (545359)









Pakistan

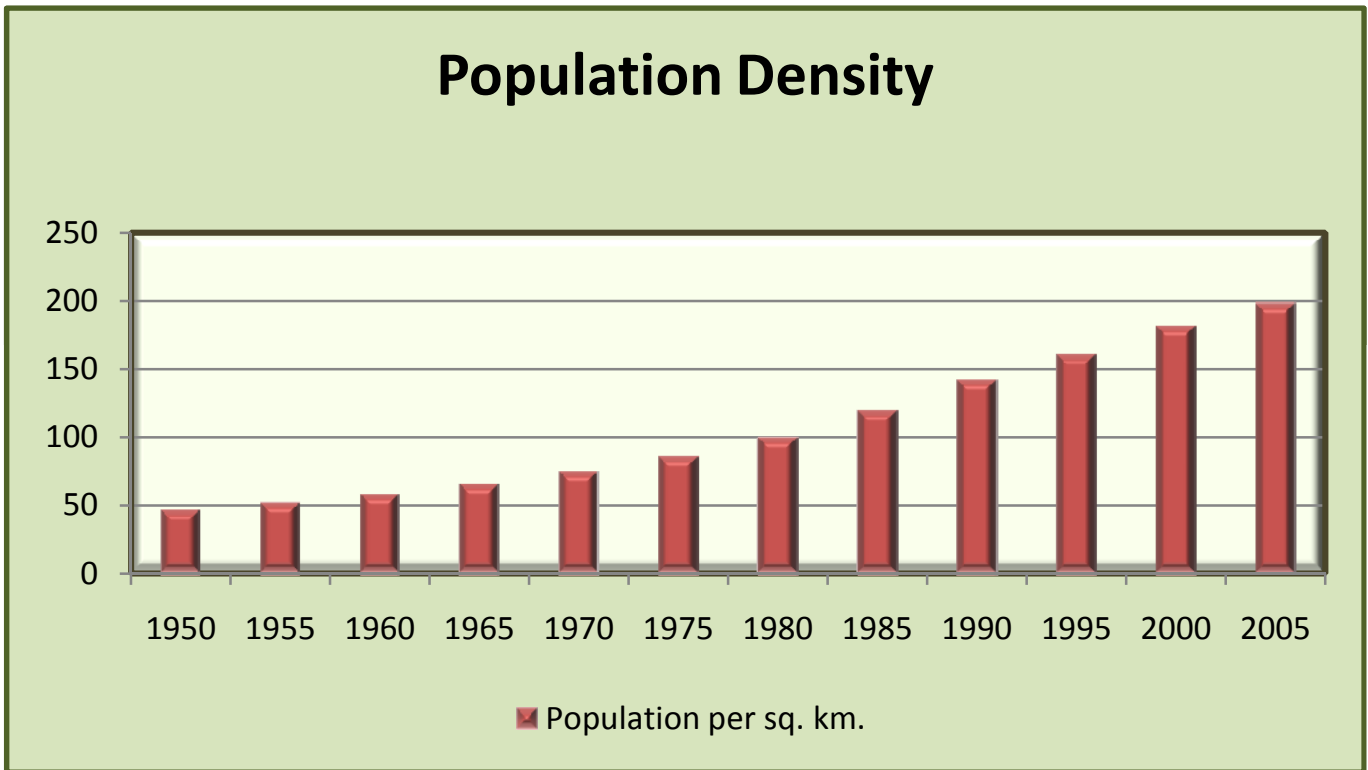
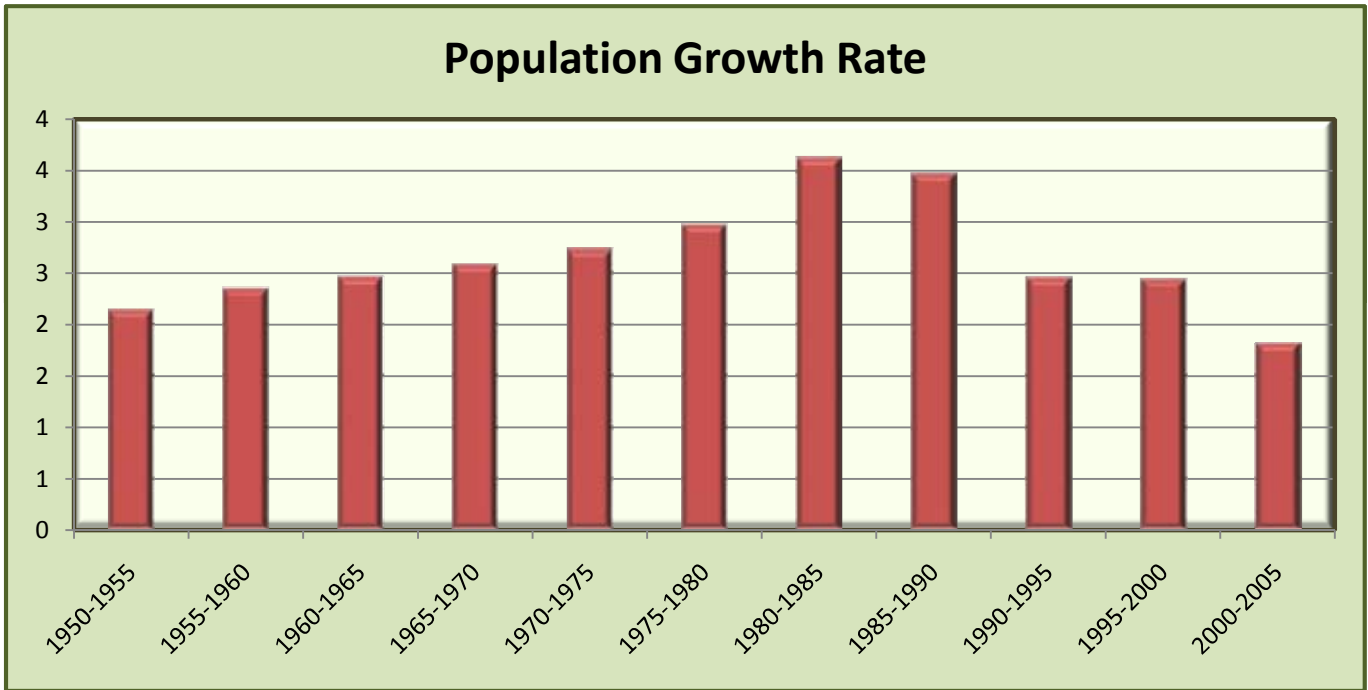
Kashmir Region



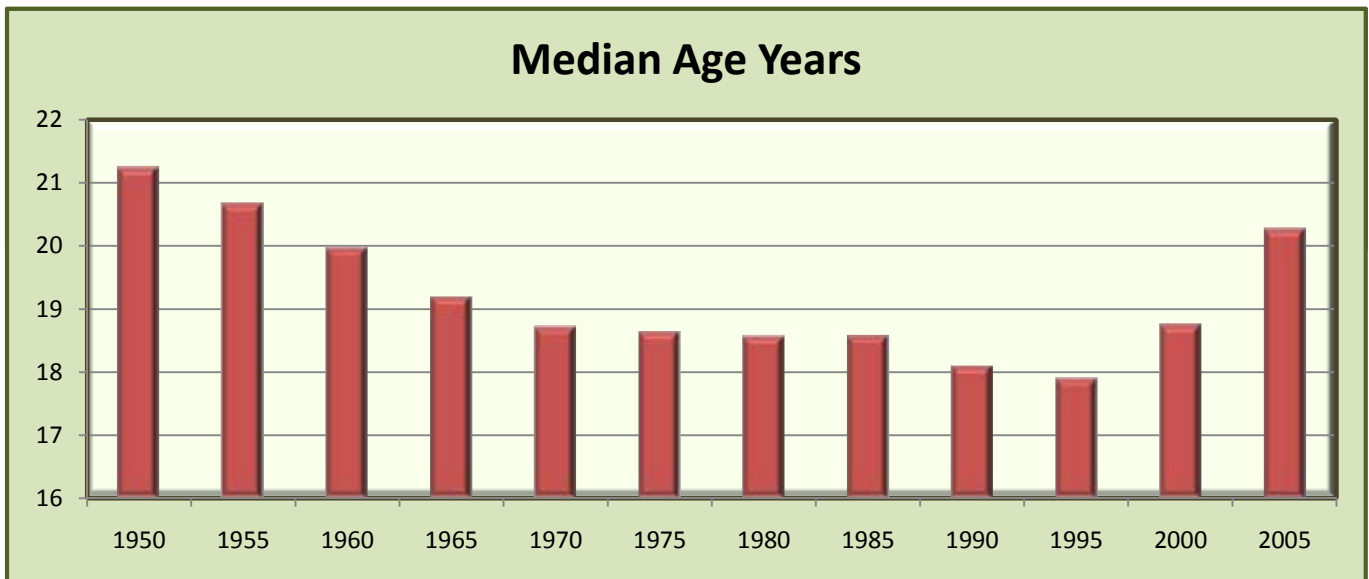
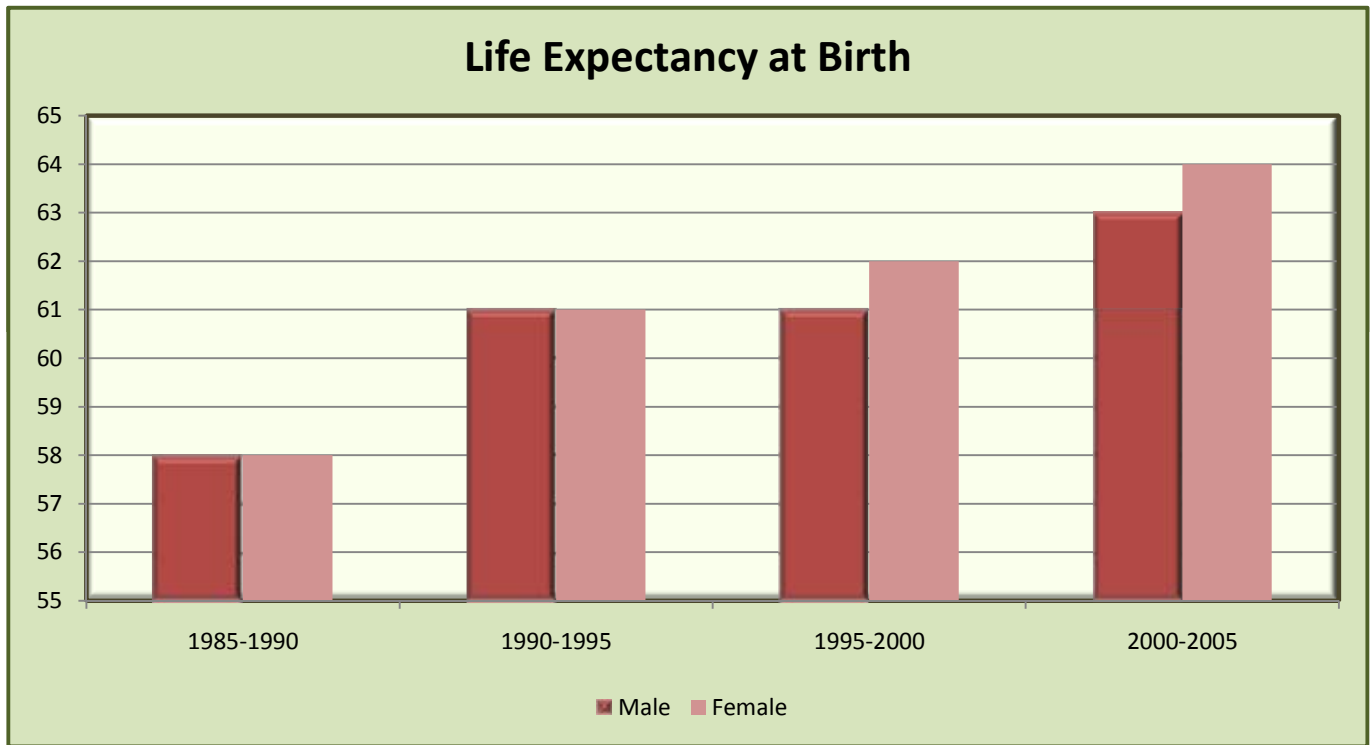


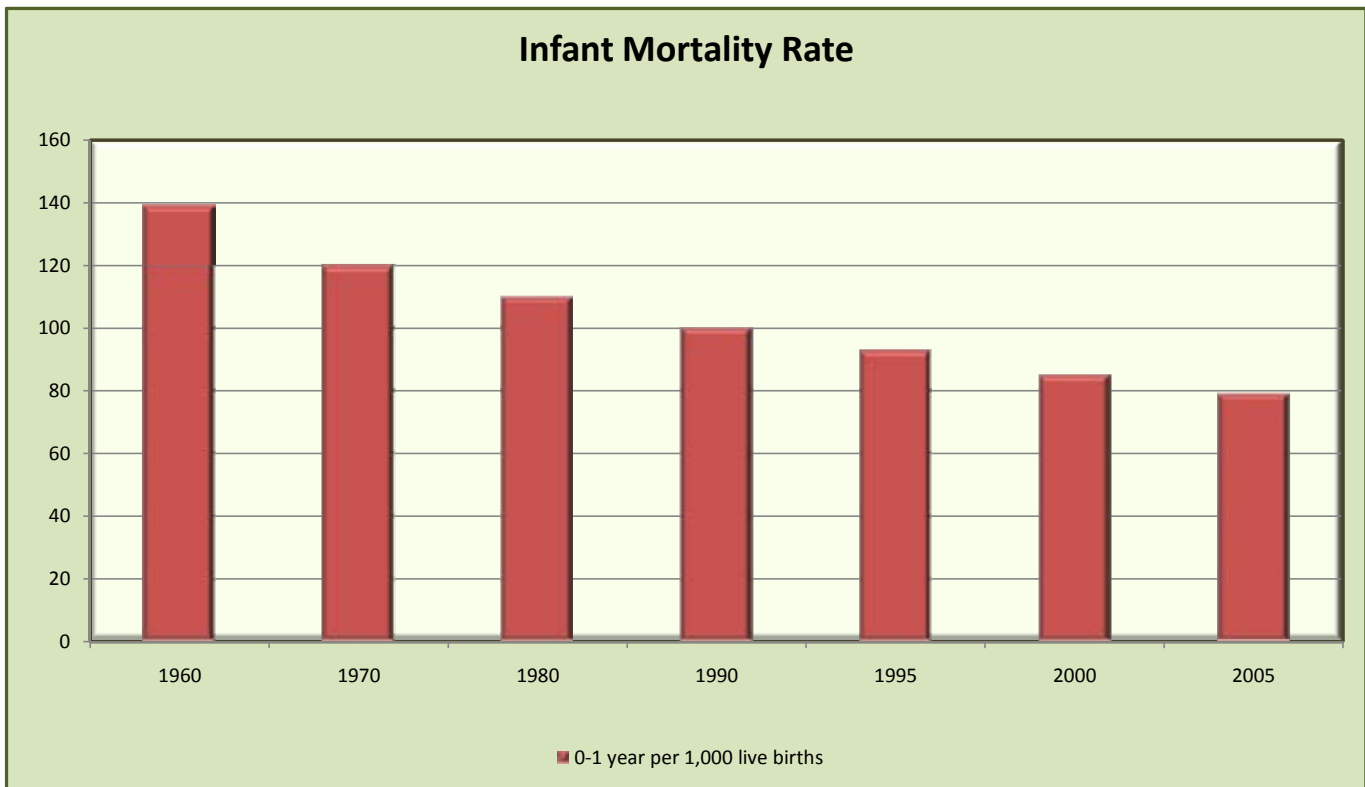
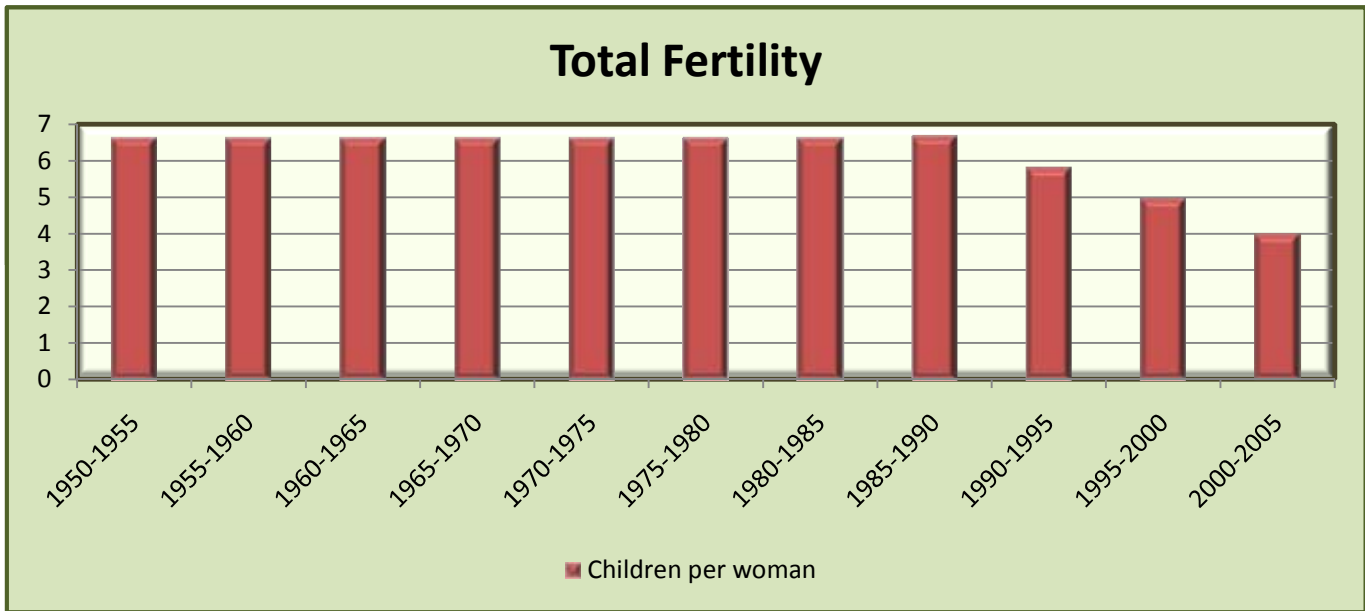
Statistics

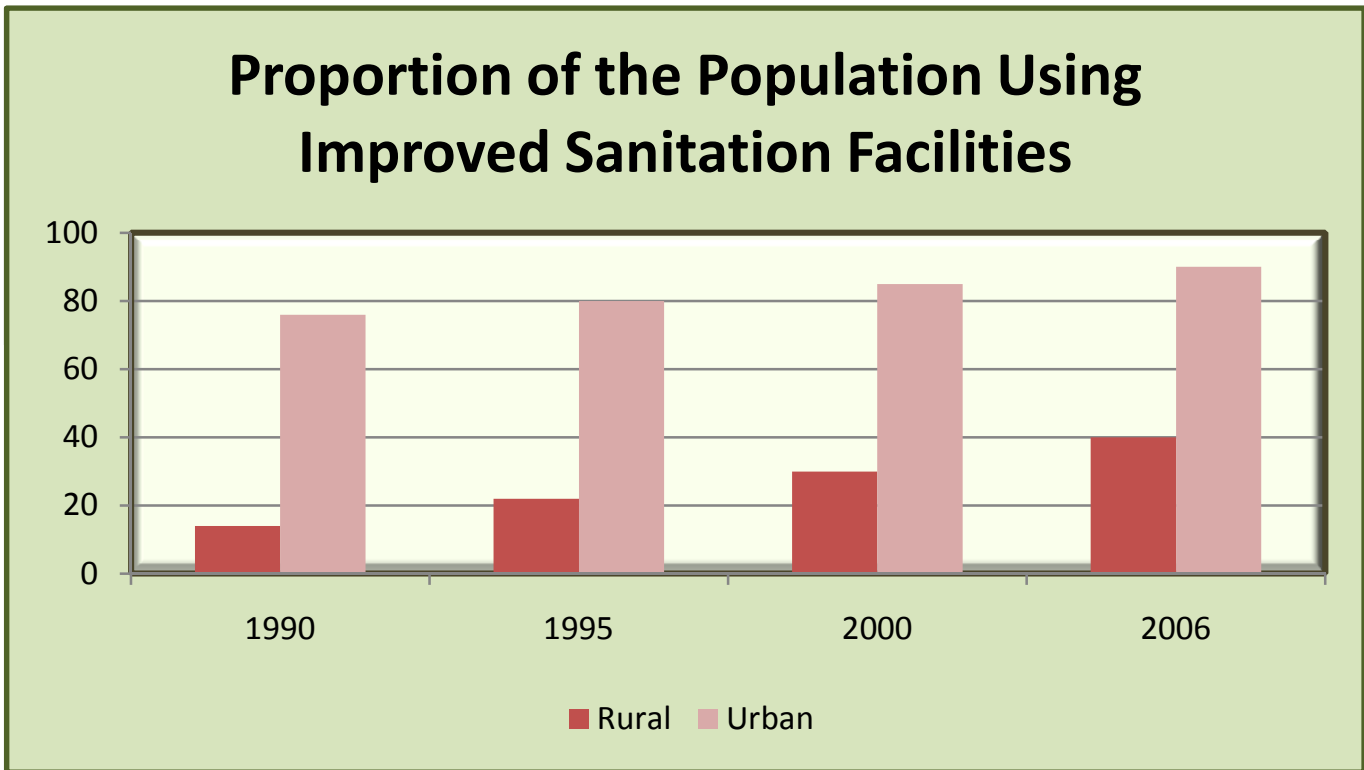
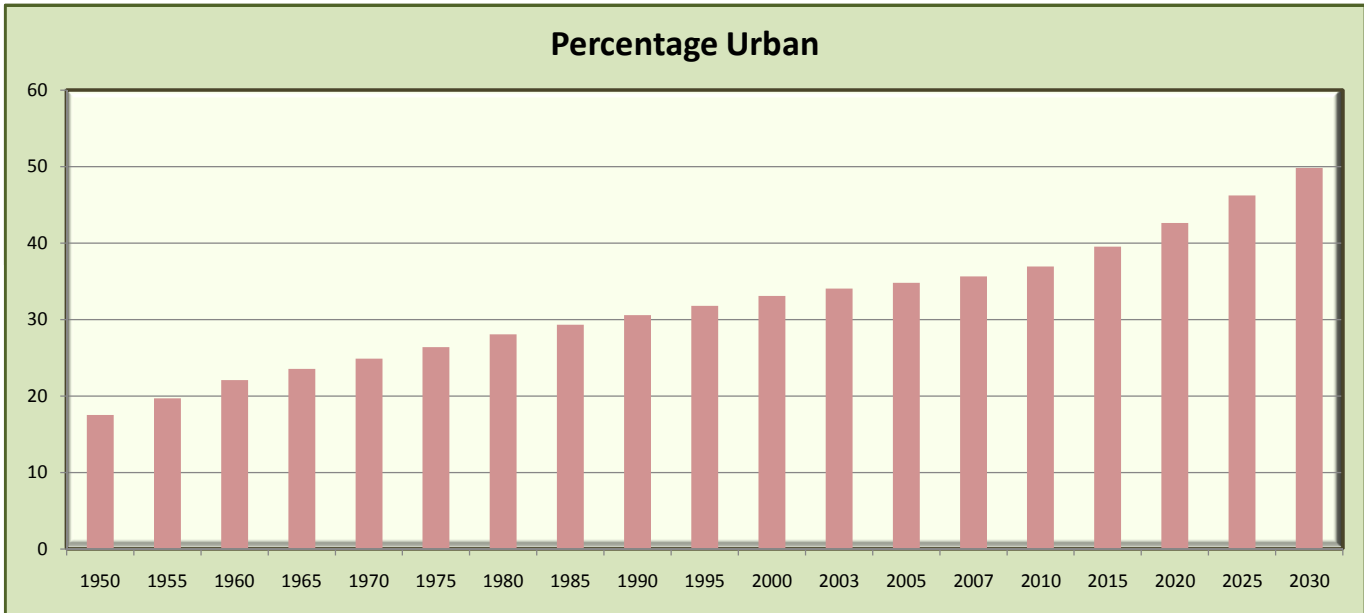
Demographics



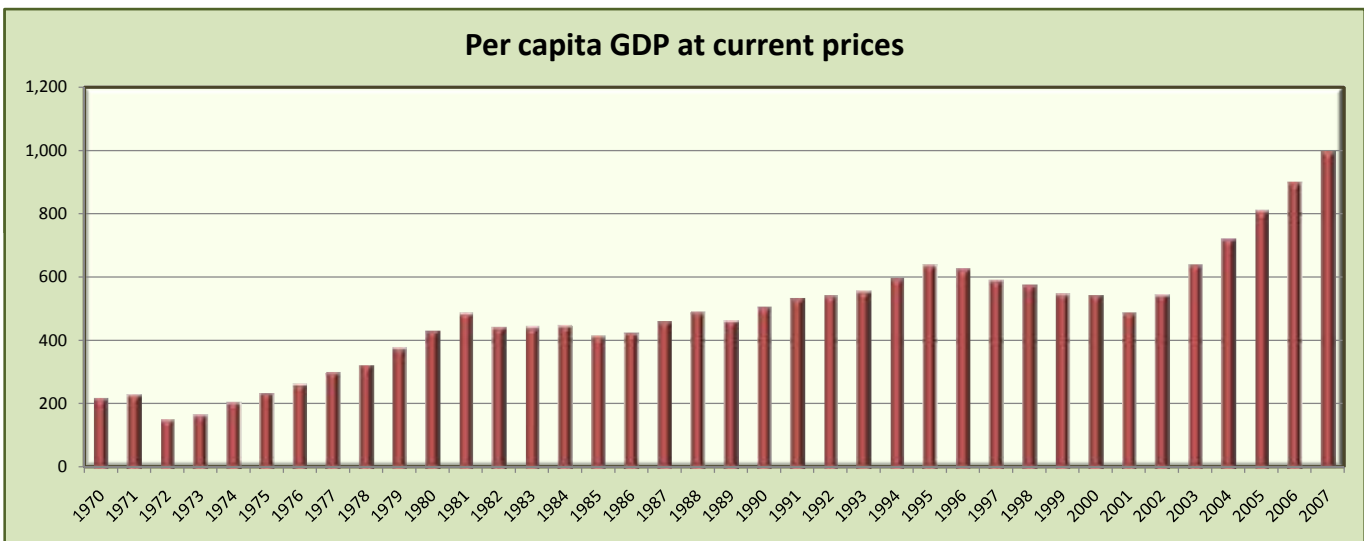
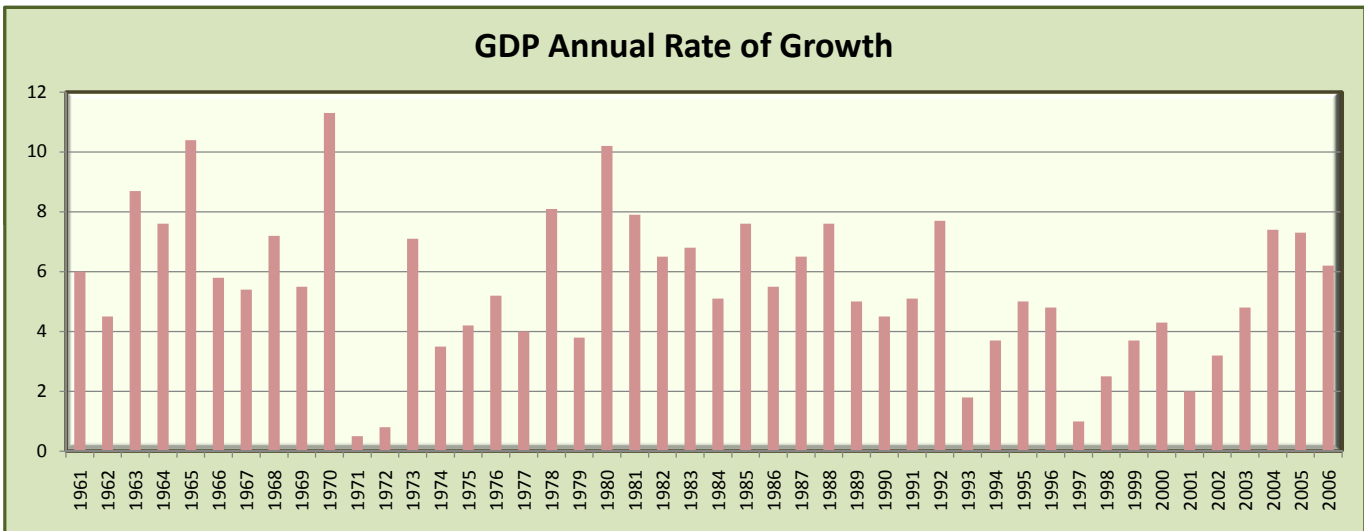
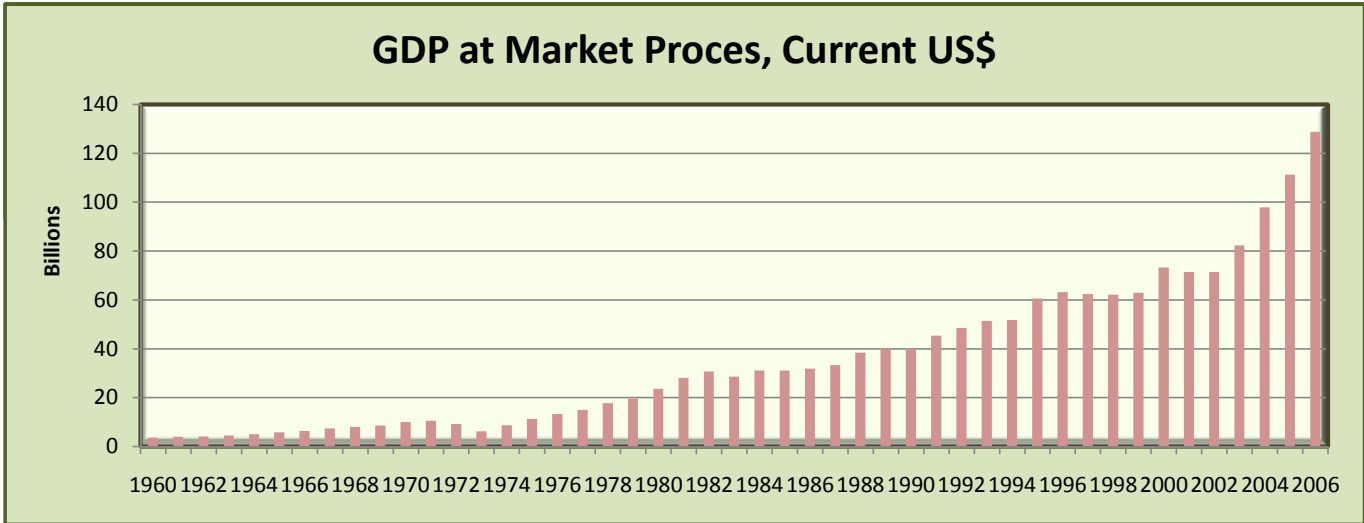
Statistics from UN Stats.



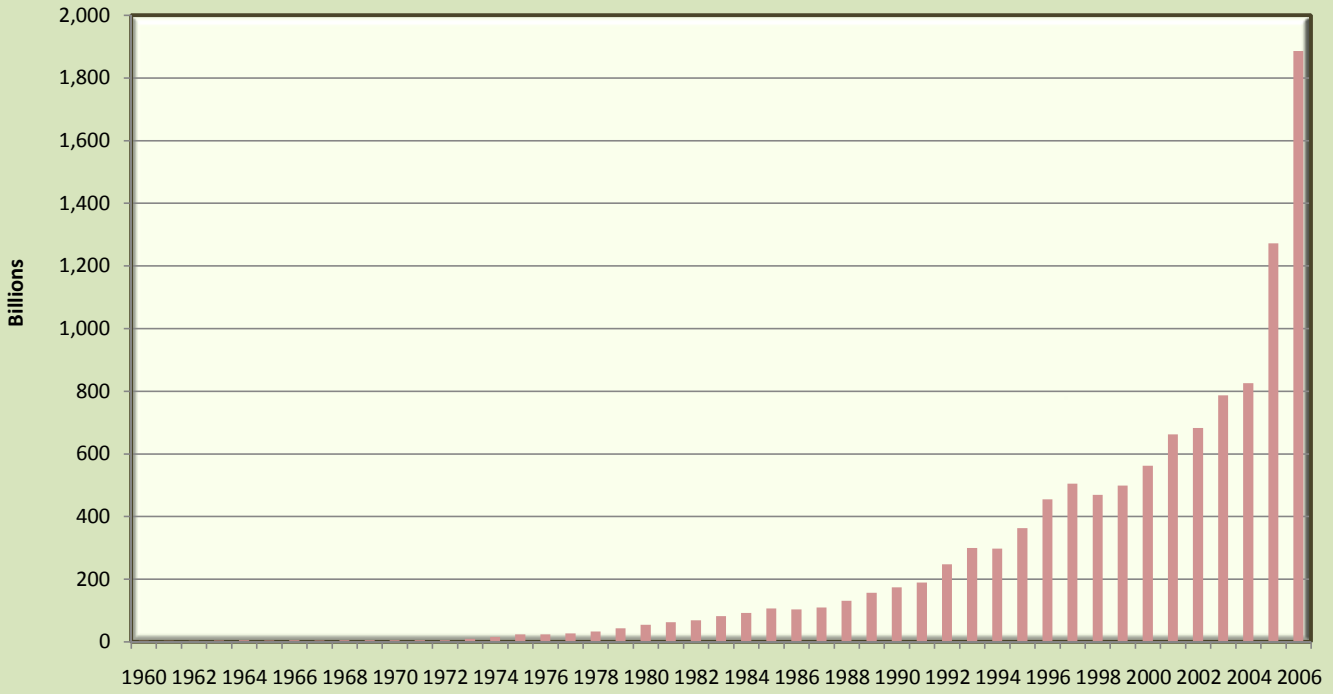




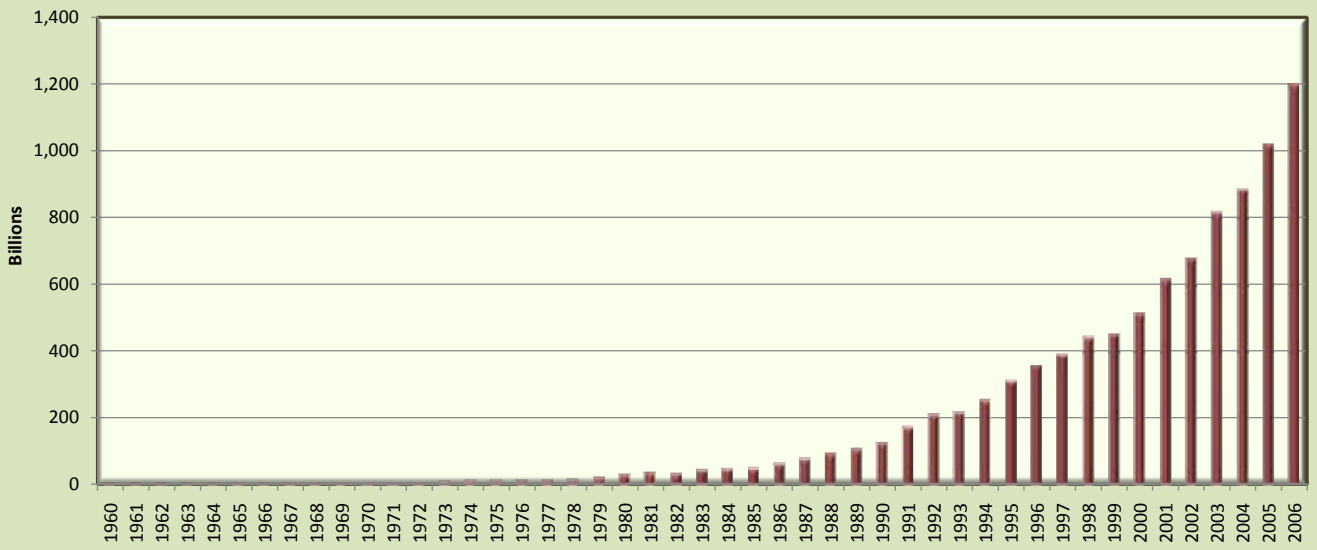
Economy



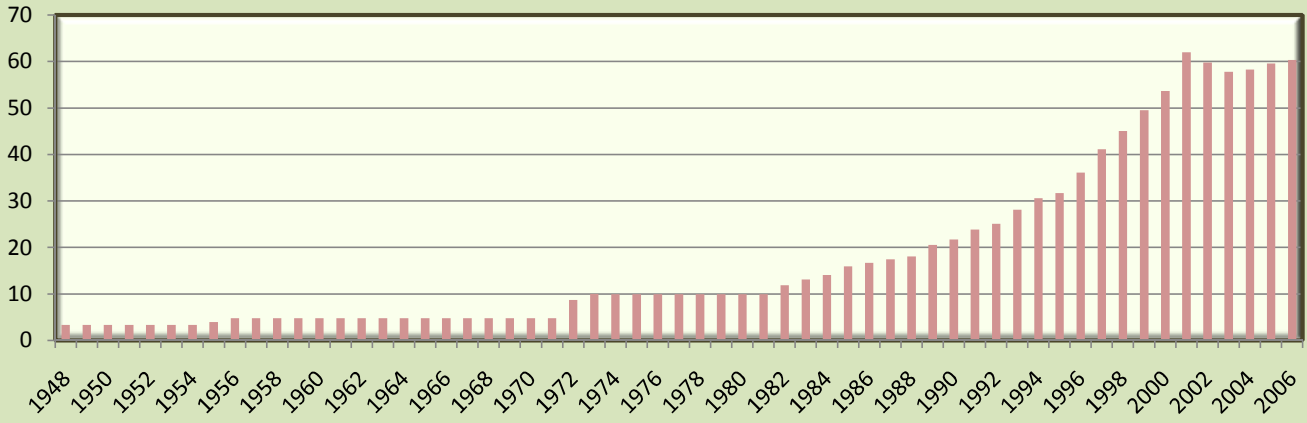
Imports Goods and Services, National Currency



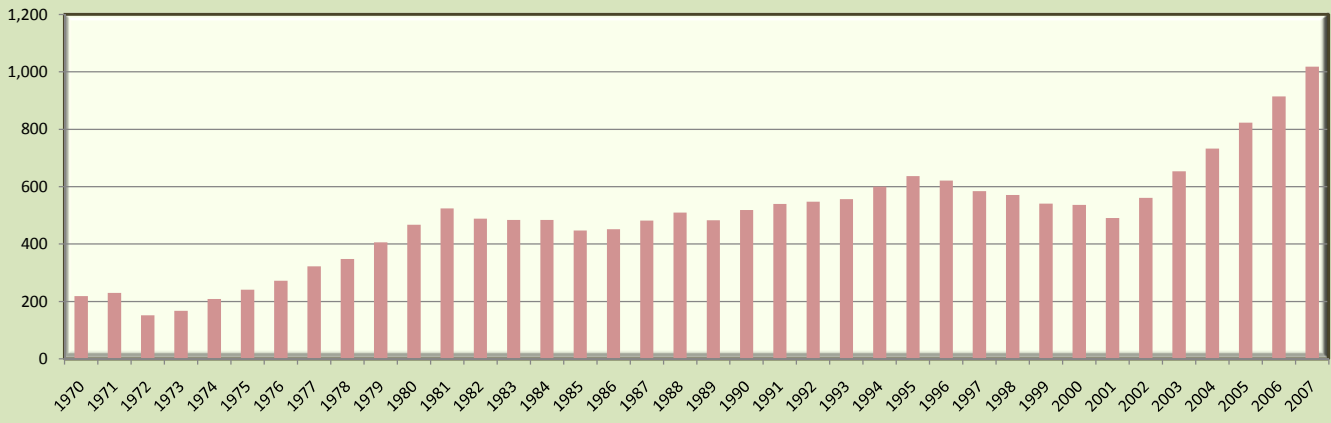
Exports Goods and Services, National Currency



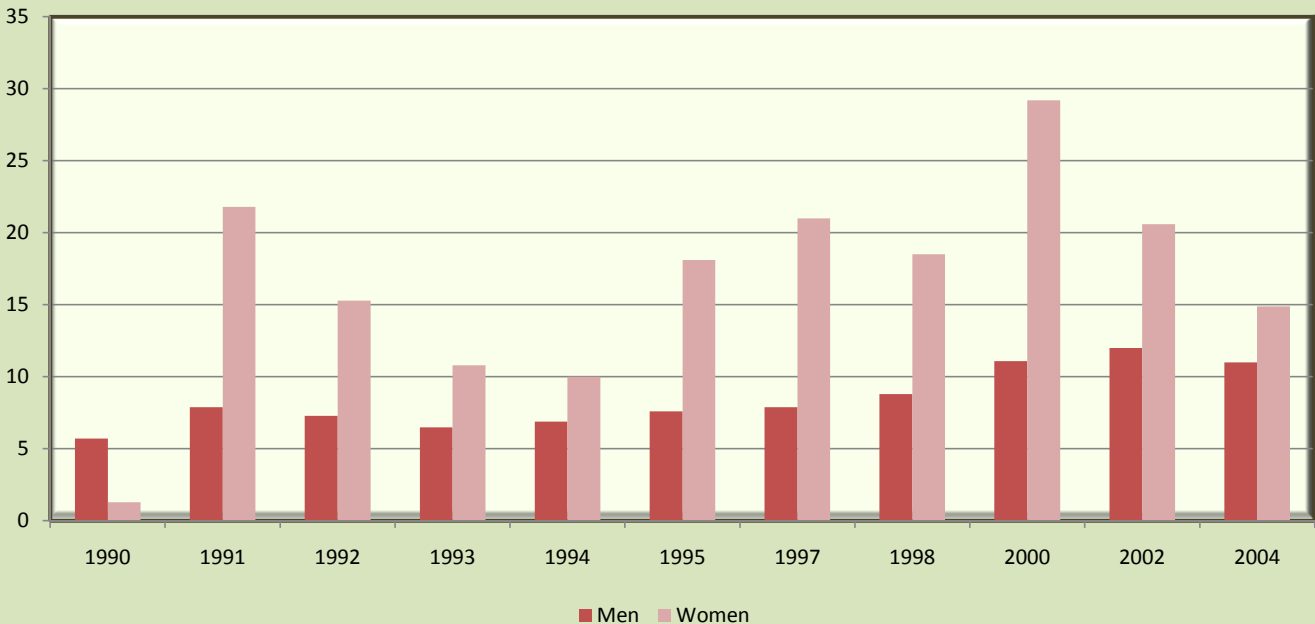
Exchange Rate, National Currency per US\$



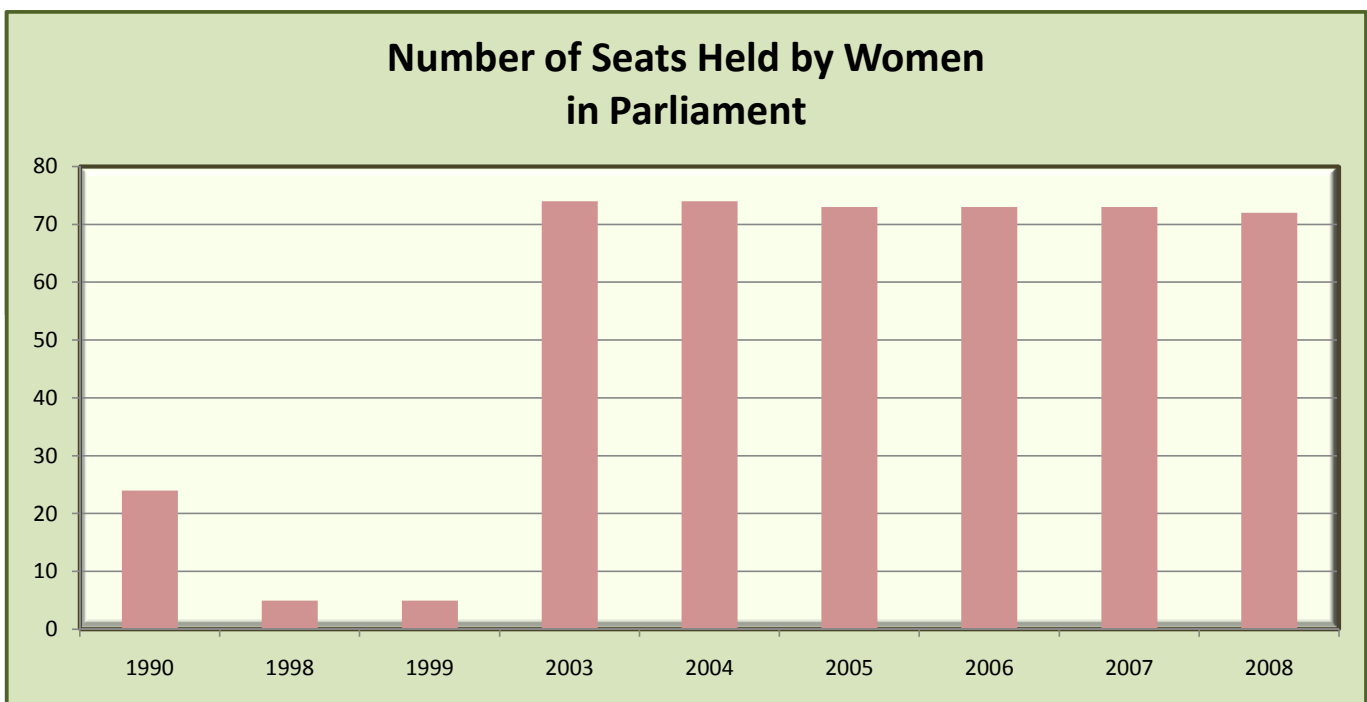
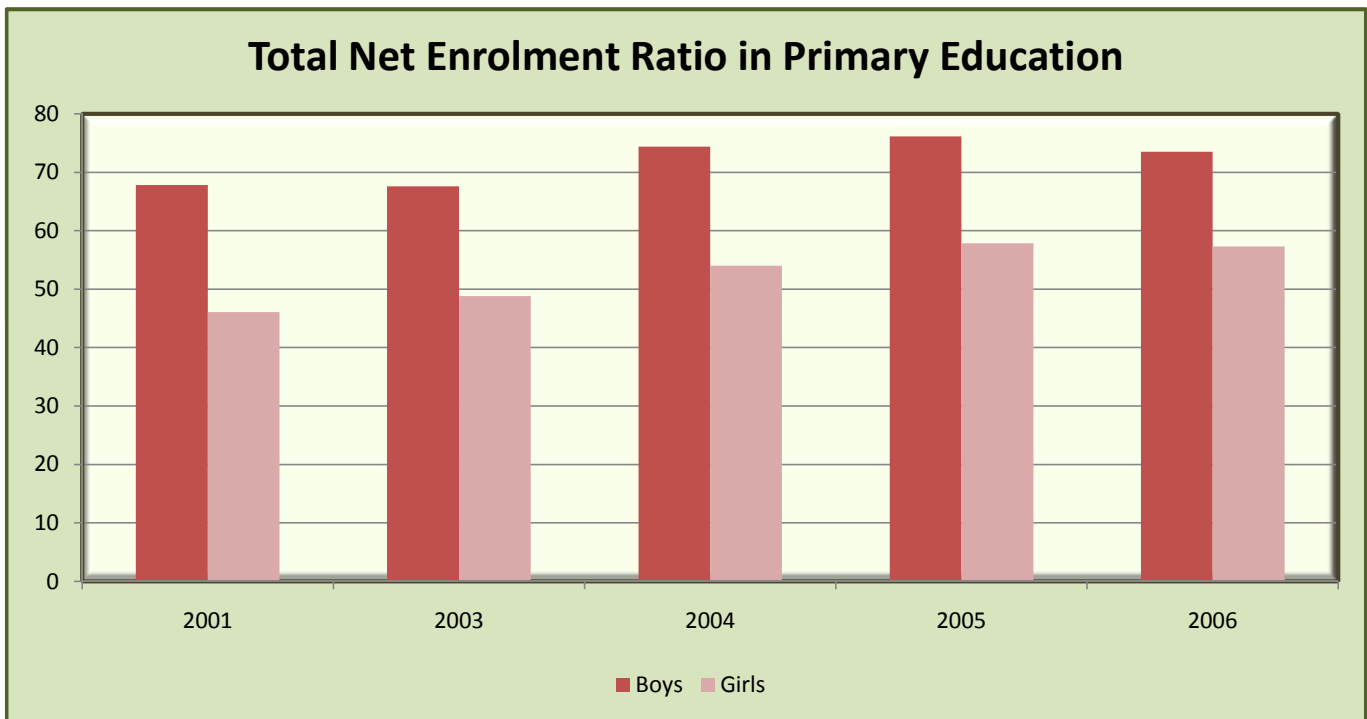
Per Capita GNI at Current Prices



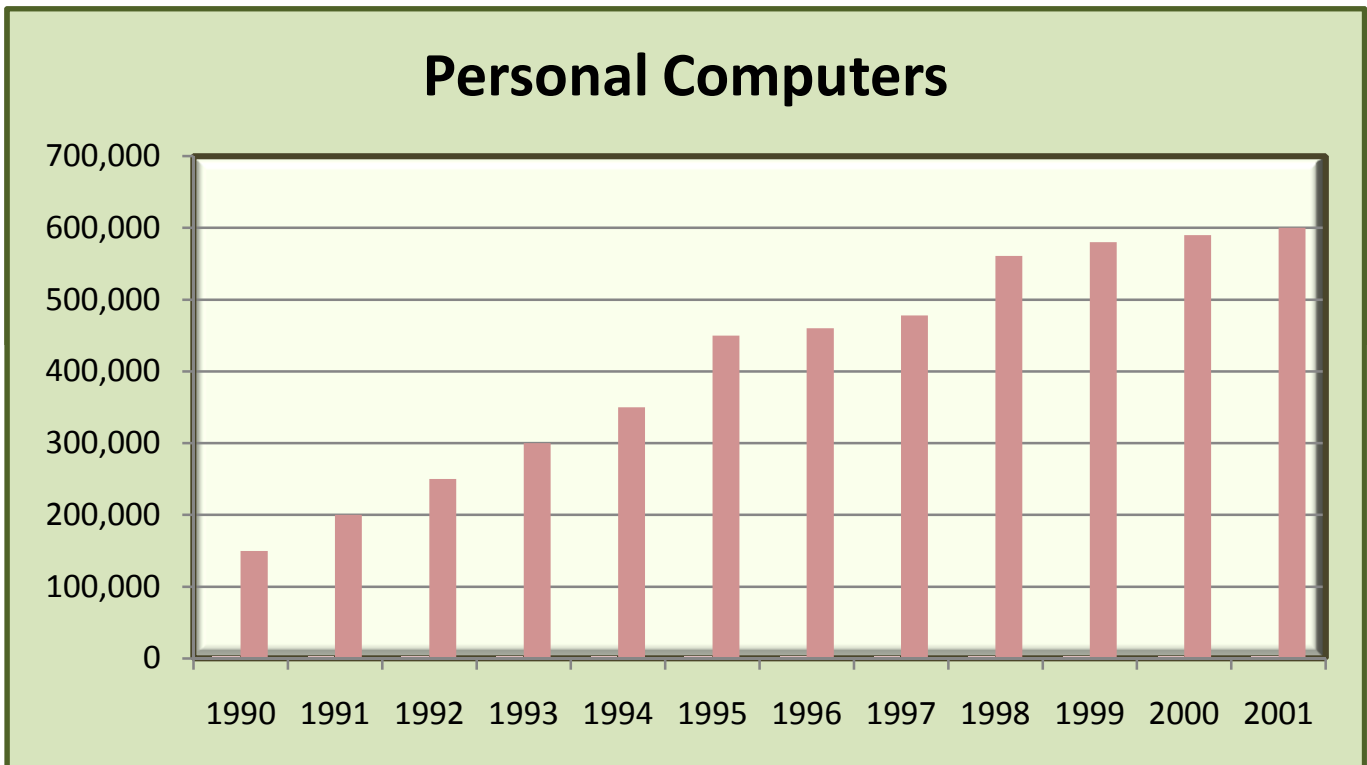
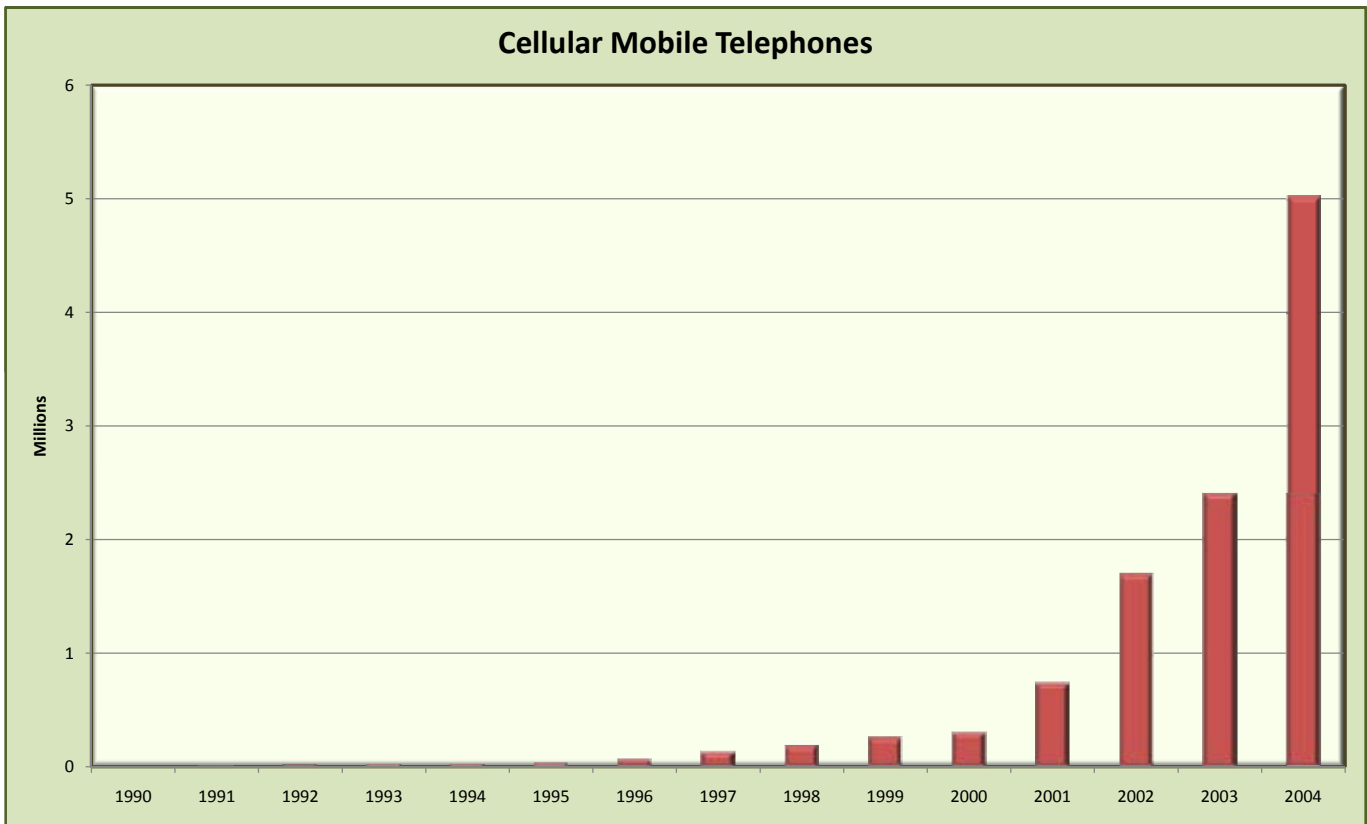
Youth Unemployment Rate (Age 15-24)



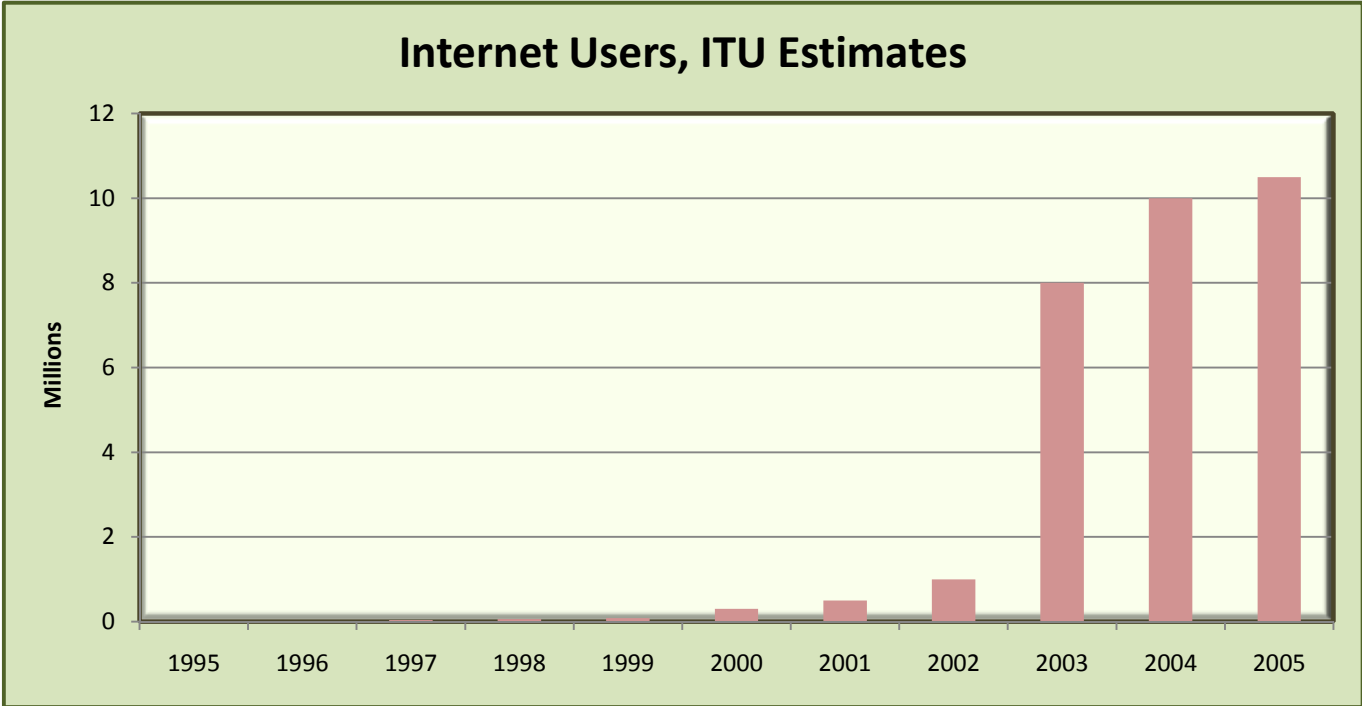
Education, Gender, and Technology



Education, Gender, and Technology



Internet Users, ITU Estimates



**From the pages of *The Middle East Journal's* “Chronology:”
Pakistan in 1979**

Since it began publication in 1947, each issue of *The Middle East Journal* has contained a section chronologically detailing events of note in the region for the preceding three months. Today, this section is dubbed the “Chronology,” although in the earliest issues of the *Journal*, it was called “Developments of the Quarter.” The Chronology is organized by country and issue, with each section providing a day-by-day account of the relevant events and developments. Mirroring the *Journal*, the Chronology’s coverage of the region spans from North Africa in the west to formerly Soviet Central Asia, to Pakistan in the east.

Given the longevity of *The Middle East Journal*, the Chronology is an indispensable resource to those interested in the politics and history of the modern Middle East — in the pages of the *Journal*, readers can essentially read a daily accounting of the events in a particular country from 1947 through today. Entries for the Chronology are written as they occur and represent a real-time window not only into the events of the region, but into the overall context of the time and place in which they occurred.

The following pages contain reproductions of the Chronology entries written for Pakistan during 1979. They provide a unique and detailed look into a series of events that have left an indelible mark upon the region.

Oman

(See also, Bahrain, Yemen)

1978

Dec. 11: Yemeni President 'Alī 'Abdallāh Šālīh arrived in Muscat and met with Sultan Qābūs bin Sa'īd. [FBIS]

Dec. 19: Kuwayti Crown Prince Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallāh Āl Šabāh was in Muscat for talks on "consolidating bilateral relations." [MEED]

1979

Feb. 4: Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Qays al-Zawāwī met Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Sa'ūd al-Fayṣal in Saudi Arabia and then returned to Oman. [AN]

Pakistan

(See also, Afghanistan, Iran, United Arab Emirates)

1978

Nov. 18: A court ordered the government to release Nusrat Bhutto, wife of former President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, from house arrest. [NYT]

Dec. 15: Commerce Minister Mian Zahid Sarfraz returned to Rawalpindi at the end of a visit to Kabul. A communiqué said that Pakistan and Afghanistan had agreed in principle to set up a joint ministerial commission on bilateral trade. [FBIS]

Dec. 17: *The New York Times* reported that the government had lifted censorship imposed 2 months earlier on 8 periodicals in Sind province. [NYT]

Dec. 18: Former Premier Bhutto appeared before the Supreme Court to appeal against his conviction on murder charges. [FBIS]

Bhutto said he was being "persecuted" in his jail treatment and appealed for justice to the Supreme Court. [NYT]

Dec. 21: Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mohammad Shamsul Haq met with President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan. [FBIS]

1979

Jan. 22: Chinese Deputy Premier Li Hsien-nien pledged China's support of Pakistan against any "foreign aggression" and said China "firmly supports" Pakistani demands for "self-determination" in Kashmir. [NYT]

Jan. 25: Malaysian Premier Datuk Hussein Bin Onn arrived in Islamabad on a 4 day official visit. [FBIS]

Jan. 29: UAA President Zāyid bin Sulṭān Āl Nuhayyān met with President Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan. [FBIS]

Feb. 3: Police arrested supporters of Bhutto in a nationwide sweep. [WP]

Feb. 6: The Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Bhutto by a vote of 4 to 3. [NYT]

The US State Department said that President Jimmy Carter had asked Pakistan to spare the life of Bhutto. [NYT]

Feb. 9: Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev and Pope John Paul II appealed to Pakistan to spare the life of Bhutto. [NYT]

Feb. 10: New penal measures based on Islamic principles of justice went into force. [AN]

Feb. 11: Chinese Premier Hua Kuo-feng appealed to Pakistan to grant clemency to Bhutto. [NYT]

Feb. 13: Lawyers for Bhutto filed a request for a stay of execution. [NYT]

Feb. 14: The Supreme Court granted a 10 day stay of execution in order to consider a request to reconsider its decision concerning Bhutto. [NYT]

Qatar

(See also, Saudi Arabia)

1978

Dec. 12: Kuwayti Crown Prince Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallāh Āl Šabāh ended a visit to Doha during which he had held talks with Amir Shaykh Khalīfah bin Ḥamad Āl Thānī. [FBIS]

Dec. 17: Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko arrived in Doha and met with Amir Shaykh Khalīfah. [FBIS]

Dec. 24: The following were appointed to the Cabinet: Shaykh Muḥammad bin Ḥamad Āl Thānī: *Education*; Shaykh Aḥmad bin Sayf Āl Thānī: *State for Foreign Affairs*. [FBIS]

1979

Jan. 30: Amir Shaykh Khalīfah returned to Qatar at the end of a month long private visit to Europe. [MEED]

Feb. 13: UAA Petroleum Minister Māna' Sa'īd al-'Uṭaybah met with Amir Shaykh Khalīfah and Finance Minister Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz bin Khalīfah Āl Thānī in Doha. [FBIS]

Saudi Arabia

(See also, Arab Israeli Conflict, Petroleum Affairs, Bahrain, Lebanon, Oman, Sudan, Yemen)

1978

Nov. 17: US Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal arrived in Jiddah on a 2 day official visit. [FBIS]

Arsalan al-Jadidi: *Work & Vocational Training*
 Abdelhafiz Kadiri: *Youth & Sports*
 Abdallah Gharnit: *Social Affairs and Traditional Industries*
 Abbas al-Fassi: *Housing & Territorial Management*
 Benali Mansouri: *Administrative Affairs*
 Mohand Nacer: *Transport*
 Rahhal Rahhali: *Health*
 Moussa Saadi: *Energy & Minerals*
 Azzeddine Jassous: *Commerce & Industry*
 Abdelsalem Znined: *Tourism*
 Abdelwahid Belakziz: *Information*
 Abdellatif Jouhari: *Minister Delegate to the Parliament*
 Abbas Kissi: *Secretary General to the Government* [FBIS]

- March 27*: The National Defense Council was formed: Ahmad Osman, Dey Ould Sidi Baba, Hachmi Filali, Abdelkarim Ghallab, Abdelrahman Bouabid, Abdelwahad Radi, Mohammad Haddou Abarkach, Mohammad Khattabi, Ali Yara and Achour Bekkay. [MEED]
- April 12*: Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko arrived in Rabat for talks with Moroccan leaders. [FBIS]
 French Foreign Minister Jean-François Poncet arrived in Morocco for talks. [FBIS]
- April 15*: Jordanian King Husayn arrived in Rabat for a private visit and talks with King Hasan on the Middle East situation. [NYT]
- May 3*: Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd met with King Hasan in Morocco. [FBIS]
 Mauritanian Premier Ahmed Ould Bouceif said Mauritania was willing to start talks with the Polisario Front concerning Western Sahara. [NYT]
- May 5*: Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo and Malian President Moussa Traore met with King Hasan in Fez. [FBIS]
- May 8*: The Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference opened in Fez. [AN]

Oman

(See also, Arab Israeli Conflict, Petroleum Affairs, Bahrain)

1979

- Feb. 28*: British Queen Elizabeth II arrived in Muscat on the last leg of a tour of Gulf states. [AN]
- March 2*: British Queen Elizabeth II ended a visit to Oman. [AN]
- April 9*: Egyptian Vice President Husnī Mubārak met with Sultan Qābūs bin Sa'īd. [FBIS]
- April 22*: The first Ambassador from the People's Republic of China arrived in Muscat. [FBIS]
- April 25*: Egyptian Vice President Mubārak arrived in Muscat and met with Sultan Qābūs. [FBIS]
- May 8*: Sultan Qābūs said there were no Egyptian troops in the Sultanate and there was no intention to invite any such troops to Oman. [FBIS]

Pakistan

(See also, Arab Israeli Conflict, Afghanistan, Iran)

1979

- Feb. 22*: *The Christian Science Monitor* reported that 6 foreign correspondents had been charged with contempt for writing about the Supreme Court decision upholding the death sentence against former President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. [CSM]
- Feb. 25*: The Supreme Court gave government officials 4 weeks to say why they should not be held guilty of contempt for publishing accusations against former President Bhutto while he was appealing a death sentence. [NYT]
- March 12*: Pakistan withdrew from the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). [NYT]
- March 24*: The Supreme Court dismissed a petition on behalf of Bhutto asking that the rejection of his appeal be reconsidered. [NYT]
- March 25*: Prison officials served Bhutto a warrant notifying him that the death sentence would be carried out within 7 days. [NYT]
- March 26*: Prison officials removed all comforts, including the bed, from Bhutto's jail cell, and cut off his electricity. [NYT]
- March 27*: Pakistan signed an agreement with France to buy 32 Mirage jet interceptors. [NYT]
- March 29*: The High Court of Sind rejected a petition on behalf of Bhutto challenging the legality of constitutional changes introduced under martial law. [NYT]
- March 31*: The Pakistani People's Party filed an appeal to President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq to spare Bhutto's life. [NYT]
- April 1*: It was disclosed that a half sister of Bhutto had appealed on his behalf against his wishes for clemency. [NYT]
- April 3*: Police in Sind Province said raids on 3 houses owned by Bhutto had recovered "secret documents of an extremely sensitive nature." [NYT]
- April 4*: Bhutto and 4 other men were executed in Rawalpindi. [NYT]
- April 5*: Demonstrations against the executions took place in Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi and other cities. Hundreds of arrests were made. [NYT]
- April 6*: The US cut off economic and military assistance to Pakistan after it concluded that Pakistan was building a plant to produce weapons-grade enriched uranium. [NYT]
- April 7*: Demonstrations against the executions were held. In some cities anti-Bhutto demonstrators clashed with his supporters. [NYT]
- April 8*: The government denied that it was trying to develop nuclear weapons. [NYT]
- April 15*: The Pakistan National Alliance withdrew from the government, saying its objectives had been achieved. [NYT]

April 21: A new Cabinet was sworn in:
 Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur: *Defense*
 Faiez Ali Chisti: *Labor & Manpower, Petroleum and Northern Areas & Kashmir Affairs*
 Inamul Haq: *Housing & Works, Water & Power*
 Ghulam Hassan Khan: *Production & Industries*
 Ghulam Ishaq Khan: *Finance, Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission and Provincial Coordinator & Commissioner*
 Muhammad Ali Khan: *Education*
 Fazil Janjua: *Food, Agriculture and Coöperatives*
 Mahmud Haroon: *Interior, Religious Affairs and Minority Affairs*
 Jamal Syed Mian: *Railways and Local Government & Rural Development*
 Sharifuddin Pirzada: *Attorney General, Law & Parliamentary Affairs*
 Mohyuddin Baluch: *Communications*
 Javed Hashmi: *Culture & Tourism*
 Shamid Hamed: *Information & Broadcasting*
 Hamid Habib: *State for Export Development*
 Mahmud Ali: *State for National Council of Social Affairs*
 Agha Shahi: *Adviser for Foreign Affairs*
 M. Afzal: *Adviser for Higher Education*
 Muazzam Ali: *Adviser for Overseas Pakistani Affairs*
 Hakim Mohammad Syed: *Health*
 Begum Waqarun Nisa Noon: *Chairman of Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation* [FBIS]

Qatar

(See also, Arab Israeli Conflict)

1979

Feb. 21: British Queen Elizabeth II arrived in Qatar and was met by Amir Shaykh Khalifah bin Ḥamad Āl Thāni. [AN]
March 1: Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yāsir 'Arafāt arrived in Doha and met with Amir Shaykh Khalifah. [FBIS]
March 14: A Jordanian airliner crashed in Qatar during a thunderstorm, killing 45 people. [NYT]
April 9: Lebanese Premier Salim al-Ḥuṣṣ met with Amir Shaykh Khalifah in Doha. [FBIS]
April 23: Turkish Foreign Minister Gündüz Ökzün arrived in Doha on a 2 day visit to Qatar. [FBIS]
May 3: Qatar announced a revaluation of the riyal by 2% as of May 15. [FBIS]
May 11: *Middle East Economic Digest* reported that the UAA and Bahrayn had suspended their currency exchange arrangements with Qatar following the Qatari revaluation. [MEED]

Saudi Arabia

(See also, Arab Israeli Conflict, Petroleum Affairs, Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco)

1979

Feb. 24: South Yemeni Foreign Minister Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muṭī' arrived in Riyadh, met with Foreign Minister Sa'ūd al-Fayṣal, and returned to South Yemen. [FBIS]
Feb. 26: Greek Premier Constantine Karamanlis met with Crown Prince Fahd and other Saudi officials in Saudi Arabia. [FBIS]
Feb. 28: Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yāsir 'Arafāt met with King Khālid in Saudi Arabia. [FBIS]
March 4: Saudi Arabian delegate to the UN Jamīl Murād Bārūdi died, aged 73. [NYT]
March 10: Guinean President Sekou Touré met with King Khālid in Jiddah. [FBIS]
March 21: Jordanian King Ḥusayn began a 2 day visit to Saudi Arabia for talks with King Khālid on the Middle East situation. [FBIS]
March 25: It was announced that Crown Prince Fahd had arrived in Spain and been admitted to a hospital for a medical examination. [FBIS]
April 1: Lebanese Premier Salim al-Ḥuṣṣ arrived in Riyadh on a visit. [FBIS]
April 29: *The New York Times* quoted Prince 'Abdallāh as saying that all Saudi leaders were "united in opinion, spirit, objective and perspective." [NYT]
May 12: Yemeni President 'Alī 'Abdallāh Ṣāliḥ arrived in Riyadh and met with King Khālid. [FBIS]
May 13: Crown Prince Fahd met with French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in Paris. [AN]
May 14: Crown Prince Fahd met with West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Bonn. [AN]

South Yemen

(See also, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen)

1979

March 30: Chairman of the Presidium 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ismā'īl returned to Aden from a summit conference in Kuwayt. [FBIS]
April 7: Foreign Minister Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muṭī' left South Yemen for Addis Ababa and met with Ethiopian Head of State Mengistu Haile Mariam. [FBIS]
April 13: Premier 'Alī Naṣīr Muḥammad left Damascus for Bulgaria at the end of a 1 day visit to Syria. [FBIS]

- 'Alī al-Khalīl: *Finance*
 Nāzīm al-Qādirī: *Labor & Social Affairs*
 Butrus Ḥarb: *National Education & Fine Arts, Public Works and Transport*
 Talāl al-Mīr'ibī: *Economy, Trade & Public Health*
 Yūsuf Jubrān: *Justice & Information* [MEED]
July 30: Syrian troops battled Christian militia forces with mortars and rockets in Beirut. [NYT]
Aug. 6: Minister of State Ḥilū resigned his post. [AN]
Aug. 9: The Cabinet won a vote of confidence in the Parliament by a vote of 54 to 9. [NYT]
Aug. 13: Gunmen in Beirut wounded the Iraqi Ambassador and 2 other people. [NYT]

Libya

(See also, Arab Israeli Conflict, Petroleum Affairs, Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Yemen, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen)

1979

- May 23:* South Yemeni Chairman of the Presidium 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ismā'īl arrived in Tripoli and met with Head of State Mu'ammār al-Qadhdfāfi. [FBIS]
May 31: Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito arrived in Tripoli and was met by Head of State Qadhdfāfi. [FBIS]
June 7: Yemeni Premier 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Abd al-Ghanī arrived in Tripoli. [FBIS]
June 10: The West German periodical *Der Spiegel* said former Ugandan President Idi Amin was living near Tripoli in a government guest house. [NYT]
June 20: West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher left Tripoli at the end of a 2 day visit to Libya. [FBIS]
July 12: Qadhdfāfi arrived in Benghazi at the end of a tour of 10 Arab states. [FBIS]
July 21: Turkish Minister of National Defense Neşet Akmandor arrived in Tripoli on a 3 day visit. [FBIS]
July 26: Chadian Interior Minister of the Provisional Government Goukouni Oueddei said Chadian troops had defeated a Libyan invasion force in June in a series of battles in north Chad. [NYT]
July 31: Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Touré met with Qadhdfāfi in Libya. [FBIS]

Morocco

1979

- May 19:* Saudi Arabian King Khālid arrived in Meknes on a state visit. [FBIS]
June 13: Forces of the Polisario Front attacked the Moroccan town of Tan Tan. [AN]
June 15: Spanish King Juan Carlos met with King Hasan in Fes. [FBIS]
July 19: The Organization of African Unity called for a

- UN supervised referendum in Western Sahara and urged that a ceasefire go into effect there. [NYT]
Aug. 5: Mauritania signed an agreement with the Polisario Front in Algiers under which Mauritania renounced all claim to the southern part of Western Sahara. [NYT]
Aug. 9: Morocco rejected the peace agreement between Mauritania and the Polisario Front and ordered Moroccan troops to leave Mauritania. [NYT]
Aug. 10: Mauritanian Premier Mohamed Khouna Ould Heydalla arrived in Rabat and met with King Hasan. [FBIS]
Aug. 12: *Arab News* reported that a Moroccan delegation headed by Interior Minister Driss Basri had visited the coastal town of Dakhla in the former Mauritanian sector of Western Sahara. [AN]
Aug. 14: The Polisario Front said it would push attacks in Moroccan territory "as far and as hard as possible." [NYT]

Oman

(See also, Petroleum Affairs)

1979

- May 22:* The *Gulf News Agency* reported that the following Cabinet changes had been made:
 Fahar bin Taymūr Āl Bū Sa'id: *Deputy Premier for Security & Defense Affairs*
 Fahd bin Maḥmūd Āl Bū Sa'id: *Deputy Premier for Legal Affairs*
 Fayṣal bin 'Alī Āl Bū Sa'id: *National Heritage & Culture Affairs*
 Aḥmad 'Abdallāh al-Ghazālī: *Land and Municipalities Affairs*
 'Aṣīm al-Jamālī: *Environment Affairs*
 Sa'id Ahmad al-Shanfari: *Petroleum & Minerals*
 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ Sālim: *Agriculture & Fisheries*
 Yahyā Maḥfūz al-Mundhurī: *Education*
 Badr bin Su'ud Āl Bū Sa'id: *Interior*
 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Rawwās: *Information and Youth Affairs*. [FBIS]
June 1: Minister of State and Wali of Dhufar Province Burayk bin Ḥamūd al-Ghāfirī died, aged 46. [MEED]
June 28: A delegation headed by Foreign Ministry Under Secretary Yūsuf al-'Alawī returned to Muscat from Tehran at the end of a 3 day visit. [FBIS]
July 18: Yemeni Political Advisor to the President 'Abdallāh al-Aṣnaj arrived in Muscat for talks with Omani leaders. [FBIS]

Pakistan

(See also, Afghanistan, Iraq)

1979

- May 17:* Foreign Affairs Advisor Agha Shahi left Karachi for a 2 day visit to the People's Republic of China. [FBIS]

May 22: The government released from confinement former Commander of the Army Tikka Khan and 4 other officials of the Pakistan People's Party. [NYT]

May 25: Begum Nusrat Bhutto, widow of former Premier Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was elected President of the Pakistan People's Party. [FBIS]

May 28: Nusrat Bhutto and her daughter Benazir were released from detention near Islamabad and flown to Karachi. [NYT]

July 1: Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Dost arrived in Islamabad on a 2 day visit. [FBIS]

July 8: Opponents of government budget policy staged a 1 day strike in Karachi. [NYT]

July 24: Four men convicted with former Premier Bhutto of a political murder were hanged. [AN]

Qatar

(See also, Petroleum Affairs, Saudi Arabia)

1979

July 2: Libyan Head of State Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi arrived in Doha for talks with Qatari leaders. [FBIS]

July 8: Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre arrived in Doha for talks. [FBIS]

Saudi Arabia

(See also, Petroleum Affairs, Bahrain, Egypt, Morocco, United Arab Emirates, Yemen)

1979

June 5: Yemeni Premier 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Abd al-Ghani arrived in Riyadh and met with King Khalid. [FBIS]

June 24: Mauritanian President Mohamed Mahmud Louly arrived in Saudi Arabia on an official visit. [FBIS]

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher left Jiddah at the end of a 2 day visit. [FBIS]

June 26: Kuwaiti Amir Shaykh Jābir al-Aḥmad Āl Šabāḥ left Saudi Arabia at the end of a 1 day visit to the Kingdom. [FBIS]

Qatari Amir Shaykh Khalīfah bin Ḥamad Āl Thānī arrived in Saudi Arabia and was met by King Khalid. [FBIS]

July 1: Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre arrived in Riyadh for talks with Saudi leaders. [FBIS]

July 4: Libyan Head of State Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi arrived in Riyadh and was met by King Khalid. [FBIS]

July 13: Japanese Minister of International Trade Masumi Esaki arrived in Saudi Arabia for talks with Saudi leaders. [FBIS]

July 14: Maltese Premier Dom Mintoff arrived in Jiddah on an official visit. [FBIS]

July 16: French Defense Minister Yvon Bourges met with King Khalid in al-Ṭā'if. [FBIS]

July 17: Jordanian King Ḥusayn met with King Khalid in al-Ṭā'if. [FBIS]

South Yemen

(See also, Algeria, Libya)

1979

June 3: An Iraqi university professor teaching at Aden University was murdered at his home. It was reported that 2 Iraqis had been seen leaving the scene in a car with diplomatic plates. [MEED]

June 4: Troops surrounded the Iraqi Embassy. [MEED]

June 5: Troops stormed the Iraqi Embassy and took 5 Iraqis into custody. [MEED]

June 12: *The Iraqi News Agency* cited an Iraqi Foreign Ministry spokesman as announcing the withdrawal of its Ambassador from Aden. [FBIS]

June 27: Minister of Fish Resources Muḥammad Sālim 'Akkūsh was relieved of his post. [FBIS]

July 9: Libyan Head of State Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi arrived in Aden and was met by Chairman of the Presidium 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ismā'īl. [FBIS]

July 13: *Aden Domestic Service* reported that Chairman of the Council of Ministers 'Alī Nāṣir Muḥammad had returned to Aden at the end of a visit to the Soviet Union. [FBIS]

Aug. 5: *The New York Times* cited "Navy intelligence sources" as saying a Soviet nuclear submarine and a tender had entered the port of Yemen. [NYT]

Aug. 11: The Supreme People's Council met in extraordinary session. It elected Muḥammad 'Awaḍ al-Sa'dī and Ṭaha 'Alī Šālīḥ as members of the Presidium in place of Faḍīl Muḥsin 'Abdallāh and Maḥmūd Sa'īd Madḥī. [FBIS]

The following were elected as members of the Council of Ministers:

Anīs Hasan Yahyā: *Fish Resources*

Sālim Šālīḥ Muḥammad: *Foreign Affairs*

'Alī Shayī Hādī: *Interior*

Faḍīl Muḥsin 'Abdallāh: *Agriculture & Agrarian Reform*

Maḥmūd Sa'īd Madḥī: *Finance*

Faraj bin Ghānim: *Planning* [FBIS]

Sudan

1979

May 19: A trial of 45 defendants accused of political crimes began in a Khartoum suburb. [FBIS]

May 23: French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing arrived in Khartoum for talks with Sudanese leaders. [FBIS]

May 28: The following Cabinet appointments were made: 'Abd al-Mājid Khalīl: *Defense*

- Aug. 25: Polisario Front guerrillas said they had attacked the southern Moroccan garrison town of Lebuirate the day before. [NYT]
- Sept. 1: Egyptian President Anwar al-Sādāt said he had received a request for military aid from King Hasan II and that he had acceded to the request. [AN]
- Sept. 2: Saudi Arabian Second Deputy Premier Prince 'Abdallāh arrived in Fez on a private visit to Morocco. [AN]
- Sept. 13: UAA President Shaykh Zāyid bin Sulṭān Āl Nuhayyān arrived in Rabat from Switzerland on a private visit to Morocco. [FBIS]
- Sept. 16: Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yāsir 'Arafāt arrived in Morocco for talks with Moroccan leaders. The Moroccan news agency reported that the visit came "within the framework of the mediation" by the PLO between Algeria and Morocco concerning Western Sahara. [NYT]
- Sept. 27: Premier Maata Bouabid returned to Fez at the end of a visit to Senegal. [FBIS]
- Oct. 7: Moroccan troops and Polisario guerrillas battled at the Western Sahara town of Smara. Results of the battle were disputed. [MEED]
- Oct. 10: The Moroccan newspaper *al-Maghrib* said that an attack on the Western Sahara town of Smara the past weekend was "quite obviously an attack by the regular Algerian army against national Moroccan territory." [AN]
- Oct. 22: *The New York Times* reported that US President Jimmy Carter had decided to seek Congressional approval for the sale of reconnaissance planes and helicopter gunships to Morocco. [NYT]
- Oct. 28: Senegalese President Leopold Senghor arrived in Rabat for talks with King Hasan. [FBIS]
- Oct. 30: US Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher met in Morocco with King Hasan on possible arms sales and said the 2 countries had "a large measure of agreement" on the need to achieve a "peaceful solution" to the problem of Western Sahara. [NYT]
- Nov. 3: Liberian President William Tolbert arrived in Rabat on a visit. [FBIS]
- Moroccan armed forces numbering 7000 began a major offensive against the Polisario guerrillas in the Western Sahara. [AN]
- Nov. 14: Boucetta arrived in London for talks with British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington on the Western Sahara dispute. [AN]
- Sept. 18: A Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the UAA and Oman had reached an agreement on the border dispute between the 2 countries. [FBIS]
- Sept. 26: Egyptian Vice President Ḥusnī Mubārak met with Sultan Qābūs in Oman. [FBIS]
- Sept. 28: *Middle East Economic Digest* reported that an Omani plan for the defense of the Strait of Hormuz had been rejected by Iraq, Bahrayn, Kuwait and South Yemen. [MEED]
- Oct. 9: Omani Deputy Premier for Security and Defense Affairs Fahd bin Taymūr returned to Muscat at the end of a 5 day visit to Egypt. [FBIS]
- Oct. 20: Bahrayni Foreign Minister Shaykh Muḥammad bin Mubārak Āl Khalifah met with Sultan Qābūs in Muscat. [FBIS]
- Oct. 26: The Foreign Ministry said Portugal and Oman had decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level. [FBIS]

Pakistan

(See also, Saudi Arabia)

1979

- Sept. 1: President Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq left Karachi to attend the Nonaligned Summit Conference in Havana, Cuba. [FBIS]
- Sept. 2: *The New York Times* reported that Benazir Bhutto, daughter of executed former Premier Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, had been charged with 3 political offenses under martial law regulations. [NYT]
- Sept. 22: President Zia-ul-Haq said that Pakistan was "not in a position" to make a nuclear bomb and "had no intention" of making one. [NYT]
- Mawlānā 'Abdallāh Mawdūdī, Islamic scholar and co-founder of the Jām'at al-Islāmi Party died in Buffalo, New York, of a heart attack, aged 76. [NYT]
- Oct. 2: The Electoral Commission ruled that the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan National Alliance had failed to fulfill rules governing political parties. It said that only 16 of the more than 100 political parties that had applied for registration would be permitted to participate in upcoming elections. [NYT]
- Oct. 4: The Pakistan People's Party accused Zia-ul-Haq of "rigging and fraud" aimed at keeping the party out of the elections. [NYT]
- Oct. 16: Zia-ul-Haq announced the postponement of elections, banned all political parties and meetings, closed some periodicals and imposed censorship on the rest. [NYT]
- Oct. 17: The government placed Nusrat Bhutto, wife of former Premier Bhutto, and their daughter Benazir under house arrest. Other opponents of the régime were also detained. [NYT]
- Foreign Affairs Advisor Agha Shahi met with US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in Washington on Pakistan's nuclear program. [NYT]

Oman

(See also, Bahrayn, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates)

1979

- Sept. 17: UAA Vice President and Premier Shaykh Rāshid bin Sa'īd Āl Maktūm met with Sultan Qābūs bin Sa'īd in Salalah. [FBIS]

- Nov. 5:* A Pakistani who tried to hijack a jetliner in 1978 was executed in Rawalpindi. [NYT]
- Nov. 11:* The Lahore High Court admitted a petition challenging the ban on political parties, the second amendment to the Constitution and postponement of the general elections. [FBIS]
- Nov. 12:* Zia-ul-Haq announced that, despite reports to the contrary, there would be no change in the federal Cabinet or the present administrative set-up. [FBIS]
- Nov. 13:* A correspondent for Hong Kong's *Far Eastern Economic Review* was arrested at his residence. [FBIS]
- Nov. 15:* Zia-ul-Haq inaugurated the Jelabandi bridge, a landmark in Kashmir reconstruction. [FBIS]

Qatar

(See also, Saudi Arabia)

1979

- Sept. 9:* Amir Shaykh Khalifah bin Ḥamad Āl Thāni flew to Europe on a private visit. [FBIS]
- Sept. 11:* Maltese Premier Dom Mintoff arrived in Doha for talks with Qatari officials. [FBIS]
- Oct. 4:* Saudi Arabian Defense Minister Sulṭān bin 'Abd al-'Azīz met with Amir Shaykh Khalifah in Paris. [FBIS]
- Oct. 14:* Amir Shaykh Khalifah returned to Doha at the end of a private visit to Europe. [FBIS]
- Nov. 8:* The Mauritanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmedou Ould 'Abdallah arrived in Qatar for talks with the Amir and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. [FBIS]

Saudi Arabia

(See also, Petroleum Affairs, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Qatar, Syria, Yemen)

1979

- Aug. 19:* Pakistani President Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq arrived in Jiddah on a 3 day visit to Saudi Arabia. [FBIS]
- Aug. 29:* Sudanese President Ja'far al-Numayri arrived in al-Ṭā'if and was met by King Khālid. [FBIS]
- Sept. 1:* King Khālid arrived in Geneva on a visit to Switzerland. [FBIS]
- Sept. 2:* Lebanese Defense Minister Jūzif Skāf met with Crown Prince Fahd in al-Ṭā'if on the question of Saudi aid to Lebanon. [AN]
- Sept. 6:* UAA President Shaykh Zāyid bin Sulṭān Āl Nuḥayyān met with King Khālid in Geneva. [FBIS]
- Sept. 8:* Iranian Minister of National Guidance Nāṣir Mināchī met in al-Ṭā'if with Crown Prince Fahd. [NYT]

- Sept. 9:* Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi arrived in al-Ṭā'if and was met by Crown Prince Fahd. [FBIS]
- Sept. 10:* Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre met with Crown Prince Fahd in al-Ṭā'if. [FBIS]
- Sept. 20:* Jordanian King Ḥusayn arrived in Geneva and met with King Khālid. [FBIS]
- Oct. 6:* Lebanese Premier Salim al-Ḥuṣṣ arrived in Jiddah for talks with Saudi leaders. [FBIS]
- Oct. 16:* A meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, UAA, Oman and Saudi Arabia took place in al-Ṭā'if on Gulf matters. [FBIS]
- Oct. 19:* A group of Chinese Muslims left Peking for Saudi Arabia to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. [NYT]
- Nov. 10:* Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen arrived in Jiddah for a 3 day official visit. [AN]

South Yemen

(See also, General, Algeria, Libya, Yemen)

1979

- Aug. 16:* Maḥmūd Sa'īd al-Madhī was appointed Finance Minister. [FBIS]
- Sept. 17:* Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin ended a visit to South Yemen. [NYT]
- Oct. 4:* Premier 'Alī Nāṣir Muḥammad returned to Aden at the end of a visit to Yemen. [FBIS]
- Oct. 24:* Chairman of the Presidium 'Abd al-Fattāh Ismā'īl arrived in Moscow and was met by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. [FBIS]
- Oct. 25:* South Yemen and the Soviet Union signed a 20-year treaty of friendship in Moscow. [NYT]
- Nov. 4:* The first session of talks on economic and technical coöperation between 'Uthmān 'Abd al-Jabbār, acting Deputy Minister for Planning, and the Deputy Minister for External Trade of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) began in Aden. [FBIS]
- Nov. 13:* Premier Muḥammad appointed Ṣāliḥ Abū Bakr ibn Ḥusayn and Aḥmad Salim 'Ubayd Deputy Defense Ministers. [FBIS]
- Nov. 15:* Erich Honecker, Chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Aden on an official visit. [FBIS]

Sudan

(See also, Saudi Arabia)

1979

- August 17:* A new Cabinet was formed:
 Aḥmad al-Sayyid Ḥamad: *Communications*
 Hasan 'Abdallāh al-Turābī: *Attorney General*
 'Abd al-Mājid Khalīl: *First Vice President and Defense*

al-Bukhārī Sālim Hawdah: *Communications and Marine Transport*

ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ Zlitnī: *Education*

Muḥammad al-Duwayk: *Municipalities* [MEED]

Feb. 4: Demonstrators attacked the French Embassy in Tripoli, causing extensive damage. The French Ambassador said he felt there was a "close link" between the attack and recent "problems in Tunisia." [NYT]

Feb. 5: France recalled its Ambassador and diplomatic staff from Libya and ordered a similar number of Libyan diplomats to leave France to protest the attack on the French Embassy in Tripoli. [NYT]

Feb. 6: Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins arrived in Benghazi and met with Qadhdfāfi. [FBIS]

Morocco

(See also, Arab Israeli Conflict, General, Iraq, Saudi Arabia)

1979

Dec. 5: The Organization of African Unity ended a meeting in Monrovia, Liberia, and called on Morocco to withdraw its troops from Western Sahara. It recommended that a peacekeeping force be set up to monitor a cease fire in the disputed territory. [NYT]

1980

Jan. 25: *Arab News* reported that the US had announced it would sell 50 military aircraft to Morocco. [AN]

Feb. 12: King Hasan arrived in Marrakesh at the end of a visit to Saudi Arabia and Iraq. [FBIS]

Oman

(See also, General, Petroleum Affairs)

1979

Dec. 14: ʿĀṣim al-Jamālī was named Minister of Public Works. [FBIS]

1980

Jan. 3: Egyptian Vice President Ḥusnī Mubārak arrived in Muscat and met with Sultan Qābūs bin Saʿīd. [FBIS]

Jan. 10: British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington arrived in Muscat on a 3 day visit for talks with Omani officials. [FBIS]

Jan. 14: Jordanian King Ḥusayn arrived in Oman and was met by Sultan Qābūs. [FBIS]

Jan. 19: Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Qays al-Munʿim al-Zawāwī denied reports that Oman would offer military bases on its territory to the US. [FBIS]

Feb. 7: Tunisian Foreign Minister Mohamed Fitouri arrived in Muscat for talks. [FBIS]

Pakistan

(See also, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates)

1979

Nov. 21: Hundreds of demonstrators stormed and set fire to the US Embassy in Islamabad, killing 1 US Marine. Pakistani troops rescued about 100 people trapped in the Embassy chancery. [NYT]

Demonstrators set fire to the US cultural centers in Rawalpindi and Lahore. A British cultural center in Rawalpindi was burned. [NYT]

The *Associated Press* cited a leader of the attackers as saying he had believed US citizens had been responsible for the attack on the Grand Mosque in Mecca. [NYT]

Nov. 22: The bodies of a second American and 2 Pakistanis were found at the Embassy. [NYT]

The New York Times reported that 2 of the demonstrators had also died in the attack. [NYT]

Iranian Āyat Allāh Rūḥ Allāh Khumaynī called the attack on the US Embassy in Islamabad "a great joy for us." [NYT]

Nov. 24: Secretary of Information Mujib ur-Rahman deplored the attack on the US Embassy as "un-Islamic" and said that President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq had ordered the Embassy rebuilt "at the maximum speed." [NYT]

Nov. 28: The government announced that it had amended the penal code to permit imprisonment of journalists who published "defamatory material." [NYT]

Nov. 29: A Pakistani correspondent of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* was sentenced to 1 year of hard labor for writing an article concerning unrest in Baluchistan. [NYT]

Dec. 2: Students demanding compensation for the family of a student killed in the US Embassy in Islamabad the month before clashed with the police in Rawalpindi. [NYT]

Dec. 11: A member of the Hyderabad City Council was arrested for leading a demonstration of support for executed former Premier Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. [NYT]

Dec. 16: Djibouti President Hasan Gouled arrived in Islamabad on a 5 day visit to Pakistan. [FBIS]

Dec. 26: President Zia-ul-Haq returned to Islamabad at the end of a 2 day visit to Saudi Arabia. [FBIS]

Dec. 28: Foreign Affairs Adviser Agha Shahi returned to Islamabad after a 2 day visit to Iran. [FBIS]

Selected Bibliography

General and Reference Books

Abbas, Hassan. 2005. *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Ali, Tariq. 2008. *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power*. New York: Scribner.

Baxter, Craig. 2004. *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Bennett Jones, Owen. 2002. *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Burki, Shahid Javed. 2006. *Historical Dictionary of Pakistan*. Asian/Oceanian Historical Dictionaries, No. 33. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.

--- 1999. *Pakistan: Fifty Years of Nationhood*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Cohen, Stephen P. 2004. *The Idea of Pakistan*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Dani, Ahmad Hasan. 2007. *History of Pakistan: Pakistan Through the Ages*. Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications.

Kazmi, Muhammad Raza. 2008. *A Concise History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Malik, Hafeez, and Yuri V. Gankovsky. 2006. *The Encyclopedia of Pakistan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malik, Iftikhar Haider. 2006. *Culture and Customs of Pakistan*. Culture and Customs of Asia. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

--- 2008. *The History of Pakistan*. The Greenwood Histories of The Modern Nations. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.

Mohiuddin, Yasmeen Niaz. 2007. *Pakistan: A Global Studies Handbook*. Global Studies. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Roraback, Amanda. 2004. *Pakistan in a Nutshell*. Nutshell Notes. Santa Monica, CA: Enisen Pub.

Talbot, Ian. 2005. *Pakistan, A Modern History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wynbrandt, James, and Fawaz A. Gerges. 2009. *A Brief History of Pakistan*. New York: Infobase Publishing.

Ziring, Lawrence. 1997. *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 2003. *Pakistan: At the Crosscurrent of History*. Oxford, UK: Oneworld.

Pakistan — Politics, Government, and Economics

Adityaraj, Arvind. 2001. *In the Shadow of Gunfire: Dynamics of Ideology and Power Politics in Indo-Pakistan Relations, 1980-1991*. Patna: Janaki Prakashan.

Ahmad, Khurshid. 1985. *Eighth Constitutional Amendment Bill: A Critical Appraisal*. Lahore: Maktabah Mansoorah.

Ahmad, Mushtaq. 1993. *Pakistan At the Crossroads*. Karachi: Royal Book Co.

Ahmed, Khaled. 2001. *Pakistan—Behind the Ideological Mask: Facts About Great Men We Don't Want to Know*. Lahore: Vanguard.

Aiyar, Mani Shankar. 1994. *Mani Shankar Aiyar's Pakistan Papers*. New Delhi: UBS Publishers' Distributors.

Akbar Zaidi, S. 1996. *Urban Local Government in Pakistan: Expecting too Much From too Little?* Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Akhund, Iqbal. 2000. *Trial and Error: The Advent and Eclipse of Benazir Bhutto*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Ali, Karamat. 2001. *Pakistan: the Political Economy of Human Resource Development*. Lahore: Vanguard.

Ali, Mehrunnisa. 2001. *Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy, 1971-1998*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Ali, Mubarak. 1993. *In the Shadow of History*. Lahore: Progressive Pub.

Ali, Tariq. 2007. *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy*. London: Seagull Books.

Altaf, Samia. 2008. "Pakistan Picaresque — A Chat Over Tea At A Government Office In Islamabad Reveals Why Billions In Aid Have Done So Little For Pakistan's Poor." *The Wilson Quarterly*, 32 (1): 14.

Anwar, M. and K. Michaelowa. 2006. "The Political Economy of US Aid to Pakistan." *Review of Development Economics*, 10 (2): 195-209.

Anwar, Mumtaz. 2007. *The Political Economy of Foreign Aid to Pakistan*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Anwar, Raja. 1997. *The Terrorist Prince: The Life and Death of Murtaza Bhutto*. London: Verso.

-
- Arif, K.M. 1995. *Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics, 1977-1988*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Asghar Khan, Mohammad. 1986. *Islam, Politics, and the State: the Pakistan Experience*. New Delhi: Selectbook Service.
- Ayres, Alyssa. 2004. "Musharraf's Pakistan: A Nation on the Edge." *Current History*. 103 (672) pp. 151-157.
- Banuazizi, Ali and Myron Weiner. 1986. *The State, Religion, and Ethnic Politics: Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan*. Contemporary Issues in the Middle East. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Basit, A. 1990. *The Breaking of Pakistan: Yahya Speaks About the Bhutto-Mujib Interaction Which Broke Pakistan*. Lahore: Liberty Publishers.
- Batra, Jagdish Chander, and Danial Latifi. 1979. *The Trial and Execution of Bhutto*. Delhi: Kunj.
- Baxter, Craig and Charles H. Kennedy. 1998. *Pakistan, 1997*. Pakistan Briefings. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Baxter, Craig and Syed Razi Wasti. 1991. *Pakistan, Authoritarianism in 1980s*. Lahore: Vanguard.
- Baxter, Craig. 1985. *Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State*. Westview Special Studies on South and Southeast Asia. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Bennett Jones, Owen. 2002. *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Bhargava, G.S. 1989. *Benazir, Pakistan's New Hope*. Bangalore: Arnold Publishers.
- Bhola, P.L. 1989. *Benazir Bhutto, Opportunities and Challenges*. New Delhi: Yuvraj Publishers & Distributors.
- Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali. 1979. *Summary of Supreme Court Judgement: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto & Others vs. the State*. Islamabad: Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Directorate of Films & Publications, Government of Pakistan.
- Blood, Peter R. 1995. *Pakistan: A Country Study*. Area Handbook Series. Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.
- Bose, Sugata and Ayesha Jalal. 2004. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*. New York: Routledge.
- Bray, John. 1997. "Pakistan at 50: A State in Decline?" *International Affairs*. 73 (2), 315-331.
- Burki, H.K. 2004. *Tales of a Sorry Dominion: Pakistan 1947-2003*. Islamabad: Alhamra.

Burki, Shahid Javed, Craig Baxter, Robert LaPorte, and Azfar Kamal. 1991. *Pakistan Under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia ul-Haq*. Westview Special Studies on South and Southeast Asia. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Candland, Christopher. 2007. *Labor, Democratization and Development in India and Pakistan*. Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series. London: Routledge.

Chadda, Maya. 2000. *Building Democracy in South Asia: India, Nepal, Pakistan*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Cheema, Ali, Asim Ijaz Khwaja, and Adnan Qadir. 2005. *Decentralization in Pakistan context, content and causes*. Faculty research working papers series, RWP05-034. Cambridge, MA: John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. [http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP05-034/\\$File/rwp%5F05%5F034%5Fkhwaja.pdf](http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP05-034/$File/rwp%5F05%5F034%5Fkhwaja.pdf).

Chengappa, Bidanda M. 2004. *Pakistan, Islamisation, Army and Foreign Policy*. New Delhi: A.P.H. Pub. Corp.

Chishti, Faiz Ali. 1989. *Betrayals of Another Kind: Islam, Democracy, and the Army in Pakistan*. Delhi: Tricolour Books.

Chitkara, M.G. 1996. *Benazir, A Profile*. New Delhi: APH Pub. Corp.

Chopra, V.D. 1985. *Pakistan and Asian Peace*. New Delhi: Patriot Publishers.

Cohen, Stephen P. 2002. "The Nation and the State of Pakistan." *Washington Quarterly*. 25 (3): 109-122.

Constable, Pamela. 2001. "Pakistan's Predicament." *Journal of Democracy*, 12 (1): 15-29.

Cronin, Richard P. 1986. *South Asia Current Developments and Issues for US Policy: Report on A Trip to Pakistan and India, April 8-30, 1986*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

--- 1985. *Subcontinent Under Stress A Report on A Research Trip to India, Pakistan and Nepal*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

Dharamdasani, M.D. 1989. *Benazir's Pakistan*. Varanasi: Shalimar Pub. House.

Dossani, Sameer. 2008. "Power and Patronage: The Political Economy of Pakistan." *Middle East Report*. 38 (246): 16-21.

Fatima, Mahnaz. 1997. "Foreign Influence on Pakistan's Economic Policy." *Pakistan Horizon*. 50 (4): 39-49.

Fatima, Mahnaz, and Qazi Masood Ahmed. 2001. "Political Economy of Fiscal Reforms in the 1990s." *Pakistan Development Review*. "40 (4): 503-518.

Fukamachi, Hiroki, and Hisaya Oda. 2002. *Crisis of Statehood?: Afghanistan and Pakistan*. IDE Spot Survey. Chiba-shi, Japan: Institute Of Developing Economies.

Ganguly, Sumit. 2004. "Pakistan: The Other Rogue Nation." *Current History*. 103 (672): 147-150.

Gardezi, Hassan Nawaz. 1991. *A Reexamination of the Socio-political History of Pakistan: Reproduction of Class Relations and Ideology*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press.

Gardezi, Hassan Nawaz and Jamil Rashid. 1983. *Pakistan, the Roots of Dictatorship: the Political Economy of a Praetorian State*. London: Zed Press.

Gauhar, Altaf. 1998. *Thoughts and After Thoughts*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.

Gilani, Ijaz. 1985. *Civilianization: Zia's Successful Peace Offensive: Gallup Report: A Scientific Analysis of Public Opinion Trends*. Islamabad: Gallup Pakistan, Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion.

--- 1985. *Pakistan at the Polls: Campaign, Candidates, and Voters*. Islamabad: Gallup Pakistan, Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion.

Grare, Frederic. 2006. *Islam, Militarism, and the 2007-2008 Elections in Pakistan*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

--- 2009. *Reforming the Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan's Transitional Democracy*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/pakistan_intelligence_transitional_democracy.pdf.

Hagerty, Devin T. 2005. *South Asia in World Politics*. Asia in World Politics. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Haider, Syed Karim. 2008. *Pakistan's General Elections, 2008*. Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab.

Haqqani, Husain. 2006. "History Repeats Itself In Pakistan." *Journal of Democracy*. 17 (4): 110-124.

Hasan, Arif, Muhammad Younus, and S. Akbar Zaidi. 1999. *Understanding Karachi: Planning and Reform for the Future*. Karachi: City Press.

Hasan, Khalid. 1989. *People and Politics in Pakistan*. Dehli: New Taj Office.

Hasan, Parvez. 1998. *Pakistan's Economy at the Crossroads: Past Policies and Present Imperatives*. Karachi: Oxford Uni-

versity Press.

Hasnat, Syed Farooq, and Ahmad Faruqui. 2008. *Pakistan, Unresolved Issues of State & Society*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Hasnat, Syed Farooq, and Anton Pelinka. 1986. *Security for the Weak Nations: A Multiple Perspective*. Lahore: Izharsons.

Hasnat, Syed Farooq. 1987. "Environmental Typologies and Pakistan's Security." *Pakistan Horizon*, 401: 51-64.

--- 2009. *Global Security Watch — Pakistan: A Reference Handbook*. Westport: Praeger Security International.

Hayes, Louis D. 1984. *Politics in Pakistan: the Struggle for Legitimacy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Human Rights Watch. 2007. *Destroying Legality: Pakistan's Crackdown on Lawyers and Judges*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Huq, Aziz Z. 2006. "Mechanisms of Political Capture In Pakistan's Superior Courts." *Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law*, 10 (10), (2003-2004): 21-37.

Husain, Ishrat. 1999. *The Political Economy of Reforms: A Case Study of Pakistan*. Lectures in Development Economics, 10. Islamabad: PIDE.

Hussain, Asaf. 1979. *Elite Politics in an Ideological State: the Case of Pakistan*. Folkestone, UK: Dawson.

Hussain, Mushahid. 1991. *Pakistan's Politics: the Zia Years*. Delhi: Konark Pub.

Hussain, Rizwan. 2005. *Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Hyman, Anthony, Muhammed Ghayur, and Naresh Kaushik. 1989. *Pakistan, Zia and After*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.

Hynam, Anthony. 1990. *Pakistan: towards a Modern Muslim State*. London: Research Institute for the Study Of Conflict and Terrorism.

Ikram Azam. 1992. *Issues in National integration: from Jinnah's Pakistan to Today's Pakistan*. Islamabad: National Book Foundation.

--- 1984. *Pakistan: Futuristics*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.

--- 1980. *Pakistan and the Nationalities' Notion*. Lahore: Amir Publications.

--- 1982. *Pakistan's Strategy for Survival*. Rawalpindi: London Book Co.

International Crisis Group. 2002. *Pakistan: Transition to Democracy?* ICG Asia Report, No. 40. Islamabad: International Crisis Group.

Islam, Nasir. 1981. "Islam and National Identity: The Case of Pakistan and Bangladesh." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 131: 55-72.

Ispahani, Mahnaz Z. 1990. *Pakistan: Dimensions of insecurity*. Adelphi Papers, No. 246. London: Brassey's for The International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2005. *Pakistan: Nation, Nationalism and the State*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Jalal, Ayesha. 1995. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

--- 1990. *The State of Martial Rule: the Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*. Cambridge South Asian Studies, 46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

James, William E., and Subroto Roy. 1992. *Foundations of Pakistan's Political Economy: towards an Agenda for the 1990s*. New Delhi: Sage.

Jan, Tarik. 1998. *Pakistan Between Secularism and Islam: Ideology, Issues and Conflict*. Islamabad: Institute Of Policy Studies.

Javed, Jabbar. 1996. *From Chaos to Catharsis: Perspectives on Democracy and Development*. Karachi: Royal Book Co.

Jillani, Anees. 1991. *Advance towards Democracy: the Pakistani Experience*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.

Jones, Gregory S. 2000. *From Testing to Deploying Nuclear forces the Hard Choices Facing India and Pakistan*. Ft. Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA376110>.

Junejo, Muhammad Khan. 1985. *Pakistan to Be Model of Islamic Democracy, Brotherhood and Equality: Address to Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament): Islamabad, December 30, 1985*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan.

Kamran, Tahir. 2009. "Contextualizing Sectarian Militancy In Pakistan: A Case Study of Jhang 1." *Journal of Islamic Studies*. 20 (1): 55-85.

--- 2008. *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership Pakistan.

Kardar, Shahid. 1987. *The Political Economy of Pakistan*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.

Kennedy, Charles H., and Cynthia Botteron. 2006. *Pakistan 2005*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Kennedy, Charles H., Rasul Bux Rais, and Sarmina Ahmed. 1995. *Pakistan: 1995*. Series of Biennial Assessments of Contemporary Events and Issues in Pakistan, 2. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Kennedy, Charles H. 1987. *Bureaucracy in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 1993. *Pakistan: 1992*. Pakistan Briefings. Boulder: Westview Press.

--- 2003. *Pakistan at the Millennium*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 2005. "Pakistan in 2004: Running Very Fast To Stay In The Same Place." *Asian Survey*. 45 (1): 105-111.

--- 2006. "Pakistan In 2005: Surviving Domestic and International Tremors." *Asian Survey*. 46 (1): 125-131.

Key, Jeffrey Evan. 1990. *Nongovernmental Organizations as Strategic Organizations: the Politics of Voluntarism in Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Texas at Austin.

Khan, Aarish Ullah. 2005. *The Terrorist Threat and the Policy Response in Pakistan*. SIPRI Policy Paper, No. 11. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. <http://www.sipri.org/contents/publications/Policypaper11.html>.

Khan, H. 2003. "Military and Judiciary in Pakistan October 1999 Onwards." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 26: 37-49.

Khan, Mubarak Ali. 1992. *Understanding Pakistan*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.

Khan, Muhammad Anwar. 1989. *Geopolitical Dynamics of Southwest Asia the Aftermath of Afghanistan and Iran-Iraq War: An Individual Study Project*. USAWC Military Studies Program Paper. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Khan, Naveeda. 2008. *Beyond Crisis: A Critical Second Look At Pakistan*. Critical Asian Studies. Delhi: Routledge India.

Khan, Sahabzada Yaqub. 1983. *Federal Council Debate on Pakistan's foreign Policy: Opening and Closing Statements By foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan: Islamabad, 5-7 November, 1983*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films & Publica-

Khan, Shahrukh Rafi, Aasim Sajjad Akhtar, and Foqia Sadiq Khan. 2002. *Investigating the Importance of Landed Power and Other Determinants of Local Body Election Outcomes*. Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Khan, Shahrukh Rafi, Foqia Sadiq Khan, and Aasim Sajjad Akhtar. 2007. *Initiating Devolution for Service Delivery in Pakistan: Ignoring the Power Structure*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Khan, Shahrukh Rafi. 2004. *Pakistan Under Musharraf, 1999-2002: Economic Reform and Political Change*. Lahore: Vanguard.

--- 1999. *Reforming Pakistan's Political Economy*. Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Khan, Zulfiqar Ali. 1988. *Pakistan's Security: the Challenge and the Response*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.

Kochanek, Stanley A. 1997. "Interest Politics In Pakistan: The Growing Power Of Business." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 20 (3): 46-71.

Kukreja, Veena, and Mahendra Prasad Singh. 2005. *Pakistan: Democracy, Development, and Security Issues*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Kukreja, Veena. 1982. "Military Intervention In Politics: Contrasting Cases of Pakistan and India." *India Quarterly*. 38 (34): 302-316.

Lamb, Christina. 1991. *Waiting for Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy*. London: H. Hamilton.

Li, D., and Z. Luo. 1996. "Foreign Aid & Economic Development of Pakistan." *Regional Studies — Islamabad*. 14 (1): 3-18.

Looney, Robert E. 1996. "Financial Innovation In An Islamic Setting: The Case Of Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 19 (4): 1-30.

--- 2001. *Pakistan's Economy: Achievements, Progress, Constraints, and Prospects*. Ft. Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA484923>.

--- 2003. "Problems In Using International Trade To Counter Terrorism: The Case Of Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 26 (4): 1-10.

Lunn, Jon, Claire Taylor, and Tim Youngs. 2007. *Pakistan's political and security challenges*. [London]: House of Commons Library. <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2007/rp07-068.pdf>.

-
- Mahmood, M.A. 2008. "Mumtaz Anwar. The Political Economy of Foreign Aid to Pakistan." *Pakistan Development Review*. 47 (2): 215-216.
- Mahmood, M. Dilawar, and M. Farani. 1993. *Tyranny and Justice in Pakistan: A Study*. Lahore: Idara Mutalia-e-Tareekh.
- Mahmood, Sohail. 2006. *Good Governance Reforms Agenda in Pakistan: Current Challenges*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Mahmud, Khalid. 1992. *Pakistan's Political Scene, 1984-1992*. Lahore: Rhotas Books.
- Majeed, Tariq. 1988. "The Concept Of Exclusive Economic Zone and Its Relevance To Pakistan." *Strategic Studies*. 113: 60-82.
- Malik, Hafeez. 2001. *Pakistan: Founder's Aspirations and Today's Realities*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Malik, Iftikhar Haider. 2008. *The History of Pakistan*. The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- 1999. *Islam, Nationalism, and the West: Issues of Identity in Pakistan*. St. Antony's Series. New York: St. Martin's Press In Association With St. Anthony's College, Oxford.
- Maluka, Zulfikar Khalid, and Lawrence Ziring. 1997. "The Myth of Constitutionalism In Pakistan." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 552: 164.
- Mehdi, Raza. 1987. *Pakistan Today*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.
- Mehmood, Tariq. 2003. *Where There is Light*. Manchester: Comma Press.
- Mishra, Jitendra. 1981. "Military Regimes In Bangladesh and Pakistan: Strategies Of Sustenance and Survival." *India Quarterly*. 374: 522-546.
- Mumtaz, Soofia, Jean-Luc Racine, and Imran Ali. 2002. *Pakistan: the Contours of State and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mustafa, Sayyid Ghulam. 1994. *General Zia, His Winged Death and the Aftermath*. Karachi, Pakistan: Shah Abdul Latif Cultural Society.
- Nadim, Sayyid Azhar Hasan. 2002. *Pakistan the Political Economy of Lawlessness*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. 1992. "Democracy and the Crisis of Governability in Pakistan." *Asian Survey*. 32(6): 521-537.

--- 2004. "Military Rule, Islamism and Democracy in Pakistan." *The Middle East Journal*. 58 (2): 195-209.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. 1989. *Pakistan Elections: Foundation for Democracy*. Washington, DC: The Institute.

Nazar, Yousuf. 2008. *The Gathering Storm: Pakistan: Political Economy of A Security State*. Karachi: Royal Book Co.

Nelson, Matthew J. 2008. *in the Shadow of Shari'ah: Islam, Islamic Law, and Democracy in Pakistan*. London: C Hurst.

--- 2006. "Muslims, Markets, and the Meaning of a 'Good' Education in Pakistan." *Asian Survey*. 46 (5): 699-720.

--- 2009. "Pakistan in 2008: Moving Beyond Musharraf." *Asian Survey*. 49 (1): 16-27.

Newberg, Paula R. 1990. *Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Chicago, Department of Political Science.

--- 1995. *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan*. Cambridge South Asian Studies, 59. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

--- 1987. "Pakistan's Troubled Landscape." *World Policy Journal*. 42: 313-331.

--- 1985. *Zia's Law Human Rights under Military Rule in Pakistan*. New York: Lawyers Committee For Human Rights.

Noman, Omar. 1990. *Pakistan: A Political and Economic History Since 1947*. London: Kegan Paul International.

--- 1988. *The Political Economy of Pakistan 1947-85*. London: KPI.

Numani, Javed. 1993. *Behind Bars*. Karachi, Pakistan: Pakistan Association for Mental Health.

Nuri, Yahya and S. H. Amin. 1987. *Legal and Political Structure of an Islamic State: the Implications for Iran and Pakistan*. Glasgow: Royston.

Pakistan, and Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq. 1983. *Constitutional Framework: President Zia-ul-Haq's Address to Majlis-e-Shoora on August 12, 1983*. Washington, DC: Embassy of Pakistan, Information Division.

Government of Pakistan. 1983. *Eradication of Corruption, Expeditious Dispensation of Justice*. Thirty-sixth Independence Anniversary Flag-hoisting Ceremony Address By President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, 14 August, Rawalpindi, August 14, 1983. Islamabad: Directorate of Films and Publications, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting,

--- 1985. *Referendum: Step towards Islamic Democracy: Articles From National Newspapers*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan.

Pakistan Committee For Democracy and Justice (New York). 1981. *Pakistan, A People Suppressed: Report on Constitutional, Judicial and Human Rights Violations Under Army Rule*. New York: Pakistan Committee For Democracy and Justice.

Parveen Shaukat Ali. 1997. *Politics of Conviction: the Life and Times of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq*. London: London Centre for Pakistan Studies.

Perkovich, George. 1996. "Misperception and Opportunity In South Asia." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 19 (4): 413-425.

--- 1998. "Nuclear Proliferation: When India and Pakistan Detonated 11 Nuclear Warheads, The Nonproliferation Regime Looked Like It Had Gone Up in Smoke." *Foreign Policy*. 112: 12-23.

Rafique, Lubna, and I. A. Rehman. 1994. *Benazir & British Press*. Lahore: Gautam.

Rahman, Tariq. 1996. *Language and Politics in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 1999. *The Language of Employment: the Case of Pakistan*. Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Rakisits, Claude. 1988. *Pakistan: the Decade of General Zia-ul-Haq*. [Canberra]: Legislative Research Service, Department of The Parliamentary Library.

Rashid, Abbas and Farida Shaheed. 1994. *Pakistan, Ethno-politics and Contending Elites*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute For Social Development.

Reeves, Richard. 1984. *Passage to Peshawar: Pakistan, Between the Hindu Kush and the Arabian Sea*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Rehman, I. A. 1990. *Pakistan under Siege*. Lahore: Rohtas Books.

Riyaz Ahmad Sayyid. 1985. *Pakistan on Road to Islamic Democracy: Referendum 1984*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Historical Research Institute.

Samad, Abdus. 1993. *Governance, Economic Policy, and Reform in Pakistan: Essays in Political Economy*. Lahore: Van-

guard.

Sarwar, J. 2002. "The Foreign Debt Quagmire: A Case Study of Pakistan." *Regional Studies [Islamabad]*. 20: 33-68.

Sawhney, R.G. 1985. *Zia's Pakistan: Implications for India's Security*. New Delhi: ABC Pub. House.

Schmidt, J. 2009. "The Unravelling Of Pakistan." *Survival*. 51 (3): 29-54.

Schofield, Julian. 2002. "Pakistan: The Political Economy of Militarism." *Conflict, Security and Development*. 2 (2): 5-23.

Shad, Tahir Iqbal. 1987. *Pakistan, the Crisis of National and Political Integration: A Comparative Study of Civilian and Military Elite Strategies, 1947-1982*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University Of Pittsburgh, 1987.

Shafiq, Muhammad. 1987. *Islamic Concept of A Modern State: A Case Study of Pakistan*. IBF Publication, No. 100. Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation.

Shah, Nasim Hasan. 1986. *Articles & Speeches on Constitution, Law, and Pakistan Affairs*. Lahore: Wajidalis.

Shaikh, F. 2000. "Pakistan between Allah and Army." *International Affairs*. 76: 325-332.

Shaikh, Muhammad Ali. 2000. *Benazir Bhutto: A Political Biography*. Karachi: Oriental Books Publishing House.

Sharan, Sarojini, and Franklin Vivekananda. 1990. *Asia — the 21st Critical Century: the Question of Sub-nationalism in South Asia: Case Studies From Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh*. Series in International Political Economy, 3. Stockholm: Bethany Books.

Shirazi, N.S., M. Ilyas, and M. Ahmad. 2001. "Redistributive Effects of Fiscal Policy Across The Income Groups in The Urban-Rural Areas of Pakistan." *Pakistan Development Review*. 40: 519-536.

Siddique, Osama. 2008. *The Jurisprudence of Dissolutions: Presidential Power to Dissolve Assemblies under the Pakistani Constitution and Its Discontents*. Karachi: Pakistan Law House.

Sreedhar, John Kaniyalil, and Savita Pande. 1989. *Pakistan After Zia*. New Delhi: ABC Publishing House.

Synnott, H. 2009. "What Is Happening In Pakistan?" *Survival*. 51 (1): 61-80.

Talbot, Ian. 2005. *Pakistan, A Modern History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tellis, Ashley J. 2007. *Pakistan and the War on Terror: Conflicted Goals, Compromised Performance*. Washington, DC:

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Thier, J. Alexander. 2008. *A Toxic Cocktail Pakistan's Growing Instability*. USIP Peace Briefing. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. <http://library.usip.org/search/?ttoxic+cocktail/ttoxic+cocktail/1,1,1,B/1962&FF=ttoxic+cocktail&1,1,0,0startreferer//search/ttoxic+cocktail/ttoxic+cocktail/1,1,1,B/frameset&FF=ttoxic+cocktail&1,1,1,1/en-dreferer/>.

Government of United States. 1981. *Proposed US Assistance and Arms Transfer to Pakistan: An Assessment*. Report of a Staff Study Mission to Pakistan and India, September 30-October 17, 1981 to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

--- 1989. *The Prospects for Democracy in Pakistan*. Hearing and Markup Before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, Second Session on H. Res. 484, June 29, 1988. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

Usher, G. 2008. "The Struggle For Pakistan Continues." *MERIP Middle East Report*. 38 (246): 8-15.

Verma, Anand K. 2001. *Reassessing Pakistan: Role of Two-nation Theory*. New Delhi: Lancer Publishers & Distributors.

Verma, Monika. 2006. *Political Parties and Party System in Pakistan*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.

Waseem, Mohammad. 2006. *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Elections*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 2002. *Pakistan under Martial Law, 1977-1985*. Lahore: Vanguard.

--- 1994. *Politics and the State in Pakistan*. Historical Studies (Pakistan) Series, 10. Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute Of Historical and Cultural Research.

Weaver, Mary Anne. 2002. *Pakistan: in the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Weinbaum, Marvin G. 1996. "Civic Culture and Democracy in Pakistan." *Asian Survey*. 36 (7): 639-654.

--- 1994. *Pakistan and Afghanistan: Resistance and Reconstruction*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Weiss, Anita M. and S. Zulfiqar Gilani. 2001. *Power and Civil Society in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Weiss, Anita M. 1991. *Culture, Class, and Development in Pakistan: the Emergence of an Industrial Bourgeoisie in Punjab*. Westview Special Studies on South and Southeast Asia. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

--- 1986. *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: the Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*. Contemporary Issues in The Middle East. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

--- 1999. "Much Ado About Counting: The Conflict Over Holding A Census In Pakistan." *Asian Survey*. 39 (4): 679.

Winchell, Sean P. 2003. "Pakistan's ISI: The Invisible Government." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*. 16 (3): 374-388.

Wirsing, Robert. 1992. *Pakistan's Security under Zia, 1977-1988: the Policy Imperatives of a Peripheral Asian State*. New York: Macmillan Academic and Professional.

Wriggins, W. Howard. 1983. *Pakistanis Search for A Foreign Policy after the Invasion of Afghanistan*. Washington, DC: United States Department of State.

Yilmaz, Ihsan. 2005. *Muslim Laws, Politics, and Society in Modern Nation States: Dynamic Legal Pluralisms in UK, Turkey, and Pakistan*. Aldershot, Hants, UK: Ashgate Publishers

Zaidi, S. Akbar. 2003. *Continuity and Change: Socio-political and institutional Dynamics in Pakistan*. Karachi: City Press.

--- 2006. *Education under Globalization: the Case of Pakistan*. [Islamabad]: Actionaid.

--- 1999. *Issues in Pakistan's Economy*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 1999. *The New Development Paradigm: Papers on Institutions, NGOs, Gender and Local Government*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 2004. *Pakistan's Economic and Social Development: the Domestic, Regional, and Global Context*. New Delhi: Rupa & Co.

--- 2004. *Pakistan's Economy After 9/11: Will the End Be Different This Time Around?* Cambridge: University of Cambridge, Centre of South Asian Studies.

--- 1992. *Regional Imbalances and the National Question in Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard.

Ziaullah, Syed, and Samuel Baid. 1985. *Pakistan: an End Without a Beginning*. New Delhi: Lancer International.

Zingel, Wolfgang-Peter, and Stephanie Zingel-Ave Lallemand. 1985. *Pakistan in the 80s*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Ziring, Lawrence. 1997. *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 1993. "The Second Stage In Pakistani Politics: The 1993 Elections." *Asian Survey*. 33 (12): 1175-1185.

--- 1988. "Public Policy Dilemmas and Pakistan's Nationality Programme: The Legacy of Zia-ul-Haq." *Asian Survey*. 28 (8): 795-812.

The Pakistani Army

Abbas, Hassan. 2005. *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

Ahmad, Borhanuddin. 1993. *The Generals of Pakistan and Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Vikas Pub. House.

Ahmad, Syed Sami. 2004. *History of Pakistan and Role of the Army*. Karachi: Royal Book Co.

Akhtar, Raja Mehmood. 2006. *The Betrayal*. Lahore: Brite Books.

Arif, K. M. 2001. *Khaki Shadows: Pakistan 1947-1997*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Asghar Khan, Mohammad. 1983. *Generals in Politics: Pakistan 1958-1982*. London: Croom Helm.

--- 2004. *We've Learnt Nothing From History: Pakistan, Politics and Military Power*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Attiquir Rahman, Mohammed. 2005. *Back to the Pavilion*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Ayub, Muhammad. 2005. *An Army, Its Role and Rule: A History of the Pakistan Army from Independence to Kargil, 1967-1999*. Pittsburgh, PA: Rose Dog Books.

Aziz, Mazhar. 2008. *Military Control in Pakistan: the Parallel State*. Routledge Advances in South Asian Studies, 8. London: Routledge.

Chishti, Faiz Ali. 1989. *Betrayals of Another Kind: Islam, Democracy, and the Army in Pakistan*. Delhi: Tricolour Books.

Choudhury, G. W. 1988. *Pakistan, Transition from Military to Civilian Rule*. Buckhurst Hill, UK: Scorpion Publishers Ltd.

Cloughley, Brian. 2000. *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections: With a New Chapter on the Kargil Issue*. London: Oxford University Press.

--- 2009. *War, Coups & Terror: Pakistans Army in Years of Turmoil*. New York: Skyhorse Pub.

Cohen, Stephen P. 1999. *The Pakistan Army*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Dell, Robert F, Richard E Rosenthal, and Shafqat Baig. 1993. *Scheduling Peacetime Rotation of Pakistan Army Units*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA276915>.

Faiz, Ashraf. 2003. *From First Post to Last Post: A Journey Through Army Culture*. Lahore: Vanguard.

Flanagan, Michael S. 2002. *Experiences as an Exchange officer in the Pakistani National Defense College*. Personal Experience Monograph. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Gaylor, John. 1992. *Sons of John Company: The Indian and Pakistan Armies 1903-91*. Tunbridge Wells: Spellmount.

Gill, Azam. 1979. *Army Reforms*. Lahore: People's Pub. House.

Grare, Frederic. 2006. *Pakistan: the Myth of an Islamist Peril*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment For International Peace.

Haq, Noor Ul. 1993. *Making of Pakistan, the Military Perspective*. Historical Studies (Pakistan) Series, 11. Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.

Haqqani, Husain. 2006. "History Repeats Itself In Pakistan." *Journal of Democracy*. 17 (4): 110-124.

--- 2005. *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Husain, Noor A. 1998. *Fifty Years of Pakistan Army: 1947-1997*. Rawalpindi: Inter Services Public Relations.

Hussain, Mirza Hamid. 2003. *The Battle Within*. Karachi: Royal Book Co.

Hussain, Zahid. 2007. *Frontline Pakistan: the Struggle with Militant Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kamal, K.L. 1982. *Pakistan, the Garrison State*. New Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House.

Kanwal, Gurmeet. 2000. *Kargil '99: Blood, Guts and Firepower*. New Delhi: Regiment of Artillery In Association With Lancer Publishers.

Khalid, Muhammad Mumtaz, and Parvez Akmal. 2006. *History of Karakoram Highway (Volume I): The Indus Valley Road*. Rawalpindi: Hamza Pervez Printers.

Khan, Gul Hassan. 1993. *Memoirs of Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan Khan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Khan, Jahan Dad. 2001. *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*. Oxford Pakistan Paperbacks. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Khan, Mohammad Nawaz. 1996. *The Glorious Piffers, 1843-1995*. Abbottabad: The Frontier Force Regimental Centre.

Kukreja, Veena. 1985. *Military Intervention in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan*. New Delhi, India: NBO Publisher's Distributors.

Misra, Ashutosh. 2008. *Pakistan: Engagement of the Extremes*. Delhi: Shipra Publications.

Mitha, Aboobaker Osman. 2003. *Unlikely Beginnings: A Soldier's Life*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Muhammad Sher Ali Khan. 1990. *Ramblings of A Tiger*. Lahore: S.M. Mahmud.

Nawaz, Shuja. 2008. *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Rizvi, Hasan Askari. 2000. *Military, State, and Society in Pakistan*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Siddiqa, Ayesha. 2007. *Military, Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*. London: Pluto Press.

Siddiqa-Agha, Ayesha. 1996. *Pakistan's Arms Procurement Decision-making, 1979-94*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of London.

--- 2001. *Pakistan's Arms Procurement and Military Build-up, 1979-99: in Search of a Policy*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave.

Singh, R.S.N. 2009. *The Military Factor in Pakistan*. Olympia Fields, Ill: Lancer.

Stewart, Jules. 2006. *The Khyber Rifles: From the British Raj to Al Qaeda*. Stroud: Sutton.

Nuclear Issues

Abraham, Itty. 2009. *South Asian Cultures of the Bomb: Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Ahmed, Samina and David Cortright. 1998. *Pakistan and the Bomb Public Opinion and Nuclear Options*. Notre Dame Studies on International Peace. Notre Dame, IN: University Of Notre Dame Press.

Albright, David and Corey Hinderstein. 2005. "Unraveling the A.Q. Khan and Future Proliferation Networks." *Washington Quarterly*. 28 (2): 111-128.

Albright, David and Kimberly Kramer. 2004. "Reports: Fissile Material: Stockpiles Still Growing." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. 60 (6): 12.

Ali, Imtiaz. 1997. "CTBT, India and Pakistan." *Pakistan Horizon*. 50 (1): 33-38.

Baklanov, Andrei. 1998. "After The Nuclear Tests in South Asia." *International Affairs (Moscow)*. 44 (4): 7-15.

Chakma, Bhumitra. 2009. *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons*. Routledge Security In Asia Pacific Series, 7. London: Routledge.

Cheema, Zafar Iqbal. 1986. "Pakistan's Case Study For A Nuclear Security Guarantee." *Pakistan Horizon*. 391: 57-73.

--- 1994. "Pakistan's Nuclear Policy under Z.A. Bhutto and Zia-Ul-Haq: An Assessment." *Strategic Studies*. 144: 5-20.

--- 1991. *Proliferation in South Asia after the Kashmir Crisis*. Livermore, CA: Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, University Of California.

Cirincione, Joseph, Jon B. Wolfsthal, and Miriam Rajkumar. 2005. "Chapter 12: Pakistan." in *Deadly Arsenal: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Threats*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment For International Peace: 239-258.

Conway, Paul-Daniel. 2003. *Sanctions or Engagement?: Designing US Diplomatic Policy Tools to Confront Nuclear Proliferation in Iran, North Korea, India, and Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Brandeis University, 2003.

Corera, Gordon. 2006. *Shopping for Bombs: Nuclear Proliferation, Global insecurity, and the Rise and Fall of the A.Q. Khan Network*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cronin, Richard P. 1983. "Prospects for Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia." *The Middle East Journal*. 37 (4): 594-616.

Dudley, William. 2003. *India and Pakistan: Opposing Viewpoints*. Farmington Hills, MI: Greenhaven Press.

Frantz, Douglas, and Catherine Collins. 2008. *The Man From Pakistan: the True Story of the World's Most Dangerous Nuclear Smuggler*. New York: Twelve.

Hagerty, Devin T. 1998. *The Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation Lessons from South Asia*. BCSIA Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Hammond, J. Casey. 1981. "Aplomb or the Bomb: Outlook for Indo-Pakistani Relations in a Global Perspective." *India Quarterly*. 37 (4): 590-598.

Iakunin, V. 1996. "India and Pakistan: Nuclear Option." *International Affairs*. (4): 43.

-
- International Crisis Group. 2003. *Kashmir: Learning From the Past*. ICG Asia Report, No. 70. Islamabad: International Crisis Group.
- 2003. *Kashmir: the View from New Delhi*. ICG Asia Report, No. 69. New Delhi: International Crisis Group.
- 2003. *Kashmir: the View From Islamabad*. ICG Asia Report, No. 68. Islamabad: International Crisis Group.
- Jones, R.W. 2000. "Pakistan's Nuclear Posture: Quest for Assured Nuclear Deterrence: A Conjecture." *Regional Studies (Islamabad)*. 18: 3-39.
- Kanjilal, Tanmay. 1997. "Improving Pakistan-India Relations: The US Role." *Pakistan Horizon*. 50 (3): 31-49.
- Khan, Zulfqar. 2005. *India-Pakistan Nuclear Rivalry: Perceptions, Misperceptions and Mutual Deterrence*. IPRI Paper, 9. Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute.
- Krepon, Michael. 2004. *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kvok, B. 1998. "On The Nuclear Tests in India and Pakistan." *International Affairs*. (5): 60.
- Levy, Adrian, and Cathy Scott-Clark. 2007. *Deception: Pakistan, the United States, and the Secret Trade in Nuclear Weapons*. New York: Walker & Co.
- Mehdi, Syed Sikander. 1985. "Nuclear Weapons and Human Insecurity." *Pakistan Horizon*. 384: 33-54.
- O'Hanlon, Michael. 2006. "What If a Nuclear-Armed State Collapses?: A Failed State in North Korea or Pakistan Could Leave Custody of Nuclear Weapons Up for Grabs." *Current History*. 105 (694): 379-384..
- Pattanaik, S.S. 2001. "Ensuring Nuclear Peace and Stability in India-Pakistan Relations." *India Quarterly* 57: 41-66.
- Paul, T.V. 2003. "Chinese-Pakistani Nuclear/Missile Ties and Balance of Power Politics." *Nonproliferation Review*. 10: 21-29.
- Pradhan, Pradyot. 1987. "Nuclear Pakistan: India's Response." *India Quarterly*. 43 (1): 1-14.
- Raja, Sadaf. 2003. *Whose Homeland?: Homelands, Focal Principles, and the Kashmir Dispute*.
- Ray, Aswini K. 1981. "The Islamic Bomb and India's National Security." *India Quarterly*. 37 (3): 346-358.
- Saeed, M Yousuf. 2004. "Motivation of Nuclear Proliferation in Pakistan: the India Factor." *Journal of South Asian and*

Samina Yasmeen. 1999. "Pakistan's Nuclear Tests: Domestic Debate and International Determinants." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. 53 (1): 43.

Shaikh, F. 2002. "Pakistan's Nuclear Bomb: Beyond The Non-proliferation Regime." *International Affairs*. 78: 29-48.

Shakoor, Farzana. 1989. "Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations: A Survey." *Pakistan Horizon*. 422: 109-133.

Smith, Chris. 1993. *The Diffusion of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Pakistan and Northern India*. Centre for Defence Studies.

Smith, Chris. 2004. *Nuclear Weapons in South Asia*. Emirates Lecture Series, 52. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research.

Sokolski, Henry D. 2008. *Pakistan's Nuclear Future: Worries beyond War*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College.

Walker, William M. 1998. "International Nuclear Relations after the Indian and Pakistani Test Explosions." *International Affairs*. 74 (3): 505-528.

Yakunin, Victor P. 1989. "The USSR Foreign Policy: Concepts, Priorities and Relations with Pakistan." *Pakistan Horizon*. 421: 68-75.

Yamin, T. 2008. "International Non-Proliferation Regime & Pakistan's Stance: A Fresh Perspective." *Regional Studies (Islamabad)*. 26 (4): 38-59.

Yasmeen, Samina. 1999. "Pakistan's Nuclear Tests: Domestic Debate and International Determinants." *Australian Journal of international Affairs*. 53 (1): 43-56.

Zaidi, Mehreen Afzaal. 2006. *The Kargil War 1999 Revisited: Nuclear Deterrence Stability in South Asia*. Thesis (M.A.). Ohio State University.

Religious and Ethnic Issues in Pakistan

Abbas, Shemeem Burney. 2002. *The Female Voice in Sufi Ritual: Devotional Practices of Pakistan and India*. Austin: University Of Texas Press.

--- 2005 "Sakineh, The Narrator of Karbala: an Ethnographic Description of a Women's *Majles* Ritual In Pakistan." in *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shi'i Islam*. Edited by Kamran Scot Aghaie.

Austin, TX: University of Texas Press: 41-160.

Ahmar, Moonis. 1996. "Ethnicity and State Power In Pakistan: The Karachi Crisis." *Asian Survey*. 36 (10): 1031.

--- 2002. "The Sindhi-Mohajir Conflict." in *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities*. Edited By Monique Mekenkamp, Paul Van Tongeren, and Hans Van De Deen: 452-464.

Ahmed, Akbar S. 1982. "Order and Conflict In Muslim Society: A Case Study From Pakistan." *The Middle East Journal*. 36 (2): 184-204.

--- 1990. "The Politics of Ethnicity In Pakistan Society." *Asian Affairs*. 211: 20-35.

--- 1980. *Pukhtun Economy and Society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society*. International Library Of Anthropology. London: Routledge & Kegan & Paul.

--- 1983. *Religion and Politics in Muslim Society: Order and Conflict in Pakistan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ahmed, Munir D. 1987. "The Shi'is Of Pakistan." In *Shi'ism Resistance and Revolution*. Edited by Martin Kramer. Boulder, Westview Press: 275-287.

Ahmad Salim. 1991. *Pashtun and Baloch History: Punjabi View*. Lahore: Fiction House.

Al-Balochi, Hayat. 1994. *Baloch Nationalist Movement*. Thesis (M.A.). San Francisco State University.

Awan, A. B. 1985. *Baluchistan: Historical and Political Processes*. London: New Century.

Boivin, Michel. 2007. *Sindh Through History and Representations*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Blank, Jonah. 2001. *Mullahs on the Mainframe: Islam and Modernity Among the Daudi Bohras*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Brookshire, Joseph R. 1992. *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). Humboldt State University.

Dames, Mansel Longworth. 1988. *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*. Quetta: Baluchi Academy.

Dunne, Justin S. 2006. *Crisis in Baluchistan: A Historical Analysis of the Baluch Nationalist Movement in Pakistan*. Monterey, Calif: Naval Postgraduate School.

Dupree, Louis. 1984. "Pushtun." In *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey, Maba-Yoruk*. 2nd Edition. Edited By Richard V. Weekes Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Pp. 622-630.

Ewing, Katherine Pratt. 1997. *Arguing Sainthood: Modernity, Psychoanalysis, and Islam*. Durham, NC: Duke University.

Ewing, Katherine Pratt Ed. 1988. *Shari'at and Ambiguity in South Asian Islam*. Berkeley: University Of California Press.

Felmy, Sabine. 1996. *The Voice of the Nightingale: A Personal Account of the Wakhi Culture in Hunza*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Frembgen, Jurgen Wasim. 2006. *The Friends of God: Sufi Saints in Islam, Popular Poster Art from Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 2004. "From Dervish to Saint: Constructing Charisma In Contemporary Pakistani Sufism. *Muslim World*." 94 (2): 245-257.

Friedman, Yohanan. 1989. *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and Its Medieval Background*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Grare, Frederic. 2006. *Pakistan: the Resurgence of Baluch Nationalism*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Grima, Benedicte. 2004. *Secrets from the Field: An Ethnographer's Notes from North Western Pakistan*. Bloomington, IN: Author House.

Gualtieri, Antonio R. 2004. *The Ahmadis: Community, Gender, and Politics in a Muslim Society*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Haq, Noor Ul, Rashid Ahmad Khan, and Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri. 2005. *Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan*. IPRI Paper, No. 10. Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute.

Hartung, Jan-Peter. 2001. "Affection and Aversion: Ambivalences among Muslim Intellectual Elites in Contemporary South Asia." *South Asia Research*. 21 (2): 189-202.

Haroon, Sana. 2007. *Frontier of Faith: Islam in the indo-Afghan Borderland*. New York: Columbia University Press.

--- 2008. "The Rise of Deobandi Islam in the North-west Frontier Province and Its Implications In Colonial India and Pakistan 1914-1996." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. 18 (1): 47-70.

Harrison, Selig S. 1981. *In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations*. New York: Carnegie En-

dowment for International Peace.

Inam-ur-Rahim, and Alain M. Viaro. 2002. *Swat: An Afghan Society in Pakistan: Urbanisation and Change in Tribal Environment*. Karachi: City Press.

International Crisis Group. 2006. *Pakistan the Worsening Conflict in Balochistan*. [Islamabad]: International Crisis Group. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south%5Fasia/119%5Fpakistan%5Fthe%5Fworsening%5Fconflict%5Fin%5Fbalochistan.pdf>.

Jahani, Carina. 2000. *Language in Society: Eight Sociolinguistic Essays on Balochi*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 3. Uppsala: Distributed By Uppsala University Library.

Jamil, Uzma. 2004. *Minorities and Islamic States Explaining Bah'i and Ahmadi Marginalization in Iran and Pakistan*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada.

Janmahmad. 1982. *The Baloch Cultural Heritage*. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

Jones, Allen K. 1984. "Sindhis." In *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey, Maba-Yoruk*. 2nd Edition. Edited by Richard V. Weekes. Westport: Greenwood Press. Pp. 684-690.

Kamran, Tahir. 2009. "Contextualizing Sectarian Militancy in Pakistan: a Case Study of Jhang 1." *Journal of Islamic Studies*. 20 (1): 55-85.

Kaushik, S.N. 1996. *Ahmadiya Community in Pakistan: Discrimination, Travail, and Alienation*. Delhi: South Asian Publishers.

Khan, Mubarak Ali. 2005. *Essays on the History of Sindh*. Lahore: Fiction House.

--- 1993. *In the Shadow of History*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.

Khan, Naveeda Ahmed. 2003. *Grounding Sectarianism Islamic Ideology and Muslim Everyday Life in Lahore Circa 1920s/1990s*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Columbia University, 2003.

Kundi, Mansoor Akbar. 1993. *Balochistan, A Socio-cultural and Political Analysis*. Quetta: Qasim Printers.

Kurin, Richard. 1993. "Islamization in Pakistan: The Sayyid and The Dancer." In *Russia's Muslim Frontiers: New Directions in Cross-Cultural Analysis*. Ed. Dale F. Eickelman. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Lindholm, Charles. 1982. *Generosity and Jealousy: the Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University Press.

sity Press.

Malik, Iftikhar Haider. 2002. *Religious Minorities in Pakistan*. London: Minority Rights Group International.

Malik, Jamal. 1996. *Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional institutions in Pakistan*. New Delhi: Manohar.

Marri, Mir Khuda Bakhsh. 1997. *Searchlights on Baloches and Balochistan*. Lahore: Ferozsons.

Marsden, Magnus. 2005. *Living Islam: Muslim Religious Experience in Pakistan's North-West Frontier*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

--- 2002. *Mahfils and Musicians: New Muslims in Chitral Town, Northern Pakistan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

McClintock, Wayne. 1991. *The Mirasi People of Lahore: an Ethnography*. Lahore: Nirali Kitabon.

Mock, John. 1998. *The Discursive Construction of Reality in the Wakhi Community of Northern Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of California, Berkeley.

Moten, Abdul Rashid. 2006. "Islamic Thought In Contemporary Pakistan: The Legacy of Allama Mawdudi." In *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*. Edited by Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Najima, Susumu. 2001. *Pir, Waiz, and Imam: the Transformation of Socio-religious Leadership Among the Ismailis in Northern Pakistan*. Tokyo: Islamic Area Studies Project.

Nichols, Robert. 1995. *The Frontier Tribal Areas, 1840-1990*. New York: Afghanistan Forum.

--- 2008. *A History of Pashtun Migration, 1775-2006*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Parker, Karen. 1993. *Religious Persecution in Pakistan: the Ahmadi Case at the Supreme Court: A Commentary*. Los Angeles, CA: Humanitarian Law Project, International Educational Development, Inc.

Pastner, Stephen L. 1981. *Camp and Territory Among the Nomads of Northern Makran District, Baluchistan: the Role of Sedentary Communities in Pastoral Social Organization*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International.

Pinault, David. 2008. *Notes From the Fortune-telling Parrot: Islam and the Struggle for Religious Pluralism in Pakistan*. London: Equinox Pub.

--- 2003. "Shia-Sunni Relations In Contemporary Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 26: 62-

Qureshi, R. B. 1995. *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali*.

Rahman, T. 1996. "The Balochi/Brahvi Language Movements in Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 19 (3): 71-88.

Rehman, Javaid. 2000. "Accommodating Religious Identities in an Islamic State: International Law, Freedom of Religion and the Rights of Religious Minorities." *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*. 7 (2): 139-165.

Rooman, Anwar. 2005. *Balochi Language and Literature*. Quetta: Institute of Writing & Research Balochistan.

Rozehnal, Robert. 2007. *Islamic Sufism Unbound: Politics and Piety in Twenty-first Century Pakistan*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

--- "A 'Proving Ground' For Spiritual Mastery: The Chishti Sabiri Musical Assembly." *Muslim World: A Journal Devoted to the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 97(4): 657-677.

Salam, Mariam. 1998. *Thy People*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.

Sawhny Karan R. and Nidhi Narain 2002. "Fratricidal Conflict Between Pakistan's Shias and Sunnis." in *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities*. Edited by Monique Mekenkamp, Paul Van Tongeren, and Hans Van De Deen: 465-482.

Schimmel, Annemarie. 1982. *Islam in India and Pakistan*. Leiden: Brill.

--- 1983. *Makli Hill: A Center of Islamic Culture in Sindh*. Karachi: Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, University of Karachi.

Schubel, V. J. 1993. *Religious Performance in Contemporary Islam: Shii Devotional Rituals in South Asia*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Shah, Mahmood Ali. 1988. *Local Government institutions in the Province of Baluchistan: A Case Study of Its Organization and Working*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Karachi.

--- 2008. *Essays on Balochistan: Society, Polity and Tribal Administration*. Lahore: Classic.

Siddiqi, Farhan Hanif. 2002. "An Introduction To Pakistan's Ethnic and Religious Conflicts." in *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities*. Edited By Monique Meken-

kamp, Paul Van Tongeren, and Hans Van De Deen: 448-451.

Singh, Gurharpal and Ian Talbot. 1996. *Punjabi Identity: Continuity and Change*. New Delhi: Manohar.

Sikand, Yoginder S. 2002. *The Origins and Development of the Tablighi Jama'at, 1920-2000: A Cross Country Comparative Study*. Hyderabad (India): Orient Longman.

Sultan, Maria. 2003. "The Quest for Peace In Chechnya: The Relevance of Pakistan's Tribal Areas Experience." *Central Asian Survey*. 22 (4): 437-457.

Tanzil-ur-Rahman. 1988. *Essays on Islam*. Lahore: Islamic Publications.

Thakur, Upendra. 1997. *Sindhi Culture*. Delhi: Sindhi Academy.

Titus, Paul Brian. 1996. *Marginality and Modernity: Ethnicity and Change in Post-colonial Balochistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Verkaaik, Oskar. 2004. "Reforming Mysticism: Sindhi Separatist Intellectuals in Pakistan." *International Review of Social History*, 49 (12).

Walbridge, Linda S. 2003. *The Christians of Pakistan: the Passion of Bishop John Joseph*. London: Routledge Curzon.

--- 2005, "The Christians of Pakistan: The Interaction of Law and Caste in Maintaining 'Outsider' Status." in *Nationalism and Minority Identities in Islamic Societies*. Edited by Maya Shatzmiller. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Weinreich, Matthias, and Silvia Delogu. 2009. "We Are Here to Stay": *Pashtun Migrants in the Northern Areas of Pakistan*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz.

Werbner, Pnina. 2002. *Pilgrims of Love: the Anthropology of a Global Sufi Cult*. London: Hurst.

Wirsing, Robert. 1981. *The Baluchis and Pathans*. London: Minority Rights Group.

Zafar, M. I. 2005. "The Christians in Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 29 (1): 61-78.

Zahab, Mariam. 2007. "The Politicization of the Shia Community In Pakistan In The 1970s and 1980s." in *The Other Shiites: From the Mediterranean to Central Asia*. Worlds of Islam, Volume 2. Edited by A. Monsutti, S. Naef, and F. Sabahi. Bern: Peter Lang: 97-112.

Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. 1998. "Sectarianism In Pakistan: The Radicalization of Shii and Sunni Identities." *Modern*

Ziring, Lawrence. 1982. "Pakistan's Nationalities Dilemma: Domestic and International Implications." in *The Subcontinent in World Politics: India, Its Neighbors, and the Great Powers*. Revised Edition. Edited by Lawrence Ziring. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982.

Islamists and Islamization

Abbas, Hassan. 2005. *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

Abou Zahab, Mariam, and Olivier Roy. 2004. *Islamist Networks: The Afghan-Pakistan Connection*. The CERJ Series in Comparative Politics and International Studies. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ahmad, Mumtaz. 1992. "Islam and the State: The Case of Pakistan." in *The Religious Challenge to the State*. Edited by Mathew Moen and Lowell Gustafson. Philadelphia: Temple University Press: 239-267.

--- 1991. "Islamic Fundamentalism In South Asia: The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat." In *Fundamentalisms Observed*. Edited by Marty, Martin E. and R. Scott Appleby. The Fundamentalism Project, Volume 1. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press: 457-530.

Ahmed, Rafiuddin. 1994. "Redefining Muslim Identity In South Asia: The Transformation of The Jama'at-i-Islami." in *Accounting for Fundamentalisms: the Dynamic Character of Movements*. Edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 669-705.

Ahrari, Mohammed E. 2001. *Jihadi Groups, Nuclear Pakistan, and the New Great Game*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College.

Ali, K. A. 2004. "Pakistani Islamists Gamble on the General." *MERIP Middle East Report*. 34 (2): 2-7.

Ali, Saleem H. 2009. *Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ali, Shaheen Sardar. 2006. "Sigh of the Oppressed? Islamisation of Laws In Pakistan Under Muttahida Majlis-e-amal: the Case of The North West Frontier Province." *Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law*. 10: 107-124.

Behuria, Ashok. 2007. "Fighting the Taliban: Pakistan at War with Itself." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. 61 (4): 529-543.

-
- Billquist, Daniel L. and Jason M. Colbert. 2006. *Pakistan, Madrassas, and Militancy*. Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School.
- Bokhari, Jamshed Gul. 1995. *Pakistani and Egyptian Islamic Activism*. Thesis (M.A.). San Diego State University, 1995.
- Cohen, Stephen P. 2003. "The Jihadist Threat to Pakistan." *Washington Quarterly*. 26 (3): 7-25.
- Fuller, Graham E. 1991. *Islamic Fundamentalism in Pakistan: Its Character and Prospects*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.
- 1991. *Islamic Fundamentalism in the Northern Tier Countries: An Integrated View*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.
- Grare, Frederic. 2006. *Pakistan: The Myth of an Islamist Peril*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Haqqani, Husain. 2005. *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- 2007. "Pakistan and the Islamists." *Current History*. 106 (699): 147-152.
- 2004. "The Role of Islam in Pakistan's Future." *Washington Quarterly*. 28 (1): 85-96.
- Hussain, Zahid. 2007. *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islamism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- International Crisis Group. 2008. *Reforming the Judiciary in Pakistan*. Islamabad: International Crisis Group. http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/160_reforming_the_judiciary_in_pakistan.pdf.
- Iqbal, Afzal. 1984. *Islamisation of Pakistan*. IAD Religio-philosophy (original) Series, No. 14. Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli.
- Jalalzai, Musa Khan. 2005. *Islamization and Minorities in Pakistan*. Lahore: Jumhoori.
- John, Wilson. 2005. "The New Face of Al-Qaeda In Pakistan." in *Unmasking Terror: A Global Review of Terrorist Activities* Ed. Christopher Heffelfinger. Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation. Pp. 305-308.
- Joshi, Pooja. 2003. *Jamaat-l-Islami: the Catalyst of Islamization in Pakistan*. Delhi: Kalinga Publications.
- Kaplan, Robert D. *Soldiers of God: With Islamic Warriors in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. New York: Vintage Departures,

2001.

Kassam, Shelina. 1994. *The Language of Islamism Pakistan's Media Response to the Iranian Revolution*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada.

Kaul, K. 2002. "Growth of Radical Islam In Pakistan." *India Quarterly*. 58: 89-104.

Kaushik, Surendra Nath. 1993. *Politics of Islamization in Pakistan: A Study of Zia Regime*. South Asia Studies Series, 29. New Delhi: South Asian Publishers.

Kennedy, Charles H. 1990. "Islamization and Legal Reform in Pakistan, 1979-1989." *Pacific Affairs*. 63 (1): 62-77.

--- 1996. *Islamization of Laws and Economy: Case Studies on Pakistan*. Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.

--- 1992. "Repugnancy To Islam — Who Decides?: Islam and Legal Reform In Pakistan." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*. 414: 769-787.

Khan, Aga S. 2005. *Religious Education and State Modernization: the Role of Madrassah in Pakistan Development*. Halifax, NS: Saint Mary's University.

Khan, Gul Muhammad. 1986. *Islamisation of Laws in Pakistan: The Presidential Address*. Islamabad: Federal Shariat Court.

Kronstadt, K.A. 2003. *International Terrorism in South Asia*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA444986>.

Lau, Martin. 2001. "Islam and Constitutional Development In Pakistan." *Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law*, 6 (6): 44-67.

--- 2006. *The Role of Islam in the Legal System of Pakistan*. Leiden: M. Nijhoff.

Khan, Mansoor Hassan. 1992. *Islamization of Laws in Pakistan and Role of the Courts*. Thesis (LL. M.). Harvard Law School.

Marsden, Magnus. 2008. "Women, Politics and Islamism in Northern Pakistan." *Modern Asian Studies*. 42: 405-430.

Mayer, Ann Elizabeth. "The Fundamentalist Impact on Law, Politics, and Constitutions In Iran, Pakistan and The Sudan." in *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance*. Edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby. The Fundamentalism Project, Volume 3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 110-151.

Mehdi, Rubya. 1994. *The Islamization of the Law in Pakistan*. Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 60. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.

Najam, Shehreen. 2006. *Islamization of the Constitution of Pakistan*. Thesis (LL. M.). Harvard Law School, 2006.

Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. 2000. "International Politics: Domestic Imperatives, and the Rise of Politics of Identity: Sectarianism In Pakistan, 1979-1997." *Comparative Politics*. 32 (2): 171-190.

--- 2001. *Islamic Leviathan: Islam and State Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.

---1997. "Islamic Opposition in the Political Process: Lessons From Pakistan." in *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism Or Reform?* Edited by John L. Esposito. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997: 135-56.

--- 2004. "Military Rule, Islamism and Democracy in Pakistan." *The Middle East Journal*. 58 (2): 195-209.

--- 2008. "Pakistan After Islamization: Mainstream and Militant Islamism." in *Asian Islam in the 21st Century* Edited by John L. Esposito, John Voll, and Osman Bakar. 2008. New York: Oxford University Press: 31-48.

---1994. *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: the Jamaat-i Islami of Pakistan*. Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies, 19. Berkeley: University Of California Press.

Nawaz, S. 2008. "Islamists in the Ranks of Pakistan's Military." *Development and Cooperation*. 35 (12): 474-475.

Niazi, Tarique. 2005. "The Ongoing Baluch Insurgency in Pakistan." in *Unmasking Terror: A Global Review of Terrorist Activities*. Ed. Christopher Heffelfinger. Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation: 309-313.

Novossyolov, Dimitri B.1993. "The Islamization Of Welfare In Pakistan." in *Russia's Muslim Frontiers: New Directions in Cross-Cultural Analysis*. Edited by Dale F. Eickelman. Bloomington. IN: Indiana University Press: 160-174.

Qassem, Ahmad Shayeq. 2007. "Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations: Border Controversies as Counter-terrorist Impediments." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. 61 (1): 65-80.

Government of Pakistan. 1980. *An Agenda for Islamic Economic Reform: the Report of the Committee on Islamization, Appointed By the Finance Minister, Government of Pakistan*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.

--- 1991. *Enforcement of Shari'ah Act, 1991: Text and Topic*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Topical Studies Group, Islamabad.

Raja, Salman Akram. 2001. *Islamic Law Reform in Pakistan: the Limits to Discourse, Practice, and the Recognition of Hu-*

man Rights Norms. Thesis (LL. M.). Harvard Law School.

Rashid, Abdur. 1987. *The Islamization of Laws in Pakistan, with Special Reference to the Status of Women*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University Of London, 1987.

Ray, Rebecca S. 2006. *Pakistan Education Systems and the Radical Islamic Jihadist Ideology*. Ft. Belvoir, MD: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA464137>

Roul, Animesh. 2005. "Lashkar-e Jhangvi: Sectarian Violence in Pakistan and Ties to International Terrorism." in *Unmasking Terror: A Global Review of Terrorist Activities*. Edited by Christopher Heffelfinger Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation: 325-329.

--- "Sipah-e Sahaba: Formenting Sectarian Violence In Pakistan." in *Unmasking Terror: A Global Review of Terrorist Activities*. Edited by Christopher Heffelfinger Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation: 314-319.

Sattar, Babar. 2002. *Islamization in Pakistan: investigating and Explaining Legal Change*. Thesis (LL. M.). Harvard Law School, 2002.

Shah, Aqil. 2006. "Soldiers and Islamists in Pakistan." *Journal of Democracy*. 17 (1): 169-173.

Kaushik, Surendra Nath. 1993. *Politics of Islamization in Pakistan: A Study of Zia Regime*. South Asia Studies Series, 29. New Delhi: South Asian Publishers.

Ulph, Stephen. 2005. "Mixed Results on the Arrest of Al-Libi in Pakistan." in *Unmasking Terror: A Global Review of Terrorist Activities*. Edited by Christopher Heffelfinger Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation.

Government of the United States. 2007. *Extremist Madrassas, Ghost Schools, and US Aid to Pakistan: Are We Making the Grade on the 9/11 Commission Report Card?* Hearing Before the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Tenth Congress, First Session, May 9, 2007. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

Van Dyk, Jere. 2007. *Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia*. Ft. Belvoir, MD: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA472452>.

Verkaaik, Oskar. *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Waseem, M. 2000. "Ethnic and Religious Nationalism in Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 23: 37-62.

Wasti, Tahir. 2009. *The Application of Islamic Criminal Law in Pakistan: Sharia in Practice*. Leiden: Brill

--- 2009. "Islamic Law in Practice: the Application of Qisas and Diyat Law In Pakistan." *Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law*. 13: 97-106.

Weaver, Mary Anne. 2002. *Pakistan: in the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Weiss, Anita. 2008. "A Political Islamist Victory In Pakistan: The Social Reform Agenda of The Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal." in *Asian Islam in the 21st Century*. Edited by John L. Esposito.

--- 1986. *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: the Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*. Contemporary Issues in the Middle East. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

--- 1986. *Islamization of Pakistani Law and Women's Protest Movements*. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.

Yilmaz, Ihsan. 2005. *Muslim Laws, Politics, and Society in Modern Nation States: Dynamic Legal Pluralisms in UK, Turkey, and Pakistan*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishers

Zeb, R. 2002. "War against Terror: Lessons For Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 25: 53-73.

Benazir Bhutto

Akhund, Iqbal. 2000. *Trial and Error: The Advent and Eclipse of Benazir Bhutto*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, N. 1993. "Benazir Bhutto and Dynastic Politics: Her Father's Daughter, Her People's Sister." in *Women as National Leaders*. Edited by M.A.Genovese. Newbury Park: Sage, 1993: 41-69.

Bhola, P.L. 1989. *Benazir Bhutto: Opportunities and Challenges*. Jaipur: Yuvraj.

Bhutto, Benazir. 1996. "The Changing World Scenario and Pakistan's Foreign Policy." *Pakistan Horizon*. 49 (2): 13-18.

--- 2008. *Daughter of Destiny: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper Perennial.

--- 2008. *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West*. New York: Harper.

Bokhari, Sajjad. 1993. *Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, the Leader of Today*. Lahore: Fiction House.

Chitkara, M.G. 1996. *Benazir: A Profile*. Delhi: APH Publishing,.

Ejaz, Ahmad. 1994. *Benazir Bhutto's Foreign Policy: A Study of Pakistan's Relations with Major Powers*. Lahore: Classic.

Gandhi, Kishore. 1994. *Benazir's Transition to Democracy*: 189-194.

Heugten, J. Van and O. Immig. 1992. *A Taste of Power: The Uneasy Reign of Benazir Bhutto, 1988-1990*. Amsterdam: Stichting MERA / Middle East Research Associates.

Joshi, V.T. 1995. *Pakistan: Zia to Benazir*. Delhi: Konark.

Richter, William L. 1989. Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto. *Current History*. 88 (542): 433-436; 449-451.

Shafqat, Saeed. 1997. *Civil-military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Shaikh, Muhammad Ali. 2000. *Benazir Bhutto: A Political Biography*. Karachi: Oriental Books Publishing House.

Sreedhar. 1997. "Indo-Pak Relations in Post-Benazir Period." *Strategic Analysis*. 19 (12): 1689-1698.

--- 1997. "Pakistan: Benazir's Dismissal to Elections." *Strategic Analysis*. 20 (1): 25-58.

Weiss, Anita M. 1990. "Benazir Bhutto and the Future of Women in Pakistan." *Asian Survey*. 30 (5): 433-445.

Zakaria, Rafiq. 1990. *Women & Politics in Islam: the Trial of Benazir Bhutto*. New York: New Horizons Press.

Ziring, Lawrence. 1991. "Pakistan in 1990: The Fall of Benazir Bhutto." *Asian Survey*. 31 (2): 113-124.

Pervez Musharraf

Constable, Pamela. 2001. "Pakistan's Predicament." *Journal of Democracy*. 12 (1): 15-29.

El-Khawas, Mohamed A. 2009. "Musharraf and Pakistan: Democracy Postponed." *Mediterranean Quarterly*. 20 (1): 94-118.

Faruqui, Ahmad. 2008. *Musharraf's Pakistan, Bush's America & the Middle East*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Haqqani, Husain. 2006. "History Repeats Itself in Pakistan." *Journal of Democracy*. 17 (4): 110-124.

Jan, Abid Ullah. 2005. *The Musharraf Factor: Leading Pakistan to Inevitable Demise*. Ottawa: Pragmatic Publishing

-
- John, Wilson. 2007. *The General and Jihad: Pakistan under Musharraf*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press.
- Khan, Shahrukh Rafi. 2004. *Pakistan under Musharraf, 1999-2002: Economic Reform and Political Change*. Lahore: Vanguard.
- Mahmood, Sohail. 2001. *The Musharraf Regime and the Governance Crisis: A Case Study of the Government of Pakistan*. Huntington, NY: Nova Science.
- Mohan, Sulakshan. 2000. *Pakistan under Musharraf*. Delhi: Indian Publishers Distributors.
- Musharraf, Pervez. 2006. *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir*. New York: Free Press.
- 2005. *President Musharraf's Vision for a Prosperous Pakistan and Concept of Enlightened Moderation*. Islamabad: Office of the Press Secretary to the President.
- Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA: Dept of National Security Affairs. 2008. *The Mother of All Elections*. Fort Belvoir, MD: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA484248>.
- Government of Pakistan. 2000. *Towards Authentic and Enduring Democracy in Pakistan: A Landmark Judgment By the Supreme Court of Pakistan*. Islamabad: Directorate General of Films & Publications, Ministry Of Information and Media Development, Government of Pakistan.
- Parekh, Vikram. 2000. *Pakistan: Reform or Repression?: Post-coup Abuses in Pakistan*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Porges, Lori Ann. 2008. *Pakistan at a Crossroads: Musharraf, the War on Terror, and the Possibilities for a Sustainable Democracy*. Thesis (M.A.). Florida Atlantic University, 2008.
- Qureshi, H.U. 2003. *The Future Saviour of Pakistan?* Lahore: Ferozsons.
- Rakisits, Claude. 2005. "Pakistan's Musharraf: Playing a Balancing Act." *Strategic Insights*, 21. Barton: Australian Strategic Policy Institute.
- Sharma, S. R. 2006. *General Pervez Musharraf: Wisest Dictator and Saviour of Pakistan*. New Delhi: Alfa Publications.
- Talbot, Ian. 2002. "General Pervez Musharraf: Saviour or Destroyer of Pakistan's Democracy?" *Contemporary South Asia*. 11 (3): 311-328.

Zia ul-Haq

Arif, K. M. 1995. *Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics, 1977-1988*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Baxter, Craig and John Adams. 1985. *Politics in Pakistan: The Stability of the Zia Regime*. Washington, DC: Middle East Institute.

Baxter, Craig. 1985. *Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State*. Westview Special Studies On South and Southeast Asia. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Gujral, Santokh Singh. 1988. *Pakistan under Third Military President*. Jammu: Gujral Printers.

Hussain, Masroor, and Muzammil Pasha. 1989. *1988: the Year of Fomenting Change*. Camera Speaks, 1. Islamabad: Profile Publishing

Hussain, Mushahid. 1991. *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years*. Delhi: Konark Pub.

Hussain, Syed Shabbir. 2000. *Ayub, Bhutto, and Zia: How They Fell Victim to their Own Plans*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.

Hyman, Anthony, Muhammed Ghayur, and Naresh Kaushik. 1988. *Pakistan: Zia and After*. London: Asia Pub.

Kaushik, Surendra Nath. 1993. *Politics of Islamization in Pakistan: A Study of the Zia Regime*. South Asia Studies Series, 29. New Delhi: South Asian Publishers.

Mustafa, Sayyid Ghulam. 1994. *General Zia, His Winged Death and the Aftermath*. Karachi, Pakistan: Shah Abdul Latif Cultural Society.

Parveen Shaukat Ali. 1997. *Politics of Conviction: the Life and Times of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq*. London: London Centre for Pakistan Studies.

Qayyum, Abdul. 1997. *Zia-ul-Haq and I*. Zakia Anwar Beg & Sardar Afzal A. Khan Lecture Series, No. 5. Islamabad: International Consortium of Consultants and Technical Services.

Rakisits, Claude. 1988. *Pakistan: the Decade of General Zia-ul-Haq*. Canberra: Legislative Research Service, Department of the Australian Parliamentary Library.

Zia-ul-Haq, Mohammad, and Rajendra Sareen. 1981. *President Explains Pakistan's foreign Relations: Interview with Indian Journalist*. Islamabad: Pakistan Publications.

Zia-ul-Haq, Mohammad. 1981. *Formation of Majlis-e-shura Announced: Promotion of Islamic Solidarity, Non-alignment and World Peace: Enforcement of Islamic System Objective of Pakistan Movement: Tributes to inspiring Leadership of Quaid-I-Azam: Address to Nation : Rawalpindi, 24 December, 1981*. Islamabad: Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Directorate of Films & Publications. Government of Pakistan

--- 1986. *Interview with President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq By Saudi Press, Jeddah, 23 August, 1986*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan.

--- 1980. *Islamic Order, Our Goal: Address to the Nation, Rawalpindi, June 3, 1980*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films and Publications, Ministry Of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan.

--- 1985. *Martial Law Lifted, Constitution Fully Restored: Address to Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films & Publications, Ministry Of Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan.

--- 1985. *Supremacy of Shariah to Be Established: Announcement by President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq at Motamar Al Alam Al-Islami's Dinner: Islamabad, 14 October, 1985*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government. of Pakistan.

--- 1983. *Visit to USA: Addresses and Speeches, 6-13 December 1982*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Ahmad, Syed Sami. 2008. *The Trial of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Superior Judiciary in Pakistan*. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

Ali, Tariq. 2007. *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy*. London: Seagull Books.

Bhurgri, Abdul Ghafoor. 2002. *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Falcon of Pakistan*. Karachi: SZABIST.

Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali. 1980. *My Execution*. London: Musawaat Weekly International.

--- 1979. *My Pakistan*. New Delhi: Biswin Sadi Publications.

--- 1979. *Summary of Supreme Court Judgement: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto & Others Vs. the State*. Islamabad: Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Directorate of Films & Publications, Government of Pakistan.

Burki, Shahid Javed. 1980. *Pakistan under Bhutto, 1971-1977*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Hasan, Mubashir. 2000. *The Mirage of Power: an Inquiry into the Bhutto Years, 1971-1977*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Raza, Rafi. 1997. *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Schofield, Victoria. 1979. *Bhutto, Trial and Execution*. London: Cassell.

Syed, Anwar Hussain. 1992. *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Taseer, Salmaan. 1979. *Bhutto: A Political Biography*. London: Ithaca Press.

Wolpert, Stanley A. 1993. *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Abbasi, Abdur Razzaq Khan. 1986. "Thirty Five Years of Pakistan-China Relations." *Strategic Studies*. 94: 22-56.

Ahmad, Naveed. 1982. "Pakistan-Saudi Relations." *Pakistan Horizon*. 354: 51-67.

Ahmar, Moonis. 2001. *The CTBT Debate in Pakistan*. The Foreign Policy, Peace, and Security Series. Karachi: Paramount Books.

--- 1998. *Internal and External Dynamics of South Asian Security*. Karachi: Fazleesons.

--- 2000. *Middle East and South Asia: Chronology of Conflict and Cooperation, 1990-1999*. Karachi: Research Project, Dept. of International Relations, University of Karachi, Pakistan.

--- 1989. *Pakistan-Italian Relations*. [Karachi]: Area Study Centre for Europe, University Of Karachi.

--- 2005. *Pakistan and Bangladesh: From Conflict to Cooperation*. Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi.

--- 1996. "Pakistan and Israel: Distant Adversaries or Neighbors?" *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 20 (1): 20-45.

--- 1983. "Politics of Superpower Rivalry in the Indian Ocean." *Pakistan Horizon*. 361: 57-72.

Ahrari, M. Ehsan. 2000. "China, Pakistan, and the "Taliban Syndrome."" *Asian Survey*. 40 (4): 658.

Alam, Mansoor. 2002. "Foreign Policy and Religion." *Pakistan Horizon*, 55 (3): 11-16.

Alexeyev, Alexander Yu. 1996. "Russian-Pakistani Relations." *Pakistan Horizon*. 49 (1): 27-33.

Amin, Tahir. 1994. "Pakistan and the Central Asian States." *Strategic Studies*. 16 (4): 5-22.

Bhatty, Maqbool. A. 2000. "Pakistan-China Relations in the 21st Century." *Regional Studies (Islamabad)*. 18: 80-95.

--- 1994. "Pakistan's Perspectives on Central Asia." *Strategic Studies*. 163: 23-41.

Bhola, P.L. 1986. *Pakistan-China Relations: Search for Politico-strategic Relationship*. Jaipur: R.B.S.A. Publishers.

Bhutto, Benazir. 1996. "The Changing World Scenario and Pakistan's Foreign Policy." *Pakistan Horizon*. 49 (2): 13-18.

Braibanti, R. 1996. "Strategic Significance of Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 20 (1): 1-19.

Burke, S.M., and Lawrence Ziring. 1990. *Pakistan's foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Butt, Muhammad Ijaz. 2007. *Focus on China: Relations with Pakistan, Domestic Concerns*. Lahore: Advance Publishers.

--- 2002. "Roots of Pakistan-China Relations — Historical Analysis." *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, 15 (i-ii): 7-12.

Calabrese, John. 1997. "Iran-Pakistan Relations: New and Familiar Patterns." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Affairs*. 1: 61-80.

Cheema, Z.I. 2008. "An Interpretive Analysis of India-Pakistan Strategic Culture & Its Impact on S. Asian Peace & Security." *Regional Studies (Islamabad)*. 26 (3): 3-23.

Chopra, Surendra. 1993. "Islamic Fundamentalism and Pakistan's Foreign Policy." *India Quarterly* 49 (12): 1-36.

Delvoie, L. 1996. "The Islamization of Pakistan's Foreign Policy." *International Journal*. 51 (1): 126-147.

Fair, C. Christine. 2008. "Pakistan's Relations with Central Asia: is Past Prologue?" *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 31 (2): 201-227.

Faruqui, Ahmad. 2001. "The Complex Dynamics of Pakistan's Relationship with China." *IPRI Journal*. 1 (1): 1-17.

GurnamSingh. 1987. *Sino-Pakistan Relations: the Ayub Era*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University Press.

Hagerty, Devin. 2002. "China and Pakistan: Strains in the Relationship." *Current History*: 284-289.

-
- Haider, Z. 2005. "Sino-Pakistan Relations and Xinjiang's Uighurs: Politics, Trade, and Islam Along the Karakoram Highway." *Asian Survey*. 45 (4): 522-545.
- Hussain, Ijaz. 1984. "Was Pakistan A "Charter" Member Of The United Nations?" *Pakistan Horizon*. 374: 22-31.
- Kamath, P. M. 2005. "India, Pakistan and China: an Unbroken Insecurity Triangle." *India Quarterly* 61(3): 48-65.
- Kapur, Ashok. 2008. *The China-India-Pakistan Strategic Relationship*. London: Routledge.
- Katz, Mark. 2005. "Less-Than-Great Expectations: The Pakistani-Russian Rapprochement." *Current History*. 104: 137-141.
- Khalid, Zulfikar A. 1989. "Evolution of Saudi-Pakistan Strategic Relationship 1947-1990: Military Security and Economic Factors." *Strategic Studies*. 13 (1): 53-77.
- Khan, Adnan Sarwar. 2006. Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the Changing International Scenario. *Muslim World: A Journal Devoted to the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 96 (2): 233-250.
- Khan Bhatti, Roy Sultan. 2008. "Pakistan's Relations with Central Asian Republics and the Impact of the US Policies In Shaping Regional Dynamics." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 32 (1): 74.
- Lin, Shanglin. 2001. "Pakistan-China Relations." *Pakistan Horizon*, 54 (3): 13-15.
- Mahmood, Tehmina. 1997. "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Post-cold War Period." *Pakistan Horizon*. 50 (3): 101-124.
- Maitra, Ramtanu. 2008. "Pakistan in China's Long-term Scheme of Things." *Aakrosh: Asian Journal on Terrorism and Internal Conflicts*. 11 (38): 30-50.
- Malik, Hafeez. 1987. *Soviet-American Relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Mani, Kristina. 2007. "Military In Business: State-making and Entrepreneurship in the Developing World." *Armed Forces & Society*. 33 (4): 591-611.
- Masood, Talat. 2007. "Civil-military Relations and the 2007 Elections in Pakistan: Impact on the Regional Security Environment." *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*. 5 (1): 53-59.
- Minhaj Ul Hassan, Syed, and Sayyed Abdolhossain Raeisossadat. 2004. *Pakistan-Iran Relations in Historical Perspective*. Peshawar: Culture Centre of The Islamic Republic of Iran.

Noorani, Zain. 1987. "Foreign Policy of Pakistan." *Pakistan Horizon*. 40 (2): 1-13.

Norell, Magnus. 2007. "The Taliban and the Muttahida Majlis-e-amal." *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*. 5 (3): 61-82.

Rizvi, Hasan-Askari. 1981. "Pakistan and the Indian Ocean." *Strategic Studies*. 4 (4): 30-42.

Shah, Mehtab Ali. 1997. *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy, 1971-1994*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Tahir-Kheli, Shirin and William O. Staudenmaier. 1982. "The Saudi-Pakistani Military Relationship: Implications for US Policy." *Orbis*. 26 (1): 155-169.

Tahir-Kheli, Shirin. 1980. "Proxies and Allies: The Case of Iran and Pakistan." *Orbis*. 24 (2): 339-352.

Trivedi, Ram Naresh. 1977. *Sino-Indian Border Dispute and Its Impact on Indo-Pakistan Relations*. New Delhi: Associated Publishing House.

Uzair, Mohammad. 1993. "Foreign Aid and Indebtedness in Pakistan." *Pakistan Horizon*. 46 (1): 29-34.

Wizarat, Talat A. 1987. "Pakistan and the United Nations." *Pakistan Horizon*. 40 (1): 95-105.

Wu, Yanren. 1988. "On Afghanistan Issue." *Strategic Studies*. 11 (4): 14-18.

Yasmeen, S. 1998. "Sino-Pakistan Relations and the Middle East." *China Report*. 34 (3/4): 327-344.

Zeb, Rizwan. 2006. "Pakistan and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization." *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*. 4 (4): 51-60.

Zhang, Ghengli. 1996. "China-Pakistan Relations and Situation in South Asia." *Pakistan Horizon*. 49 (3): 11-15.

Ziring, Lawrence. 1984. "From Islamic Republic to Islamic State in Pakistan." *Asian Survey*. 24 (9): 931-946.

Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations

Abou Zahab, Mariam and Olivier Roy. 2004. *Islamist Networks: The Afghan-Pakistan Connection*. The CERJ Series in Comparative Politics and International Studies. New York: Columbia University Press in Association with Le Centre d'études et de recherches internationales, Paris.

Ahmed, Qazi Hussain. 1986. *Pakistan and the Afghan Crisis*. Afghan Studies Monograph Series. Islamabad: Institute Of

Akhtar, N. 2008. "Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Taliban." *International Journal on World Peace*. 25 (4): 49-74.

Alavi, H. 2002. "Pakistan Between Afghanistan and India." *MERIP Middle East Report*. 32 (222): 24-31.

Amin, Tahir. 2004. *Development of Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Case Study on Recognition of Taliban*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.

Bahadur, Kalim. 1980. "Pakistan's Policy Towards Afghanistan." *International Studies*. 19 (4): 643-659.

Beg, Salman. 1987. *The Problems of Pakistan's National Security Since 1979*. Fort Leavenworth: US Army Command and General Staff College.

Behuria, Ashok. 2007. "Fighting the Taliban: Pakistan at War with Itself." *Australian Journal of international Affairs*. 61 (4): 529-543.

Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal. 1988. "Impact of the Afghan War on Pakistan." *Pakistan Horizon*. 41 (1): 23-45.

Cordesman, Anthony H. 2008. *The Afghan-Pakistan War a Status Report*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies. http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/080512_afghanstatus_trend.pdf.

--- 2008. *Losing the Afghan-Pakistan War? The Rising Threat*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies.

Emadi, Hafizullah. 1991. "A Historical Perspective of the Durand Line and the Future of Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations." *World Review*. 3 (1): 5-12.

Gilani, Ijaz. 1985. *The Four R's of Afghanistan: A Study of Pak-Afghan Relations and Their Impact on Foreign Policy Attitudes in Pakistan*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion.

Grare, Frederic. 2006. *Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations in the Post-9/11 Era*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

--- 2003. *Pakistan and the Afghan Conflict, 1979-1985: With an Afterword Covering Events From 1985-2001*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

--- 2003. *Pakistan in the Face of the Afghan Conflict, 1979-1985*. New Delhi: India Research Press.

Gul, Imtiaz. 2002. *The Unholy Nexus: Pak Afghan Relations under the Taliban*. Lahore: Vanguard.

Hilali, A. Z. 2005. *US-Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*. US Foreign Policy and Conflict in the Islamic World. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Hussain, Rizwan. 2005. *Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Jacob, Happymon. 2005. *The Rise, Fall and the Resurgence of the Taliban*. New Delhi: Samskriti in Association with Observer Research Foundation.

Khan, Ijaz. 2007. *Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy Making: A Study of Pakistan's Post 9/11 Afghan Policy Change*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Khan, Tanvir Ahmad. 1990. "Pakistan's Regional Policy with Special Reference to India and Afghanistan." *Pakistan Horizon*. 43 (4): 9-28.

Kronstadt, K. Alan and Kenneth Katzman. 2008. *Islamist Militancy in the Pakistan-Afghanistan Border Region and US Policy*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA490496>.

Lee, James F. 2008. *Afghanistan, the Challenge of Relations with Pakistan*. InfoSeries, PRB 07-33E. [Ottawa]: Parliamentary Information and Research Service. http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/library_parliament/infoseries-e/2008/afghanistan_pakistan/prb0733-e.pdf.

Murshed, S. Iftikhar. 2006. *Afghanistan: The Taliban Years*. London: Bennett & Bloom.

Nichols, Robert. 1995. *The Frontier Tribal Areas, 1840-1990*. New York: Afghanistan Forum.

Government of Pakistan. 1980. *Armed Intervention in Afghanistan: View from Pakistan*. Islamabad: Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Directorate of Films & Publications, Government of Pakistan.

Qassem, Ahmad Shayeque. 2007. "Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations: Border Controversies as Counter-terrorist Impediments." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. 61 (1): 65-80.

Riencourt, Amaury De. 1983. "India and Pakistan in the Shadow of Afghanistan." *Foreign Affairs*. 61(2): 416-437.

Sheikh, Ali T. 1987. *Pakistan/Soviet Relations and the Afghan Crisis*. Coral Gables, FL: Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami.

Sikand, Jatinder. 1995. *War in Afghanistan: Implications for Pakistan Armed Forces*. Master Of Military Art and Science

Theses Collection. Fort Leavenworth: US Army Command and General Staff College. <http://cgsc.cdmhost.com/u/?p4013coll2,997>.

Government of the United States. 1986. *Afghan Refugees in Pakistan*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State.

Weinbaum, Marvin G. and Jonathan Harder. 2008. "Pakistan's Afghan Policies and Their Consequences." *Contemporary South Asia*. 16 (1): 25-38.

Weinbaum, Marvin G and Odd Arne Westad. 1995. "Pakistan and Afghanistan: Resistance and Revolution." *The International History Review*. 17 (4): 855.

Weinbaum, Marvin G. 2006. *Afghanistan and Its Neighbors an Ever Dangerous Neighborhood*. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS72750>.

--- 1990. *Afghanistan and the Politics of Pakistan*. Indianapolis, IN: Universities Field Staff International.

--- 1991. "Pakistan and Afghanistan: The Strategic Relationship." *Asian Survey*. 31(6): 496-511.

Pakistan and India — Including the Conflict in Kashmir

Abraham, Itty. 2009. *South Asian Cultures of the Bomb: Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Acosta, Marcus. 2007. "The Kargil Conflict: Waging War in the Himalayas." *Small Wars & Insurgencies*. 18 (3): 397-415.

Ahmad, Naveed. 1982. "Recent Developments in Indo-Pakistan Relations." *Pakistan Horizon*. 35 (2): 71-95.

Ahmar, Moonis. 1993. *Indo-Pakistan Normalization Process: The Role of CBM's in the Post-Cold War Era*. Occasional Paper (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security). Urbana, IL: Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

--- 1993. "War Avoidance between India and Pakistan: A Model of Conflict Resolution and Confidence-building in the Post-cold War Era." *Strategic Studies*. 16 (1/2): 5-26.

Ahmed, Abu Taher Salauddin. 2006. *The Kashmiri Muslims' Uprising of 1990: A Causal Study*. Thesis (Ph.D). Australian National University.

-
- Ahmed, Akbar S. 1991. "Kashmir, 1990: Islamic Revolt or Kashmiri Nationalism." *Strategic Studies*. 14 (3): 22-30.
- Ahmed, Mutahir. 1995. "The Role of Confidence-building Measures: Indo-Pakistan Conflicts." *Pakistan Horizon*. 48 (1): 71-80.
- Ahmed, Naseer, Saurabh Singh, A.C. Roy and Sarnath Banerjee. 2007. *Kashmir Pending*. New Delhi: Phantomville.
- Ahmed, Parvez. 2009. *Al-Qaeda's Mission Kashmir*. Delhi: Sumit Enterprises.
- Al-Rayyes, Samah Mohamed Adnan. 1998. *Religion, Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy in the Third World the Case of the Indo-Pakistani Conflict over Kashmir*. Thesis (M.A.). American University in Cairo.
- Alavi, H. 2002. "Pakistan between Afghanistan and India." *MERIP Middle East Report*. 32 (222): 24-31.
- Ali, Imtiaz. 1997. "CTBT, India and Pakistan." *Pakistan Horizon*. 50 (1): 33-38.
- Amin, T. 2000. "Kargil Crisis in Kashmir." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 13 (2): 320-327.
- Amnesty International. 1999. *India: "If They Are Dead, Tell Us": "Disappearances" in Jammu and Kashmir*. New York, NY: Amnesty International USA.
- Anand, Adarsh Sein. 2007. *The Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir: its Development & Comments*. Delhi: Universal Law Publ. Co.
- Arif, Muhammad. 1994. "The Kashmir Dispute and Pakistan-India Relations: 1972-1992." *Pakistan Horizon*. 47 (1): 35-45.
- Ashraf, Fahmida. 1990. "The Kashmir Dispute: An Evaluation." *Strategic Studies*. 13 (4): 61-77.
- Ataov, Turkkaya. 2001. *Kashmir and Neighbours: Tale, Terror, Truce*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bajpai, Kanti. 2007. "Pakistan and China in Indian Strategic Thought." *International Journal*. 62 (4): 805-824.
- Bandyopadhyay, Kausik. 2008. "Feel Good, Goodwill and India's Friendship Tour of Pakistan, 2004: Cricket, Politics and Diplomacy in Twenty-First-Century India." *International Journal of the History of Sport*. 25 (12): 1654-1670.
- Banerjee, Dipankar and Mallika Joseph. 2008. *Consolidating Peace in Jammu and Kashmir*. New Delhi: Samskriti in Association with Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies.

-
- Bausch, Kerry and Karuna Ganesh. 2002."Regional Section. Trends in Context: India, Pakistan and the Dynamics Of Regional Stability." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 15 (2): 245-249.
- Behera, Navnita Chadha. 2006. *Demystifying Kashmir*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Bennett-Jones, Owen. 2007. "Musharraf's Kashmir Policy." *Asian Affairs*. 38 (3): 305-317.
- Bhandari, M. C. 2006. *Solving Kashmir*. New Delhi: Lancer Publishers & Distributors.
- Bhat, A. 2001. "India-Pakistan Summit Through the Media MIL" *India Quarterly*. 57 (4): 191-208.
- Bhugal, Parminder S. 1989. "Pakistan's India Policy: Shift from Zia to Benazir." *India Quarterly*. 45 (1): 35-45.
- Billquist, Daniel L. and Jason M. Colbert. 2006. *Pakistan, Madrassas and Militancy*. Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School.
- Bora, Rajiv Kumar. 2005. *Kashmir: An Approach to Dispute Resolution*. Thesis (M.A). University of California, Berkeley.
- Bose, Sumantra. 1997. *The Challenge in Kashmir: Democracy, Self-determination and a Just Peace*. New Delhi: Sage.
- 2007. "Kashmir." in *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus and Sri Lanka*. Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press: 154-203.
- 2003. *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Burki, Shahid Javed. 2007. *Kashmir a Problem in Search of a Solution*. Peaceworks, No. 59. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS86616>.
- Chari, P.R., Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Stephen P. Cohen. 2007. *Four Crises and a Peace Process: American Engagement in South Asia*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Chari, P. R. and Hasan Askari Rizvi. 2008. *Making Borders Irrelevant in Kashmir*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS104197>.
- Chari, P. R. 2009. "Reflections on the Kargil War." *Strategic Analysis*. 33 (3): 360-364.
- Chaudhri, Mohammed Ahsen. 1987. "Geopolitical Factors in Pakistan-India Relations." *Pakistan Horizon*. 40 (1): 30-50.

-
- Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal. 1991. *Proliferation in South Asia after the Kashmir Crisis*. Livermore, CA: Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, University of California.
- Cheema, Zafar Iqbal. 1994. "Pakistan's Nuclear Policy Under Z.A. Bhutto and Zia-Ul-Haq: An Assessment." *Strategic Studies*. 14 (4): 5-20.
- Cohen, Stephen Philip. 2002. "India, Pakistan and Kashmir." *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 25 (4): 32-60.
- Dabla, Bashir A. 2009. *Ethnicity in Kashmir: Studies in Culture, Religion, Economy & Social Structure*. Srinagar, Jammu & Kashmir: Jay Kay Book Shop.
- Das, Suranjan. 2001. *Kashmir and Sindh: Nation-building, Ethnicity and Regional Politics in South Asia*. Anthem Modern South Asian Studies. London: Anthem Press.
- Datta, Rekha. 2008. *Beyond Realism: Human Security in India and Pakistan in the Twenty-first Century*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Dawson, Pauline. 1994. *The Peacekeepers of Kashmir: The UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Dixit, J. N. 2002. *India-Pakistan in War & Peace*. London: Routledge.
- Elghatit, Sherine A.H. 1992. *The Kashmir Problem: Applying Game Theory to the Indo-Pakistani Conflict*. Thesis (M.A.). American University in Cairo.
- Evans, Alexander. 2002. "India, Pakistan and the Prospect of War." *Current History*. 101 (654) 160-165.
- 1999. "Kashmir: The Past Ten Years." *Asian Affairs*. 30 (1): 21-34.
- 2005. "Kashmir: A Tale of Two Valleys." *Asian Affairs*. 36 (1): 35-47.
- 2001. "Reducing Tension Is Not Enough." *Washington Quarterly*. 24 (2): 181-193.
- 2001. "Why Peace Won't Come to Kashmir." *Current History*. 100 (645): 170-175.
- Fair, C. Christine. 2004. *The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.
- Faizanullah. 2008. *Kashmir and the United Nations*. Srinagar: City Book Centre.

-
- Felicetti, Marcus Julian. 2007. *The Changing Dynamic Between India and Pakistan: New incentives for Peace in Kashmir*. Thesis (M.A.). La Trobe University.
- Ganguly, Rajat. 1998. *India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute*. Asian Studies Institute and Centre for Strategic Studies Working Paper, 1. Wellington, NZ: Asian Studies Institute.
- Ganguly, Sumit and Devin T. Hagerty. 2005. *Fearful Symmetry: India-Pakistan Crises in the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Ganguly, Sumit. 1990. "Avoiding War in Kashmir." *Foreign Affairs*. 69 (5): 57-73.
- 2001. *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1997. "Kashmir Crisis: Options for the Resolution of the Stalemate." *Pakistan Horizon*. 50 (4): 17-25.
- 2006. "Will Kashmir Stop India's Rise?" *Foreign Affairs*. 85 (4): 45-57.
- Goldston, James and Patricia Gossman. 1991. *Human Rights in India: Kashmir under Siege*. An Asia Watch Report. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Habibullah, Wajahat. 2008. *My Kashmir: Conflict and the Prospects for Enduring Peace*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Hammond, J. Casey. 1981. "Aplomb or the Bomb: Outlook for Indo-Pakistani Relations in a Global Perspective." *India Quarterly*. 37 (4): 590-598.
- Hardy, Justine. 2009. *In the Valley of Mist: Kashmir, One Family in a Changing World*. New York: Free Press.
- Harrison, Selig S., Paul H. Kreisberg and Dennis Kux. 1999. *India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years*. Woodrow Wilson Center Series. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Hassan, Mian Tariq. 2007. *Kashmir Negotiation*. Thesis (LL.M.). Harvard Law School.
- Hayat, Ahmad Mahmood. 1999. *Pakistani Options for Resolution of the Kashmir Dispute*. Fort Leavenworth: US Army Command and General Staff College.
- Hedrick, Brian Kenneth. 1999. *The Balance of Power in South Asia: The Strategic Interests and Capabilities of India, China and Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). University of Texas at Austin.

-
- Human Rights Watch. 1994. *India, Arms and Abuses in Indian Punjab and Kashmir*. New York, NY: Human Right[s] Watch.
- 2006. *With Friends Like These — Human Rights Violations in Azad Kashmir*. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch.
- Iakunin, V. 1996. "India and Pakistan: Nuclear Option." *International Affairs*. (4): 43.
- Indurthy, Rathnam. 2005. "The Turns and Shifts in the US Role in the Kashmir Conflict Since 1947: Today's Propitious Times for a Facilitator to Resolve it." *Asian Affairs*. 32 (1): 31.
- International Crisis Group. 2006. *India, Pakistan and Kashmir: Stabilising a Cold Peace*. Islamabad: International Crisis Group.
- International Crisis Group. 2004. *India/Pakistan Relations and Kashmir: Steps toward Peace*. ICG Asia Report, No. 79. Islamabad: International Crisis Group.
- International Crisis Group. 2002. *Kashmir: the View From Srinagar*. ICG Asia Report, No. 41. Islamabad: International Crisis Group.
- Jaffrelot, C. 2002. "India and Pakistan: Interpreting the Divergence of Two Political Trajectories." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 15 (2): 251-268.
- Jamal, Arif. 2009. *Shadow War: The Untold Story of Jihad in Kashmir*. New York: Melville Publishing House.
- Kamath, P. M. 2005. "India, Pakistan and China: An Unbroken Insecurity Triangle." *India Quarterly* 61 (3): 48-65.
- Kanjilal, Tanmay. 1997. "Improving Pakistan-India Relations: The US Role." *Pakistan Horizon*. 50 (3): 31-49.
- Kasturi, Bhashyam. 2008. *The Kargil Conflict and Its Aftermath*. Dictionary of Conflicts in South Asia. Delhi: Routledge India.
- Kaw, Mustaq A. 2004. "Chinese Turkistan and Kashmir a Study in Cultural Affinities." *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*. 52 (3): 63.
- Khan, Nawabzada Nasrullah. 1994. "The Kashmir Issue." *Pakistan Horizon*. 47 (3): 21-33.
- Khan, Tanvir Ahmad. 1990. "Pakistan's Regional Policy with Special Reference to India and Afghanistan." *Pakistan Horizon*. 43 (4): 9-28.

-
- Khan, Zulfqar. 2005. *India-Pakistan Nuclear Rivalry: Perceptions, Misperceptions and Mutual Deterrence*. IPRI Paper, 9. Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute.
- Krepon, Michael. 2001. "A Ray of Hope." *Washington Quarterly*. 24 (2): 175-179.
- Kvok, B. 1998. "On the Nuclear Tests in India and Pakistan." *International Affairs*. (5): 60-65.
- Lieten, Kristoffel. 2002. "Jammu and Kashmir: Half a Century of Conflict." in *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia: an Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities*. Edited By Monique Mekenkamp, Paul Van Tongeren and Hans Van De Deen: 362-381.
- Limaye, Satu P. 2002. "Mediating Kashmir: A Bridge too Far." *Washington Quarterly*. 26 (1): 157-167.
- Lloyd, J. and N. Nankivell. 2002. "India, Pakistan and the Legacy of September 11th." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 15 (2): 269-288.
- Lyngdoh, James Michael. 2004. *Chronicle of an Impossible Election: The Election Commission and the 2002 Jammu and Kashmir Assembly Elections*. New Delhi: Viking.
- Lyon, Peter. 2008. *Conflict between India and Pakistan: An Encyclopedia*. Roots of Modern Conflict. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Malik, Iffat. 2002. *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Margolis, Eric. 2001. *War at the Top of the World: The Struggle for Afghanistan, Kashmir and Tibet*. New York: Routledge.
- Matos, Izaias P. 2005. *The Conflict in Kashmir*. Thesis (M.S.). Missouri State University.
- Meyerle, Gerald. 2003. *Conflict Escalation in Kashmir: A Study in State-Society Breakdown*. Thesis (M.A.). University of Virginia.
- 2008. *Death by a Thousand Cuts: The Dynamics of Protracted Insurgency in Kashmir and Sri Lanka*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI.
- Mir, Bilal Ahmad. 2006. *Conflict and Conflict Resolution: A Sociological Study of J & K Conflict*. Aligarh: Aligarh University.
- Misra, Ashutosh. 2007. "An Audit of the India-Pakistan Peace Process." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. 61 (4):

506-528.

Mughees-Uddin. 1992. "Foreign Policy and Press Performance: The Case of the Kashmir Conflict, the United States and the New York Times during 1948-49 and 1989-91." *Pakistan Horizon*. 45(4): 29-46.

Mutreja, Krishan. 2002. *Kashmir Conflict*. Washington, DC: Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

Nagarjun, Devaraju. 2004. *Clash of Identities Ethnic Conflict of Kashmir Dispute*. Thesis (M.A.). University of California, Berkeley.

Neve, Arthur. 2008. *30 Years in Kashmir*. Srinagar, Kashmir: Gulshan Books.

Newberg, Paula R. 1995. *Young Kashmiris: An Endangered Species*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Oberoi, Surinder. 2001. "Fear and Loathing in Kashmir." *Washington Quarterly*. 24 (2): 195-199.

Pandya, Amit. 1990. "Kashmir: The Way Forward." *Journal of Asian and African Affairs*. 2 (1): 1-6.

Panigrahi, P. K. 1996. "Indo-US Relations: A Critical Analysis of the Arms Supply to Pakistan." *India Quarterly*. 52 (3): 81-96.

Paranjpe, Shrikant. 1985. "India and Pakistan: Beyond the No-war Pact." *Strategic Studies*. 8 (4): 58-63.

Parthasarathy, G. and Radha Kumar. 2007. *Frameworks for a Kashmir Settlement*. New Delhi: Delhi Policy Group.

Pradhan, Pradyot. 1987. "Nuclear Pakistan: India's Response." *India Quarterly*. 43 (1): 1-14.

Puri, Balraj and Balraj Puri. 2008. *Kashmir: Insurgency and After*. Hyderabad, India: Orient Longman.

Qureshi, M. Nabeel. 2003. *The Conflict in Kashmir: Down the Corridor of Uncertainty and Unrest*. Thesis (M.S.). Southwest Missouri State University.

Raja Mohan, C. 2004. "What if Pakistan Fails? India Isn't Worried ... Yet." *Washington Quarterly*. 28 (1): 117-128.

Ramsdale, Ruth Anne Arline. 1994. *The Application of International Human Rights Standards: An Assessment of Indian Action in Kashmir*. Thesis (M.A.). University of South Carolina.

Rao, P.V. Narsimha. 1981. "Indo-Pakistan Relations: A Vision for the Future." *India Quarterly*. 37 (3): 405-413.

-
- Ray, Aswini K. 1981. "The Islamic Bomb and India's National Security." *India Quarterly*. 37 (3): 346-358.
- Riencourt, Amaury De. 1983. "India and Pakistan in the Shadow of Afghanistan." *Foreign Affairs*. 61 (2): 416-437.
- Robinson, Cabeiri DeBergh. 2005. *Refugees, Political Subjectivity and the Morality of Violence: From Hijarat to Jihad in Azad Kashmir*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Cornell University.
- Roys, Gerald Rudolph. 1983. *The Kashmir Dispute: A Case Study in the International Politics of an Interstate Boundary Conflict*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of South Carolina.
- Schaffer, Howard B. 2009. *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- 2001. "Reconsidering the US Role." *Washington Quarterly*. 24 (2): 201-209.
- Schaffer, Teresita C. 2003. *Finding a Kashmir Settlement the Burden of Leadership*. Strategic Forum, No. 199. Washington, DC: Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS33377>.
- 2005. *Kashmir: the Economics of Peace Building : A Report of the CSIS South Asia Program With the Kashmir Study Group*. CSIS Report. Washington, DC: CSIS Press.
- Schofield, J. and R. Tremblay. 2008. "Why Pakistan Failed: Tribal Focoism in Kashmir." *Small Wars and Insurgencies*. 19 (1): 23-38.
- Schofield, Victoria. 2003. *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- 1996. *Kashmir in the Crossfire*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- 1997. "Kashmir — Today, Tomorrow?" *Asian Affairs*. 28 (3): 315-324.
- Sechser, Todd S. 2004. *South Asia and the Nuclear Future: Rethinking the Causes and Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA430551>.
- Shah, Sayed Mehtab Ali. 1989. "Anatomy of Indo-Pak Discord." *Journal of Asian and African Affairs*. 1(1): 35-47.
- Shakoor, Farzana. 1994. "Kashmir Issue and US Global Objectives." *Pakistan Horizon*. 47 (3): 73-84.
- 1996. "The State Elections in Indian-held Kashmir." *Pakistan Horizon*. 49 (4) : 61-71.

Siddiqa, Ayesha. 2007. *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*. London: Pluto Press.

Siddiqa-Agha, Ayesha. 2004. *Confrontation to Conciliation: India-Pakistan Relations*. Islamabad: Centre for Democratic Governance.

--- 2001. *Pakistan's Arms Procurement and Military Build-up, 1979-99: In Search of a Policy*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave.

Sidhu, Waheguru Pal Singh, Bushra Asif and Cyrus Samii. 2006. *Kashmir: New Voices, New Approaches*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Singh, Arun. 1997. *India & Pakistan: The Military Balance : 1985-1994*. ACDIS Occasional Paper. Urbana, IL: Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois At Urbana-Champaign.

Smith, Chris. 1993. *The Diffusion of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Pakistan and Northern India*. London Defence Studies, 20. London: Centre for Defence Studies.

--- 1995. "The Impact of Light Weapons on Security: A Case Study of South Asia." *SIPRI Yearbook*, 1995: 583-593.

--- 2002. "India and Pakistan — War or Standoff." *The World Today*. 58 (7): 4-6.

--- 2004. *Nuclear Weapons in South Asia*. Emirates Lecture Series, 52. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research.

Snedden, Christopher. 2001. *Paramountcy, Patrimonialism and the Peoples of Jammu and Kashmir, 1947-1991*. Thesis (Ph.D.). La Trobe University.

--- 2005. "Would a Plebiscite Have Resolved the Kashmir Dispute?" *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*. 28 (1): 64-86.

Suba Chandran, D. 2004. *Limited War with Pakistan: Will It Secure India's Interests?* ACDIS Occasional Paper. Champaign, IL: Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University Of Illinois At Urbana-Champaign.

Sugarman, Martin. 2002. *The Kashmir Tragedy: A Sociological Portrait of War and Human Rights Abuses*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI.

Swami, Praveen. 2006. *India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: the Covert War in Kashmir, 1947-2004*. Asian Security Studies. London: Routledge.

Tahira, Sibtain. 1990. *Kashmir and the United Nations: Successes and Failures*. NIPS Monograph Series, 2. Islamabad,

Pakistan: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University.

Talbot, Ian. 2007. *The Deadly Embrace: Religion, Politics and Violence in India and Pakistan, 1947-2002*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, David. 1991. "The Kashmir Crisis." *Asian Affairs*. 22 (3): 303-313.

Taylor, Matthew P. 2004. *Pakistan's Kashmir Policy and Strategy Since 1947*. Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School.

Tellis, Ashley. J. 2008. "The Merits of Dehyphenation: Explaining US Success in Engaging India and Pakistan." *Washington Quarterly*. 31 (4): 21-42.

Venkatraman, Amritha. 2005. *Kashmir: Islam and Terror*. Thesis (Ph.D.)--Rutgers University.

Walker, William. 1998. "International Nuclear Relations after the Indian and Pakistani Test Explosions." *International Affairs*. 74 (3): 505-528.

Webb, Matthew. 2005. "Political Change and Prospects for Peace in Jammu and Kashmir: The 2002 State Election and Recent Electoral Trends in India." *Journal of South Asian Studies*. 28 (1): 87-111.

Whitehead, Andrew. 2007. *A Mission in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Penguin.

Widmalm, Sten. 1997. *Democracy and Violent Separatism in India: Kashmir in a Comparative Perspective*. Uppsala: Department of Government, Uppsala University.

--- 2002. *Kashmir in Comparative Perspective: Democracy and Violent Separatism in India*. London: Routledge/Curzon.

Wirsing, Robert. G. 1996. "The Kashmir Conflict." *Current History*. 95 (600): 171-176.

---2003. *Kashmir in the Shadow of War: Regional Rivalries in a Nuclear Age*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

Yasmeen, Samina. 1999. "Pakistan's Nuclear Tests: Domestic Debate and International Determinants." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. 53 (1): 43-56.

Zaidi, Mehreen Afzaal. 2006. *The Kargil War 1999 Revisited: Nuclear Deterrence Stability in South Asia*. Thesis (M.A.). Ohio State University, 2006.

Zaidi, Tehmina Khan. 2002. *Linking Experience with Ideology and Reality: Kashmir Revisited*. Thesis (M.A.). Rutgers University.

Ziring, Lawrence. 1981. "Indo-Pakistani Relations: Time for a Fresh Start." *Asian Affairs*. 8 (4): 199-215.

Zollner, Roger L. 1993. *Avoiding War Over Kashmir*. Thesis (M.S.). Troy State University.

Pakistan-US Relations

Azmi, Muhammad Raziullah. 1983. "Pakistan-United States Relations: an Appraisal." *Pakistan Horizon*. 36 (3): 37-50.

Ahmad, Hanan Mian. 2005. *The Media-foreign Policy Relationship: Pakistan's Media Image and US Foreign Policy*. Thesis (Ph.D.). York University.

Akhtar, Rizwan. 2008. *US-Pakistan Trust Deficit and the War on Terror*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA479028>.

Ali, Tariq. 2008. *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power*. London: Simon & Schuster.

Anwar, Mumtaz A. and Katharina Michaelowa. 2004. *The Political Economy of US Aid to Pakistan*. HWWA Discussion Paper, 302. Hamburg, Germany: Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA).

Arif, K. 1984. *America-Pakistan Relations: Documents*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Armstrong, David and Joseph John Trento. 2007. *America and the Islamic Bomb: the Deadly Compromise*. Hanover, N.H.: Steerforth Press.

Atal, Subodh. 2003. *Extremist, Nuclear Pakistan: An Emerging Threat?* Washington, DC: Cato Institute.

Barton, Frederick, Mehlaqa Samdani, and Karin Von Hippel. 2008. *A New Course for Pakistan PCR Project Research Visit*. Washington, DC: CSIS. http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/080514_sb_pakistantrip.pdf.

Braibanti, Ralph. 1988. "Pakistan, United States and Islam." *Pakistan Horizon*. 41(2): 16-22.

Brenneman, Carl. 2007. *Bleeding the Bear by Funding Jihad: US Foreign Policy in Afghanistan 1979-1989*. Thesis (M.A.). California State University, Dominguez Hills.

Callaway, John D., Daniel S. Roper, John Allen Williams and Javaid Iqbal Rathore. 2008. *The War on Terror Progress or Regression?* Front & Center with John Callaway. Chicago: Pritzker Military Library.

Carpenter, Ted Galen. 1987. *A Fortress Built on Quicksand: US Policy toward Pakistan*. Policy Analysis, No. 80. Washing-

ton, DC: Cato Institute.

Chatterji, Uma. 2005. *Diplomatic Relations: India, United States, Pakistan*. Chandrapur, India: S.P. College of Law.

Chaudary, Ghulam Mustafa. 1981. *The American Images of Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of South Carolina.

Chaudhuri, Gaurishankar. 1986. *Pakistan: a Pawn in the US Power Game*. Calcutta, India: Firma KLM.

Chesser, Susan G. 2007. *Pakistan Significant Recent Events, March 26-June 21, 2007*. CRS Report for Congress, RL33954. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34075.pdf>.

Cohen, Craig and Derek H. Chollet. 2007. "When \$10 Billion is Not Enough: Rethinking US Strategy Toward Pakistan." *Washington Quarterly*. 30 (2): 7-19.

Cohen, Craig. 2007. *A Perilous Course: US Strategy and Assistance to Pakistan: a Report of the Post-conflict Reconstruction Project*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Cohen, Stephen P. 2002. "The Nation and the State of Pakistan." *Washington Quarterly*. 25 (3): 109-122.

--- 2001. *Moving Forward in South Asia*. Brookings Policy Briefs, No. 81. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Conway, Paul-Daniel. 2003. *Sanctions or Engagement?: designing US Diplomatic Policy tools to Confront Nuclear Proliferation in Iran, North Korea, India and Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Brandeis University.

Cronin, Richard P, K A Kronstadt and Sharon Squassoni. 2005. *Pakistan's Nuclear Proliferation Activities and the Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission: US Policy Constraints and Options*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA454544>.

Cronin, Richard P. 1988. *Pakistan after Zia Implications for Pakistan and US Interests*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

--- 1985. *The United States, Pakistan and the Soviet Threat to Southern Asia Options for Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

David, Steven R. 2008. *Catastrophic Consequences: Civil Wars and American Interests*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Deibel, Terry L. 1995. *Pakistan in the Bush Years: Foreign Aid and Foreign Influence*. Pew Case Studies In International Affairs, Case 365. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Publications, School of Foreign Service,

Georgetown University.

Dodaro, Gene L. 2008. *Combating Terrorism US Efforts to Address the Terrorist Threat in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas Require a Comprehensive Plan and Continued Oversight*. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South and Central Asian Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate. Testimony, GAO-08-820 T. Washington, DC: US Government Accountability Office. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS95090>.

Ejaz, Ahmad. 1996. *Kashmir Dispute and US Security Concerns in South Asia*. Lahore: Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus.

El Assal, Elaine. 1999. *In Pakistan, Positive Views of US Ties Narrowly Top Negative Perceptions: But US Image Tainted by Perceptions of America as Hostile to Islam*. Washington, DC: Department of State, Office of Research.

--- 1991. *Urban Pakistanis Increasingly Wary of Americans and of US Aid*. Washington, DC: Office of Research, US Information Agency.

Eliot, Theodore L. 1986. *The Red Army on Pakistan's Border: Policy Implications for the United States*. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's.

Fair, C. Christine, Clay Ramsay and Steven Kull. 2008. *Pakistani Public Opinion on Democracy, Islamist Militancy and Relations with the US a Joint Study of WorldPublicOpinion.org and the United States Institute of Peace*. Washington, DC: WorldPublicOpinion.org. http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jan08/Pakistan_Jan08_rpt.pdf.

Fair, C. Christine and Peter Chalk. 2006. *Fortifying Pakistan: The Role of US Internal Security Assistance*. Perspectives Series. Washington, DC: United States Institute Of Peace Press.

Fair, C Christine. 2004. *The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA429786>.

--- 2008. *US-Pakistan Relations Assassination, Instability and the Future of US Policy*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

Faruqui, Ahmad. 2008. *Musharraf's Pakistan, Bush's America & the Middle East*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Feickert, Andrew and K A Kronstadt. 2003. *Missile Proliferation and the Strategic Balance in South Asia*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA454698>.

Feinstein, Lee. 2002. *A New Equation: US Policy Toward India and Pakistan After September 11*. Carnegie Endowment Working Papers, No. 27. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Firdausi, Zubaid Ahmad. 1988. *Eagle Over Pakistan*. Lahore: Book Traders.

Fukuyama, Francis. 1980. *The Security of Pakistan: A Trip Report*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

Gaan, Narottam. 1990. "Super Power Involvement in Indo-Pak Relations: A Case Study of the United States." *India Quarterly*. 46 (4): 1-32.

Gardon, Thomas L. 2005. *Balancing US Interests Amidst the India and Pakistan Conflict*. USAWC Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Grare, Frederic. 2007. *Rethinking Western Strategies Toward Pakistan an Action Agenda for the United States and Europe*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/grare_pakistan_final.pdf.

Greer, William L. 1999. *Reexamining US Nonproliferation Policy in South Asia*. USAWC Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Haass, Richard and Morton H. Halperin. 1998. *After the Tests US Policy Toward India and Pakistan: Report of an Independent Task Force*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Hagel, Charles Timothy and John Kerry. 2009. *Needed: A Comprehensive US Policy Towards Pakistan a Report*. Washington, DC: Atlantic Council of the United States.

Haq, Noor Ul and Syeda Talat Yasmin. 2005. *President Musharraf's Visit to USA (12-18 September 2005)*. IPRI Factfile, 7 (9). Islamabad, Pakistan: Islamabad Policy Research Institute.

Haqqani, Husain. 2002. *America's New Alliance with Pakistan: Avoiding the Traps of the Past*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Hilali, A. Z. 2005. *US-Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Huckabee M.D. 2008. "America's Priorities in the War on Terror: Islamists, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan." *Foreign Affairs*. 87 (1): 155-168.

Huque, Mahmudul. 1997. "Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia and US Policy." *International Studies*. 34 (1): 1-14.

Husain, Noor A. and Leo E. Rose. 1988. *Pakistan-US Relations: Social, Political and Economic Factors*. Research Papers and Policy Studies, 22. Berkeley, Calif: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

-
- Hussain, Touqir. 2005. *US-Pakistan Engagement the War on Terrorism and Beyond*. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS104275>.
- Iqbal, Khalid. 1986. *The United States-Pakistan Security Relationship*. Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air War College, Air University.
- Irvin, William R. 1991. *After the Fall: A Strategy for the US and Pakistan*. USAWC Military Studies Program Paper. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.
- Islam, Mohammad. 1983. "Pakistan-US New Connection: an Evaluation." *Pakistan Horizon*. 36 (2): 31-44.
- Jain, Rashmi. 1983. *US-Pak Relations, 1947-1983*. New Delhi: Radiant.
- 2007. *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2006: A Documentary Study*. New Delhi: Radiant Publishers.
- Johal, Sarbjit. 1986. "America's Arming of Pakistan: Indian Views in the 1950s and 1980s." *Strategic Studies*. 9 (2): 68-80.
- Johnson, Charles Michael, Jr. 2008. *Preliminary Observations on the Use and Oversight of US Coalition Support Funds Provided to Pakistan*. Washington, DC: US Government. Accountability Office. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS94900>
- Jones, James L. and Thomas R. Pickering. 2008. *Afghanistan Study Group Report: Revitalizing Our Efforts, Rethinking Our Strategies*. Ft. Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA476842>.
- Jones, Rodney W. 1989. "Pakistan and the United States: Partners After Afghanistan." *Washington Quarterly*. 12 (3): 65-87.
- Kaur, K. 1996. "Clinton's Pakistan Policy and India's Security Concerns." *India Quarterly*. 52 (3): 73-80.
- Kanjilal, Tanmay. 1997. "Improving Pakistan-India Relations: The US Role." *Pakistan Horizon*. 50 (3): 31-49.
- Kelly, Charles B. and Francis V. Beasley. 2009. *Pakistan & US Relations*. Hauppauge, N.Y.: Nova Science.
- Key, Jeffrey E. 1982. *A Regional Approach to American Foreign Policy: The South Asian Experience*. Thesis (M.A.). Baylor University.
- Khan, Rais Ahmad. 1983. *Pakistan-United States Relations: Proceedings of the National Symposium Held at Islamabad on 28-29 August, 1982*. Islamabad: Area Study Centre for Africa, North & South America, Quaid-i-Azam University.
- Kochanek, Stanley A. 1993. "US Foreign Policy in South Asia." *Pakistan Horizon*. 46 (3/4): 17-25.

Kronstadt, K. Alan and Kenneth Katzman. 2008. *Islamist Militancy in the Pakistan-Afghanistan Border Region and US Policy*. CRS report for Congress, RL34763. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34763.pdf>.

Kronstadt, K. Alan. 2006. *Pakistan Chronology of Recent Events*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

--- 2003. *Pakistan's Domestic Political Developments Issues for Congress*. CRS report for Congress, RS21299. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

---- 2004. *Pakistan's Domestic Political Developments Issues for Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Information Service, Library of Congress.

--- 2007. *Pakistan's Political Crisis and State of Emergency*. Ft. Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA474873>.

--- 2007. *Pakistan and Terrorism a Summary*. CRS report for Congress, RS22632. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. http://openocrs.cdt.org/rpts/RS22632_20070327.pdf.

---- 2008. *Pakistan-US Relations*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA482809>.

Kux, Dennis. 2001. *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Levy, Adrian and Cathy Scott-Clark. 2008. *Nuclear Deception: The Dangerous Relationship Between the United States and Pakistan*. New York: Walker & Company.

Mack, Brian X. 2003. *Engaging India and Pakistan: Resolving Conflict and Establishing Trust through an Aerial Observation Confidence and Security Building Measure*. USAWC Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Mahmud, Farhat. 1991. *A History of US-Pakistan Relations*. Lahore: Vanguard.

Malik, Hafeez. 2008. *US Relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Imperial Dimension*. Oxford UK: Oxford University Press.

Malik, Iftikhar H. 1990. "The Pakistan-US Security Relationship: Testing Bilateralism." *Asian Survey*. 30(3): 284-299.

Markey, Daniel Seth. 2008. *Securing Pakistan's Tribal Belt*. New York, NY: Council on Foreign Relations, Center for Pre-

ventive Action.

Martin, Michael F. and K. A. Kronstadt. 2008. *Pakistan's Capital Crisis: implications for US Policy*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA490062>.

Mehdi, Haider. 2007. *The Nemesis: [Political Articles and Analysis]*. Lahore: Heritage Publications.

Metz, Steven. 2001. *Coalition Partners: Pakistan*. Defeating Terrorism, Strategic Issue Analysis. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. <http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usassi/pakistan.pdf>.

Yusuf, Moeed. 2008. *Prospects of Youth Radicalization in Pakistan: Implications for US Policy*. Washington, DC: Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/10_pakistan_yusuf/10_pakistan_yusuf.pdf.

Mohapatra, B. K. 1998. *United States-Pakistan Military Alliance: A Study of Stresses and Strains*. New Delhi: Ajanta Publications.

Mughees-uddin. 1993. *Elite Press Editorial Framing of US Foreign Policy: The Case of Pakistan and the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times (1980-1992)*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Iowa.

Mustafa, Zubeida. 1981. "Pakistan-US Relations: the Latest Phase." *World Today*. 37 (12): 469-475.

Nandamudi, Israel. 1998. *Perceptions and Policy Choices of the United States Towards India: A Case Study of Indo-Pakistan War of 1965*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Washington State University.

Nayar, Baldev Raj and Baldev Raj Nayar. 1991. *Superpower Dominance and Military Aid: A Study of Military Aid to Pakistan*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.

Newberg, Paula R. 1987. "Pakistan's Troubled Landscape." *World Policy Journal*. 4 (2): 313-331.

Nihal Singh, S. 1989. *India, Pakistan and the USA*. USI National Security Lectures, 9. New Delhi: United Service Institution of India.

Norwood, Stephen Harrelson. 1984. *An American-Saudi-Pakistani Axis: Regionalism Versus Globalism*. Thesis (M.A.). University of South Carolina.

Oakley, Robert B. 1989. "US-Pakistan Relations: An Agenda for the Future." *Pakistan Horizon*. 42 (1): 28-35.

Government of Pakistan. 1983. *Agricultural Commodities: Agreement Between the United States of America and Pakistan*

Signed at Islamabad June 4, 1981 with Minutes. Washington, DC: Department of State.

--- 2006. *Aviation, Transport Services: Agreement Between the United States of America and Pakistan, Signed At Rawalpindi April 10, 1997 With Annexes and Amending Agreement Effected By Exchange of Notes Signed At Islamabad April 12 and 29, 1999.* Washington, DC: US Department of State.

--- 1995. *Primer Minister Benazir Bhutto's Visit to USA: Signing Ceremony for Investment in Pakistan, Washington DC, April 6, 1995.* Islamabad: Ministries of Water & Power, Petroleum & Natural Resources and Communications.

Pakistan Policy Working Group, Kara L. Blue, Lisa Curtis, C. Christine Fair, Richard L. Armitage and Lee H. Hamilton. 2008. *The Next Chapter the United States and Pakistan: Report of the Pakistan Policy Working Group.* S. I: Pakistan Policy Working Group. http://www.usip.org/pubs/ppwg_report.pdf.

Panigrahi, P. K. 1996. "Indo-US Relations: A Critical Analysis of the Arms Supply to Pakistan." *India Quarterly.* 52 (3): 81-96.

Pell, Claiborne. 1990. *Stalemate in Afghanistan, Democracy in Pakistan, October 1, 1989: A Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate.* S. Prt, 101-65. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

Peters, John E, James Dickens, Derek Eaton, C C Fair, Nina Hachigian, Theodore W Karasik, Rollie Lal, Rachel M Swanger, Gregory F Treverton and Jr, Charles Wolf. 2006. *War and Escalation in South Asia.* Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA449272>.

Potter, David C. 1989. "Superpower Rivalry in the Indian Ocean and Foreign Policy Choices in India and Pakistan." *Internationales Asienforum.* 20 (1/2): 155-171.

Preger, Robert V. 2007. *Pakistan in Focus: Recent Events, Issues and Analyses.* New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Rabasa, Angel M, Cheryl Benard, Peter Chalk, C C Fair and Theodore Karasik. 2004. *The Muslim World after 9/11.* Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA429640>.

Rajmaira, Sheen. 1992. *Unraveling Reciprocity: A Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policy Behavior.* Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Colorado.

Ranjha, Maqbool A. 1986. *Common Interests of the United States and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in Southwest Asia.* Thesis (M.S.). Air University.

Rao, Kilaru Ram Chandra. 1985. *India, United States and Pakistan: A Triangular Relationship.* Bombay: Himalya Publishing House.

-
- Rashid, Ahmed. 2008. *Descent into Chaos: The US and the Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia*. New York: Viking.
- Richardson, James L. 1999. *The Strategic Value of India and Pakistan to the United States*. Thesis (M.S.). Southwest Missouri State University.
- Rivard, D.S. 1999. "Pakistan: Frontline State Again." *Peace Research Abstracts*. 36 (1).
- Rose, Leo E. and Noor A. Husain. 1985. *United States-Pakistan Relations*. Research Papers and Policy Studies, No. 13. Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.
- Rutherford, Donald. 2008. *Partnering With Pakistan: a Shift of Strategic Priorities*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA487146>.
- Sathasivam, Kanishkan. 2005. *Uneasy Neighbours: India, Pakistan and US Foreign Policy*. US Foreign Policy and Conflict in the Islamic World. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Schaffer, Teresita C. 2004. *Pakistan's Future and US Policy Options: a Report of the CSIS South Asia Program*. CSIS Report. Washington DC: CSIS Press.
- 2002. "US Influence on Pakistan: Can Partners Have Divergent Priorities?" *Washington Quarterly*. 26 (1): 169-183.
- Shakoor, Farzana. 1994. "Kashmir Issue and US Global Objectives." *Pakistan Horizon*. 47 (3): 73-84.
- 1992. "Pakistan-US Relations: 1988-1991." *Pakistan Horizon*. 45 (2): 23-33.
- Sherwani, Latif Ahmed. 1980. *Pakistan, China and America*. Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies.
- Shugart, Gary W. 1993. *Nonproliferation: A Plan for Dealing with Pakistan*. Washington, DC: NWC.
- Singh, Jaswant and Suraja Bhatya. 2008. *Conflict and Diplomacy: US and the Birth of Bangladesh, Pakistan Divides*. New Delhi: Rupa & Co.
- Singh, Naunihal. 2006. *The United States and Pakistan: The Estranged Bedfellows*. Delhi: Authors' Press.
- Sinno, Abdulkader H. and Rasul Bux Rais. 2008. *Post-September 11 Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations: Prospects for Counter-insurgency Cooperation*. Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research.
- Sloan, Steven E. 2001. *US Policy Options for South Asia Now that the Nuclear Genie is Out of the Bottle*. USAWC Strategy

Research Project. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Smith, David O. 1993. *From Containment to Stability: Pakistan-United States Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*. Washington, DC: National Defense University.

Subramanian, R. R. 1987. *Nuclear Competition in South Asia and US Policy*. Policy Papers in International Affairs, 30. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California.

Tabassum, Shaista. 2003. *Nuclear Policy of the United States in South Asia: Proliferation or Non-proliferation (1947-1990)*. Karachi: Royal Book.

Tacik, Henryk, Thomas Murphy and Stephen S Lisi. 1997. *A Strategic Assessment of South Asia: Prescription for US foreign Policy*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA442599>.

Tahir, Bashir Ahmed and Shabbir Ahmed Khalid. 1986. *Pakistan-United States Relations: A Chronology, 1947-1985*. Islamabad: Area Study Centre for Africa, North & South America, Quaid-i-Azam University.

Tahir-Kheli, Shirin and William O. Staudenmaier. 1982. "The Saudi-Pakistani Military Relationship: implications for US Policy." *Orbis*. 26 (1): 155-169.

Tahir-Kheli, Shirin. 1980. "Proxies and Allies: the Case of Iran and Pakistan." *Orbis*. 24 (2): 339-352.

--- 1982. *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship*. Studies of Influence in International Relations. New York: Praeger.

Taylor, Paul D. 2001. *Asia and the Pacific: US Strategic Traditions and Regional Realities*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA421946>.

Taylor, Scott R. 2008. *Stabilizing US-Pakistan Relations: A Way Forward*. USAWC Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Tellis, Ashley J. 2005. *South Asia Seesaw a New US Policy on the Subcontinent*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/PB38.pdf>.

--- 2004. "US Strategy: Assisting Pakistan's Transformation." *Washington Quarterly*. 28 (1): 97-116.

--- 2007. *Pakistan and the War on Terror: Conflicted Goals, Compromised Performance*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Thornton, Thomas P. 1993. "The United States and South Asia." *Survival*. 35 (2): 110-128.

--- 1987. *Pakistan: Internal Developments and the US Interest*. FPI Policy Briefs. Washington, DC: Foreign Policy Institute School Of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

United States. 2009. *Addressing the US-Pakistan Strategic Relationship*. Hearing Before the Federal Financial Management, Government Information, Federal Services and International Security Subcommittee of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Tenth Congress, Second Session, June 12, 2008. Washington: US Government Printing Office. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS110370>.

--- 1998. *Crisis in South Asia: India's Nuclear Tests; Pakistan's Nuclear Tests; India and Pakistan: What Next?* Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2007. *Democracy, Authoritarianism and Terrorism in Contemporary Pakistan*. Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Tenth Congress, First Session, November 7, 2007. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 1989. *The Implications of the Arshad Pervez Case for US Policy toward Pakistan*. Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on International Economic Policy and Trade of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, Second Session, February 17, 1988. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2009. *A New Strategy for Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan*. Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Tenth Congress, Second Session, June 25, 2008. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2005. *Pakistan Earthquake: International Response and Impact on US Foreign Policies and Programs*. Staff Trip Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Ninth Congress, First Session. S. Prt, 109-41. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2009. *Pakistan Enduring Assistance and Cooperation Enhancement Act of 2009 (PEACE Act of 2009)*. Report together with additional views (to accompany H.R. 1886) (including cost estimate of the Congressional Budget Office). Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2008. *Pakistan's Future Building Democracy or Fueling Extremism?* Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Tenth Congress, First Session, July 25, 2007. Washington: US Government Printing Office. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS106985>.

---- 1989. *The Prospects for Democracy in Pakistan*. Hearing and Markup Before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific

Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, Second Session on H. Res. 484, June 29, 1988. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2008. *US-Pakistan Relations: Assassination, Instability and the Future of US Policy*. Hearing Before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Tenth Congress, Second Session, January 16, 2008. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2008. *US Foreign Assistance to Pakistan*. Hearing Before the Subcommittee on International Development and Foreign Assistance, Economic Affairs and International Environmental Protection of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Tenth Congress, First Session, December 6, 2007. Washington: US Government Printing Office. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS106077>.

--- 2008. *US Foreign Policy in Pakistan: Implications for Regional Security, Stability and Development*. Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Tenth Congress, Second Session, May 7, 2008. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2008. *US Policy Options in Post-election Pakistan*. Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Tenth Congress, Second Session, February 28, 2008. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

--- 2007. *US Policy toward Pakistan*. Hearing Before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Tenth Congress, First session, March 21, 2007. Washington: US Government Printing Office. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS82720>.

--- 2005. *The United States and South Asia*. Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, One Hundred Ninth Congress, First Session, June 14, 2005. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

United States and Brian Katulis. 2008. *Testimony of Brian Katulis, Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress*. [Washington,DC]: Center for American Progress Action Fund. http://www.americanprogressaction.org/issues/2008/pdf/katulis_testimony.pdf.

Upadhyay, Atul. 2007. *The Saga of US-Pakistan Relationship*. Alternate Plan Paper (M.A.). Minnesota State University, Mankato. Political Science.

Wahlert, Thomas D. 2004. *US National Security Strategy: the Magnitude of Second and Third-order Effects on Smaller Nations: the Cases of Lebanon During the Cold War and Pakistan During the Global War on Terrorism*. USAWC Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Wallis, W. Allen. 1985. *US, Pakistan Relations: the Economic Dimension*. Washington, DC: US Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Public Communication, Editorial Division.

White, Joshua T. 2008. *Pakistan's Islamist Frontier: Islamic Politics and US Policy in Pakistan's North-West Frontier*. Arlington, VA: Center on Faith & International Affairs.

Wirsing, Robert and James M. Roherty. 1982. "The United States and Pakistan." *International Affairs*. 58 (4): 588-609.

Wisian, Kenneth W. 2004. *Emerging Nuclear Powers: Indian and Pakistan Since 1998 and the United States' Impact on Regional Stability*. USAWC Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

Wisner, Frank G., Nicholas Platt, Marshall M. Bouton, Dennis Kux and Mahnaz Z. Ispahani. 2003. *New Priorities in South Asia: US Policy Toward India, Pakistan and Afghanistan: Chairmen's Report of an Independent Task force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Asia Society*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Wolf, John L. 1992. *The Indo-Pakistani Nuclear Issue: A US Policy Perspective*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA256141>.

Yusuf, Moeed. 2008. *Prospects of Youth Radicalization in Pakistan: implications for US Policy*. Washington, DC: Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/10_pakistan_yusuf/10_pakistan_yusuf.pdf.

Zia-ul-Haq, Mohammad. 1983. *Visit to USA.: Addresses and Speeches, 6-13 December 1982*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan.

Communications and Media In Pakistan

Ahmad, Hanan Mian. 2005. *The Media-foreign Policy Relationship: Pakistan's Media Image and US Foreign Policy*. Thesis (Ph.D.). York University.

Ahmad, Nihal. 2005. *A History of Radio Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Ahmed, Durre-Sameen. 1983. *Television in Pakistan: an Ethnographic Study*. Thesis (Ed.D.). Columbia University.

Ahsan, Abdullah. 1995. *Internet & Pakistan*. Rawalpindi, Pakistan: Fawn Traders.

Akhtar, Rai Shakil. 2000. *Media, Religion and Politics in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Ali, Owais Aslam. 1998. *Media Laws in Pakistan*. London: University of Western Ontario.

-
- Asian Media Information and Communication Centre. 1991. *Election and the Mass Media in Pakistan: A Study of Pakistan's National Elections, 1990*. Singapore: AMIC.
- Barraclough, Steven. 2000. *Responses to Satellite Television in Pakistan, Iran and Egypt*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Australian National University, 2000.
- Centre For Civic Education Pakistan. 2005. *Window on Pakistani Media*. Islamabad: Centre For Civic Education Pakistan.
- Futehally, Ilmas and Fauzia Shaheen. 2001. *Weapons of War or Purveyors of Peace?: Print Media in India and Pakistan*. Mumbai, India: International Centre For Peace Initiatives.
- Hasan, Burhanuddin. 2000. *Uncensored: An Eyewitness Account of Abuse of Power and Media in Pakistan*. Karachi: Royal Book Co.
- Jabbar, Javed and Qazi Faez Isa. 1997. *Mass Media Laws and Regulations in Pakistan and a Commentary from a Historical Perspective*. Jurong Point, Singapore: Asian Media Information & Communication Centre.
- Jan, Matiullah and Zafarullah Khan. 2006. *Watching the Watchdog: How Pakistan is Front Paged and Headlined?: Report on Trends in Pakistani Media*. Islamabad: Centre For Civic Education Pakistan.
- Khan, Zafarullah. 2004. *Report on Local Media in Pakistan, Voices from Periphery*. Islamabad: Freedom Publishers.
- Kothari, S. 2005. "From Genre to Zanaana: Urdu Television Drama Serials and Women's Culture in Pakistan." *Contemporary South Asia*. 14 (3): 289-306.
- Malik, Maha and Neelam Hussain. 1996. *Reinventing Women: Representation of Women in the Media during the Zia Years*. Lahore: Simorgh Women's Resource and Publication Centre.
- Mughees-uddin. 1991. *The Relationship Between a Nation's Foreign Policy and Its Press: The Case of Pakistan and the New York Times and the Times of London (1980)*. Thesis (M.A.). University of Iowa.
- Mujahid, Sharif. 1979. *Mass Media in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Pakistan, Planning Division.
- Munir, Imran. 2002. *The Consequences of Fundamentalism on Pakistani Media*. Thesis (M.A.). Simon Fraser University.
- Nisar Ahmad Zuberi. 1992. *Effects of Television on Children of Middle Class Families in Karachi: A Cross-sectional Study*. [s.n.]

Pakistan, Jawad Hassan and Syed Ali Hadi. 2004. *Media and the Mass Communication Laws of Pakistan: With Latest Laws on the Electronic Media & Broadcasting*. Lahore: Bookbiz.

Pakistan, Javed Jabbar and Qazi Faez Isa. 1997. *Mass Media Laws and Regulations in Pakistan and a Commentary from a Historical Perspective*. Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC).

Parvez, Muhammad. 1991. *Content Analysis of Print and Electronic Media: Mass Media and the Electoral Process in Pakistan Parliamentary Elections 1990*. Islamabad: [s.n.].

Parvez, Nasrin. 1998. *Pakistan Television Drama and Social Change: A Research Paradigm*. Karachi: Dept. of Mass Communication, University Of Karachi.

Patel, Tejas. 2005. *News Coverage and Conflict Resolution: Aid or Impediment: A Case Study of India-Pakistan Conflict Over Kashmir*.

Rai, Ajai K. 2001. *The Kargil Conflict and the Role of the Indian Media*. Delhi Papers, 17. New Delhi: Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses.

Rana, Abdul Waheed. 2004. *Cultural Communication and Protection of Value System Through Television in Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Quaid-i-Azam University.

Rehmat, Adnan and Matiullah Jan. 2005. *Media in Pakistan, Growing Space, Shrinking Freedoms Annual Report on State of Media Freedoms in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Internews Pakistan. <http://www.internews.org/regions/subasia/MediaFreedomsPakistan2005-05.pdf>.

Seminar On "Women and Media". 1985. *Report of the Seminar on "Women and Media." From 18-20 October, 1984*. Islamabad: Print. Corp. of Pakistan Press.

Shahid, Mohammad Imtiaz. 1991. *Mass Communication*. Lahore: Caravan Book House.

Shaikh, Muhammad Ali. 2007. *Satellite Television and Social Change in Pakistan: A Case Study of Rural Sindh*. Karachi: Orient Books Publishing House.

Sharif Al Mujahid. 1979. *Mass Media in Pakistan Volume III, Radio Broadcasting, Television Broadcasting*. Islamabad: Pakistan Planning & Development Division.

Siddiqua Ovais. 2004. *Impact of Liberalization of Broadcast Channels on the Representation of Women in Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). Nanyang Technological University, School Of Communication and Information.

South Asian Workshop On Conflict Transformation, Tonusree Basu and Stuti Bhatnagar. 2007. *Formulating Discourses: the Media and India-Pakistan Relations: Fifth Annual Conflict Transformation Workshop 2006*. New Delhi: Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace, Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Suleman, Saleha. 1990. *Representations of Gender in Prime-time Television: A Textual Analysis of Drama Series of Pakistan Television*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Syed Talat Hussain. 1996. *State of the Pakistani Media*. Islamabad: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Westoff, Charles F. and Akinrinola Bankole. 1999. *Mass Media and Reproductive Behavior in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh*. Calverton, MD: Macro International.

Wolcott, Peter and Seymour E. Goodman. 2000. *The Internet in Turkey and Pakistan: A Comparative Analysis*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, Center for International Security and Cooperation.

Education Issues

Ali, Saleem H. 2009. *Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Andrabi, Tahir Raza Shah, Jishnu Das, Asim Ijaz Khwaja and Tristan Zajonc. 2005. *Religious School Enrollment in Pakistan a Look at the Data*. Cambridge, MA: John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. [http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP05-024/\\$File/rwp%5F05%5F024%5Fkhwaja.pdf](http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP05-024/$File/rwp%5F05%5F024%5Fkhwaja.pdf).

Andrabi, Tahir Raza Shah. 2005. *Religious School Enrollment in Pakistan: A Look At the Data*. Washington, DC: World Bank, Development Research Group, Public Services Team. <http://www.econ.worldbank.org/view.php?type=5&id=41363>.

Aslam, Monazza. 2006. *Gender and Education in Pakistan*. Thesis (D.Phil.). University Of Oxford.

Bano, Masooda. 2007. *Contesting Ideologies and Struggle for Authority: State-Madrassa Engagement in Pakistan*. Birmingham, UK: International Development Department, University of Birmingham.

Billquist, Daniel L. and Jason M. Colbert. 2006. *Pakistan, Madrassas and Militancy*. Monterey, Calif: Naval Postgraduate School.

Blanchard, Christopher M. 2006. *Islamic Religious Schools, "Madrassas": Background*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA444932>.

Cockcroft, Anne, Neil Andersson, Deborah Milne, Khalid Omer, Noor Ansari, Amir Khan and Ubaid Ullah Chaudhry.

2009. "Challenging the Myths About Madaris in Pakistan: a National Household Survey of Enrolment and Reasons for Choosing Religious Schools." *International Journal of Educational Development*. 29 (4): 342-349.

Dattoo, Al-Karim. 1998. *A Study of Religious and Cultural Education in Urban-rural Contexts of the Ismaili Muslim Community of Sindh, Pakistan*. Thesis (M.S.). University of Oxford.

Fair, C. Christine. 2008. *The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Hashmi, Shafik H. and S. Akbar Zaidi. 2001. *The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences.

Hathaway, Robert M. and Shahid Javed Burki. 2005. *Education Reform in Pakistan: Building for the Future*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Hayes, Louis D. 1987. *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Hoodbhoy, Pervez. 1998. *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Inayatullah, Rubina Saigol and Pervez Tahir. 2005. *Social Sciences in Pakistan: A Profile*. Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences, Pakistan.

International Crisis Group. 2007. *Pakistan Karachi's Madrasas and Violent Extremism*. Brussels: International Crisis Group. http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/130_pakistan_karachi_s_madrasas_And_violent_extremism.pdf.

International Crisis Group. 2004. *Unfulfilled Promises: Pakistan's Failure to Tackle Extremism*. ICG Asia Report, No. 73. Islamabad: International Crisis Group.

Jalalzai, Musa Khan. 2005. *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan: State, Education and the Textbooks*. Lahore: Al-Abbas International.

Jalil, Nasir. 1996. *The State and Education: The Political Economy of Education Development in Pakistan From 1958 to 1988*. Thesis (Ed.D.). Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Kazi, Aftab A. 1987. *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-building: The Case of Pakistan*. Lanham: University Press of America.

Khan, Aga S. 2005. *Religious Education and State Modernization: the Role of Madrassah in Pakistan Development*. Hali-

Khan, K. A. 1981. *The Mosque Schools in Pakistan: an Experiment in Integrating Nonformal and Formal Education*. Paris: IIEP Publications, International Institute for Educational Planning.

Khan, Shahrukh Rafi. 2005. *Basic Education in Rural Pakistan: a Comparative Institutional Analysis of Government, Private and NGO Schools*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Kronstadt, K A. 2004. *Education Reform in Pakistan*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA461689>.

Malik, Jamal. 2008. *Madrassas in South Asia Teaching Terror?* London: Routledge.

--- 2002. "The Mulla and the State: Dynamics of Islamic Religious Scholars and Their Institutions in Contemporary Pakistan." in *Islam in the Era of Globalization: Muslim Attitudes Towards Modernity and Identity*. Edited by Johan H. Meuleman. London: Routledge/Curzon: 225-232

McClure, Kevin R. 2009. "Madrassas and Pakistan's Education Agenda: Western Media Misrepresentation and Policy Recommendations." *International Journal of Educational Development*. 29 (4): 334-341.

Mullick, Haider Ali Hussein. 2008. *Islamic Education and Religious Militancy in Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Noor, Farish A., Yogindar Sikkand and Martin Van Bruinessen. 2008. *The Madrasa in Asia Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Qureshi, Rashida and Jane F.A. Rarieya. 2007. *Gender and Education in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Rahman, Tariq. 2004. *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

--- 2002. *Language, Ideology and Power: Language Learning Among the Muslims of Pakistan and North India*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Ray, Rebecca S. 2006. *Pakistan Education Systems and the Radical Islamic Jihadist Ideology*. Fort Belvoir: Defense Technical Information Center. <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA464137>.

Riaz, Ali. 2008. *Faithful Education: Madrassahs in South Asia*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Riyaja, Ali. 2005. *Global Jihad, Sectarianism and the Madrassahs in Pakistan*. IDSS Working Paper, No. 85. Singapore:

Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University.

Saigol, Rubina. 1993. *Education, Critical Perspectives*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.

--- 1996. *Knowledge and Identity: Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan*. Lahore: ASR Publications.

--- *Symbolic Violence: Curriculum, Pedagogy and Society*. Lahore: Society for The Advancement of Education.

Singer, Peter W. 2001. *Pakistan's Madrassahs Insuring a System of Education Not Jihad*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

United States. 2007. *Extremist Madrassas, Ghost Schools and US Aid to Pakistan: Are We Making the Grade on the 9/11 Commission Report Card?* Hearing Before the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Tenth Congress, First Session, May 9, 2007. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

Warwick, Reimers and Nita Kumar. 1998. "Hope or Despair? Learning in Pakistan's Primary Schools." *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 57 (2): 571.

Zaidi, S. Akbar. 2003. *Social Science in Pakistan in the 1990s*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Council Of Social Sciences.

Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. 2007. "Tradition and Authority in Deobandi Madrasas of South Asia." In *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*. Ed. Robert W. Hefner, Muhammad Qasim Zaman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007: 61-86

Zia, Rukhsana. 2003. "Religion and Education in Pakistan: An Overview." *Prospects*. 33 (2): 165-178.

Women and Gender Issues

Abbasi, M. B. 1980. *Socio-economic Characteristics of Women in Sind: Issues Affecting Women's Status*. Karachi: Sind Regional Plan Organisation, Economic Studies Centre.

Afzal-Khan, Fawzia. 2001. "Exposed by Pakistani Street Theater: The Unholy Alliance of Postmodern Capitalism, Patriarchy and Fundamentalism." *Social Text*. 19 (4): 67-91.

Agarwala, Rina and Scott M. (Scott Michael) Lynch. 2006. "Refining the Measurement of Women's Autonomy: An International Application of a Multi-dimensional Construct." *Social forces*. 84 (4): 2077-2098.

Ahmad, Nazir, Ingrid Nyborg and Gulcheen Aqil. 1998. *Gender, Resource Management and Livelihood Security*. High Altitude Integrated Natural Resource Management, Report No. 5. Skardu, Pakistan: AKRSP, Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, Baltistan.

Ali, Kamran Asdar. 2004. "Pulp Fictions': Reading Pakistani Domesticity." *Social Text*. 22 (1): 123-145.

All Pakistan Women's Association. 1979. *Resume of Proceedings of APWA Triennial Conference and IYC Seminar on Needs and Problems of Children in Pakistan, 11th-14th June 1979, Karachi, Pakistan*. Karachi: All Pakistan Women's Association

--- 1982. *APWA Triennial Conference: a Report on the Proceedings: 18-21 February 1982, Lahore, Punjab*. Karachi: All Pakistan Women's Association.

Alter, Martha Catherine. 2001. *Continuity and Discontinuity: Pakistani Immigrant Women's Experiences of Gender: A Project Based on an Independent Investigation*. Thesis (M.S.W.). Smith College School for Social Work.

Amnesty International. 1999. *Pakistan: Honour Killings of Girls and Women*. London: Amnesty International, International Secretariat.

Applied Socio-Economic Research (Punjab, Pakistan). 1992. *Knowledge is Power: Use it, Share it*. Lahore: Applied Socio-Economic Research.

Ashraf, Dilshad. 2004. *Experiences of Women Teachers in the Northern Areas of Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Toronto.

Asian Development Bank. 2000. *Women in Pakistan*. Country Briefing Paper. Manila, Philippines: Programs Department (East). Asian Development Bank.

Ayub, Nasreen. 1994. *The Self-employed Women in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Self-employed Women of Urban Informal Sector in Karachi*. Karachi: Pakistan Association for Women's Studies.

Azam, Zohra. 1993. *Towards the 21st Century Pakistan: Women, Education and Social Change*. PFI-NBF Life Skills Series, Bk. 2. [Islamabad]: The NBF-PFI-AUL.

--- *Woman in the 21st Century: Roles, Responsibilities and Rights*. Islamabad: Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute.

Balchin, Cassandra. 1996. *Women, Law and Society: An Action Manual for NGOs*. Lahore: Shirkat Gah.

-
- Bano, Gulzar. 1994. *Women in Pakistan*. Bruxelles, Belgium: European Institute For South and South-East Asian Studies Asbl.
- Bari, Farzana. 2000. *Women in Pakistan*. Country Briefing Paper. [Philippines]: Asian Development Bank, Programs Department (West) and Office of Environment and Social Development.
- Bhasin, Kamla, Ritu Menon and Nighat Said Khan. 1994. *Against All Odds: Essays on Women, Religion and Development from India and Pakistan*. New Delhi: Published By Kali For Women, in Collaboration with Isis International and the South Asian Women's Forum.
- Bilquees, Faiz and Shahnaz Hamid. 1989. *A Socio-economic Profile of Poor Women in Katchi-abadis: Report of a Survey in Rawalpindi*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.
- Brown, T. Louise. 2005. *The Dancing Girls of Lahore: Selling Love and Hoarding Dreams in Pakistan's Ancient Pleasure District*. New York: Fourth Estate.
- Burki-Liebl, Shireen K. 2007. *The Politics of State Intervention: State Policy and the Status of Women in Pakistan (1947-2006) and Afghanistan (1919-2006)*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Utah.
- Burney, Samya. 1999. *Crime or Custom?: Violence Against Women in Pakistan*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Butalia, Urvashi. 2002. *Women Speaking Peace: Voices from Kashmir*. London: Zed.
- Cook, Nancy. 2007. *Gender, Identity and Imperialism: Women Development Workers in Pakistan*. Comparative Feminist Studies Series. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- De Mel, Neloufer. 2003. *Fractured Narratives, Totalizing Violence: Notes on Women in Conflict - Sri Lanka and Pakistan*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.
- Deen, Hanifa. 1998. *Broken Bangles*. Sydney: Doubleday/Anchor Books.
- Democratic Commission for Human Development and Delegation of the European Union, Pakistan. 2005. *Distorting Mirror: Perception of Women in the Rural Communities of Sindh*. Lahore: Democratic Commission for Human Development.
- Durrant, Valerie L. and Zeba A. Sathar. 2000. *Greater Investments in Children through Women's Empowerment: A Key to Demographic Change in Pakistan?* New York: Population Council.
- Family Planning Association of Pakistan. 1991. *A Socio-economic Study of Women in 3 Settlements of Greater Karachi*.

Freedman, Jim, Lokky Wai and Shabnam Bahar. 1988. *Gender & Development in Barani Areas of Pakistan*. Ottawa: Agriculture Canada.

Ghaus, Aisha, Hafiz A. Pasha and Abu Nasar. 1999. *Gender Inequality in Developing Countries: A Case Study of Pakistan*. Karachi: Social Policy and Development Centre.

Grima, Benedicte. 1992. *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women: "The Misfortunes Which Have Befallen Me."* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Haeri, Shahla. 2002. *No Shame for the Sun: Lives of Professional Pakistani Women*. Gender, Culture and Politics in the Middle East. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.

Haleem, Irm Abdul. 2001. *Women's Legal Rights, Military Regimes and Political Legitimacy in Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Boston University.

Halvorson, Sarah Jean. 1995. *She Who Holds a Bucket Holds a Choice: Evaluating Women's Range of Choice of Water Supplies in Northern Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). University of Colorado.

Haq, Farhat. 1996. "Women, Islam and the State in Pakistan." *The Muslim World: A Quarterly Review of History, Culture, Religions & the Christian Mission in Islamdom*. 86 (2): 158-175.

Haqqani, Irshad Ahmad. 1983. *Role of Women: Economic and Social Requirements*. Lahore: I.A. Haqqahi.

Haque, Riffat. 2003. *Purdah of the Heart and Eyes: An Examination of Purdah as an Institution in Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of New South Wales, 2003.

Hassan, Yasmeen. 1995. *The Haven Becomes Hell: A Study of Domestic Violence in Pakistan*. Lahore Cantt, Pakistan: Shirkat Gah, WLUML Coordination Office Asia.

Human Rights Watch (Organization). 1999. *Crime or Custom?: Violence Against Women in Pakistan*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Humayun, Sarah. 2008. *2007 Events & Analysis: Resist Terror — Work for Change*. Lahore: Shirkat Gah.

Hussain, Neelam, Samiya Mumtaz and Rubina Saigol. 1997. *Engendering the Nation-state*. Lahore: Simorgh Women's Resource and Publication Centre.

Hyder, Najia Ali. 2001. *Islamization and Economic Restructuring in Pakistan: Catalysts for Violence Against Women*. The-

Ibrahim, Khan M. and Ulrich Laaser. 2001. *Critical Gender Issues in Developing Countries: The Case of Pakistan*. Lage, Germany: Jacobs.

Ibraz, Tassawar Saeed. 1991. *Myths and Realities: Religious/cultural Perceptions and the Productive Roles of Rural Pakistani Women*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Columbia University.

Ijaz, Kishwer and Ashfaq Hussain Mirza. 1980. *An Assessment of the Problems of Health, Nutrition and Education of Rural Mothers and Children*. Faisalabad: Department of Rural Sociology, University of Agriculture.

Ikramullah, Shaista Suhrawardy. 1998. *From Purdah to Parliament*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

International Conference on Women and Development, Hans Frey and Sabur Ghayur. 1992. *Women and Development: Synthesis Report of an International Conference*. Islamabad: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Pakistan Office.

Jaffri, Mohsin S. 2004. *Other Half: Discrimination Against Women*. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

Jamal, Amina. 2002. *Entangled Modernities: Feminism, Islamization and Citizenship in a Transnational Locale Women and the Pakistan Nation-state*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Toronto.

Javed, Iffat Hafeez. 2000. *East and West: Education, Identity and Cultural Transformation*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Toronto.

Kariapper, Rehana. 2007. *Unravelling Realities: Reproductive Health and Rights*. Lahore: Shirkat Gah.

Kazi, Shahnaz. 1991. *National Machinery for the Integration of Women, Population and Development in Pakistan*. LAPTAP Working Paper, 6. Bangkok, Thailand: ILO/LAPTAP.

Khan, Nighat Said, Afiya Shehrbano Zia and Jaweria Khalid. 1995. *In Struggle Together: Process to Beijing & Beyond [held] 20th-23rd April 1995, Al-Hamara Art Centre, the Mall, Lahore: Report of the National Conference/Assembly and Cultural Festival*. Lahore: ASR Publications.

Khan, Nighat Said, Rubina Saigol and Afiya Shehrbano Zia. 1995. *Aspects of Women and Development*. Lahore: ASR Publications.

--- 1995. *A Celebration of Women: Essays and Abstracts from the Women's Studies Conference, March 1994*. Women's Studies Journal Series, Volume 6. Lahore: ASR Publications.

--- 1994. *Locating the Self: Perspectives on Women and Multiple Identities*. Women's Studies Journal Series, V. 1. Lahore:

ASR Publications.

--- 1995. *Unveiling the Issues: Pakistani Women's Perspectives on Social, Political and Ideological Issues*. Lahore: ASR Publications.

Khan, Samina A., Carolyn Ater and Patricia Harmony Arledge. 1984. *Women in Pakistani Society*. Lubbock, TX: International Center for Arid and Semi-Arid Land Studies.

Khan, Nighat Said. 1999. *Up Against the State: The Women's Movement in Pakistan — Implications for the Global Women's Movement*. Annual Dame Nita Barrow Lecture, Third. Toronto, ON: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, Centre for Women's Studies in Education.

Khan, Shahnaz. 2006. *Zina, Transnational Feminism and the Moral Regulation of Pakistani Women*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Khattak, Saba Gul, Kiran Habib and Foqia Sadiq Khan. 2008. *Women and Human Security in South Asia: The Cases of Bangladesh and Pakistan*. Dhaka: Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies.

Khattak, Saba Gul. 2001. *Women, Work and Empowerment*. Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Labour Education & Research.

--- 2002. *Violence and the Centrality of Home: Women's Experience of Insecurity in the Karachi Conflict*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Klein, Heinz Gunther and Renate Nestvogel. 1986. *Women in Pakistan: general Conditions, Approaches and Project Proposals for the Development and Vocational Qualification of Women in the Province of Punjab*. Sonderpublikation Der GTZ, No. 174. Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft Fur Technische Zusammenarbeit.

Koda, Maki. 1995. *Pakistani and Japanese Women in Agricultural Labor*. Thesis (M.S.). Arizona State University.

Kosaka, Jiro. 1989. *Manipulating Images of Women in Modernization and Islamization in Pakistan*. Middle East Studies Association of North America.

Lefebvre, Alain. 1999. *Kinship, Honour and Money in Rural Pakistan: Subsistence Economy and the Effects of International Migration*. Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 78. Richmond, UK: Curzon.

Maggi, Wynne Rae. 1998. *Our Women Are Free: An Ethnotheory of Kalasha Women's Agency*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Emory University.

Mai, Mukhtar, Marie- Therese Cuny and Linda Coverdale. 2007. *In the Name of Honor: A Memoir*. New York: Washington Square Press.

Malik, Khalida Shahnaz. 1993. *Impact of Male Emigration on the Status of Left-behind Women: A Case Study of a Pakistani Village*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Maqsud, Saleem. 1988. *Rural Women and Development: Employment, Productivity, Income and Basic Needs : Pakistan*. CIRDAP Study Series, 95. Dhaka, Bangladesh: Centre on Integrated Rural Development For Asia and The Pacific.

Maskiell, Michelle. 1984. *The Impact of Islamization Policies on Pakistani Women's Lives*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.

McNeil, Kathleen Ann. 1998. *Islamic Feminism towards a Depolarization of the Gender Debate in Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). Wake Forest University. Dept. of Religion.

Mehdi, Tahir. 2004. *Women on Trial: Gender Violence in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Centre for Democratic Governance, The Network for Consumer Publications.

Mintjes, H. 1984. *The Doctor and the Ladies: A New Debate on "Women and Islam" in Pakistan*. C.S.C. Series, No. 19. Rawalpindi, Pakistan: Christian Study Centre.

Moazam, F. 2004. "The Hudud Ordinances of Pakistan." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. 28 (1): 34-53.

Mohammad, S. Chand. 1994. *Contemporary Conflicts in Pakistan*. Jaipur: Institute Of Secular Studies.

Mujahid-Mukhtar, Eshya. 1998. *Indicators on the Status of Women in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare and Special Education.

Mumtaz, Khawar and Fauzia Rauf. 1996. *Woman to Woman: Transfer of Health and Reproductive Knowledge*. Lahore: Shirkat Gah.

Mumtaz, Khawar. 1987. *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*. London: Zed Books.

Murtaza, Tazeen Z. 1994. *Rural Women in Pakistan: A Profile of Poverty*. Thesis (M.A.). California State University, Hayward.

Naqvi, Syed Nawab Haider. 1986. *Frailty! Is Thy Name Woman?* Miscellaneous Essays in Development Economics. Islamabad, Pakistan: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.

National Conference/Assembly of Development Activists, Process to Beijing & Beyond, Nighat Said Khan and Afiya Shehrbano Zia. 1995. *Unveiling the Issues: Pakistani Women's Perspectives on Social, Political and Ideological Issues; Presentations at the National Conference/Assembly of Development Activists, Process to Beijing & Beyond-April 1995, Lahore*. Lahore: ASR Publications.

National Conference of Muslim Women. 1980. *Recommendations of the National Conference of Muslim Women: Islamabad, Pakistan, 17-20 Zilhaj, 1400/27-30 October, 1980*. Pakistan: [s.n.]

--- 1984. *Selected Papers (part I): National Conference of Muslim Women, Islamabad, 27-30 October, 1980*. Islamabad: Women's Division, Government of Pakistan.

Naveed-i-Rahat. 1990. *Male Outmigration and Matri-weighted Households: A Case Study of a Punjabi Village in Pakistan*. Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation.

Nayab, Durre. 1998. *Fertility Intentions and Behaviour : A Case Study of Two Villages in the Potohar Plateau, the Punjab, Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). Flinders University of South Australia.

Nayak, Meghana Vasudev. 2003. *The Orientalism of Mapping Bodies and Borders: Post Colonial (in)security and Feminist Contentions on the India Pakistan Border*. Brown Working Papers in the Arts and Sciences, 2003, No. 2.

Naz, Shagufta. 2001. *Multilateral Economic Institutions and Women: A Gender Review of the Structural Adjustment Programmes in Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). Murdoch University.

Nazir, Mian M. and Saiyeda Zia Jalaly. 1987. *Participation of Women in Rural Economic Activities in N.W.F.P.*. Islamabad: The Ministry.

Nazli, Hina and Shahnaz Hamid. 1999. *Concerns of Food Security, Role of Gender and Intra-household Dynamics in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.

Nientied, P. and Mies Grijns. 1985. *A Comparison Between Interviewing Female and Male Respondents in Usmania Mahajir Colony, Karachi / a Comment / by Mies Grijns*. Urban Research Working Papers, 6. Amsterdam: Institute of Cultural Anthropology / Sociology of Development, Free University.

Pahnwar, Farzana. 1984. *Health Situation in Rural Sindh: Concern With A Female Issue*. Hyderabad: Sindh Rural Women's Uplift Group.

Pakistan. 2005. *Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women: Combined Initial, Second and Third Periodic Reports of States Parties: Pakistan*. New York: The United Nations.

-
- 2005. *Pakistan National Report: Beijing + 10*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Women's Development.
- 1995. *Pakistan National Report: Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, September 1995*. Karachi, Pakistan: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Women's Development and Youth Affairs.
- 1980. *Programmes and Projects for Women in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Women's Division.
- 1982. *Programmes and Projects for Women in Pakistan (July 1980 to June 1981)*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Women's Division (Cabinet Secretariat).
- 1997. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, Pakistan*. Islamabad: Pakistan Law Commission.
- 1989. *Report of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women*. Islamabad: Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women.
- Patel, Rashida. 2003. *Woman Versus Man: Socio Legal Gender Inequality in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Pazira, Nelofer. 2003. *Afghan Women Refugees in Pakistan and Iran: Refugee Transformation*. Thesis (M.A.). Concordia University.
- Qadir, Saima. 2003. *A Study of the Gender Networks in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Human Resource Development Network.
- Qureshi, M. L. 1983. *Development Planning and Women*. Islamabad: Women's Division, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of Pakistan.
- Ramsay, Kate. 1994. *On the Outer: The Social and Legal Status of Christian Women in Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). La Trobe University.
- Rashid, Abdur. 1987. *The Islamization of Laws in Pakistan, with Special Reference to the Status of Women*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of London.
- Rashid, Tahmina. 1999. *The Status of Women in Islam: a Case Study of Pakistan*. Thesis (M.A.). University of Melbourne, Department of Political Science.
- 2004. *Women's Rights Activism in Pakistan: The Role of Lower/lower Middle Class Punjabi Women*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Melbourne, Department of Political Science.
- Rauf, Mohammad A., Hafeez-ur-Rehman Chaudhry and Syed Anwar Iqbal. 1988. *Male Migration, Absentee Fathership*

and *Changing Role of Women in Village Community*. Islamabad: Ministry Of Women's Development.

Razzaqui, Subheen. 2009. *Framingham Reads together Pakistani Women: At the Crossroads of Modernity and Tradition*. Framingham Reads Together. Framingham, MA: Rabkin Productions.

Ring, Laura A. 2000. *(En)gendering Tension: Anger, Intimacy and Everyday Peace in Karachi*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University Of Chicago.

--- 2006. *Zenana: Everyday Peace in a Karachi Apartment Building*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Rose, Carol. 1992. *Night Letters*. Peshawar, Pakistan: Institute of Current World Affairs.

Rural Women As Agents For Development, Hasan Mehdi Naqvi and Umme Kalsoom Adeel. 1994. *Development, Change and Rural Women in Pakistan: Proceedings of [a] Two Day Conference on "Rural Women As Agents for Development."* Peshawar: Ministry of Women's Development and Youth Affairs.

Saeed, Fouzia and Veerji Kohli. 2007. *Women in Bondage: Voices of Women Farm Workers in Sindh*. Islamabad: Mehergarh, a Center for Learning.

Saeed, Fouzia. 2001. *Taboo!: The Hidden Culture of a Red Light Area*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Said, Muhammad. 1996. *A Case Study on Gender & Development in Balochistan & Southwest Afghanistan*. Quetta: M. Saeed.

Saigol, Rubina. 2002. *The Partitions of Self Mohajir Women's Sense of Identity and Nationhood*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Saleem, Shireen. 2006. *Impact of Religious Extremism on Women in Pakistan*. WISCOMP Discussion Paper, 11. New Delhi, India: Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace, Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Sarwar, Beena and Misbah Sheikh. 1995. *We Are the Future: A Story of the Pakistani Girl-child*. Lahore: Family Planning Association of Pakistan.

Sathar, Zeba A. and Shahnaz Kazi. 1988. *Productive and Reproductive Choices of Metropolitan Women: Report of a Survey in Karachi*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.

Shah, Nasra M. 1986. *Pakistani Women: A Socioeconomic & Demographic Profile*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.

-
- Shah, Niaz A. 2006. *Women, the Koran and international Human Rights Law: The Case of Pakistan*. Studies in Religion, Secular Beliefs and Human Rights, 4. Leiden: Nijhoff.
- Shaheed, Farida and Neelam Hussain. 2007. *Interrogating the Norms: Women Challenging Violence in an Adversarial State*. Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies.
- Shaheed, Farida, Asma Zia and Sohail Warraich. 1998. *Women in Politics: Participation and Representation in Pakistan with Update 1993-1997*. Lahore: Shirkat Gah.
- Shaheed, Farida. 1981. *Migration and its Effects on Women in the Villages of Provenance*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- 1990. *Pakistan's Women: An Analytical Description*. Lahore: Women Living Under Muslim Laws, Asia Region Office.
- 1992. *The Women of Pakistan: A Selected Bibliography with Annotations*. Lahore: Shirkat Gah.
- Shaikh, Khanum. 1999. *From Crafts to Commodities: Linking Craftswomen in Bahawalpur to Consumers in the City of Lahore*. Thesis (M.A.). University of Oregon.
- Shehab, Rafi Ullah. 1993. *Muslim Women in Political Power*. Lahore: Maqbool Academy.
- Shirkat Gah and United Nations. 2007. *Talibanisation & Poor Governance: Undermining CEDAW in Pakistan, Second Shadow Report*. Lahore: Shirkat Gah.
- Shirkat Gah. 1999. *From A Grain to A Pearl: True Stories From the Field*. Lahore-Pakistan: Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Centre.
- Siddiqui, Nadia, Ismail Sajida and Meg Allen. 2008. *Safe to Return?: Pakistani Women, Domestic Violence and Access to Refugee Protection. A Report of a Trans-national Research Project Conducted in the UK and Pakistan*. Manchester: South Manchester Law Centre in Partnership with Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Sindhi, Ghulam Hyder. 2007. *Honour Killing and the Status of Woman in Pakistan*. Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University.
- Suleman, Saleha. 1990. *Representations of Gender in Prime-time Television: A Textual Analysis of Drama Series of Pakistan Television*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Tanwir, Farooq. 1999. *Cultural Values in Transition: The Case of Pakistan*. Thesis (Ph.D.). University of New UK.

-
- Tharani, Samira Kamil. 2002. *A Slippery Terrain: Struggle and Learning in Baltistan's Women Organizations*. Thesis (M.A.). McGill University.
- Thomas, Helen T. 2005. *Gender Equality Results in ADB Projects. Pakistan Country Report*. Manila: Poverty Reduction and Social Development Division, Regional and Sustainable Development Department. Asian Development Bank.
- Tinker, Anne G. 1998. *Improving Women's Health in Pakistan*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- UNICEF and Pakistan. 1992. *Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Pakistan*. Islamabad: UNICEF.
- United States Information Service and United States. 1992. *Educating the Girl Child: A Seminar*. Islamabad: United States Information Service.
- Weiss, Anita 1990. "Benazir Bhutto and the Future of Women in Pakistan." *Asian Survey*. 30 (5): 433-445.
- 2003. "Interpreting Islam and Women's Rights: Implementing CEDAW in Pakistan." *International Sociology*. 18 (3): 581-601.
- 1986. *Islamization of Pakistani Law and Women's Protest Movements*. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.
- 1998. "The Slow Yet Steady Path to Women's Empowerment in Pakistan." In *Islam, Gender and Social Change*. Edited by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and John L. Esposito. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 124-143.
- 1992. *Walls within Walls: Life Histories of Working Women in the Old City of Lahore*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- 1985. *Women in Pakistan: Implications of the Current Program of Islamization*. East Lansing, MI, USA: Michigan State University.
- Workshop on Violence Against Women and Fouzia Saeed. 1990. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Violence Against Women*. Islamabad: Women's Action Forum.
- World Bank (Pakistan) and Tara Vishwanath. 2005. *Pakistan Country Gender Assessment 2005/World Bank*. Islamabad: World Bank.
- Zafar, Fareeha. 1991. *Finding Our Way: Readings on Women in Pakistan*. Lahore: ASR Publications.
- Zaki, Khalida Parveen. 1991. *The Rural-urban Difference in Contraceptive Use in Pakistan: The Effects of Women's Literacy and Desired Fertility*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Michigan State University. .

Zia-ul-Haq, Mohammad. 1980. *National Conference of Muslim Women: Address, Islamabad, October 28, 1980*. Islamabad: Directorate of Films and Publications, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of Pakistan.



Middle East Institute