

Book Reviews

***In Quest of Jinnah: Diary, Notes and Correspondence of Hector Bolitho*, Edited by Professor Sharif al Mujahid, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2007, pp.221.**

In comparison to West, historiography and the writing of biographies in the East especially in South East Asia has a very different methodology, colour and flair. For instance, in the absence of authentic historical and chronological details and classified records, subjective even impressionistic approaches are employed with the help of whatever information is available. Where as a biography should, in principle, develop and explore a complete analysis of personality, focusing on different aspects like intimate friends, associates, experiences, achievements, moments of triumph and failures etc. It should not be a pedestrian historical cum chronological account of impersonal facts like birth, education, employment and death. While it should not assume pronounced fictional tone or style, a biography should at least be a piece of readable literature.

Similar perhaps is the case with the few biographies written on Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), the father of the state of Pakistan. In fact, the publication of biographies and other such books began even during the life time of Jinnah. One such biography was written by the editor of *Deccan Times*, Madras, A. A. Rauf, by the title *Meet Mr. Jinnah* published in 1944. Although it was a sketchy and incomplete it nonetheless assumed some significance and became popular on two counts. One, it was published when the Pakistan movement was at its peak and gaining rapid momentum throughout the length and breath of the subcontinent and hence people were interested in knowing the biographical details of their visionary leader, Mr. Jinnah. Second, the author had narrated a false statement about the second marriage (1918) of Mr. Jinnah which could have plagiarized his personality and demeanor. Since Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali was very particular and

extremely cautious about his personal life, he immediately took notice of this false statement. Through a letter addressed to the author, he not only categorically denied the contents therein but very subtly suggested, some guiding principles which biographers should always take into consideration to write balanced and non-biased biographies. Mr. Jinnah wrote:

It is the duty of any author not to give publicity to any incidental facts relating to the life of any one without making sure of them before hand. I would therefore request you to exclude from your book any things of which you are not sure regarding my private life.

After A.A. Rauf's book, one more biography written by Quaid-e-Azam's private secretary, Matloob Hussain Syed entitled *Jinnah: A Political Study* was published in 1945, also became popular and famous. It is true though that till about 1953, this book remained the only authentic account of Jinnah's life, for it was written on the desire of the Quaid himself. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam in 1948, the need for a detailed and comprehensive biography on his life was still being felt and explored. Accordingly, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, invited the British author Henry Hector Bolitho to write a biography of Jinnah. Bolitho, in the words of Professor Sharif al Mujahid, was

...a novelist, historian and biographer... He was a reporter at 17, toured the Antipodes with the Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII) at 21. Moved to England at 24, and published his first novel at 25. By the time he took up the Jinnah assignment in June 1951, he had produced some 46 books of history, biography, travelogues and fiction, besides three edited volumes of letters. Thus he approached the task of writing the Jinnah story with a rich and versatile background, both in research and writing, and *Jinnah* is his only work to survive, as yet, fifty-two years down the road.

During his stay in Pakistan for this assignment, Hector Bolitho could not lay his hands on some very important documents (for instance, 'Jinnah Papers') which were in the custody of Jinnah's sister, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah and whose, again in the words of Professor Sharif al Mujahid, '....inexplicable hostility to his [Bolitho] writing the biography', forced him to tap other sources '...to overcome his own deficiency in terms of the historical background of India, especially under British imperial rule (1857-1947).' Quite obviously, since he was not extended full support, cooperation and autonomy (the Majeed Malik factor), his biography radiates all these limitations. In order to

compensate for this drawback as also his deficiency vis-i-vis the historical, political and cultural background of the period in question, he travelled extensively in India and Pakistan where he met and interviewed a kaleidoscopic range of persons and officials who either knew Jinnah personally or remained close to him during his tireless struggles for creating a separate homeland for the Muslims of the undivided India. From June 1951 to May 1953, Bolitho managed to assemble the interviews and comments of many such personalities and by partly incorporating such verbal sources and comments and other information, he managed to publish his biography: *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* towards the end of 1954 from London.

While compiling this book, Bolitho was made to coordinate with Pakistan's Principle Information Officer, Colonel Majeed Malik, who more often than not curtailed the autonomy Bolitho has envisioned. Since it was the first biography of Mr. Jinnah, it was read widely and became immensely popular. Among other things, the trait which made this book extremely acceptable and popular was the fact that it was written by a western and alien writer about a leader from the East who despite his western life style, became the unqualified leader.... the Quaid of the Muslims of South Asia.

During the course of writing this biography, Bolitho faced many unforeseen difficulties and hurdles, problems such tasks usually entail. Though he could not incorporate such episodes in his biography, he nonetheless noted all these in his personal diary. Furthermore, in addition to his personal diary, he hid and preserved the original manuscript of the biography plus the conversations/ correspondences he had with Colonel Majeed Malik and others. Later, in the words of Professor Sharif al Mujahid:

Bolitho gave away his Jinnah papers for a consideration to Charles Leslie Ames, a St. Paul (Minnesota, USA) businessman, sometimes during 1959-60....Later, Ames donated his collection on South Asia (including Bolitho's papers) to the university of Minnesota, St. Paul, where the Ames Library on South Asia was set up.

To date, these manuscripts are part of the library of Minnesota. The more important items in Bolitho's papers are the original, unabridged and unexpurgated manuscripts of *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, his 'Diary and Notes: December 1951-may 1953', and some letters to and from him concerning his study.

Without doubt, these papers/manuscripts of Hector Bolitho have vital significance both for the students of the Pakistan Movement as well as in unearthing some hitherto unknown aspects that surrounded Jinnah

during his struggle for Pakistan. Professor Sharif al Mujahid, the pioneering director of Quaid-i-Azam Academy and a famous historian, has compiled and edited Hector Bolitho's personal diary, his correspondences with his Indian and Pakistani counterparts and the contemporary newspaper reviews that appeared after his biography's publication in 1954 in the form of a book: *In Quest of Jinnah*. This book is in fact a rare rediscovery of the unpublished facts and events which somehow could not become the part of Hector Bolitho's biography. It also brings into sharp focus the facts and realities which Hector Bolitho failed to incorporate in his book.

Professor Sharif al Mujahid donned his immaculate research based book with an Introduction which aptly and in accurate historical terms, places and defines the nature and contours of the research. In his own words:

A long, protracted search, several detours, and considerable investment in terms of time, travel, and expenses finally landed me at the repository where Hector Bolitho's papers concerning his study of Jinnah were lodged.

Professor Sharif al Mujahid had in fact retrieved Bolitho's diary way back in 1984. But what made him delay the present work. In the preface to *In Quest of Jinnah*, he writes:

...but [I] decide to postpone its publication till the arrival of fair weather. Only a short while before, my *Jinnah: Studies in Interpretations* (1981) had...provoked a campaign against it... to cut a long story short, the authorities did step in, but I was able to weather the engulfing storm... This episode, however, produced one positive result: the lingering suspicion that the study was government-sponsored was scotched forever.

Again, what then has given him the confidence to edit the unpublished Bolitho papers after 54 years and that too after the episode just mentioned? In the Preface he again explains:

Bolitho is, in part, explosive stuff, and I was not prepared to undergo another excruciating dose of trauma. Now that the environment is more open, the nation having become mature to a point that it takes even criticism of Jinnah, in its stride, I feel emboldened enough to get on with the job. I am sure, this book will represent a notable contribution to both Jinnah studies and Pakistani historiography.

Professor Sharif al Mujahid's book also narrates, with the help of original and unpublished papers of Hector Bolitho, how difficult was it for him to compile and complete a biography on Jinnah especially the reasons which resulted in the non-cooperative attitude of Mohtarma

Fatima Jinnah. The 'Introduction' of the book is indeed a specimen of research personified. The manner with which he traced some facts and the way he placed and classified them are simply awe-inspiring. Moreover, Professor Sharif al Mujahid has also studied and analysed the psychological mindset of Hector Bolitho. He writes:

It was fortunate that the Pakistan Government's contract with him included enforced amendments and deletions, otherwise, given his ignorance of Indian history and politics, and his contempt for Pakistani society, culture, custom and behaviour patterns, one can only imagine what he would have actually produced.

Without doubt, Bolitho's diary, papers and notes are invaluable for the general readers as well as for the scholars and biographers of Jinnah. In addition to shedding new light on the personality and politics of Jinnah, it also brings into sharp focus the actual profile, the demeanour and prejudices of Hector Bolitho. Professor Sharif al Mujahid, in the Introduction of the book, sums up the thematic objective of his book as under:

The present Introduction seeks to focus on two major aspects: first, it seeks to construct the portrait of Jinnah as it emerges from the series of interviews conducted by Bolitho, while simultaneously pinpointing the inaccuracies and lack of accurate information on the interviewees' parts, on the basis of solid evidence available in the present study itself or elsewhere. After all, internal evidence itself does not become historical fact unless validated externally. Second, it attempts to pinpoint Bolitho's personal bias and prejudices comprehending and interpreting the places he had visited, besides he had occasion to see the people he had met, and the stories he had heard during his six-month sojourn on the subcontinent.

In the analytically written Introduction he then masterfully sums up the portrait of Jinnah as it is painted by Hector Bolitho in *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. In his own words:

It is not the usual stereotyped cardboard portrait that has been fed to Pakistanis over the years; after the sketching in of this composite portrait, the earlier one is bound to be consigned to oblivion.

Professor Sharif al Mujahid then goes on to briefly highlight the significance of his work:

Jinnah's repertoire of strengths and weaknesses delineated in the present study will help researchers and scholars, not only to analyse Jinnah as a person but also to explain some crucial but

enigmatic segments of his politics and postures...Hopefully, such an exercise would yield a more accurately balanced estimate of Jinnah as a person, as a lawyer and advocate, as a politician and as the architect of Pakistan.

Writing like a true and patriotically passionate Pakistani, Professor Sharif al Mujahid then goes on to appropriately interpret the vision and mission of Jinnah vis-a-vis the nascent state of Pakistan:

What Jinnah himself would have considered his greatest tribute was for Pakistanis to translate his ideas into social action, rather than merely recall his efforts and pay lip service to his incredible achievements, ritually and routinely. He wished for Pakistan to be a modern, progressive, forward-looking, social welfare-oriented, egalitarian, democratic and Islamic.

As explained by him in the Introduction, he then somewhat psychoanalytically diagnoses the personality of Hector Bolitho (as it emerges from his 'Diary and Notes') and objectively established his prejudices and pronounced biases about the emerging Pakistani society and culture:

The major problem with Bolitho is that he is imperious and self-righteous. His opinions, always candid and mostly terse, are far from dispassionate and discrete: in fact, for the most part they border on intemperance. His predilections are much too striking and obvious...also smacking of rank racism and brazen colonial hangover...

Being a sound and professional researcher of international credentials, Professor Sharif al Mujahid then goes on, in topical terms, some of his (Bolitho's) comments on people and places he had met and visited. These, to cite a few, include:

- On Pakistanis and Jinnah
- On stories told by Pakistanis and Indians
- On Fatima Jinnah
- On Khwaja Nazimddin

Having dissected Bolitho and his limitations, the learned professor also radiates a generosity and magnanimity towards the contribution Hector Bolitho made through his 'Diary and Notes' towards the Jinnah studies:

More important is Bolitho's contribution to preserving for posterity a treasure trove of oral history concerning Pakistan's founding father. But for his interviews with people who had known Jinnah personally in various capacities, and at various stages of his life, recorded within four to five years of his death, a good deal of oral history would have been lost for ever. This is

a contribution, at once more important and more significant than the biography he has written. For these reasons, whether his *Jinnah* lives or not, his 'Diary and Notes' will as long as Pakistan lives.

By compiling the otherwise random papers of Hector Bolitho and editing the same in a coherent and highly illuminating book, Professor Sharif al Mujahid has achieved a phenomenal task. Indeed, had he not applied his research and sound academic erudition to the hitherto unpublished contents of Bolitho papers, the future scholars, students and potential biographers of Jinnah would not have been able to see and analyze the 'holistic facts' surrounding the person and persona of the Father of the Nation.

The chapters of the book are also masterfully arranged and divided, and will facilitate the historians and biographer immensely. Preceded by a background-rich Introduction, the chapters are:

- Diary and Notes: November 1951-May 1953
- Hector Bolitho's and Majeed Malik Correspondence
- Hector Bolitho Miscellaneous Correspondence
- Contemporary Reviews
- Expunged Passages from Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan
- My 'Pakistan Day Complaint' by Hector Bolitho

Some of the personalities Hector Bolitho met during his sojourn to India and Pakistan and whose comments are included in his 'Diary and Notes', include: Salman Ali, Press Attache, Pakistan High Commissioner's Office, London; K.H. Khurshid, Private Secretary to Jinnah (1944-47); members of Jinnah family; Miss Fatima Jinnah; His Highness the Mir of Hunza; Jamshed Nusserwanjee; Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz; Farruk Amin, His Highness The Aga Khan; Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan; Din Mohammad, Governor of Sindh; Pir Pagaro; Khawaja Nazimuddin. In India he met besides others, Motilal Setalvad, Attorney General; Morarji Desai, Chief Minister in Bombay; Lady Petit; Neville Wadi.

Quite interestingly, some thirty years after Bolitho, in 1984, an American Professor, Stanley Wolpert wrote another biography on Jinnah. But like his predecessor, he too was grossly oblivious of the political and socio-cultural landscape of Pakistan. It can, nonetheless, be safely said that compared to any 'alien' or foreign biographer, the Pakistani historians are comparatively better placed to write an authentic and comprehensive biography of Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

During the last two decade or so, some books have been written on the life of Jinnah by Pakistani historians and researchers. One such book is again penned by Professor Sharif al Mujahid: *Quaid-i-Azam*

Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation which though not a biography yet it is a very significant and analytically interpretative account extremely useful as a source material for others to consult and make use of. Still, let me admit with a note of sadness that to date no Pakistani author has written an authentic and comprehensive biography of Jinnah which could be acclaimed at the international level. The vacuum is definitely there and it waits to be filled. Certainly, *In Quest of Jinnah* by Professor Sharif al Mujahid has paved the way for such a task by providing, as it were, the 'missing links' to the potential Pakistani biographers vis-a-vis the essential and indispensable details about Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

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Riaz Ahmad, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan: A Chronology (1906-1947)*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (NIHCR), Islamabad, 2006, pp.361, price: Pak. Rs. 450/-.

The All India Muslim League (AIML) represented Indian Muslims for some 41 years (1906-47). It ought to aggregate and process their demands and present them before the British authorities, over the years. It also tried, long and hard, to convince the Indian National Congress, the major nationalist organization, and other Indian parties about the desirability of getting the Muslims' grievances redressed and their demands conceded. Simultaneously the AIML sought to articulate the Muslims' aspirations over the decades. And that to a point that it increasingly became the most authoritative Muslim organization during the epochal 1937-47 decade when the Congress as a body came to be deadly pitted against it. Indeed, during that decade it became, for all intents and purposes, a parallel nationalist movement, parallel to the long entrenched Congress – a phenomenon which has seldom been conceded or recognized by the Congress or Indians since 1947. That explains why and how, despite British reservations and Congress's hostility, the AIML could conceive and proclaim the Pakistan platform in 1940. And for the subsequent seven years, it struggled hard to achieve Pakistan, which it finally did in 1947.

Despite this spectacular achievement, the AIML, if only because the dominant, ubiquitous and media savvy Congress had encased the AIML in a negative framework or for some other inexplicable reason, it

could induce scant interest in the scholarly and research circles. Thus, during the past six decades and more it could induce only four or five doctoral theses abroad. Likewise, it has yet to find an in-depth chronicler of its chequered history from its inception in 1906 to its dissolution in 1947. However, some six publications, seek to cover various phases and periods. And these are: (i) Mohammad Noman's *Muslim India* (1942); (ii) Lal Bahadur's *Muslim League* (1954); (iii) Matiur Rahman's *From Consultation to Confrontation: A Study of the Muslim League in British Indian Politics, 1906-1912* (1971); (iv) M. Yusuf Abbasi's *London Muslim League (1908-1928): A Historical Study* (1988), and (v & vi) Muhammad Saleem Ahmad's *The All India Muslim League: A History of the Growth and Consolidation of Political Organization* (1988), and *Promise and Fulfilment: A Documented History of the All India Muslim League* (2005). Of these, the last two works, based on primary sources, seek to cover AIML's entire career, but, for some inexplicable reason, Ahmad has abstained from giving specific sources for the documents he had included in his second work. A more comprehensive and systemic work is, however in the offing: that by Rafique Afzal who is working on it for the past few years.

Against this background the present Chronology by Riaz Ahmad is a welcome step in tracing the basics in the AIML's evolution and development as Muslim India's authoritative body and the creator of Pakistan. It contains some six hundred entries. More important: these entries are all self contained, providing the reader with not only the important bench-marks but also other minor details which index the ebb and flow in the AIML's fortunes as Muslim India's foremost political body over the decades. Equally important is the inclusion of 19 appendices which supplement the information provided in the entries. The more important of these appendices which are not easily available include the following: Moslem All-India Confederacy: Nawab Salimullah of Dacca's Scheme, November 1906; AIML Rules and Regulations 1907; The Congress – League Scheme of Reform, 1916; Delhi Muslim Proposals, 1927; Nehru Report on Minority Representation, 1928; Jinnah's "Fourteen Points", 1929; League Parliamentary Board Manifesto, 1936; The Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League, 1937; The Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League (February 1946); Resolution on AIML's Bifurcation; and Muslim League Presidents and Secretaries.

Thus, though limited in scope, the present work bids fair to become a sort of a reference work on the AIML. Preparing a comprehensive and self contained chronology from scattered sources is,

of course, an extremely time-consuming, painstaking and onerous task, and the editor/compiler must be commended for doing justice to the task.

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***Mehr aur unka Ahad* by Muhammad Hamza Faruqi, published by Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, pp. 314, price, Rs.400.**

The personality of Ghulam Rasul Mehr [1895-1970] has many fascinating facets. He was, in the course of his eventful life and colorful career, a writer of great importance with his multitude of books, translations, editorials, columns and literary criticism. However, his unique distinction was that he was not a passive observer and commentator on contemporary events but he was an active participant and moulder of political opinion in the momentous issues of his day. As such, Mehr is a worthy subject for research and critical investigation especially by Pakistanis who have the habit of forgetting their benefactors and consigning their memory to oblivion.

The author has painstakingly researched among the old files of newspapers such as the 'Zemindar' and 'Inqilab' and other defunct periodicals. It is a source of satisfaction that Mehr's unique collection of books, papers and MSS. Were purchased by the government at the behest of S.M. Ikram – a historian of repute [see 'List of the Mehr Collection', Lahore, 1971]

The book under review, in its sub-title, states that it is a study of his 'political and journalistic services' [siyasi aur samaji khidmat]. In his lifetime, the impact of Mehr was felt through his first-hand coverage of topical issues. His influence and impact was a feature of paramount importance in swaying public opinion in the direction he favoured on the basis of his informed political acumen. If seen in isolation, these are but two of many attractive features of a multi-dimensioned personality. It is a debatable point as to whether his political/journalistic contributions will ensure him immortality or his books of literary criticism. In any case, the reader desires a fully-rounded picture of Mehr's personality rather than a partial one.

Be that as it may, it is an incontrovertible fact that the Pakistan movement owes its momentum to several now-legendary journalists who put heart-and-soul into the tremendous cause they were espousing. In spite of lagging behind their Hindu rivals, the Urdu press in the subcontinent produced towering journalistic giants such as Maulana

Muhammad Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Ghulam Rasul Mehr, Zafar Ali Khan and Abdul Majid Salik. These ‘warriors of the pen’ made arduous attempts at the reawakening of a dormant Muslim national consciousness in the course of their career punctuated by spells of imprisonment. Their contribution to the independence of the subcontinent is worthy of the highest appreciation. A publication titled ‘Tehrik-i-Pakistan mein Punjab ka kirdar’ by Muhammad Azam Chaudhary does not take into account the role of the Punjab press in the creation of Pakistan. This is as blinkered an angle of approach to the subject as it is to focus entirely on the role of the press to the neglect of other factors. Was Mehr swept away in the powerful torrents of the time or did he swim against the tide and stem the flood? Mehr’s opposition to the major features of the 3 June Plan and his subsequent reaction are issues of great interest highlighted by the author.

Towards the conclusion, events move at a speed that do not keep parallel with the role of Mehr in his world of journalism and public opinion. Perhaps the author has tried to do too many things at the same time – to write a biography of Mehr, to pen a history of recent Urdu journalism, to track the various milestones in the national struggle with an account of inter-personal rivalry among editors of newspapers. In all this, the figure of Mehr – the focus of the study in the first place – recedes into the background.

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***A Case of Exploding Mangoes* by Mohammad Hanif, published by Random House India, 2008, pp.295, price Rs.395.**

‘*A Case of Exploding Mangoes*’, a debut novel by Moahammad Hanif, is a gripping story, full of suspense and satire, sardonic in style with startling disclosures of the last days of Pakistan’s dictator, General Zia ul Haq’s regime[1977-1988]. With the dexterity of a spinner, Hanif weaves the various schemes leading to the crash of Pak One, eliminating General Zia alongwith the top brass of the army and the American ambassador, creating, as the mystery unfolds, a tapestry of words which speak eloquently of what happened in those preceeding months before the ‘kill’. *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* is a fictitious story based on the characteristics of General Zia autocratic rule, ending with the crash of c-130, Pak One, the presidential plane. In this narrative, Hanif has revealed and speculated on the schemes which caused the fatal crash. Though a

fiction, as claimed by the author, there are signs for the discerning eye, which click with plausible explanations about the conspiracies which resulted in this 'accident' causing the demise of General Zia and his rule.

The book hit the stand in the last months of General Pervez Musharraf's rule[1999-2008], the fourth chief of army to have subverted the democratic process by a coup on 1999 removing a genuinely elected government of Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif. The readers then got an eerie feeling of recapture of General Zia's last few months of an eleven year dark period of tyranny. The more things change, the more they remain the same!! ,

Bearing the brunt of military takeovers, the people of Pakistan have become used to graduates of armed forces academy—the 'Ali Shigris' (the protagonist) of *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* – gravitate from battlefields to governance, self styled experts in subjects of purely civilian domain be it foreign affairs, economics, health, business, education and even the water and sewerage board. The mess is what we are stuck up with today!

What pleasant change that a former air force cadet, Muhammad Hanif, has written a novel with a talent of a natural gifted writer making his mark with well deserved acclaim from the readers and authorities in the literary world. Known in the journalistic field, Hanif's recognition and laurels as an author is assured with his debut novel. Engaging in rhythm, innovative in style, sardonic in voice, facts oozing out with beguiling charm in this fictitious tale, the reader is teased with a curiosity to know what separates the two.

This adds to the interest as you go from page to page. Do they really have holes in the mattresses in the dorms of the academy? Is the torture story at the Lahore Fort real? Did Gen. Zia have intestinal worms? And more importantly who was responsible for the sabotage that blew up the 'Case of Mangoes'? And why? It is this mixture of fact and fiction, done with the finesse of a painter, that makes for such absorbing reading. Hanif has conveyed varied sentiments of the people in those days of Zia's oppressive regime like a curator of a museum where memories are stored. Just read on:

Behind the cordons set up along the road by the police for this VIP procession, people stood and waited and guessed: a teenager anxious to continue his first ride on a Honda 70, a drunk husband ferociously chewing betel nuts to get rid of the smell before he got home, a horse buckling under the weight of too many passengers on the cart, the passengers cursing the cart driver for taking this route, the cart driver feeling the pins and needles in his legs begging for their overdue opium dose, a women covered

in a black burqa – the only body part visible her left breast feeding her infant child – a boy in a car trying to hold a girl's hand on their first date, a seven-year-old selling dust-covered roasted chickpeas, an old water carrier hawking water out of a goatskin, a heroin addict eyeing his dealer stranded on the other side of the road, a mullah who would be late for the evening prayer, a gypsy woman selling bright pink baby chickens, an air force trainee officer in uniform in a Toyota Corolla being driven by a Dunhill-smoking civilian, a newspaper hawker screaming the day's headlines, Singapore Airline's crew in a van cracking jokes in three languages, a pair of home-delivery arms dealers fidgeting with their suitcases nervously, a third-year medical student planning to end his life by throwing himself on the rail tracks in anticipation of the Shalimar Express, a husband and wife on a motorbike returning from a fertility clinic, an illegal Bengali immigrant waiting to sell his kidney so that he could send money back home, a blind woman who had escaped prison in the morning and had spent all day trying to convince people that she was not a beggar, eleven teenagers dressed in white impatient to get to the field for their night cricket match, off-duty policemen waiting for free rides home, a bride in a rickshaw on her way to the beauty salon, an old man thrown out of his son's home and determined to walk to his daughter's house fifty miles away, a coolie from the railway station still wearing his red uniform and in a shopping bag carrying a glittering sari he'd change into that night, an abandoned cat sniffing her way back to her owner's house, a black-turbaned truck driver singing a love song about his lover at the top of his voice, a bus full of trainee Lady Health Visitors headed for their night shift at a government hospital; as the smoke from idling engines mixed with the smog that descends on Islamabad at dusk, as their waiting hearts got to bursting point with anxiety, they all seemed to have one question on their mind: 'Which one of our many rulers is this? If his security is so important why don't they just lock him up in the Army House?

However, the story sags at a few places. The search from Islamabad to New York to find what the name of Arthur Sulzberger, the owner of *New York Times*, implies is simply not comprehensible, even if the author is just spinning a tale. To imply that even the US Ambassador did not know of him is not acceptable.

Hanif threads history shifting from scenes in the President's House to Lahore Fort, the ISI Headquarters, the American Ambassador's

kitchen and finally to a C130 flight carrying Gen. Zia on his last journey. He sifts through the web of emotions, connecting the characters of the novel in a captivating way. Swiftly, the various plots begin to converge in dramatic ways and the plane with the case of mangoes explodes with a bang, so brilliantly described to the minutest details with a charm so subtle and touching of the concluding moments, full of suspense with the reader yearning for more and more of this juicy narrative.

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***Culture Muntakhib Tanqueedi Mazameen*, compiled by Ishtiaq Ahmed, Lahore: Bait-ul-Hikmat, 2007, pp. 560, price Rs. 360.**

This book is a collection of 43 articles written by 27 authors, all well known for their scholarly contributions in literary criticism, and social sciences. The articles are compiled in chronological order; the first covers the developments of 1948, and the last brings this coverage to 2005.

The compiler himself has provided an analytical essay in the beginning, in which he has explained major groupings among the scholars writing on the issues of Pakistani culture. These are mostly two: first, those believing in metaphysical origin of culture and second, those, who believe only in the material/physical origin of culture. The first group calls culture a product of religious orientation, which is influenced by religious/metaphysical beliefs, which in the case of Pakistan become Islam.

Among the major proponents of the latter viewpoint, according to Ishtiaq Ahmed is Mohammad Hasan Askari, who believes in Indo-Muslim cultural processes giving shape to the present day Pakistani culture. Ahmed's note on the views of Askari is helpful in understanding this group of writers. Other names in this camp pointed out by Ishtiaq Ahmed are Khalifa Abdul Hakim, Salim Ahmed, Syed Mohammad Taqi, Syed Abdullah, Siraj Muneer, Karrar Hussain, Sajjad Baqar Rizvi, and Intezar Hussain. These writers are influenced greatly by the views of Hasan Askari. Jilani Kamran, according to Ishtiaq Ahmed, believes in Iranian-Islamic civilization. Dr Jamil Jalibi, a leading name among thinkers on Pakistani culture, is mostly concerned with the absence of a central binding force in the society, shaping its culture, which leads to problem of national integration. He also falls in the line of scholars believing in the Islamic ingredients of Pakistani culture. His proposed solution to national integration is through promotion of a common

language and common cultural standards. Sajjad Baqar Rizvi believes in symbolic representation of cultural values and a synthesis of creative and organizational principles of culture. Wazir Agha propounds the earthly nature of culture, and describes it as a tree rooted in, and growing from, the soil so he sees the cultural traits of Mohenjodaro still vibrating in today's Pakistan. He feels that in order to establish a true Islamic culture every Pakistani has to become a true Muslim as well.

The second group, according to Ishtiaq Ahmed, holds mainly a Marxist point of view, as they see material conditions determining the salient features of a culture. This viewpoint is explained by the prominent names of progressive writers, whose articles are included in this anthology. These are Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Ahmed Nadeem Qasimi, Mumtaz Hussain and Sibte Hasan. Sibte Hasan does not believe in religious or revelational origin of culture, rather he endorses mutability of social values, a concept which is not acceptable for the orthodox scholars of Islam.

The chronological sequence reveals the evolution of discourse on culture in Pakistan. It is not possible in this review to introduce all the 27 authors; only a few could be mentioned. Askari, in 1948, explained the challenges faced by the country due to lack of homework regarding political, economic or cultural policies and the perceptions of the state, before it emerged on the globe. He accepts that Pakistanis would be inclined more towards the Muslim countries and would adopt the cardinal ideals and rules of Islam, will continue the Indian Islamic ethos of its indigenous culture. He also clarifies that a national culture should be evolved for which the component sub-cultures have to sacrifice some of their contents, yet the relative importance of the national mainstream culture and the regional culture is not disturbed due to their different levels of operation. Both can develop on symbiotic basis without threatening each other. He asserts that Western influence is inevitable. Literature and the idea of getting influenced by the west is not possible in the twentieth century. Pakistani culture is thus local, Islamic and global. Shaikh Mohammad Ikram (1951) emphasizes the innate diversity of the Muslim cultures found all over the Muslim world, and accepts indigenous manifestations of the universal and eternal message of Islam. He believes in evolution, having connection with and taking inspiration from the past, but charting the future course in the light of analysis of the achievements and failures of the past generations. He calls for promoting *hurriyat*, fraternity, equality, and freedom, as national ideals and guiding principles. Mumtaz Hussain (1957) analyzes the conflict boldly expressing itself in the revolt of 1857, based on opposition of the foreign (British) culture and adherence with indigenous culture. He observes the

ongoing process of adopting British culture and language in the Pakistan of 1957, thus the conflict was still on. He also expresses his concern about what would be the character of our society a century later. Interestingly, in the year 2007, when some conscious scholars tried to revisit 1857, the issue of our cultural identity was not a burning issue any more. The conflict with the West was, no doubt there, but its scale was changed and its compulsions had become more strangulating than those in 1857, or 1957. This fact makes the book under review, and similar books, even more relevant for us to reevaluate our approach to our national identity, national thesis and national ideals. Mumtaz Hussain (1961) tries to differentiate between two concepts of culture and civilization; which are usually confused even by some scholars who write about culture. He holds that oppression and exploitations are the forces that undermine a civilization. He resists the bid to replace Urdu as national language of Pakistan with English. Shamim Ahmed refers to the distinct qualities of Pakistani society. According to Ahmad Nadeem Qasimi (1967), if the above qualities were accentuated, we could have come out of the ambivalence by now. Ehtisham Hussain refers to the link between literature and culture. Dr Muhammad Ali Siddiqui calls for action, dedication, diligence for promoting national consciousness, and abolishing whatever is harmful in traditions. Dr Muhammad Ahsan Farooqi (1973) highlights mutability and dynamic aspect of culture, and calls for maintaining a 'modern' posture of our languages and culture in order to remain confident and progressing in the rapidly globalizing world. Dr Saleem Akhtar points out the practical and popular nature of Islam observed by people which needs attention since pure Islam is no more alive. Sibte Hasan has elaborated the ethos of a feudal culture, and the significant differences between patriarchal and matriarchal values of culture; the former, he regrets, fashion a brand of morality which is more relaxed for men than women. Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1989) emphasizes the transcendental nature of Pakistani culture as it has links with, and has inherited from, Granada, Central Asia, as well as Agra. Dr. Syed Abdullah (1977) endorses the concept of tolerance and open-ness of Islam, which allows Islamic traits blending with local cultural traits of the new lands, but keeping in view the Islamic limits in manners of actual practice. Salem Ahmed (1983) denies acceptance of Pakistan's history starting from pre-Muslim era. Siraj Muneer (1983) declares the conception of *Wahdat-ul-Shahud* as a unique solution to reconcile with polytheism of Hinduism. Professor Karrar Hussain (1999) highlights that historically, Indian Muslims' snobbish attitude towards the 'local' and being impressed with the 'foreign' especially something from Arabia or the Middle East, has been a barrier in assimilating with the indigenous

cultures. He also points out the half-truths of the history textbooks, class-specific nature of culture, and universality of the classics. Dr. Gopi Chand Narang (2002) asserts the multi-religious and multicultural nature of Indo-Muslim culture, in which customs, dress, fine arts and almost other ingredients of culture evolved imbibing the spirit of Vedanta, Bhagti and Sufism. He adds that the aesthetic aspects of culture were the most rigorously blended, and Hindus contributed a lot in the evolution of historiography, music, arts, poetry and architecture.

An important aspect of all these articles is their being written by those who are known for their creative writings, poetry, or literary criticism. Inclusion of very small number of social scientists indicates that empirical approach is largely missing. However, when the creative writers have taken up the subject of culture, it means they have realized its importance, and the need to analyze the changing reality. It has been adopted also because the issue of ideology has been perplexing, demanding debate. No one would deny the need for putting it in the context of ground realities vis-à-vis the cherished ideals of the makers of Pakistan, and then arriving at an achievable but respectable thesis. This has become more relevant in the light of events of the last six decades when lack of consensus on national thesis has led to internal dissension, putting national integrity at stake.

Sources of these articles have been books, seminar reports, literary magazines, and speeches. Some of the articles are already reprinted more than once, which indicates their relevance for a long time. In a collection like this, coverage of almost all the important dimensions of culture is expected. Of course, the debate presented here, is reflective of various viewpoints regarding the dilemma of 'creating' a 'national culture' in order to have a national identity. Though the challenge of having an identity separate from the Indians has been enormous for those who are insistent upon it; it is so if one looks into the ethnic, cultural and racial diversity in the states of Pakistan and India. Undoubtedly, the validity of cultural-political argument to win the case of Pakistan has been the triggering point for such debates in the post-independence years, but if one looks into the atmosphere of 1940s through the first decade of twenty-first century, the debate on national culture has also evolved inevitably. In this debate, the separation of East Pakistan has also figured as important with its implications for national unity and transformation of culture. In totality, this collection of articles represent a diverse and rich mix of viewpoints on culture. Here not only the link between regional subcultures and a mainstream national culture, real or imaginary yet cherished, are covered, and the desire is expressed to see them engaged in a symbiotic relationship. The debate is carried out

throughout these years using multiple idioms, metaphors, phrases, notions, and legends of history and mythology. On the whole one would find it a good readable and inspiring book; every article giving impetus to form readers' own point of view about an important aspect of our national existence. Critically assessing the prevailing conditions, confusions and prerequisites, the articles are largely just philosophical discussions; the arguments do not claim presenting any empirical evidence but rely on observation and knowledge of the authors. In essence, the book is a successful attempt to summarize the existing subject and to stimulate new debates on the topic.

With globalization, the difference of local, national, international and global has been accentuated. In this context, this anthology would prove helpful to get familiar with the discourse and to build an informed opinion on the subject. In Pakistan, the socio-political and economic issues generated from mishandling of the cultural/ethnic diversity are still alive, undermining national unity, though a heap of other issues are recently added on it, yet for a full comprehension of complications of the dilemma of culture, this book is a must.

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Mahmood Sadiq (ed. & transl.), *Pakistani Samaj, Mo'ashi Irtiqa aur Samaji Sakht*, Karachi, Maktaba-e-Daniyal, 2008, pp.430, price Rs.425.

Not many good books are available on the theme of social and economic transformation of Pakistan. Primarily dealing with the evolution of economic and social structures of Pakistan, the book provides details on urban and rural societies, their composition, historical and regional differences and the dynamics of development in available structure of opportunities. In this sense it is a good addition in the literature on this theme. It covers the period from 1947 till mid 1980s. This book is an Urdu version of writings by Russian authors associated with the Russian Academy of Sciences, Research Institute on the East, Pakistan Section. Originally published in Moscow, by Isha't Ghar, Naoka, its editors include renowned Soviet scholar, U.V Gankovsky, V.Y. Belokurnetski, and V.N. Moskalenko. Its four chapters are written by S. N. Kameneev (first), V.Y. Belokurnetski (second and fourth), and M.U. Marozova, and S.E. Tansekbaeva (third).

The first chapter, on economic evolution of Pakistan in the post-independence years, focuses on general trends in agriculture, industry, foreign trade, employment and capital accumulation. It explains the impact of end of colonial rule, transfer of non-Muslim capital, and migration of non-Muslims resulting in shrinkage of commercial activities. It highlights highly variable level of development of the areas forming the new state of Pakistan, emergence of large urban centres and complications in the pattern of social stratification. Internal accumulation is reported only from the public sector which has not exceeded one-fifth of the total internal accumulation in the 1970s. Its main source has been taxes, which has grown very slowly in per capita terms. The chapter points out that the 1970s has been the period of highest deficit financing.

The second chapter explains social structure and patterns of stratification in the rural and urban areas. The high class is found mostly in the large centres, and comprises local bourgeoisie, bureaucracy and big landlords. In the high class of medium and small centers, highest ranking people come from wealthy traders, and landowners. Krenitsky explains the evolution of urban class structure in various phases of economic development, regarding its characteristics including changing occupational and ethnic composition. The members of a section of urban bourgeoisie of the first generation were less educated as compared to their next generation, who has adopted more materialistic and this-worldly attitudes. Another section is more religious-oriented and has not openly indulged in consumerism or immorality. Among the business community, extended families operate as units, under the active headship of a senior experienced member. The author explains dynamics of functioning, evolving, dominating, and expanding urban bourgeoisie, bureaucracy, and absentee landlords.

Krenitsky also explains the composition of factory, non-factory and agricultural proletariat, and explains why proletariat consciousness could not be developed among them. He asserts that the personal relations (usually patriarchal) bound small groups of labourers with the employer, yet exploitation generally happens. He further categorizes the proletariat according to their level of skills, occupation, wages, and shows the impact of poor wages. Women work, in a small number, in regular employment but in a large number in home-based work, in which children also join them. He declares factory women as the highest exploited section of labour. An analysis of urban middle and lower classes, their ethnic, occupational and gender composition, working conditions, wages and economic status, is also presented in this chapter.

The third chapter focuses the rural community. Mainly using data produced by housing, population, and agricultural census, the

chapter discusses the basic features of evolution of rural social structures and social stratification. The authors find geographical scatter of villages depending upon the geographical features of various regions, mode of agriculture, irrigation, migration and nomadism, and commercial prospects. They also find rural population squeezing due to migration to cities, conversion of rural status to an urban one, and expansion of cities on fringes. The authors assert the significance of distance between urban centers and rural localities, since the level of development in the latter is directly affected by its proximity to the former. Indicators of rural development, according to the authors, include: facilities like water supply, electrification, telecommunication, medical treatment, and education. They find rural underdevelopment being persistent largely due to ineffective rural development programs of the public sector; control of traditional structures of power in remote communities, and exploitation and impact of capital farming. Regarding evolution of rural society, he evaluates the impact of capitalist farming, bourgeoisisation of the landlords, absorption of rural capital into industrial and commercial capital, ethnic affinities, and relation with land. Patron-client relations imbued with exploitation, as authors assert, are maintained by both partners, if they do not see their socioeconomic problems being resolved. Such relationships have an interface with the ethnic, tribal, and kinship strapping of the past. He also finds that mechanization of agriculture was pursued by middle and large landowners, but modern and traditional modes of agriculture are maintained on cooperative basis, and modernization of agriculture has not been adopted by large landowners despite policies for its promotion. Similarly only the middle and big landowners have engaged in commercial activities. They are also interested in continuation of small landholdings for their own benefits hence the rural bourgeoisie has not been formed completely. He finds wage labour more popular in Punjab and Sindh, as compared with NWFP and Balochistan. The wages are cut down by one-third from the market level for the labour under the control of landlords in underdeveloped regions of Punjab. He also analyses the impact of basic democracies, composition of middle and lower ranks and peoples' deep association with religion,

The fourth chapter, dealing with urban centres, explain the process of urbanization and its common and sustained reasons. He finds the hyper growth rate only in few big cities. It generally spurred due to migration from within and outside the country. Also discussed are housing facilities, living conditions, social and demographic structure. Improved status of women indicated in improved sex ratio in the urban population is also explained.

Despite the claim about highlighting role of Islam in socioeconomic transformation, the book contains few passages or sentences about it, such as to highlight deep religiosity of peasantry, and its relationship with *pirs*, poverty, and fatalism, or at another point with reference to Islamization and *Zakat*. Rather the authors have focused on ownership and relationship with the sources of production (land, capital, machinery, etc.). The book explains transition from traditional to modern, as one would find in its varying degrees, and sees the expansion of old familial, tribal, and feudalistic patterns of production relations as giving way to new ones. It has meticulously tried to identify the variety of stratification within the major classes, as is understood in Marxist analysis. These groups are not merely differentiated in terms of occupation or ethnicity or place of origin of migration, but also in their employment status, exploitation, poverty, lifestyle, opportunities for development, intergenerational mobility, concentration in ethnic pockets, and changes in occupational structure.

The book may be mistaken as other books written on political economy of Pakistan, but it has its unique features. At the first place it does not engage with the political processes in detail. Moreover, the analysis has a different approach – treating the issues in the paradigm of historical materialism – which uses its specific terminology, and looks evolution as an integrated and multifarious process, which is closely related with demographic, ethnic, class, and power dynamics under various regimes (democratic, military), whereas the nature of regime definitely affects the economic processes. What one would learn from this book is that when material conditions, manipulated by political forces, change the economic possibilities of a group, then the group may resort to different strategies, such as migration, child labour, or sale of assets, etc. The book also elucidates the level and process of exploitation, poverty, discrimination and capital accumulation at the state, private and extra-state levels. Since population growth and other demographic factors are intertwined with enhancing or diminishing possibilities of a group, these are taken as important parameters in this analysis. Ethnicity, being another crucial determinant of status and opportunities, is used by these authors as an identity marker, which helps crystallization of disparate groups who come to urban milieu. It also serves to instigate discrimination in offering employment, security and access to resources of development. Social relationships in families, kinship, and tribes are not overlooked rather the family is highlighted as a decision-maker in migration. Ownership of land is taken as another determinant of status and decisions regarding migration. One may feel occasional treatment of gender in this otherwise elaborate analysis as one would find women

mentioned only as factory labour or as in the context of changes in their roles in the situation of male out-migration. Demographic factors are discussed at many places yet their close connection with women's status is not mentioned. Among the strengths of the book one can mention detailed references, utilization of a large variety of background and primary data, a profound evolutionary current traced in an objective manner and more focus on 'socio-economic' than on 'politico-economic' aspects of change. One would, however, find the translation bit cumbersome for being highly persianized. To enhance its fluency such phrases can be converted into 'Urdu idioms', as the younger generation's familiarity with Persian has decreased drastically, and a scholarly text like this, could become rather difficult due to its old style of Urdu. The author has also used very few words of English. Yet the translator has introduced some very good examples of translation for terms which need smart equivalents in Urdu, for instance, using *naqal-makeen* for migrants, *niswani abadi* for female population, *balooghi wa sinfi dhanchay* for age-sex structure, and so on.

Though covering the period only till the break-up of the Soviet Union (mid-1980s), the book is a valuable specimen of analysis within Marxist paradigm. It can be very useful for students of economics and social development, and the academics in general.

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***Stop Press: A Life in Journalism*, Inam Aziz, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp.190, price Rs.450**

The most authentic history is contemporary history. The overshadowing of Herodotus by Thucydides was the earliest manifestation of this reality. Contemporary history is written either by participants or observers. Participants are most likely to introduce bias in history, while observers are the least likely. Very seldom, a historian may be both. Sir Winston Churchill was a participant when he wrote *The Second World War* (London, 1948-1951), and an observer when he wrote *The World Crisis* (London, 1938), the ancients too had scribes and reporters, but the modern journalist who struggles alongside the politician, is found expendable when the goal had been reached. Some outstanding and conscientious journalists prove a great asset to the discipline of history, because of their access, their powers of observation and their moral fibre. One such journalist was Inam Aziz. His professional life straddles both,

the Pakistan Movement, as well as the history of independent Pakistan, up to the first regime of Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990). Inam Aziz also spans the two most important figures in the history of Pakistan: Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

I have met many world leaders... but I have no hesitation in saying that after the Quaid-i-Azam, the man who impressed me the most was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (pp.18, 19)

His encounters with both leaders were brief, but they were meaningful. At a football match, Jinnah put his hand on the author's shoulder, and out of nervousness Inam Aziz lied to Jinnah that he was a student of St. Stephen's College. This however turned out to be the wrong thing to say (p.18). One gets more intimate glimpses as one goes on, but, before going on, one needs to acknowledge that Inam Aziz not only offers us insight, he also offers us knowledge which changes our understanding of events. It has been a matter, sometimes of regret, sometimes of speculation as to why Jinnah nominated himself as Governor-General of Pakistan. Inam Aziz was present when Jinnah told the All-India Muslim League Council that his task was over. Hasrat Mohani pre-empted him by shouting that no one other than the Quaid-i-Azam could become the Governor-General of Pakistan (pp.8, 9), Hasrat's proposal, perhaps for the first time, was carried by acclamation.

It is not only Mohammad Ali Jinnah that he portrays, while describing the ravages of partition, Inam Aziz gives us a glimpse of Mahatma Gandhi as well. The Muslims of Delhi were encamped at Purana Qila where water and food were in short supply. When Mahatma Gandhi visited Purana Qila, his government was blamed for the plight of the Muslims. Gandhiji replied: 'I am not even a member of Congress, but I will ask the Government to come to your aid.' There certainly were changes as a result of Gandhiji's visit, 'as three additional taps were installed in the fort which gave us generous provisions of water. A food and provisions store was also set up'. (p.37)

The events following partition are also full of revelations. Inam Aziz tells us that the person behind the attempt to censor the Governor-General's 11th August 1947 speech to the Constituent Assembly was the Secretary-General Choudhri Mohammad Ali (p.21). Choudhri Mohammad Ali, as Prime Minister, was the author of the 1956 Constitution, and in 1970, he had urged upon General Yahya Khan to cancel the results of the elections, as according to him, they were against what he called the 'ideology' of Pakistan.

Inam Aziz gives another instance of how soon the bureaucracy had entrenched itself in Pakistan. Ghulam Mohammad then the Finance Minister attempted to poison Jinnah's mind against Liaquat Ali Khan. He

had posters printed to the effect that Liaquat as the Prime Minister, and not Jinnah as the Governor-General, was the ruler of Pakistan. Ghulam Mohammad took the poster to Ziarat, and although he could not meet the Quaid-i-Azam, he was able to show it to Miss Fatima Jinnah, who, Inam Aziz assures us, was already ill-disposed towards Mr. And Mrs. Liaquat Ali Khan (p.72).

Inam Aziz as a journalist also interacted with the literary luminaries of the early years of Pakistan. He paid an advance of One Hundred rupees to Sa'adat Hasan Manto for a short story that Manto never delivered (p.46). Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Chiragh Hasan Hasrat had demanded action against *The Civil and Military Gazette*, for carrying in its 5th May 1949 issue report to the effect that Pakistan had withdrawn its demand for plebiscite, and was willing to divide Kashmir instead (p.71). M.H. Askari, later known for his most liberal views, had censored the news that the Chief Justice M. Munir was closeted with the Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad on the eve of the dissolution of the Constituent assembly of Pakistan (p.74).

Of great interest to the historians who debate the causes and effects of the secession of Bangladesh, is the intelligence that the BBC had known of the break up two years before the event (p.106). Inam Aziz covers all the important events in the history of Pakistan, in less than two hundred pages, but his greatest interest lies in the personalities of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq. The largest number of his revelations are concentrated in the chapters dealing with them.

Inam Aziz describes his meetings with Bhutto, most notably the meeting where their conversation was interrupted by a telephone call to Bhutto from Zia-ul-Haq. As Bhutto re-entered the room, he told Inam Aziz that Zia-ul-Haq had threatened to take his life. After Bhutto had addressed a mammoth crowd following his temporary release, the crowd on its way back had roughed up Shah Ahmad Noorani, a P.N.A. leader. What Bhutto related to Inam Aziz convinced of the genuineness of the reports he would receive later in London. At this time, Inam Aziz was editing from there an Urdu newspaper called *Millat*. Taking advantage of a location beyond the jurisdiction of Zia-ul-Haq, Inam Aziz created a front against military repression. A first, Zia-ul-Haq tried to mollify the author by granting an interview to him, during which he reiterated his resolve to hold impartial elections within ninety days. It was during this trip to Pakistan that Inam Aziz was threatened personally, by Maulvi Mushtaq Husain (p.157).

As soon as he returned to London, he began to receive details of what was transpiring between Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq. An unidentified caller delivered to him a copy of Z.A.Bhutto's affidavit in the Qasuri

murder case. The Lahore High Court had banned its publication (p.134). A few days later a judge of the Lahore High Court told Inam Aziz that the judgment against Bhutto had already been drafted by Chief Justice Anwarul Haq of the Supreme Court. This was in anticipation of the Lahore High Court judgement being appealed against in the Supreme Court. Inam Aziz was able to publish all these details in *Millat*, much before what he had reported came to pass (p.137). Inam Aziz also published the news of Bhutto's execution three days before it was announced.

Inam Aziz interviewed John Matthews Q.C. about the proceedings of the High Court that he had seen. Matthews replied 'Had I been a judge, I would have thrown the case file through the nearest window, at the first hearing' (p.177). Zia's orderly had a letter smuggled to Inam Aziz. Since it began with an account of Zia's threatening Bhutto after Noorani had been roughed up, Inam Aziz believed it for he had been at the other end of the telephone at that time. The orderly went on to relate that on the night of 4th April 1979, General Ziaul Haq and General K.M. Arif came to Bhutto's death cell. They tried to force Bhutto to sign documents that he was responsible for the secession of Bangladesh; for rigging the 1977 elections, and for the murder for which he had been sentenced. On Bhutto's refusal, Brigadier Rahat Latif and Captain Aziz beat Bhutto to death. (p.141) the story of the hanging was made up.

While these missives prove that even people close to Zia were sympathetic to Bhutto, there were some who would never relent. The author describes President Ghulam Is'haq Khan in a rage saying that he was not there to smooth Benazir Bhutto's path to power. (p.185) for all these details this book has become an indispensable work for understanding the history of Pakistan.

Karachi, Pakistan

Muhammad Reza Kazimi