

**ABSTRACTS OF STUDIES OF
DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN PAKISTAN
(1989 - 1994)**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN 1

1. POLITICAL HISTORY 1
2. THE ROLE OF CIVIL-MILITARY BUREAUCRACY 6
3. JUDICIARY 11
4. ELECTIONS 14
5. ETHNICITY 18
6. INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT 20
7. DEMOCRACY: GENERAL 22

II. HUMAN RIGHTS 39

1. ISLAM AND HUMAN RIGHTS 39
2. REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS 41
3. HUMAN RIGHTS (GENERAL) 46

III. LIST OF ABSTRACTED PUBLICATIONS 48

PREFACE

These abstracts of about 100 studies of democracy and human rights were prepared at the request of Professor Tony Stevenson, Secretary General of World Futures Studies Federation (with Central Office located at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia) who asked me to do this work under their programme FUTURSCO. The abstracts were prepared in a UNESCO supplied proforma and after processing, will be published by it. The works to be abstracted were to fall under the general theme of "the future of democracy and human rights", published in Pakistan or in the immediate region during 1989-1994. The size of each abstract was limited to 10 to 30 lines.

I used an extended definition of the theme of "future of democracy and human rights" and included even those works which dealt with the state of democracy and human rights in the past with the assumption that past trends affected their future. If the strict definition of "future" was followed, only a few works could be included. The works included are those published as books, articles in books and professional journals and monographs. Articles published in newspapers were excluded. In spite of my efforts to locate every work related to the theme I am not sure if I fully succeeded in including every relevant item published during this period. I hope to overcome this deficiency in the next edition of the abstracts.

I hope that the government agencies, research institutes, organisations connected with fostering of democracy and human rights in Pakistan will scrutinise these abstracts and point out the areas of their weaknesses to enable me to improve them in future. I will also appreciate receiving feedback if they are useful in their work.

I need to explain to the authors of these works that I have tried to cover all the important points of their works. Yet the criteria of selection of significance of an argument, an observation, a fact, and a thesis is often subjective. If I did not present an author's point of view correctly, I offer my apologies. Any feedback about this aspect of the work will be welcome.

Inayatullah

I. FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

1. POLITICAL HISTORY

Ansari, Sarah F. D., ***Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind 1843—1947***, Lahore, Vanguard Book Pvt., Ltd., 1992, p. 176.

Abstract: The main concern of the book is to explore the institution of Pir and shrines in Sindh in creating and sustaining British colonial rule. The system of political control constructed by the British in Sind between 1843 and 1947 is examined for this purpose. It is argued that the local Muslim religious elite, the Pirs or hereditary Sufi saints had long acted as mediators between rulers and the ordinary people of the region. The book traces the development of the institution of Pir, its power base and how it fitted into the system of colonial control. The institution served the British rule and enabled Pir to retain their power during colonial period and later in Pakistani politics. The chapter-wise division of the book is as under. The chapter one looks at why Sufism as opposed to more 'orthodox' forms of Muslim practice came to dominate Sind. The connection between the rise to predominance of Sufi saints and the tribal nature of Sindhi society is discussed. Chapter two is an attempt to find the foundations on which relations between the Pirs and the British were based. The subsequent two chapters illustrate the way in which the system of control helped the British retain ultimate authority over the countryside. They also examine the involvement of Pirs in the Khilafat Movement, which challenged the British rule in India, but the Pirs were pushed back. The policies of the new Pakistani state towards the institution of the Pir and the extent to which they have affected the position of Pirs in the Sindhi countryside are examined in another chapter.

Aziz, K. K., ***The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism***, Lahore, Islamic Book Service, 1989, p. 223.

Abstract: The book by a well known historian deals with Muslim nationalism in Imperial India in its four phases. The historical and political aspects of the Muslim nationalist movement are discussed. The book covers the religious and cultural basis of the Muslim nationalism. The role of psychological factors in evolution of Muslim nationalism is also described. The process how the Indian Muslims developed pride in being one nation, how they invented symbols to represent their nationalism and created myths to reflect their aspiration is discussed.

The author notes that Muslims of India sustained their identity despite many attempts by the Hindus to subvert Islam. The Hindus' refused to grant Muslims a separate status and their due rights which made the creation of Pakistan inevitable.

The formulation of the idea of a Muslim nationality in India started with a relatively small nucleus. Then its influence slowly spread until it reached millions of people. Comparing the composite Indian nationalism and Muslim nationalism the author notes that the idea of Muslim nationalism was more subjective than territorial, more psychological than political, while 'Indian' or Hindu nationalism was more territorial than cultural, more historical than religious. The Muslim nationalism was invigorated by its opposition and criticism by Hindus.

Singh, Anita Inder, ***The Origins of the Partition of India 1936-1947***, Delhi Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 271.

Abstract: The book is an attempt to answer the question that what led to the partition of India in August 1947. The author raises the question why Muslim identity was politicised and not the other minorities in India leading to the creation of Pakistan.

Many questions relate to the British policy and tactics. Why the British agreed to partition before 1948, the date announced for the transfer of power? Moreover the emergence of Muslim nation for a religious minority in India is critically analysed.

The religious distinctions between Hindus and Muslims existed along with, and cut across tribal, class and caste divisions. The question to be confronted is when and how religious feeling came to be "politicised" to the point when partition became inevitable, the reasons along with emergence of Muslim League with demand for a sovereign Muslim state are the British and Congress tactics which contributed to the issue of the League and solidification of its communal support. The Congress did not adopt the reconciliatory attitude towards the Muslim League, although in the beginning the Muslim League did not enjoy much support in the major Muslim majority provinces i.e. Bengal and Punjab.

The British deliberately built up the prestige of Jinnah at the all India level for their own purposes. The British wanted an undivided India within imperial security system but Congress was opposed to it. So the way to counteract Congress objections would be let the threat of Pakistan hang over the heads of Congress, so that they would be obliged to give the British the military facilities they wanted.

In August 1947, the Muslim League was the only party to achieve what it wanted. There was no possibility of the British securing any military treaties with India as the price for transferring power, and they faced the prospect of losing their whole eastern empire. This was the result of the British policy of 'divide and rule'. India paid a heavy price for the achievement of freedom, a consequence of the fact that communal forces were neither defiant, nor unity totally achieved. This so far has hindered the process of democracy in Pakistan too because there are still separatist elements dividing on the basis of language, region and race not on the religious basis.

Yusuf, K. F., M. Saleem Akhtar & S. Razi Wasti, eds., *Pakistan Resolution Revisited*, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1990, p. 728.

Abstract: The book includes 22 articles, narrating and analysing the political atmosphere in the Sub-continent leading to the passage of Lahore Resolution which stated that India should be partitioned on the basis of two nation theory. The reaction of the contemporary political parties towards the Muslim demand and the response of the national and international press is discussed at length. The subjects discussed are the evolution of Muslim Nationalism, review of major criticism of the Resolution at that time, discussion of politics of the provinces at the time of the passage of the Resolution, the attitude of ethnonationalist movements that emerged later in Pakistan towards the Resolution, the role of women in Pakistan movement etc. The papers included are generally well-documented. It may be noted that the Resolution did not mention the type of political system that would prevail in Pakistan.

Low, D. A., ed., ***The Political Inheritance of Pakistan***, London, Macmillan Academic And Professional Ltd., 1991, p. 291.

Abstract: The book consists of 11 papers presented by different scholars at a conference in Churchill College. It is an attempt to identify roots of local nationalism in different parts of Pakistan covering mostly pre-partition period. A chapter is devoted to Kashmir issue. The author of the book begins with summaries of the salient features of histories of provinces of Pakistan. There is a chapter explaining "the enduring power of the military in Pakistani politics and stressing the ephemeral nature of all civilian regime". The chapter on Kashmir discusses Sheikh Abdullah's legacy over Kashmir politics. The history of NWFP (North Western Frontier Province) provides an important background to the conflict between Pakistan and Afghanistan on the issue of Pakhtoonistan and how it soured relations between the two countries.

Zaman, Waheed-uz-, M. Saleem Akhtar, eds., ***Islam in South Asia***, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, p. 602.

Abstract: This well researched book consists of 16 chapters contributed by noted scholars. Most of the chapters deal with the spread of Islam in the Subcontinent and political processes leading to the emergence of Pakistan. Some notable chapters deal with Islamic modernism, Iqbal's thought, Jinnah's role in pre-partition politics, Pakistan's struggle for an Islamic state, and Muslim minorities in South Asia. The editors who planned the book and selected the author note that the book is meant for the Pakistanis to learn the lessons from their past mistakes and establish a pure democratic Islamic state of Pakistan. Almost all chapters are written with a Muslim Pakistani perspective and some of the chapters deal considerable space in defending Muslim rule in India against criticism by Indian and Western scholars.

Rashid, Sheikh Abdur, "Growth and Development of Muslim Community" in Waheed-uz-Zaman, M. Saleem Akhtar, eds., ***Islam in South Asia***, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, pp. 84-109.

Abstract: The book covers the story of the conquest of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent by the Muslim rulers and the establishment of Muslim rule. Under the Muslim rule there grew an Indian Muslim culture mixed with indigenous elements. A serious challenge to this ethos came from the British in the middle of the 18th century when they broke the political supremacy of the Muslims. The challenge became more potent when militant Hindu national movements also questioned the Muslims' right to distinct identity. From these challenges, according to the author, emerged the demand for a Muslim homeland. Other challenges particularly those emerging during the 20th century as a result of politicisation of the Indian society further reinforced this demand leading to the birth of Pakistan.

Waseem, Mohammad, ***Politics and the State in Pakistan***, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1989, p. 555.

Abstract: The book is a comprehensive review of the political developments during the British rule in India and after the emergence of Pakistan. Most of the book

concentrates on the politics of Pakistan. Its first chapter gives an account of precolonial heritage of India, the nature of political economy of colonialism, emergence of new relations between state and society and the new administrative structure of the state. Development of Pakistan movement is traced and critically evaluated. The book also deals with the extent to which different regimes in Pakistan followed or failed to follow democratic rules and norms. It particularly brings out how the last martial law imposed by Gen. Ziaul Haq affected the relations between the state and society, restructured the judiciary, emasculated the 1973 constitution. The last part of the book deals with the transition from martial law to a semi—democratic rule in 1986.

Salamat, Zarina, ***Pakistan 1947—58: An Historical Review***, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1992, p. 273.

Abstract: The book describes and analyses the process of political development of Pakistan during the first decade (1947-58). Beginning with the background of the creation of the country the author identifies several political problems and dilemmas, at central and provincial levels such as the conflict between the centre and the provinces, between the ambitions of politicians and senior bureaucrats and other vested interests. The knotty problem of framing an agreed constitution is discussed at length beginning with the passage of the Objectives Resolution and abolition of the first constitution. The emergence of regional approach in the country over certain issues like, federalism, distribution of revenues, and language controversy is attributed to the excessive interference of the central governments, particularly the powerful Governor Generals in provincial affairs. The organisation of political parties and their role in the politics, bureaucratic set up of the new state and growing influence and interference of politicians in the administrative structure is brought out. The book helps understand the reason for fragility of the foundation of democracy in the first decade of Pakistan which has affected the further development of democracy.

2. THE ROLE OF CIVIL-MILITARY BUREAUCRACY

Dewey, dive, “The Rural Roots of Pakistani Militarism” in D. A. Low, ed., *The Political Inheritance of Pakistan*, London, Macmillan Academic And Professional Ltd., 1991, pp. 255-283.

Abstract: The paper contends that political scientists have never provided an explanation for the army’s domination on Pakistan. The most sympathetic explanation contends that incompetent politicians create the vacuum which sucks in the reluctant army. Somewhat hostile explanation is in Marxist terms that the army being the instrument of dominant classes takes over power whenever their interests are threatened. Though due to lack of information it is difficult to fully establish any of the hypotheses, the author offers an alternative explanation that the dominance of military lies in its deep roots it has sunk into thousands of Punjabi villages. “The symbiotic relations between the great recruiting— grounds and the army may be the basis of general’s power.” particularly in rural areas of six districts with rain fed

economy who through generation have acquired military tradition, skills, and identity with military virtues.

Sohail, Azhar, *Sazishon Ka Daur (The Era of Intrigues)*, Lahore, Ferozsons (Pvt.) Limited, 1990, p. 169.

Abstract: The book is a journalist's narration of the political events from the year 1988 to the year 1990 when the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) led by Benazir Bhutto first came to power and then was sacked by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The book describes the intrigues in which some of the generals and colleagues of General Ziaul Haq indulged to prevent the holding of elections in 1988 apprehending that PPP would sweep the polls. Benazir Bhutto was reluctantly appointed P.M even her party secured the largest seats in the National Assembly. Once she was appointed, the political heirs of Zia became active to undermine her government. The PPP government's own shortcomings such as its handling of retirement of Admiral Sirohi which caused resentment in the military also. The Bhutto's dispute with the President concerning appointment of higher judiciary and Benazir's style of governance also contributed to her downfall. The American involvement is also mentioned as contributory factor.

Sohail, Azhar, *Agencyon Ki Hakooniyat (The Government of the [Intelligence) Agencies)*, Lahore, Vanguard Books (Pvt.) Ltd., 1993, p. 151.

Abstract: The book written by a partisan but well informed journalist details the role the intelligence agencies played in the overthrow of the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) government elected in 1988. It gives the inner story of the power struggle between the Establishment supported by intelligence agencies and the PPP and then between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Premier Nawaz Sharif. The book suggests that the Nawaz Sharif government relied upon the intelligence agencies for its survival and did not allow enough freedom to media. The huge amount of funds were allocated to the ISI (Inter Service Intelligence) for controlling it. The newspapers were pressurised and bribed to write in favour of the government. The overactive role of intelligence agencies in politics of Pakistan does not augur well for the development of democracy in Pakistan.

Ahmad, Muneer, *Pakistan Mein Intelligence Agencyon Ka Siyasi Kirdar (The Political Character of the Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan)*, Lahore, Jehangir Book Dipu, 1993, p. 394.

Abstract: The book written by a journalist describes how several intelligence agencies came into existence, how different rulers from the inception of the country used them for political purposes. It brings out that the extensive use of agencies for political purpose was started by Z. A. Bhutto who used them also in 1977 elections. With the overthrow of Bhutto by Ziaul Haq the importance of Intelligence Agencies further increased and reached its climax with Pakistan's involvement in Afghan struggle.

The book notes that intelligence agencies even spied on Gen. Zia on behalf of Premier Junejo. Benazir Bhutto's attempt to control these agencies was only partly successful. The attempt to reform the agencies rebounded on Bhutto government

ending on her governments' dismissal. The book gives details of the well known "Operation Midnight Jackal", which was aimed at removing the Benazir government in 1989. The intelligence agencies were also involved in manipulating 1990 elections to prevent the dismissed Benazir Bhutto to return to power. Later when tension developed between the Premier Nawaz Sharif who controlled the civilian intelligence and the COAS Gen. Asif Nawaz who controlled the military intelligence, a war of nerves started between the two group of agencies. Though the power of these agencies have somewhat declined under the second Benazir Bhutto government, yet they remain a potent threat to fragile Pakistani democracy.

Hasan, Au, *Pakistan: Gernail Aur Siyasat (Pakistan: Generals and Politics)*, Lahore, Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd., 1991, p. 384.

Abstract: The book is a collection of interviews with 17 retired generals. Most of the generals interviewed are known more for their roles as martial law administrators or ministers in uniform. Some became politicians after retirement. The book attempts to answer what is perhaps the most crucial question in Pakistan's political history; why is martial law imposed in the country again and gain. The Generals share the view that martial law is a curse for the country as well as for the armed forces. However, understandably only a few hold armed forces responsible for it and blame the corrupt, incompetence and greedy politicians who create such a chaos that the armed forced has to step in to save the country. A few of the generals, however, attribute military rule to the generals with political ambitions and criticise them for assuming the role of self-appointed saviours. The book reveals the power-play and the palace intrigue that afflicted the country at some of the most crucial junctures in the country's history.

Javedani, Adeb, *Benazir Aur Fauj (Benazir And Military)*, Lahore, Moon Publishers, year of publication not given, p. 205.

Abstract: This book is a journalist's story of the sacking of Benazir Bhutto government and the dissolution of the National Assembly in 1990. It gives an account of inside intrigues showing how the President of Pakistan and the then Chief of Army Staff decided to overthrow the Benazir government. The shortcomings of Bhutto government which cased its fall are listed including the malpractices and corruption, the role of Asif Ali Zardari (Benazir's husband) and conflict between Nusrat Bhutto (mother of Benazir)) and Benazir Bhutto. The book suggests that US Ambassador Robert Oaklay met the Chiefs of three services before a week of the dissolution of assemblies implying that he may have played some role in it. The most critical factor according to the author in Benazir's dismissal was that she wanted to replace General Aslam Beg the then Army Chief after his retirement with General Alam Jan Mahsood by giving him extension which annoyed the Army corps.

Saleem, Ahmad, *Tootti Banti Assemblian Aur Civil Military Bureaucracy*, Lahore, Jang Publishers, 1990, p. 509.

Abstract: The book gives an exhaustive account of the breakdown of democratic institutions, the drama of the establishment, suspension and dissolution of legislative assemblies since the emergence of Pakistan. This generally objective, fair and balanced account is followed by identification of factors that contributed to the

weakness of these institutions. The most important factor given is the concentration of power in military-bureaucratic institutions which find weak democratic institutions and governments hindering what they regard as the national interest. Indirectly this is an explanation of the fragility of democracy in Pakistan. This well- documented book has several appendices including the statements of leaders of military coups and some judgements of higher judiciary concerning imposition of military rule.

Gauhar, Altaf, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, Lahore, Sang—e-Meel, Publications, 1994, p. 540.

Abstract: The book is about the rule of General Mohammad Ayub Khan in Pakistan from October 1958 till March 1969. The author Altaf Gauhar was close confidant of Ayub and participant and observer of most of the events he narrates. According to the author, Ayub Khan stands out as the first Muslim ruler in South Asia who tried to put his country on the modern secular path without renouncing the fundamental principles of Islam. Ayub's rule is also notable for its comprehensive analysis of problem of Pakistan. Ayub appointed thirty commissions and committees for this purpose, accepted most of the recommendations of these Commissions except those dealing with constitutional issues that restricted his power. He for the first time in Pakistan introduced land reforms. According to the author though he worked for the welfare of the people but he never recognised their right to manage their own affairs.

Chishti, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Faiz Au, *Betrayals of Another Kind: Islam Democracy and the Army in Pakistan*, Rawalpindi, PCL, Publishing House, 1990, p. 260.

Abstract: As Corp commander of Rawalpindi Division the author Gen. Chishti actually executed the Operation Fairplay, the plan to impose martial law on July 5, 1977 overthrowing Bhutto. Later he held important position under Gen. Zia till he quitted in 1980. As evident from the book he discusses national betrayal by Bhutto and Zia. He regards Bhutto responsible for the imposition of martial law as he created conditions including unfairly conducting 1977 elections which led to a popular movement against him which he tried to control with military action. Then he delayed negotiations with the opposition and military has to act to save the nation from a civil war. Ziaul Haq betrayal came in the form of his refusal to hold the promised elections, his attempt to perpetuate himself in power through dubious and unconstitutional means. The book provides the knowledge of an insider on first few years of the martial law.

Hussain, Mushahid, *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1990, p. 297.

Abstract: The book consists of 8 articles written by Journalist Mushahid Hussain when he was editor of the daily *Muslim* and analyse political change that occurred during the period of Martial Law imposed by Gen. Ziaul Hag. The author identifies several significant political changes that occurred during this era including increase in urban affluence and regionalisation of politics, the fragmentation of political parties, the development of the ideology of resistance among the smaller province, the increasing role of armed forces in politics and disenchantment with US. The

author contends that the public political consciousness and the state's capacity for tolerance has increased. The author concluded that democracy would become secure only with broadening of social basis of politics and the emergence of a politically conscious middle class.

Jalal, Ayesha, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 361.

Abstract: The book traces the development and consolidation of Pakistan's civil and military institutions as potent political actors during the period of 1947-1958. The initial chaotic conditions in Pakistan required creation of a central authority and enforcement of its writ over the country. Thus administrative centralisation was given high priority which distorted the relation between the Center and the provinces, Simultaneously there emerged an equally centralised force - the military - which became the dominant force in the political structure of the country. The external threat and international pressure gave a central role to the armed forces in political decision making. The politicians created a vacuum which the military gradually filled up. Once military entrenched itself in power then it was disinclined to hand over power to politicians.

3. JUDICIARY

Rajaratnam, T. W., *A Judiciary in Crisis? The Trial of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto*, Lahore, Classic, 1990, p. 200.

Abstract: The book written by a former judge of the Supreme Appellate Court of Sri Lanka is detailed account of the trial and appeal of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and circumstances in which it was conducted. Given the circumstances the book raises the question about the fairness of Bhutto's trial. He adduces following arguments against the fairness of the judgement; the proceedings during the trial were held in camera, the public was very often denied access, newspaper reports were heavily censored and on many occasions publications of newspapers were stopped, the evidence produced for establishing that Bhutto got Kasuri's father murdered because he was annoyed with him by the approver who acknowledged that he got him murdered on Bhutto's order is weak. The author suggests that justice was not done to Bhutto as judiciary succumbed to the pressure of Gen. Ziaul Haq.

Mahmood, M. Dilawar, *The Judiciary And Politics in Pakistan*, Lahore, Idara Mutalia Tareekh, 1992, p. 259.

Abstract: The book written by a former judge of the Lahore High Court of Pakistan is a study of the growth and development of the higher judiciary of Pakistan. The main thesis of the book is that Pakistani state and in particular the military rulers have eroded the independence of judiciary in Pakistan. The worst blow was dealt to the judiciary during the period of General Zia-ul-Haq. The methods through which judiciary was controlled are identified including the abuse of power to appoint, retire and transfer the judges to different courts. The book though deals with the impact of state on judiciary since the inception of the country yet it describes in details what happened to the judiciary during Gen. Ziaul Haq's period. The erosion of

independence of judiciary and its politicisation has weakened the foundation of democracy.

Marri, Mir Khuda Bakhsh, *A Judge May Speak*, Lahore, Ferozsons, Pvt., Ltd., 1990, p. 226.

Abstract: The book is authored by justice (retired) Marri who did not take oath under the PCO (Provisional Constitutional Order) of 1981 introduced by Gen. Ziaul Haq and thus got retired. It has seven chapters mostly articles written by the author at different times covering a variety of subjects including reviews of problems in constitution making in Pakistan, survey of constitutional amendments which affected the rule of law in Pakistan, and pressures on judiciary from the Pakistani rulers. The most significant chapter is one that deals with constitutional amendment made by Gen. Ziaul Haq to erode the power of the judiciary. The full bench of the Balochistan High Court headed by Justice Marri held the amendment unconstitutional. This was a momentous decision leading Gen. Haq to introduce PCO 1981 which virtually made the 1973 constitution ineffective. As a whole the book brings the limitations on the independence of judiciary imposed by the military and civilian rulers in Pakistan which incapacitated them to guard the rule of law and democracy.

Mannan, M. A., ed., *Chief Justice Dr. Nasim Hasan Shah's Judgement on the Constitution Rule of Law and Martial Law in Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1993.¹

Abstract: The book comprises of selected judgements of Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan (up to 1994) Nasim Hasan Shah. The judgements included are on subjects ranging from contempt of court and freedom of expression to electoral malpractices and dissolution of legislatures. Among the notable judgements are the one which declared certain provisions of the Press and Publications Ordinance, 1963 un-Islamic; the judgement in the Benazir Bhutto case in which the Supreme Court struck down the provisions of the Political Parties Act and the Representation of the Peoples Act to enable the political parties to contest elections; the case Pakistan Vs. General Public in which the Supreme Court held that the law which failed to provide appeals against sentences passed by court martials was un-Islamic. The book also includes the well known judgement in which the Supreme Court declared the dissolution of the National Assembly in 1993 as unconstitutional and restored the government of P.M. Nawaz Sharif. The judgement further restricted the power of the President under 8th amendment to dissolve National Assembly. The book is not on judiciary but helps understand the type of problem judiciary and legal and constitutional systems of Pakistan is facing.

Yusuf, Zohra, "In the Name of the Law" *Herald*, August, pp. 82-83.

Abstract: The article reviews the extension of the role of judiciary to protect human rights noting that for the first time in August 1991, an organ of the state took the initiative in committing itself to the protection and enforcement of human rights. Following the "Quetta Declaration" framed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan and the Chief Justices of the four High Courts, Human Rights Bench of the Supreme Court were constituted. So far 18 cases of human rights violations have been referred to the Supreme Court. In the case of children being lined up to receive VIPs, the

Human Rights Bench has directed the government not to have more than two children to receive foreign dignitaries. In another judgement, the Bench ordered the lifting of the ban on the marriage of women serving as nurses in the Armed Forces or stewardesses in PIA (Pakistan International Airlines). The most controversial judgement of the Human Rights Bench is the ban on student politics.

1. The *publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Herald, November/December 1993.*

This decision was based on the argument of protection of “larger national interest”. The obstacle to the effective working of the Human Rights Bench are, Presidential Ordinances, the plethora of judicial systems prevalent in the country especially with the introduction of the Shariat Courts, Speedy Trial Courts and Special Courts occasionally working at cross-purposes.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *Contempt of Court — An Outdated Concept*, Lahore, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Year of publication not given, p. 38.

Abstract: This Report published by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan includes the papers presented by different authors at a seminar organised by the Commission on the topic “Contempt of Court: An Outdated Concept.” The authors include a former high court judge, some lawyers, a former Federal Minister and a journalist. The papers deal with the contempt of court as a controversial legal instrument. It is criticised for restricting the freedom of expression guaranteed by the Constitution and making courts over—sensitive to criticism of their judgements. The critics say that this not only hampers free debate, but also causes courts to function in isolation. The report gives comparison of the laws being practiced by different countries and also discusses the different important cases. It is concluded that this law has affected the press mostly. In a final paper the author Justice (Retd.) Dorab Patel concludes that there is a need to review and change the law.

4. ELECTIONS

Ahmad, Ghafoor, *Aur Elections Na Ho Sakey (And Elections Could Not Be Held)*, Lahore, Jang Publishers, 1990, p. 411.

Abstract: The book is a narration of events of the period from 5th July 1977 when Gen. Ziaul Haq imposed martial law in Pakistan up to 15th October 1979 when he declared that the promised elections are postponed for an indefinite period. The imposition of martial law followed a movement by Pakistan Qaumi Ittehad (Pakistan National Alliance - PNA) against the then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his government charging that 1977 elections were rigged and fresh elections should be held. The author of the book is a leader of the Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Party) which was an active [participant in the movement and was also the member of the team which negotiated political settlement between Bhutto and the PNA. The book is based on his direct observations as well as on press information. Besides the negotiation the book highlights some of the important events that followed the martial law including the trial of Bhutto in Lahore High Court and Supreme Court, the promises made by the military regime to hold elections and then its failure to honour

those promises, The author indirectly identifies the factors that weakened democracy in Pakistan and offers certain suggesting for strengthening it.

Election Commission of Pakistan, *Report on the General Elections 1988, Vols. I, II, III*, Islamabad, Election Commission of Pakistan, 1989, p. 277, 258 & 286.

Abstract: This is a report on the general elections of 1988 by the Election Commission of Pakistan. The Election Commission of Pakistan is an independent body headed by the Chief Election Commissioner and aided by two members, who are appointed by the President of Pakistan from the Judges of the Supreme Court and four High Courts. The report consists of two volumes. The first volume of the report has 29 chapters on various subjects ranging from the aftermath of 1985 General Elections, Structure of the Parliament and Provincial Assemblies, the over all arrangements for holding the elections on general, minority an women seats. The bye-elections and the provincial elections are discussed with a conclusion and comments of the national and international media.

The Volume II of the Report covers the composition of the Parliament, Provincial Assemblies, allocation of seats, electoral rolls, registration staff, total voters registered in a constituency, the number of votes each candidate secured and % of the turnout in each constituency. It gives data on the performance of political parties in the elections and how many petitions were submitted to the Election Commission.

The Volume III of the Report gives detailed results of elections to the National Assembly and four Provincial Assemblies.

Election Commission of Pakistan, *Report on the General Elections 1990, Vols. I, II, III*, Islamabad, Election Commission of Pakistan, 1991, p. 357, 546 & 348.

Abstract: This is a report on the general elections in Pakistan in 1990 by Pakistan Election Commission, an autonomous body setup under constitution to hold elections in the country and ensure that they are fair. The head of the Commission, called the Chief Election Commissioner, must be the serving or retired justice of the Supreme Court and is appointed by the President of Pakistan. The other two members are the justices of the High Courts. The publication of elections report is required by law. The present Commission's report on 1990 elections consists of three Volumes. The Volume I describes the prevalent electoral system, arrangements for the elections, the result, the polling process, minority elections, by-elections and finally the evaluation of the National and International Agencies on the conduct of elections and extent of their fairness.

The volume II of the Report on the General Elections of 1990 gives detailed results of elections for the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies including data about number of seats each political party won with its total votes. It also gives detailed result of the elections on the seats reserved for the minority community.

The volume III of the Report on the general elections 1990 is rebuttal of White Paper published by the PDA (People's Democratic Alliance) charging government of massive rigging in the 1990 elections. It also covers the objections of the NDI

(National Democratic Institute) and French Observers' Team about the fairness of the elections. The volume confines its comments only to the allegations made against the electoral process and the Election Commission. The report argues that nation has accepted the result of 1990 elections without any reservation and a democratic order has been established in the country. It criticises the opposition for not working for strengthening the democratic process and objecting to the fairness of elections after the lapse of eleven months. The report maintains that allegations are without any evidence or proof in their support. In support of its argument it says that White Paper alleged rigging in 70 Constituencies, while the opposition alleging rigging filed petitions only for 33 Constituencies.

People's Democratic Alliance, *How An Election was Stolen: PDA White Paper on Election 1990*, Islamabad, Midasia Weekly, 1991, p. 484.

Abstract: The book attempts to establish that '90 elections of the National Assembly in Pakistan were rigged. It is work of a number of social scientists who were requested by the Pakistan Democratic Alliance consisting of four parties led by PPP to establish its rigging charges. It details the partisan role of president Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who dismissed PPP government, installed the opposition as caretaker government for conducting elections, the extent to which this government took advantage of the incumbency and provided public funds to the candidates of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (Islamic Democratic Front) to win votes, misuse the public media for spreading disinformation against the opposition, transfer of government officials in critical constituencies, harassing and at some places kidnapping the polling agents of the opposition. The book also provides evidence that the Election Commission which is supposed to be a neutral agency for ensuring fair elections did not live up to its role. The Secretary of the Commission was highly partisan. The book also discusses the role of a presidential cell headed by a retired general who manipulated the election results with the help of intelligence agencies.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, *The L October 1990 Elections in Pakistan: Report of the International Delegation*, Washington DC, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1991, p. 236.

Abstract: The report is produced by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) on the October 24, 1990, National Assembly elections in Pakistan. A 40-member international delegation evaluated the election in three phases: the pre-election preparations and campaign environment; the balloting and counting processes; and post election reviews of the formation of the new government and the complaints filed before the Election Commission. L The initial report of the Team concluded that the elections were generally fair. However, the final report brought out serious disadvantages to the opposition in contesting the elections. Besides, on the basis of rigorous statistical analysis it suggested that 15% of the constituencies show such an abnormal voting pattern that they could be suspected of being rigged by the government.

Amin, Tahir, Javed Iqbal, Noor Mohammad, *Regional Movements in Pakistan: Political Situation in Sindh*, Islamabad, Institute of Policy Studies, 1990, p. 16.

Abstract: This is a monthly report issued on developments in the province of Sindh — the province which poses a serious threat to integration of Pakistan. The report gives observations on the 1990 national and provincial assemblies elections in Sindh comparing it with 1988 elections. The elections result show a marginal decline in the vote bank of the Pakistan People's Party in rural Sindh partly due to selective rigging by the caretaker government. The electoral performance of Sindhi nationalists declined further. In the urban Sindh the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) added two seats to its seats won in 1988 election partly due to use of bogus voting and terror. Turnout in 1990 elections was observed to be low. The report also describes the law and order situation in Sindh, the relation between the Chief Minister Jam Sadiq and MQM, the activities of Sindhi nationalists, the relations between the MQM (a Sindh based ethnic party) and PPP and MQM and Jamaat-e-Islami - a religious party. The report also describes the mass—contact campaign of PPP to create pressure on the government to hold fresh elections.

Election Commission of Pakistan, *Report on the General Elections 1993, Vols. I, II*, Islamabad, Election Commission of Pakistan, 1994, p. 389 & 729.

Abstract: This is a report of the Election Commission of Pakistan on the general elections of 1993. The Election Commission is an autonomous body in Pakistan having responsibility of holding elections in Pakistan. The President of Pakistan appoints the Chief Election Commissioner from the serving or retired judges of the Supreme Court and two members from the justices of the four High Courts. The Report consists of two Volumes; the Volume I covers the events from political scenario leading to the dissolution of the National and Provincial Assemblies, polling arrangements, announcements of results, elections to the seats reserved for the minority communities, and reports of different independent organisations about the conduct of elections. A new feature of the Report is that it consolidates the statistics relating to the last four General elections. Conducted by a neutral caretaker government, the elections of 1993 are generally regarded as fair and free by the national press as well as International observers in their reports. The opposition mainly consisting of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Group) also initially accepted elections to be fair.

The Volume II of the Report gives detailed constituency-wise results of elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies as well as complete information about the names of the contestants, the successful candidates, those who participated in elections since 1985 elections. The Report also gives detailed information on the performance of different political parties and Alliances in these elections. The total number of registered voters and percentage of votes polled in each elections is also given.

Waseem, Mohammad, *The 1993 Elections in Pakistan*, Lahore, Vanguard Books Pvt., Ltd., 1994 p. 323.

Abstract: This is a pioneering social scientific work on elections of 1993 in Pakistan universally acknowledged as the fairest in Pakistani history. As not many elections at the local, provincial and national levels have been held in the country, few scholars

have got interested in the subject and few studies on elections have been produced. The book discusses in detail the mandate of the caretaker government of Moeen Qureshi, all the major and minor political actors involved in the election campaign and its dynamics from start to finish. This is followed by a rigorous analysis of the provincial and national assembly election results, with particular attention devoted to factors which impinged on the final outcome, such as biradari, rural/urban divide, ethnicity, party organisations, candidate selection, slogans, electioneering style, etc. The dynamics of the formation of the Benazir Bhutto government and the by-elections are analysed with great objectivity. The book also examines the necessity and possibility of electoral reforms in the post election period.

5. ETHNICITY

ALI, Mubarak, *Sindh Khamooshi Ki Awaz (Sindh a Sound of Silence)*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1992, p. 280.

Abstract: The book is a detailed study of the history of Sindh, the crisis ridden province of Pakistan starting with the pre-Muslim rule to-date. The current problems of Sindh are placed in this background for understanding them. It brings out that due to deprivation and suppression of lower classes by the feudal aristocracy the feelings of Pakistani nationalism have not emerged among them. Feudalism in Sindh remains intact even after independence and masses continue to be deprived of their due rights. Moreover, the arrival of migrants from India on the eve of independence added to the already existing tensions which provided stimulus to Sindhi ethnic nationalism. The masses already fed up with the cruel system of feudalism were squeezed by the landlords and Mohajirs, who were threatening to take their share in the province in employment and other fields. This double squeeze of Sindhi masses has led them to revolt against the authority which sometimes take the form of organised banditry occasionally with the support of local administration. The author suggests that without radical reforms which accommodate the needs and demands of the oppressed masses the crisis in Sindh cannot be overcome.

Saleem, Abmad, *Sulagttta Huwa Sindh (The Smouldering Sindh)*, Lahore, Jang Publishers, 1990, p. 243.

Abstract: The book deals with the ethnic problems of Sindh province and its political consequence for Pakistan. There are seventeen articles written by noted academicians and journalists and seven interviews of prominent leaders of ethnic movements in Sindh. The main thrust of the articles in the book is that though the Sindh problem became acute during the last years of Zia-ul-Haq its roots go back to the early years of independence. The articles give the historical background of Sindhi nationalism, dispute over separation of Karachi from Sindh, imposition of One Unit scheme, controversy over Sindhi language when Ayub Khan substituted it with Urdu as medium of instruction, the issue of identity, and rise of Mohajir Qaumi movement (MQM) with the encouragement of Ziaul Haq. The book has four appendices; the manifesto of MQM, accord between PPP and MQM after PPP came into power in 1988 and the IJI and MQM agreement after 1990 elections.

Manzar, Shahzad, *Sindh Key Nash Masail (Sindh's Ethnic Problems)*, Lahore, Oxford University Press, 1993.²

Abstract: The book places the problem of turbulent Sindh provinces in historical and political perspective from the British period to

2. *The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Herald, March 1994.*

the present day. It looks at the role of the civil and military bureaucracy since independence and the rise of Sindhi nationalism and the secessionist movement. It studies in detail factors such as the emergence of Mohajir politics, Punjabi and Pakhtun expansionism, the Sindhi-Urdu controversy and the issues of federation, confederation and provincial autonomy. It raises the important question why nationalism in the sub-continent proved so short-lived following partition. The domination of powerful civil bureaucracy and the frequent imposition of military rule and the treatment of Sindhis by central government shown in separation of Karachi from Sindh, the introduction of Urdu and forced removal of Sindhi as a medium of education, the imposition of One-Unit in West Pakistan alienated them giving birth to ethnic movements. The book suggests that in an era of rise of ethnic nationalism a nation could be kept together only through democratic governance which grants local and provincial autonomy.

Rais, Rasul Bakhsh, "Pakistan: Hope Amidst Turmoil", *Journal of Democracy*, No. 2, Vol. 5, April 1994, pp. 132-143.

Abstract: The paper is about the ethnic problem in Sindh. It has been divided into three sections. The first provides a brief ethnic mapping of Sindh province, the second examines ethnic politics and policy in Sindh since partition and the final section offers some conclusions. The author is of the view that ethnonationalism has emerged in Sindh due to the perceived conflict of interest and sense of deprivation among different ethnic groups. The conflict is re-inforced by changing and different policies of different rulers favouring one group against the other. Sindhi ethnic conflict is exerting negative impact on Pakistan's integrity and politics as some extremist groups demand secession. It has indirectly contributed to the ouster of governments of Mohammad Khan Junejo and Benazir Bhutto.

Das, Veena, ed., *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 407. ³

Abstract: The book comprises papers read at a conference on ethnic violence in South Asia, held in Kathmandu in February 1987, sponsored by the International Center for Ethnic Studies and edited by a professor of Sociology at Delhi university, India. The Indian papers discuss the Sikh massacres in Delhi after Indira Gandhi's assassination. The Pakistani chapters focus on the Pathan-Mohajir conflicts of 1985-86. The Sri Lankan sections deal with the July 1983, anti-Tamil riots. One of the most significant chapters is contributed by the editor herself based on her field work about the conditions of Sikh survivors of 1985 riots. The main message of the book is that communal riots would continue until the humans unlearn dehumanising the so-called enemies, the "others".

3. The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the *Newsline*, February 1992.

6. INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Naseem, Ayaz, ed., *International Relations: A New Perspective*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1989, p. 260.

Abstract: The book consists of papers produced by students of M.Sc in International Relations department of Quaid-e-University in a seminar on Third World problems. Most of them are well researched. The first part of the book includes topics such as the rise of secessionist/national liberation movements in the Third World, the causes of military's intervention in the politics of Third World. The second part of the book deals with Pakistan and the international system. Pakistan's security problems, its dependence on the US, the role of military in Pakistani politics during Ziaul Haq 's period. Some of the papers challenge the established theoretical models such as internal colonialism, the Huntington— Finer model of military intervention. The strong disposition in military to intervene in Pakistani politics suggests the vulnerability of democratic process in the country.

Mazari, Shireen M., "Price of Dependence: Pak—US Relationship" in Ayaz Naseem, ed., *International Relations: A New Perspective*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1989, pp. 143-155.

Abstract: This paper is a detailed examination of the relations of Pakistan and the US during 1947-1965, 1966-1978, and 1978 onward. The main thrust of the paper is that US-Pak relations have generally worked to the disadvantage of Pakistan, that US coopted Pakistan into its security system to serve its global interests ignoring Pakistan's security concerns and threat from India. The alliance closed all other foreign policy options for the country particularly developing some viable relations with the other superpower, Soviet Union. It also turned Pak economy into a - dependent one. The civil-military complex of Pakistan became instrument of serving US interests and subordinated Pakistan's — foreign policy to US concerns. The creation of democratic system in Pakistan was not as high on US agenda.

Hussain, Tallat (also spelled Talat), "Pak-US Military Aid Relationship Under Zia" in Ayaz Naseem, ed., *International Relations: A New Perspective*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1989, pp. 157—207.

Abstract: This paper highlights the main concerns of the Pak-US - military aid relationship under the Zia regime. It discusses the circumstances which generally oblige the Third World states to opt for external aid and why a super or a major power gives aid to - these states. The paper also discusses the long term as well as short term disadvantages to the smaller states of military aid they receive from a super power. The cost of this relationship to Pakistan is discussed in detail and is argued that it outweighed the benefits both at the domestic as well as at the regional and global levels. The US military aid created an institutional imbalance between military and other civilian and political institutions making Pakistani political system vulnerable to military takeover. It helped the Zia regime to consolidate itself for eleven years. The US indeed provided Pakistan with some most modern military

equipment but it was never enough to create some kind of parity between Pakistan and its main adversary India.

Rizvi, Hasan Askari, *Pakistan and the Ceo—Strategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy*, New York, St. Martins Press, 1993, p. 160. ⁴

Abstract: The book has outlined the past 40 years of Pakistan's relations with the outside world. The author divides Pakistan's foreign policy initiatives by area, for instance, its relations with the US, the USSR and South Asia. The relations with India form a major part of the book along with a chapter devoted to Pakistan's economic, society and diplomatic ties with the Muslim World.

Rizvi's thesis is that "Pakistan's interaction with the international community has served as security against internal and external challenges to its national identity, territorial integrity, and independence. The internal problems stem from the fragility of the politico-economic institutions and processes and their inability to command a widely shared legitimacy."

About the relations with India, he points out how Pakistan's concerns about India's regional ambitions and the importance of domestic political conditions for the governments in both the countries have played major role in their failure to resolve their difference. The Simla Agreement is discussed at length as being a watershed in Pakistan's foreign policy. On the other hand improved relations with smaller South Asian countries have helped built a regional consensus in order to contain Indian aggression.

According to the author the Pakistan's real foreign policy problems are just beginning with the end of cold war. The political war at home has paralysed the country and the successive governments have thereby not only failed to achieve political consensus on foreign policy issues but have also failed to relate to the end of the cold war in a more constructive way.

The conclusion is that "Abandoned by the world, isolated from the international community, and unable to express itself clearly on the international stage, Pakistan is on the threshold of a major foreign policy crisis unless it gets its political act at home together."

4. *The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Herald, July 1993.*

7. DEMOCRACY: GENERAL

Niazi, Zamir, *The Press Under Siege*, Karachi, Karachi Press Club, 1992, p. 258.

Abstract: This is the second book of the author on the state of the press in Pakistan. The author painstakingly chronicles a large number of cases of violence against the press. This is done with objectivity, integrity and courage. On the one it is the story of the state and private violence against the print media, subjugation of some

newspapers and journalists as well as resistance of others. The book notes that attacks on the press have become a routine affair. Nearly 19 journalists and press workers since 1965 have had their life snuffed during the performance of their duty. The book brings out that the press has occasionally engaged in misinformation, disinformation, news management and outright lies. All segments of society adopt these obnoxious methods, the government, the opposition parties and a section of the press itself. The author recommends that a code of conduct may be agreed upon by the press representatives and a press council may be constituted, manned by enlightened persons - the noted journalists, highly respected former members of the judiciary and bar associations, academicians and government representatives.

Niazi, Zamir, *The Web of Censorship*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 236.⁵

Abstract: This is author's third book on the subject of freedom of press which records every possible action and attempt of censorship by Ziaul Haq regime aimed at distorting and suppressing information. The book describes the rules and methods that chained the media in the 80s. Reporters, sub-editors, columnists and even editors lost their discretion about newsworthiness and often the censor officials decided what was not to be published. Any violation of these rules could result in a ban on the publication and up to ten years of rigorous imprisonment. The stories about political events, foreign affairs, crimes and even social engagements like the wedding of relatives of Benazir Bhutto were killed by the military rulers. The book records certain events which military rulers had tried to suppress and give detailed account of working of the system of censorship. The book also reproduces certain documents, which regulated the practice of censorship. Also included are statements from our erstwhile rulers justifying the muzzling of the fourth pillar of the estate. In the last chapter the author has recorded every censorship instruction, known as 'press advises' issued under the martial law regime.

5. *The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Herald, May 1994.*

Kennedy, Charles H., "The Politics of Ethnicity in Sindh", *Asian Survey*, No. 10, Vol. XXXI, October 1991, pp. 938-955.

Abstract: The article explores the process of development of democracy in Pakistan in the past and regards military rule as a major factor in retarding its development. He focuses on Ziaul Haq's policies and methods for consolidating his authoritarian rule to illustrate his point. The civilian leaders' factiousness and disunity is also considered an important contributory factor in weakening of democracy in Pakistan. The revival of democratic process after Zia's demise in 1988 is traced. Three elections have been held since then which have left positive effect on the country's move away from authoritarianism and towards democracy. However due to built in imbalances in the political system such as those between the powers of the Prime Minister and the President who has dissolved the elected assemblies for three times, democracy have fragile roots in Pakistan. The author's optimism about the future of democracy is based on regular conduct of elections, emergence of two party system, gradual fall in the popularity of extreme Islamist parties and the rising level of political awareness among the electorate.

Shehab, Rafiullah, *Golden Jubilee of the Pakistan Resolution*, Lahore, Annoor Printers and Publishers, 1990, p. 240.

Abstract: The book describes the history of struggle for Pakistan and notes that it came into being as a result of the democratic struggle of the Muslims of the sub-continent. After its establishment, the democratic process was subverted and martial laws were imposed in the country from time to time. Their duration was more than the period of democratic rule in the country. The energies which were to be used for nation building were wasted in restoring democracy in the country. The present somewhat fragile democratic setup is partly the fruit of these struggle. The author argues that the new government of Benazir Bhutto (1988-90) is trying to create conditions that martial law would not be imposed on the country.

Shehab, Rafiullah, *50 Years of Pakistan*, Lahore, Maqbool Academy, 1990, p. 592.

Abstract: The book is review of 50 years developments in Pakistan. It covers subjects such the geography of Pakistan, the rise of Muslim nationalism and finally the emergence of Pakistan. The author notes that democracy could not flourish in the new state due to military's intervention in politics which led to the dismemberment of the country. The restoration of democracy in the second half of 80s though generally welcomed has not raised hopes about its resilience and efficacy. The continuous conflict between the Establishment supported rightist parties against the PPP which won 1988 elections and formed the government, the tussle between the largest province ruled by the rightist parties and the PPP controlled center do not indicate a bright future for democracy.

The author seems to be optimistic about the future of democracy if politicians could realise that they would lose power for long time if they continued bickering.

Jaffery, Aqeel Abbas, *Pakistan Key Siasi VADERAY*, Lahore, Frontier Post Publications, 1993, p. 767.

Abstract: The book details the history of major landowning families in all the four provinces of Pakistan who have considerably shaped the course of political development of Pakistan regardless of the type of political system prevailing. Even those military and political leaders who seemingly were anti-feudal and called for the liquidation of the feudal system had to reconcile with them when they found them in crisis. The failure of democracy to take roots in Pakistan is attributed to the persistence of feudal system and concentration of political power in the hands of the feudals. Failure of several attempts to break this power including through mild land reforms has been noted. The urban middle class has occasionally attempted to dislodge the feudals from power but has not yet succeeded in doing so and in enlarging their role in political institutions. The book advances an interesting thesis that since the Khilafat movement (1919) to Pakistan movement the middle class of India dominated the politics excluding the feudals from it. But immediately after the independence the situation reversed.

Khan, Rais Ahmad, "Pakistan in 1992", *Asian Survey*, Volume XXXIII, L No. 2, February 1993, pp. 129-140.

Abstract: The paper reviews and analyses the significant changes that occurred in 1992 in Pakistan covering political developments, economic situation, foreign policy and nuclear issue. It concludes that the performance of democratic institutions particularly the legislatures has been lackluster. Political institutions decayed. The political parties continued to play the zero sum game and confrontation between the government and the opposition reached unprecedented levels of bitterness and animosity. The IJI coalition that made Nawaz Sharif the PM started to disintegrate. The Sindh, the industrial heartland of the country remained the focus of the manifold national crisis. Sectarian and ethnic strife continues. The print media has annoyed the government by criticising its policies and exposing its rampant corruption in almost all walks of life. However, the economic scene in 1991-92 (July-to June) presented a picture of confidence. Foreign exchange reserves crossed the billion dollar mark. The deregulation, privatisation and liberalisation of the economy proceeded apace. The uneven political and economic development and lack of resolution of other problems do not offer bright future for democracy in Pakistan.

Bahadur, Kalim, Uma Singh, eds., *Pakistan Transition to Democracy*, New Delhi, Patriot Publishers, 1989, p. 216.

Abstract: The book edited by two Indian academicians includes 15 articles 10 of them written by Indian and 4 by Pakistani scholars. The concept to compile the book was developed by the Indian Centre for Regional Affairs and the International Institute for Asian and Pacific Studies during two international seminars organised in 1988 and 1989. The book covers a vast range of subject which directly or indirectly affect development of democracy in South Asia. Particularly notable are militarisation of political and economic structures, nation building, Pak nuclear motivations and main trends in post- Zia period. The central question for most of the scholars was the transition from military rule to democracy in Pakistan, why and how it occurred and how durable would it be. The editors' conclusions from the book are that the precarious nature of the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) Government in (1989) strengthened the clout of the military establishment and that of the President who enjoyed substantial powers under the Eighth Amendment. Pakistan democracy also faces the difficult question of national building creating by rise of ethnicity among Urdu speaking Mohajirs and festering provincial and ethnic discontentment in other provinces particularly Balochistan.

Lamb, Christina, *Waiting For Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy*, New York, Viking Penguin Books Pvt. Ltd., 1991, p. 313.

Abstract: The book is a written by Christina Lamb, Pakistan correspondent of the *Financial Times* and a friend and confidant of Benazir Bhutto. Rich in details about several aspects of Pakistani life she observed for about two years the main thrust of the book to chart Benazir Bhutto's rise and fall between 1988 and 1990. She brings out how a highly antagonistic establishment yielded to make Benazir PM due to popular support for her and her victory in 1988 elections. However, given these environment Benazir Bhutto was unable to strengthen democracy and weakened herself to an extent that the establishment could dismiss her within 20 months of her

swearing in. The book throws light on complex problems of Pakistan including the position of women, urban life, patronage and government, troubled relationship with India, power of the tribes and drug barons, Afghanistan problem and long-running Great Game of espionage on the North-West Frontier Province giving some fresh insights into the conduct of 1988 elections.

Lodhi, Maleeha, *Pakistan's Encounter with Democracy*, Lahore, Vanguard Books Pvt., Ltd., 1994, p. 347.

Abstract: The book consists of about 3 dozen articles written for newspapers and magazines by the author. It deals with a variety of subjects connected with political developments in Pakistan from 1989 to 1993 general elections in Pakistan. Many important issues which cropped up during this tumultuous period in Pakistani politics are discussed and analysed with great rigour. Besides others, they include the Election '90, the meaning of a free press in a democracy, significant traits of Nawaz Sharif's style of governance, politics of confrontation, the power troika comprising President, Prime Minister and Army chief, economic management, the role of intelligence agencies, epic power struggle in the summer of 1993 which led to the exit, re-entry and exit of Nawaz Sharif. The Moeen Qureshi interregnum and the elections of October 1993 which brought Benazir Bhutto back to power for the second time in three years.

Yasmeen, Samina, "Democracy in Pakistan: The Third Dismissal", *Asian Survey*, Volume XXXIV, No. 6, June 1994, pp. 572-588.

Abstract: The paper discusses some of the important issues such as the implications of the Eighth Amendment for the process of democratisation in Pakistan, likelihood of its repeal in the near future, and how the Amendment helps the army exercise power without imposing martial law. The paper also discusses why the Supreme Court's judgement of May 26 restoring Nawaz Sharif government became ineffective. It argues that the Supreme Court's judgement brought Pakistan to a crucial juncture offering the political representatives an opportunity for strengthening parliamentary democracy in the country through repeal of 8th Amendment. But their lust for power prevented a democratically elected government of Nawaz Sharif from completing its term.

Amin, Tahir, "Pakistan in 1993: Some Dramatic Changes", *Asian Survey*, Volume XXXIV, No. 2, February 1994, pp. 191-199.

Abstract: The paper is a review and analysis of political events in Pakistan during the year 1993. Some very significant events occurred are discussed; the dismissal of PM Nawaz Sharif and dissolution of the National Assembly by President Ishaq Khan precipitated by former's attempt to repeal the 8th amendment which gave power to the president to dissolve assemblies. This was followed by the establishment of a caretaker government and the Supreme Court's judgement declaring President's act as unconstitutional - first time the judiciary gave such a verdict against the military-bureaucratic establishment. This created a crisis resolved by simultaneous resignations of the President and Prime Minister including the dissolution of assemblies and holding of midterm general elections. These events simultaneously revealed weakness of the democratic system and its strength in Pakistan and

reflected preference for resolving the conflict by holding fresh elections generally regarded fair and the emergence of a stable two-party political system emerging in the country.

ALI, Mubarak, *Understanding Pakistan*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1992, p. 150.⁶

Abstract: The book consists of seven chapters. They cover a wide range of subjects including country's geography, industry, agriculture and mineral resources, the political history and political system of Pakistan and organisation of the Pakistani society and culture. The author details the rise of feudal class and its domination of politics since a century. In Pakistani period the system has further consolidated itself as it has now got a foothold in urban areas also. He notes that "Pakistani middle class is a bastion of conservatism and religiosity. It champions the conventional traditions and moral values and abhors the idea of change and progress". The peasants are the wretched of the earth with few opportunities to improve their lot and are denied elementary human rights such as adequate nutrition, schooling, health facilities etc.

Kennedy, Charles H., ed., *Pakistan 1992*, Oxford, Westview, 1993, p. 201.

Abstract: This edited book consists of eight chapters six of them written by American academicians known for their interest in Pakistan. The subject covered are dilemmas and challenges facing Nawaz Sharif government after coming into power after '90 elections; the extent of fairness of these elections, judicial activism and Islamisation after Ziaul Hag, politicisation of Shias - a Muslim sect, Afghan and Kashmir conflicts etc. Some of the major problems facing Pakistan are noted including the lack of expansion of economy, deterioration in law and order and the need to take drastic measures to restore it. The October 1990 general elections in Pakistan are discussed by William L. Richter noting diverse interpretations about the conduct of the elections and charge of rigging levelled by PPP. Not finding enough evidence of rigging he concludes that the objections against fairness of elections were severe because the dissolution of the PPP government by the President was seen as an intrigue of military and civil bureaucracy. By this way the fabric of Pakistan's democracy was stretched and stressed if not actually torn. How strong it could be in the future would depend not only upon the outcome of the 1990 elections but how the post-election government would function?

Wolpert, Stanely, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 378.⁷

Abstract: This is the first serious attempt by a scholar to study arguably the most important and controversial politician in

6. *The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Herald, August 1992.*

7. *The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Herald, September 1993.*

Pakistan's history. Long after his execution Bhutto evokes violent arguments and debates among people of all ages. The book, besides - dealing with early life of Bhutto and rejecting the notion that his mother was a Hindu and that he had been an Indian citizen during student days in America and England brings out some of his views and attitudes on various issues. For instance he establishes that Bhutto was not "pro-India" as alleged by his political opponents and that he was a great admirer of Jinnah. The impact of Bhutto on current politics of Pakistan through the party he established and his political heirs continues affecting the future of democracy in Pakistan both positively and negatively.

Syed, Anwar H., *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfiqar All Bhutto*, Houndmills, Macmillan Press, 1992, p. 269.⁸

Abstract: The book covers the rule of Z.A Bhutto from 20 December 1971 to the date of his downfall, July 5, 1977. It discusses the framing of the constitution of 1973, the radical changes such as the nationalisation of industries, land reforms, the devaluation of currency etc. which he brought about. The book brings out the strengths and weaknesses of the character and policies of the charismatic leader who has left tremendous impact on Pakistan's democratic future. His major weakness identified is that his charisma, like other charismatic leaders, did not permit the growth of institutions and undermined any restraints on his absolute power. The Generals who then ruled Pakistan are held responsible for separation of East Pakistan and Bhutto is exonerated of the charge of disintegration of the country - a charge often levelled by Bhutto's political opponents.

Sisson, Richard and Leo E. Rose, *War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh*, California, University of California Press, 1990, p. 338.

Abstract: The book describes and analyses how Bengali Muslims of the then East Pakistan became disaffected from Pakistan and how they seceded from it. The story starts with the elections in Pakistan in 1970 which gave majority to the Awami League, a political party representing Bengali Muslims. Pakistani rulers suspecting that handing over power to the Party would lead to dismemberment of Pakistan refused to hold National Assembly session which led to civil disobedience movement and military crackdown ending with the Indian intervention and creation of Bangladesh. The book is based on the interviews of the persons involved in the events conducted by the authors. The broadcasts of Radio Pakistan, All India Radio, Radio Australia, BBC, Radio Moscow and the Voice of America were utilised for reconstructing the events of that particular year. Moreover the reports of the US State Department,

8. *The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Herald, November 1992.*

Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Council and Executive Office of the President are also used.

Zaidi, S. Akbar, ed., *Regional Imbalances and the National Question*, Lahore, Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd., 1992, p. 361.

Abstract: This edited book includes twelve papers written by persons most of them noted academicians and researchers of Pakistan with radical perspective. They follow rigorous social scientific methodology. The central question for all the papers is the nature and intensity of the regional nationalism in Pakistan. Historical development, the political and economic situation that generates and sustains this nationalism is provided. The 17 pages of statistics dealing with various spheres of Pakistan's economy are a valuable guide to a proper comprehension of the dimension of the problem. The existence of regional variation in the level of development in the various districts of Pakistan is also analysed. Four papers deal with the Sindh ethnic problems, one with Balochistan and the other with ethnic dimension of Pakistani politics as a whole.

Baxter, Craig and Syed Razi Wasti, eds., *Pakistan Authoritarianism in the 1980s*, Lahore, Vanguard Book Pvt., Ltd., 1991, p. 204.

Abstract: The book comprises of papers presented at a conference on Pakistan in the 1980s held at Columbia University, New York, April 16-17, 1987. The 10 papers contributed by 6 American and 4 Pakistani scholars cover the period of 80s. This is the period which experienced a transition from pure military rule to its sharing of power with civilians and lifting of martial law at the end of 1985. There are two sets of papers. The first set deals with foreign relations of Pakistan including with superpowers, its involvement in Afghan issue, and its role in Organisation of Islamic Conference. The second set deals with domestic politics, economy, Zia's relations with civil bureaucracy, Pakistani women's status as affected by Islamisation and analysis of Zakat system as it affects the status of women. There is a historical review of authoritarian heritage of Pakistan.

Azam, Ikram, *Pakistan's Foreseeable Future*, Islamabad, Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, 1989, p. 132.

Abstract: This M.S. (Studies of the Future) thesis the author has written in the futuristic tradition. It attempts to visualise Pakistan's future till the end of the century in the light of its ideological inspiration, socio-cultural conditions, political culture, economic development and overall historical experience. The projection is cast within the framework of systems analysis. Both enduring tendencies and emergent trends are taken into account for predictive purpose. Also certain policy prescriptions are suggested to create a better future for Pakistan. The author concludes that Pakistan's future as a peaceful, secure and stable state and society depends upon it does not deviate from the democratic course and adopts the policy of incremental change and not a revolutionary course.

Hussain, R. M., ed., *Pakistan 2000 A.D.*, Islamabad, Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, 1990/91, p. 299.

Abstract: The book is compilation of papers presented at three-day - national seminar organised by Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute in 1987. The book covers the topics ranging from t education, economy, culture, nuclear, foreign policy to democracy. All these issues are discussed in order to forecast future of Pakistan. Several papers identify the obstacles in the path of democracy in Pakistan including the history and tradition of authoritarian rule, emergence of a powerful

alliance between the bureaucracy and military blocking the revival of democracy in Pakistan. The persistence of military hegemonic political system is forecast. The prospects for re-democratisation without popular support and participation appear grim. Moreover, the military, bureaucracy commercial-industrial groups and a segment of old guard land owning elites in all provinces of Pakistan are likely to gain strength and dominate Pakistani state.

Dator, Jim, Sohail Inayatullah & Raja Ikram Azam, eds., *Towards the 21st Century: The Future of Democracy in the Developing World Vol. I*, Islamabad, Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, 1993, p. 180.

Abstract: This edited book consists of 28 articles which were presented in the First South Asian Region International Conference on "The Future of Democracy in the Developing World", jointly organised by the Pakistan Futuristic Institute and the World Future Studies Federation. The three editors have written an introduction which summarises and links the papers to the theme of the conference. The papers according to the editors "provide an insight into variables that are necessary to create a strong civil society, the importance of women, new technologies, ecology, sustainable development, education, cultural renewal and traditional religious frames of reference. Moreover the large regional and global contexts of democracy are also explored." With regard to future of democracy of Pakistan the editors suggest "that if Pakistanis want to increase civilian participation in day to day politics they should continue the democratization process and curtail powers of military and bureaucracy." The editors deduce from the papers that besides internal development conducive to democracy "an equitable and presumably democratic, global and international system is essential."

Mullick, M. A. Hussain, "Democracy, Development and the Economist" (Title in the Paper is "Democracy and Development") in Jim Dator, Sohail Inayatullah & Raja Ikram Azam, eds., *Towards the 21st Century: The Future of Democracy in the Developing World Vol. I*, Islamabad, Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, 1993, pp. 83—86.

Abstract: The paper identifies several drawbacks of democratic system of Pakistan. The three most significant among them are; the influence of feudal aristocracy, especially in the Parliament; the overwhelming power of bureaucracy and burden of defence expenditure. Although the Pakistan movement succeeded with the participation of the masses but after independence the landlords, the bureaucrats and defence personnel took control over the state excluding the people from its affairs. Only Z. A. Bhutto tried to bring the masses into politics but he did not sufficiently succeed. Since the 1990 political power has somewhat defused as some businessmen and industrialists have come to share power with the feudals.

Mullick, Rehana Hussain, "Women, Democracy and Development" in Jim Dator, Sohail Inayatullah & Raja Ikram Azam, eds., *Towards the 21st Century: The Future of Democracy in the Developing World Vol. I*, Islamabad, Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, 1993, pp. 57—60.

Abstract: The article suggests that the recent interest in promoting the social, economic and political role of women in society has yet to materialise itself in

concrete programmes and policies in Pakistan. Due to low female literacy and their confinement to traditional role of domestic household work, women in Pakistan cannot realise their potential. Major obstacle to the women development is the stagnant economy. Accelerated development in the country would create demand for their services, spare resources for their education and enable them to take interest in local, national and international politics. Their participation in bureaucracy and legislative institutions needs to be increased to strengthen democracy in the country.

Ghaznavi, Shamsa Nawaz, "Democracy and National Security: The Nuclear Factor" in Jim Dator, Sohail Inayatullah & Raja Ikram Azam, eds., *Towards the 21st Century: The Future of Democracy in the Developing World Vol. I*, Islamabad, Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, 1993, pp. 49-56.

Abstract: The paper argues that democracy can function only in an environment of peace, national security, economic development and independence of a nation. The energy starved Pakistan having constant conflicts with India has developed its nuclear programme both for economic development and national security. Atomic energy is being developed for the improvement of agricultural, medicine and industrial sector and to overcome energy shortage. As a small country Pakistan has also developed nuclear capability for deterrent purposes against a larger neighbour with advanced nuclear programme. To avoid military use of its nuclear capability Pakistan has advanced several proposals to denuclearise South Asia on regional level. But India has not accepted any of these proposals - as it wants to tackle this issue on a global level. The solution to the threat of use of nuclear weapons in South Asia lies in solving the long festering issues such as Kashmir and Pakistan is guaranteed an international nuclear security umbrella. This can ensure that the three Ds of Democracy, Development and Defence are harmonised in the national, regional and global human interest.

Elahi, Maqbool, "Promoting Democracy Through Language And Literature: The Trends and Issues in Pakistan" (The title in the paper is "Promoting Democracy Through Language and Literature: Pakistan") in Jim Dator, Sohail Inayatullah & Raja Ikram Azam, eds., *Towards the 21st Century: The Future of Democracy in the Developing World Vol. I*, Islamabad, Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, 1993, pp. 67-71.

Abstract: Common language enables every citizen to share his views with other citizens, express his demands and participate in political affairs. In countries with one language democracy functions well though if there is more than one language the problem does emerge there too. In multilingual Pakistan Urdu was imposed on Bengali Muslims with negative effects on national integration and democracy. Since the separation of East Pakistan the Urdu language is widely understood in all parts of the country. It is the language of the political platform and pulpit. It dominates the media. Even in the legislative assemblies the Urdu is spoken along with the official language English. There is no inherent conflict between the regional languages and Urdu as they are similar. Yet Urdu has still to be given its due place in national life. Pakistani literature generally reflects humanistic, democratic liberal value, and its promotion can strengthen democracy.

Society for Academic and Archival Research, *Jiddojihad Key Pachees Saal (Twenty Five Years of Struggle)*, Lahore Frontier Post Publications, p. 400.⁹

Abstract: This is a chronicle of the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) L from 1967 to 1992 and includes references taken from the print media as well as recorded statements by Zulfiqar Au Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto. The book covers the period of the elder Bhutto's rise from October 27, 1958, when he was appointed as Trade Minister in Ayub Khan's military government up to his execution. The events leading to the September 1965 war with India along with the controversy over the Tashkent declaration have been dealt with at length.

9. *The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Herald, February 1993.*

Bhutto's resignation from Ayub's cabinet and the period from the time of the PPP's formation on November 1967, to Yahya Khan's take over on March 25, 1969 have been covered. There is a detailed account of the anti—Ayub movement with specific reference to Bhutto and PPP. The 1970 elections and the consequent political situation has been discussed with reference to the contradictions between the army, PPP and the Awami League.

With short discussion on the PPP's rule in the 1970's the author goes to the 1977 elections and the subsequent PNA agitation, the PPP-PNA dialogue and the imposition of martial law. Then the party's activities during the 11 years of martial law have been extensively listed. The Benazir Bhutto becoming PM and her removal are discussed in detail highlighting the role of intelligence agencies and opposition parties in it. This is followed by description of hardships suffered by the party at the hands of the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan between August 6, 1990 to November 30, 1992, of the October 24, 1990 general elections and the victimisation of PPP workers by the Chief Minister of Sindh, late Jam Sadiq Ali. The book concludes with the long march called by the PDA (People's Democratic Alliance) on November 18, 1992.

Siddiqi, Safdar Hasan, *Pakistan Ki Tameer—i-Nau: Faisfa Aur Laihai—Arnal*, Lahore, Nigarshat, 1992, p. 500.

Abstract: The book consists of about half a dozen articles written by the author who has been a political activist during most of his life. The articles cover a vast range of subjects such the nature of Pakistani nation, relations between religion, faith and Islamic Din, the impact of feudal system on Pakistani society and politics, and the weaknesses of Pakistani democracy etc. A part of the book is devoted to foreign policy relations of Pakistan and how it affects the Pakistani state and society. One of the significant point the author makes is concerning the Pakistani nationalism which he suggests should not be based on religion but on territory. Most of the articles incorporate suggestions for reconstructing Pakistan as a modern democratic state and society based on the author's own personal experience of political activism.

Ahmad, Syed Jaf far, *Federalism in Pakistan: A Constitutional Study*, Karachi, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 1990, p. 185¹⁰

Abstract: The book studies how Pakistan's four constitutions have dealt with the province-centre relationship. The four themes examined are bicameralism, the supremacy of the constitution, the division of power and the authority of courts to interpret the constitution. The failure to evolve genuine federalism is considered a significant factor in giving rise to ethnic movements

10. *The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the Newslite, February 1991.*

in Pakistan and the separation of East Pakistan. The principle of supremacy of legislature incorporated into all the constitutions, and the concept of the division of powers produced contrary results - the strengthening the powers of the executive, Vesting of several significant subjects with the federal government further undermined federalism. Moreover, the judiciary was never separated from the executive and its power of interpreting the constitution remained limited. The concept of bicameralism was only adopted in the constitution of 1973. But the indirect election of Senate and its inability to have any power over many bills made it ineffective in practice.

Patel, Rashida, *Socio-Economic Political Status and Women & Law in Pakistan*, Faiza Publishers, 1991, p. 270.¹¹

Abstract: The first part of the book is about Pakistan's geographical location, its population, constitution and Islamic personal laws. It also discusses the process of Islamisation in the country particularly the aspects that affect women. The issues such as whether women can be judges and heads of state are analysed. The second part of the book describes the extent of institutionalised discrimination the women in Pakistan have experienced and how their legal position has been emasculated by state policies, which have used religion for justifying this. Quoting extensively from the Quran the author argues that religion granted equal rights to women, and that Islamic law is misinterpreted. The present unequal status of women is also due to laws the British enacted based on social customs in matters relating to marriage, divorce, dower, inheritance and family relations.

Shafqat, Saeed, *Political System of Pakistan and Public Policy*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1989, p. 280.

Abstract: This book consists of seven articles by the author each having a separate theme. In these articles the author identifies some major policy issues, explicates public policy responses, and analyses the relationship that they have with the public policy. The first article is about the discipline of Pakistan Studies and traces the evolution, development and inadequacies of the discipline. The second article gives a brief overview and analysis of the dynamics of structural change and patterns of the ruling coalition along with a change in the development of Pakistan's political system. The third article attempts to describe the role of Islam in the political system of Pakistan. The next chapter analyses how bureaucracy and military affected the growth of political parties. The last chapter concludes that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's excessive zeal to subordinate the military to him was an important factor that alienated the military from his regime and expedited military's intervention into politics.

11. The publication was not available to the author and the abstract was prepared on the basis of its review in the *Newsline*, December 1991.

Inayatullah, C., “Democracy, Ethnonationalism and Emerging World Order” in Sushil Kumar, ed., *Gorbachev’s Reforms and International Change*, New Delhi, Lancer Books, 1992, pp. 199-211.

Abstract: The paper advances theoretical propositions about the inter—relations of democracy and ethnonationalism. It argues that democracy can both stimulate and defuse ethnonationalism; in turn ethnonationalism can also strengthen and weaken democracy. By introducing electoral competition democracy can stimulate ethnonationalism as ethnic groups find that ethnicity could solidify their voting power and bring other political advantages if they organise around ethnicity. Democracy can regulate ethnonationalism by providing a framework in which they can articulate their ethnic demands and state and ethnic groups can negotiate and bargain over them rather than resort to force.

Ethnonationalism strengthens democracy when it undermines internal colonialism, removes ethnic inequality and thus creates a social framework conducive for functioning of democracy. On the other hand by bringing into irreconcilable emotion laden ethnic demands it would generate conflicts which democratic system could not resolve and consequently breakdown. The paper identifies three conditions under the four proposition hold or fail to hold. 1. sequence between ethnic polarisation and institutionalisation of democracy; 2. the extent of ethnicisation of state structure; 3. the nature of interethnic relations in a society. The paper concludes that “ethnonationalism is not going to be a potent factor in the development of democracy in the former socialist countries, the Third World, and it may even distort the democratic character of the democracies in multi—ethnic societies in First World.” Certain inference are made from these theoretical propositions about functioning of Indian and Pakistani polities.

Esposito, John L., “Desecularizing Government in the Subcontinent: An Islamic Pakistan,” in Colonel David O. Smith, ed., *From Containment to Stability: Pakistan-United States Relations in the Post—Cold War Era*, Washington D.C., National Defense University, 1993, pp. 81—111.

Abstract: The paper was presented at the First Pakistan—United States Symposium which was co-sponsored by The Institute for National Strategic Studies, Washington D.C. and The Institute for Strategic Studies, Islamabad. It analyses the role of Islam under different political regimes in Pakistan concentrating on Ziaul Haq’s policies of Islamisation. The following two quotations sum up the impact of Islamisation on Pakistan during this period.

“Established as a Muslim state in 1947, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has found the role of religion to be an enduring and unresolved issue. However, from 1971—88, the relationship of Islam to state and society progressively moved from the periphery to the center, characterized by a pervasive use of Islamic discourse and symbolism as well as a burgeoning of Islamic laws, regulations, institutions, taxes, educational, and social policies. Although initially feared by some but welcomed by

many, Islamization under General Zia ul- L Haq moved from serving as an effective means to establish the early legitimacy of his government, coopt religious forces and the Pakistan National Alliance, and mobilize popular support, to a source of division, disillusionment, and, at times, oppression. Promises of a more authentic Pakistani state and society, Islamically rooted and unified, gave way to a state in which government use of Islam divided more than united, restricted and punished more than guided and liberated, and fostered cynicism rather than pride and respect.” (p. 103)

“However, as history has shown, while there may be a general consensus among the Muslims of Pakistan for Islam, there is no clear agreement on what that means at the level of national ideology and policy. Any government for the foreseeable future will have to contend with the Islamic dimension of Pakistan’s history and heritage in establishing its legitimacy and mobilizing popular support for its policies and programs. Similarly, too close a linkage between modernization and Westernization will make governments vulnerable to the charge of secularization and Western dependency/hegemony.” (p. 108)

Lamb, Alastair, *Kashniir: A Disputed Legacy 184 6—1990*, Karachi, Oxford, University Press, 1992, p. 368.

Abstract: The book is on history of Kashmir problem which has been constant source of tension between India and Pakistan since very L moment of their birth. The two countries have fought three wars over this issue and even in 1991 a fourth Indo-Pak conflict in or over Kashmir seemed to be likely. This conflict has infected every aspect of the internal political life of the two nations. The book the first discussing the status of Kashmir up to partition and the second up to 1990. The author considers the resolution of Kashmir essential for establishing peace between the two countries, reducing defence expenditure and thereby curtailing the power of their military establishments.

Yusuf, K. F., ed., *Perspectives on Kashinir*, Islamabad, Pakistan Forum, Islamabad, 1994, p. 384.

Abstract: This book is a compilation of articles by well known scholars on various aspects of the Kashmir dispute. The authors discuss the origin of the dispute, the policies and postures of the Muslim League and Pakistan government that cost it Kashmir, review of Indian government policies toward Kashmir issue. The part two of the book discusses the liberation movements in Kashmir, demographic and ethnic changes occurred there since partition and the pattern of economic development. A number of articles place the Kashmir issue in regional and international context. Different methods of resolving Kashmir problem are discussed. Most of the papers are contributed by Pakistani writers. Several Kashmiri writers - including some belonging to organisations struggling to achieve self-determination have discussed the issue from their perspective. One chapter discusses the magnitude of human rights violations in Kashmir. Another brings out how lack of democracy in Kashmir affected the struggle for self-determination of the Kashmir.

Yusuf, K. F., “The Geopolitics of Pakistan And Kashmir: The Kashmir Issue” in Jim Dator, Sohail Inayatullah & Raja Ikram Azam, eds., *Towards the 21st*

Century: The *Future of Democracy in the Developing World Vol. I*, Islamabad, Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, 1993, pp. 9-16.

Abstract: The paper describes the geopolitical unity of Indus basin and how it was disrupted at different occasions; how Indian occupation of Kashmir from which originate many rivers forming part of Indus basin disturbed this unity. The paper discusses the reasons for lack of resolution of Kashmir problem which include the inflexible attitude of Indian government on this issue, prevalence of authoritarian rule and the imposition of martial laws in Pakistan and unimaginative policies of Pakistani governments. The UN failure to enforce its resolution and West's indifference to Kashmir problem has contributed to the persistence of Kashmir problem. Kashmiris have now taken the issue in their own hands. However, Indian determination to hold on to Kashmir with all its military might has put the Kashmiris and India on a collision course with no end in sight. The issue should be solved in accordance with the democratic right of self-determination and protection of human rights of Kashmiris.

Independent Planning Commission of Pakistan, *South Asia Vision & Perspective*, Independent Planning Commission of Pakistan, Lahore, 1994, p. 536.

Abstract: The book is compilation of papers presented at South Asian Regional Dialogue since 1991. All the participant in the Dialogue are private citizens, most of them academicians from different South Asian countries. They are not connected with the governments but can influence government thinking and decisions and create public opinion in favour of peace and cooperation between the countries of the region. The papers deal with the issues and problems being faced by the states and people of the South Asian region including the global changes, politics, ethnicity, human rights, environment and democracy. Most of the papers raise the question whether policies and position taken by the countries of the region serve immediate, medium and long term interests of the nations concerned and of the region as a whole in the context of changes occurring at global and regional level. Some papers also suggest measures to tackle these problems.

Jahangir, Asma, "Fostering Democracy" in *South Asia Vision & Perspective*, Lahore, Independent Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1994 pp. 459-470.

Abstract: The article argues that the widely admired democratic political system is also most difficult to run and sustain. It requires regular elections, rule of the majority, acceptance of universal freedom and guarantee of basic human rights to all individuals and groups. As democracy spreads to countries without previous democratic experience it faces many problems the most difficult ones include; dealing with strong vested interest, lack of democratic political culture and activists, confrontation politics, organisational weaknesses of political parties, absence of pro-democratic pressure groups, and polarisation on account of ethnic, religious and political loyalties which undermine the democracy. Lack of regular and fair elections, pre-mature dissolutions of assemblies leading to corruption of the representatives and the rise of religious fundamentalism pose serious threats to development of democracy. For fostering democracy the paper recommends that the political institutions be strengthened, political awareness be spread, education and training of national and community leaders arranged, and expenditure on defence be reduced.

The parliamentarians should work towards democratisation of the society at a grass root level.

Hossain, Kamal, "Transition to Democracy" in *South Asia Vision & Perspective*, Lahore, Independent Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1994, pp. 489-495.

Abstract: The paper discusses the problems in institutionalisation of democracy in Bangladesh. It brings out that three main political alliances in a joint declaration made by on 19th November, 1990 agreed to the establishment of an accountable government, restoration of rule of law and independence of judiciary, repeal of black laws, upholding the freedom of press and giving radio and television an autonomous status. But the government of Begum Zia has not fulfilled these commitments. The law and order situation, political polarisation between government and opposition, and economic stagnation is getting worse creating serious discontent among the people about the government and making democracy vulnerable to authoritarian forces.

II. HUMAN RIGHTS

1. ISLAM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Khan, Muhammad Zafrullah, *Islam and Human Rights*, London, London — Mosque, 1976, p. 147.

Abstract: The introductory chapter explains the Islamic conception of **good society and the limitations of the Declaration of Human Rights** in terms of lack of its finality and amenability to future changes. Second chapter gives Islamic view of man and universe. Third chapter deals with social and economic values as propounded by Islam. Chapter V and VI examines the articles of the Declaration in the light of presentation in earlier chapters. No opinion about the compatibility of the preamble of Declaration with Islam is given. However, some of the articles of the Declaration are examined to determine to the extent to which they are compatible with Islam.

The Chapter VI deals with prevalent attitudes towards Human Rights among Muslims. Noting that even though the hold of Islam on Muslim societies has weakened, yet they are remained committed to basic concepts such as human equality and brotherhood. It is observed by the author that there is no race or colour consciousness in Muslim society. However occasionally the author points out the customs prevalent among Muslims which are inconsistent with the charter. The general conclusion of the book is summarised in the following quotation:

"It (Islam) is concerned with the totality of life, both here and Hereafter. The Declaration certainly, like Islam, claims universality and seeks that the rights, freedoms and duties set out and expounded in it should be accepted and made effective everywhere in respect of everyone. Thus in spirit the Declaration, so far as it goes, and Islam are in accord. In respect of certain specific details, the Declaration employs language which is too general; Islam spells out the necessary safeguards.

Occasionally, but unavoidably, there is a difference of approach. Islam and the Declaration are both concerned with human welfare, prosperity and happiness; but while the Declaration is concerned to secure them at the material level, through physical means and during this life only, Islam being a religion, is concerned to secure them at all levels, through every available means, both here and Hereafter. Islam recognizes the inter-play and interaction of all values and neglects none, but pays due regard to the need of co-ordination between them, which necessitates that a certain primacy must be assigned to and observed in respect of moral and spiritual values. These latter are not the primary concern of the Declaration. This divergence of approach leaves open the possibility of conflicting provisions for the regulation of a specific detail. Should this happen, and the conflict prove irreconcilable, then it is obvious that so far as Islamic society is concerned, the Islamic provision must continue to have priority. Subject to this somewhat remote contingency, the revival and strengthening of true Islamic values would only help and further the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration (pp. 141-142) .“

Chaudhry, Muhammad Sharif, *Human Rights in Islam*, Lahore, All Pakistan Islamic Education Congress, 1993, p. 228.

Abstract: The book is divided into seven chapters; human right- concept and development; Islamic approach to human rights; basic human rights in Islam; human rights in Islam - another angle; rights of women in Islam; rights of minorities in an Islamic state; and Islam and slavery. There are four appendices to the book which include extracts from Quran, charter of Medina, treaty with Christian of Najran, and farewell address of the Prophet. Significantly the book is dedicated to the UNO. One of the major points repeatedly stress in the book is that the human rights in Islam are given by God and therefore they cannot be abridged or increased while human rights incorporated in Western democracies, their constitutions and the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations are man-made and there for imperfect and changeable. The following quotation summarizes the argument:

“The difference lies in the fact that Islamic approach is primarily religious approach which tackles the issue of human rights from an angle of man’s relations with God while Western attitude towards human rights is secular and is based upon the relations of man to man and citizen to state. Broadly speaking, the difference between the two approaches pertains to their idea of political sovereignty. In Islam, sovereignty belongs to Allah, the One God of universe and His commandments are the supreme law. Position and place of man on earth is that of viceroy or Allah’s representative or vicegerent. Thus in an Islamic state, people are not sovereign but they exercise collectively or through their representatives powers defined and delegated to them by Allah.” (p. 14)

Islamic human rights however are derived from Islamic books mostly Quranic text. The book states that on human rights where Quran injunctions are unambiguous, they cannot be changed and reinterpreted but where Quran is silent Muslims can reinterpret such rights. He gives the example of the controversial issue of rule of women in Islam and argues that as there are no clear pronouncement in Quran Muslim can decide the issue in the light of changing requirements and circumstances. The book while points out that secular western democracies honour human rights on paper and do not practice them no such question is raised about

Muslim societies and states, that is, to what extent Muslim countries practice human rights given by Islam. Similarly the book argues in favour of holding evidence of two women equal to one man in business matters as they are incapable of understanding the complicated business matters. The author also defends polygamy, stating that it is only a permission and not a commandment. While defending veil in the sense of requiring women to cover their bodies adequately, the author maintains that Islam does not confine to only house hold activities and permits them to engage activities outside the house.

2. REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

United States Department of State, *U.S. Department of State: 1992 Human Rights Report on Pakistan*, Washington, U.S. Department of State, 1993, P. 20.

Abstract: This is a U.S. State Department's report on Human Rights in Pakistan during 1992. The Report notes the main success of Pakistan in this field that it was able to retain democratic rule although army still unofficially enjoyed the influence on many major policy decisions. The Human Rights during this year were violated by both police and the para-military forces, the Rangers and Frontier Constabulary, particularly during the operation in Sindh. The military expenditures remained high though government recognises the importance of curtailing these expenditures and promises to do so in the near future.

The press and political organisations continued to exercise considerable, but not unfettered, freedom of expression. The overt repression of political opponents lessened but nonetheless remained an issue of concern. Selective prosecution of opposition political leaders continued. No effort was made to reform either the police or judicial systems. Sectarianism went up and caused many murders. The non-Muslim minorities continued to be the subject of unofficial persecution of religious zealots, while the government continued to support religious legislation designed to Islamise Pakistan.

Social and legal constraint, kept women in a subordinate position in society and significant restraints remained on worker's rights. The use of child labour remained widespread in spite of the legislation to prohibit these practices.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *State of Human Rights in Pakistan: 1990*, Lahore, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Year of publication not given (probable year of publication 1991), p. 90.

Abstract: This is the first report the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan has issued on the situation of human rights in Pakistan. The report covers a large number of areas concerning human right such as independence of judiciary, law and order, police excesses, rights of labour, women and minorities. The report notes that compared to other countries at similar levels of development, the awareness about the ideals of human rights has yet not adequately developed in Pakistan. The Pakistani state has shown little interest in accepting the international human rights standards and the public, partly due to ignorance and partly because of preoccupation with day-to-day problems. It has not ratified some basic international covenants and protocols, removed inconsistencies in the constitution concerning

human rights, and enforce rights listed in the Constitution. The report notes the fragility of Pakistan's democratic institutions as revealed in the dissolution of the National Assembly elected barely 21 months earlier and widespread doubts about the fairness of elections of 1990. The Report indicates that the minorities and women continue to be discriminated.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *State of Human Rights in Pakistan: 1991*, Lahore, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Year of publication not given (probable year of publication 1992), p. 161.

Abstract: The 1991 Report of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan notes a degree of heightened popular awareness about human rights in some sections of the educated elite over the past year. The independent press showed a slightly greater responsiveness to issues in the area. The concerned NGOs looked for ways to be more effective. Speakers at public forums felt pressed not to disregard the human rights angle in analysing political problems. And the judiciary itself set up own machinery for better cognisance of lapses in the area.

The Premier Nawaz Sharif government which came into power in L November, 1990 did not do much to protect human rights. In some respects the situation deteriorated. The deterioration of law and order situation, setting up of special courts to deal with it, the situation of minorities particularly Ahmedies, a sect Muslims believe to be heretic, deteriorated. Gang rape of women emerged as common crime. Child labour thrived despite addition of more categories to occupations prohibited to children. The labour faced a new threat from the rush towards privatisation, though a law was made to abolish the system of bonded labour. Social rights, such as education, health and housing, actually saw a diminution of commitment compared to the addition to needs. Civil liberties generally experienced no direct onslaught, but use of para-official violence against the press in 1991 was the worst and most recurrent. Official intolerance was most evident with regard to the political opposition particularly in the province of Sindh. The reluctance of the government to accept minimum international standards in the observance of human rights remained as strong as before.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *State of Human Rights in Pakistan: 1992*, Lahore, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Year of publication not given (probable year of publication 1993), p. 132.

Abstract: The report notes a new development - the induction of the army in Sindh - to control breakdown of law and order. This development showed the failure of administration to guarantee security of life and property to the citizen in the province. Reports of deaths in police 'encounter' and in police custody and proud claims of numbers of 'dacoits' killed remained as frequent as ever. The Supreme Court's setting up of a human rights bench seemed a new initiative but its utility was yet to be established.

The report notes a rise in sectarian violence and religious rabidity, the increase in the tendency towards social and economic discrimination against women; the imbalance of emphasis between liberalisation of the economy and safeguards of labour's rights and interests and the implications for the minorities of the blasphemy laws, the move

to include reference to religion for identification of a Pakistani's citizenship, and the outbreak of mob action at the destruction of Babri Masjid in India.

The government did not consider of signing any of the basic international human rights covenant and protocols, including those on civil and political and economic, social and cultural rights, on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and the one prohibiting torture.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *State of Human Rights in Pakistan 1993*, Lahore, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Year of publication not given (probable year of publication 1994), p. 140.

Abstract: The Report notes lack of human rights improvements in any area. The Supreme Court's human rights benches mostly remained inactive during the year. Many cases came to light of under-trial persons languishing in jail for long years. 176 persons were awarded death sentences in 1993, more than two third of them by special courts which remain in existence. Drug trafficking was added to the list of fences carrying death penalty. At least 52 persons died in the custody of police or other law enforcing agencies. 183 persons including some policemen died in so-called police encounters.

The anti-blasphemy law was widely abused. Discrimination against religious minorities in several ways including the abuse of the blasphemy law continued. The Christian community apart from various blasphemy charges was subjected to specific instances of harassment and discrimination. Forced conversion of the Kalash people in the Hindukush Valley continued. Hindus, in spite of official pledges of restoration of mandirs and monuments damaged in the aftermath of Ayodhya, could not be compensated. Six prominent sectarian leaders were assassinated during the year. The campaign to declare Zikris non-Muslims was heightened. For the purpose a bill was introduced in the Assembly by a religious party JUI (Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam).

The officially controlled media functioned in full support of government policies and actions, political and other. The scope for women's participation in national life was kept minimal and their absence from senior and policy making level almost total. Violence against women continued to get worse. Family laws remained discriminatory against women. One result was increase in the number of divorces. As before the government did not sign any of those UN covenants and protocols which it refused to do before. The 1993 general elections were conducted fairly though there were charges of rigging in the by-elections. Popular awareness of human rights is slowly increasing.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *What Next in Sindh? What the People Say* Lahore, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 1994, p. 50

Abstract: This is a Report of a fact finding mission to investigate [human rights violation in Sindh. The Report notes that there has been lack of a clear plan to keep the intervention strictly limited in line and scope and to use respite afforded by its introduction to tackle the issues underlying the crisis. Extensive contacts over a long

period between the army and the civilian population with negative consequences for the integrity of the army has been noted.

The Report evaluates the extent of success of the operation on two bases; the extent to which the objectives of the operation has been achieved and the magnitude of side effects of the operation. The fact that army has not been withdrawn shows that has yet to achieve its objective of restoration of law and order. With regard to side effects the opinion of different people interviewed by the Task Force understandably differed. Some think that it was meant to undermine the process of political growth and to crush the aspirations of one or the other ethnic or nationalist community. One widespread opinion noted was that army was more prone to excesses than the police because it was not answerable before the courts. Therefore there were considerable violation of human rights by it. The operation has given rise to the institutionalisation of the ethnic divide. There was general consensus that the army should be withdrawn. Even the villagers who had benefitted most from the presence of the army did not support army's continuous deployment. They wanted to be provided with small arms for self-defence. The Report makes a number of suggestions to tackle the problem.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *State of Human Rights in 1994*, Lahore, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Year of publication not given (probable year of publication 1995), p. 179.

The HRCP is maintaining the continuity in producing annual report reviewing the state of human rights in Pakistan. This eight-chapter report reviews the state of rule of law, law enforcement, fundamental freedoms, religious and social intolerance, democratic development, rights of women and children and social and economic rights. Introduction by the editor, Aziz Siddiqui, gives a short review of the overall situation. It notes:

“A society's struggle for human rights consists above all in a continuous inducement to soul searching. A sad feature of the past year was that the conventional institutions with responsibility in that area allowed that responsibility, never felt strongly enough, to be largely superseded by other preoccupations. The parliament, the press, the judiciary - they did not perform as a sufficiently sensitive conscience of society.”

“Policy gestures such as on behalf of women or in setting up a human rights cell, and individual acts like the exoneration of Gui Masih, after three years in prison, of the charge of blasphemy were welcome. But there were no substitute for more fundamental initiatives. Nothing was done to review the laws that discriminated against women and minorities, to guarantee independence of the judiciary from the executive, to reform the law and order machinery, to set up independent, statutory monitoring of the violations of human rights, to ratify the core United nations covenants on human rights.”

The introduction is followed by four page highlights which is a subject—wise summary of the Report. The last chapter is devoted to recommendations to improve human rights situation in each sector. Two appendices describe the activities of HRCP for the year and the stand it has taken on various issues.

3. HUMAN RIGHTS (GENERAL)

Hafeez, Sabeeha, *The Girl Child in Pakistan: Priority Concerns*, Islamabad, UNICEF, 1993, p. 49.

Abstract: This paper was presented at the UNICEF Strategy Meeting of the SAARC on the Girl Child. It describes the situation of the girl child in Pakistan including neglect of the girl child as a part of the overall neglect of children, differential statistics on the situation of girls and boys indicating less favourable social environment for girls, discrimination against girl child during their brought up including the lack of access to education, health and nutrition for girls. Inconsistencies exist in the status assigned to girl children and their expected, perceived, or actual role and status as adult women. The paper document maintains that evaluation of policy towards girl child shows relatively low achievement rates and poor qualitative improvements in targets set for girls than boys.

Silva, K. M. de, G. H. Peiris Radhika Coomaraswamy, "South Asia: Politicised Ethnicity; Problems of Human Rights; & Environmental Issues' in *South Asia Vision & Perspective*, Lahore, Independent Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1994, pp. 135-174.

Abstract: This paper deals with three related and vitally important issues in South Asia; the politicised ethnicity and conflict resolution; problems of human rights; and environmental issues. Compared to other regions these issues have become very serious due to the intractability of political conflicts at three levels: international, national and subnational. The causes of these conflicts are social, economic and political crossing national boundaries. The inevitable result of these conflicts is a widespread violation of human rights by governments and separatist and other opposition forces as well. Pressure on resources due to population increase contributes to the generation of conflicts.

Rehman, I. A., "South Asian Perspective on Human Rights and Environment" in *South Asia Vision & Perspective*, Lahore, Independent Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1994, pp. 223-231.

Abstract: The paper discusses the predicament of South Asian intellectuals and states which reject the concept of human rights as neo—colonial policy of Western states to impose their world view on other cultures, divert their attention from crucial issues such as poverty and regard any extra-territorial intervention in support for human rights as subversion of their national sovereignty. They must appreciate that human rights are closely linked to what most South Asians are concerned with such democracy, social justice, dangers of militarisation and fundamentalism. The struggle for human rights is inseparably connected to struggle for improving the lot of common man. The South Asian states need to broaden and update their commitments to human rights beyond United Nations charter. There is a need to evolve a regional view of human rights though their enforcement would create a serious challenge. The proposal for establishing South Asian Court of Human Rights may be premature at this stage of inter—state relations. However, the cause of human rights would be advanced if a minimal common approach to human rights is

adopted by South Asian countries and NGO⁵ concerned with human rights are strengthened. The paper also discussed the issue of environments, and advocates a regional approach to it and suggests several measures for its protection.

Aichtar, Shaheen, *Terror in Indian Held Kashmir: Massive Violation of Human Right*, Islamabad, Institute of Regional Studies, 1993, p. 177.

Abstract: The book written by a staff member of the Institute of Regional Studies, an government institution that monitors developments in India narrates the human rights violation in Kashmir under Indian control since the eruption of the mass upsurge in the beginning of 1990. These violations followed the resignation of elected government and imposition of Presidential rule in Kashmir which is extended after every six months. The protest of the Kashmiris is treated by India as a rebellion against the constituted authority by force of arms. Several oppressive laws have been put into force, which suppress basic civil liberties in Kashmir. All these Acts grant the Indian army and para-military forces a free hand to violate the human rights of the Kashmiri people.

The book cites evidence from various human rights organisations about the atrocities and excesses committed by Indian army against Kashmiris. They include firings on civilians, extra-judicial killings, arbitrary arrests, tortures, burning of houses, and gang-rapes. The book notes that as “a result of gross and systematic human rights violations, the situation in Kashmir has worsened and entire Valley cries for further intensifying anti-India sentiments. India’s fight in Kashmir has become a war on the people. The Indian army actions have been unable to snuff out the demand for self-determination. The eight elections which have been projected by India as an expression of the will of the Kashmiris to join India were blatantly rigged and used as a mechanism to impose puppet governments on the people of the state.

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