Musical Patronage at the Sufi Shrines of Pakistan

By: Hiromi Lorraine Sakata

The following is the lecture presented by Dr. Hiromi Lorraine Sakata at the AIPS Center in Islamabad on November 3, 2004.

Few examples of traditional musical patronage involving client-patron relationships between hereditary musicians and patrons still exist in Pakistan today. On the regional, local level, there are a few private musical patrons such as the Makhdums of Hala in Sindh, the Baloch Sardars, the Sayyids of Jhang and Multan, the Khans of Mardan and Swabi, and the former Rajas of Baltistan.

On the national level, government and other public organizations such as Lok Virsa and Pakistan National Council for the Arts, support musicians through their radio and television programs and sponsorship of public concerts. However, these public institutions cannot sustain the level of activity needed to fully support musicians. The classical musicians and dancers of Pakistan are little known outside their country, while a number of their brethren in India who share the same tradition and in some cases, the same teachers, have established international reputations. This unfortunate situation is perhaps the result of official tendencies to withhold moral support and neglect economic patronage for the arts, not wanting to promote any activity that is seen as counter to Islamic ideals.

On the other hand, the one genre that has become inextricably connected to Pakistan by international audiences is qawwali, a devotional song genre that is at the center of the sama’ (spiritual concert) ritual of the Sufis of South Asia. The long standing custom of extending support to music by various Sufi saints, and by extension, the shrines or the place of the saints, continues to contribute the major support of Pakistani traditional music to this day. In this sense, an Islamic religious institution, albeit a heterodox institution, has become the most prominent patron of popular (not in the commercial sense, but in the sense that the popularity is widespread) music in Pakistan. It is even more incongruous to realize that the musical patronage of the shrines of Pakistan is often similar to the musical patronage of the old royal courts and governmental institutions of pre-partition India.

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PLASP DATA ENTRY BEGINS IN LAHORE AND ISLAMABAD

The tedious task of data entry of Private Library and Archival Survey Project (PLASP) information collected on the standardized template has now begun in two places simultaneously—Lahore, at the Iqbal Academy; and Islamabad, at the offices of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies (AIPS). The main purpose of this Excel form entry is to harmonize, integrate, and organize all data obtained from some 150 private libraries, so that it is rendered into a coherent manuscript for publication as a critical catalogue. Oxford University Press Pakistan has in principle agreed to publish this catalogue which will have multiple indices, comparative analyses, annotations, bibliographies, and an extensive introduction.

PLASP was launched more than one year ago to make Pakistan’s rich private libraries accessible to scholars and to promote Pakistan’s participation in the activities of the Center for South Asia Libraries (CSAL). Dr. S. Nomanul Haq of the University of Pennsylvania is directing this project.

In a happy development, it has become very likely that the template used for PLASP survey will also be used for the survey of libraries elsewhere in South Asia under CSAL. In this way, PLASP is playing a role in bringing about a degree of coherence among similar activities in the region, activities carried out by different scholarly and educational bodies. The Project has already involved many Pakistani research and cultural organizations into the process of its work.

The Excel form recognizes four main bibliographic fields and numerous subfields. Published books; published periodicals; manuscripts; and archives constitute the main fields. Some of the subfield are specification of languages in which a particular work is done; its physical condition; its salient bibliographic features; and its catalogue status. The subfields vary according to the main field item.

The data entry work in Lahore is supervised by Dr. Suheyl Umar, Director of the Iqbal Academy and Executive Member of the PLASP Advisory Committee. The work in Islamabad is proceeding in coordination with Lahore, but under the direct advice of Nomanul Haq.

Dr. Nomanul Haq
University of Pennsylvania & AIPS

SALRC: SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGE FONTS ONLINE

The SALRC is bringing up a series of web sites on South Asian language fonts that we believe should be a definitive resource for faculty, students and community users of South Asian languages. This is a lengthy project and one of the SALRC’s most important contributions to the work of South Asianists so far. It has been the work of Dr. Adheesh Sathaye, Research Associate at SALRC.

On the SALRC site we are assembling a collection of fonts that we believe are best suited for displaying South Asian languages on a computer screen. We will keep the number of fonts to an interesting but reasonable number that provides for the aesthetic as well as essential needs of the user. For those languages that have dozens and dozens of fonts already in the marketplace, we are going to limit our recommendations to around 15.

The site is now up and ready for users of Devanagari for Hindi, Marathi and Nepali (but not Sanskrit) and Tamil. The Urdu and Sanskrit sites will be up very shortly after which we will move on to other languages.

You will find on the introductory page, a clear, concise overview of the font situation and you can then move to the relevant font page. We have tried to address issues of those who know something about computer fonts while also speaking directly to those who have little knowledge of the technical aspects behind what is produced on the screen.

This site speaks to Windows as well as Mac users; provides links and instructions on how to download the fonts; directs users to keyboard templates; provides links to other sites that have even more information on South Asian language fonts.

A committee of North American faculty has been consulted for each language font site that we have developed and are developing. I think it makes sense that the community of users adhere to unicode standards and also choose one of the recommended fonts to ensure uniformity for our users.

At the time of this report, the links for Devanagari (Hindi, Marathi, Nepali), Tamil, and ‘How to Install Fonts and Layouts’ are active on the main site: http://salrc.uchicago.edu/resources/fonts/main.html

Problems, concerns and questions may be directed to SALRC at: salrc@uchicago.edu.

Steve Poulos
University of Chicago & SALRC
Since 2003, AIPS has continued efforts to create a comprehensive cyber-center of Pakistan studies; a nexus of information and juncture at which interdisciplinary interests about Pakistan intersect. This cyber-center reflects the many aims and projects that AIPS is committed to in terms of representing Pakistan in its full world historical context. Through such endeavors, the website for the American Institute of Pakistan Studies has grown in content, accessibility and usage. It has become significantly more user-friendly, and continues to create an interface that is easier to use for those with variable levels of technological expertise and software.

The website serves two main functions. The first is specific to the maintenance of the infrastructure that deals with the services and programs provided by AIPS, such as official business, payment of dues and membership, and members’ discussions, along with full-text access to both publications of AIPS (Annual of Urdu Studies and Pakistan Studies News). The second brings together audiences from both the membership and general public and provides data bases and basic information on the history and culture of Pakistan. The organization of the material continues to cater to research interests of professional and specialized scholars in various disciplines, as well as, teaching material and resources for teachers in the K-12 system.

As a key resource for undergraduate, graduate students, and professional in various fields, the section on Fellowships is continually updated to reflect current information on scholarships, and grants available for research work conducted on Pakistan. In addition to resources for students and scholars, reports on current research work financially supported by AIPS are provided.

Systematically monitored and updated is information on Events related to Pakistan Studies, which are listed and details provided where available. In addition, the menu on the side bar provides information about Film Screenings, Past Events, and other major conferences that take place within the United States and abroad. This section is linked to the larger “Conference” information which has proven to be significant in the promotion, distribution and accessibility of information of the 2nd biennial AIPS conference “Pakistan in World-Historical Context”.

Concurrently, the development of the “Directory” of AIPS members and affiliates continues to be restructured, updated and supplemented by directories of scholars and their publications, in full-text where possible, course syllabi, slide collections, and bibliographies. We hope that by providing easy and well organized access to the range of material we will succeed in bringing Pakistan and related fields of interest into the general curriculum and satisfy the newly emerging

This summer a group of young Americans and Britons will join together in Pakistan to promote gender sensitivity in media, measure the impact of formal education in urban slums, or advocate sustainable coastal livelihood.

These, as part of a dozen projects, make up the opportunities organized by Impak for its Pilot Summer Program. Impak, a new independent organization, aspires to connect Pakistan’s emerging civil society organizations with individuals who are motivated to make a positive impact.

This year marks the launch of Impak’s program, which places interns in a variety of social sectors while providing group housing, interactive workshops and intensive retreats for a comprehensive experience in Pakistan. Participants serve as cultural ambassadors and incubators working at a grassroots level to share skills and experiences with like-minded individuals in Pakistan.

“Impak is more than a facilitator,” says Co-Founder Bilaal Ahmed. “Our goal is to bridge cultural gaps, promote understanding and present the potential that exists in Pakistan by engaging local communities.”

Three young graduates based in the United States, United Kingdom and Pakistan formulated the organization a year ago. Bilaal, 25, Mustafa Hadi, 26, and Sarah Karim, 23, came together to create an organization that would lay the foundation for sustainable programs and have a positive, long-term impact on participating individuals and on Pakistan.

Among those who have stated their support for the program is Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, the High Commissioner for Pakistan in the UK and former Ambassador of Pakistan to the US. “I believe the Impak initiative offers a unique opportunity for individuals to explore first-hand the diversity of Pakistan, while making a meaningful contribution to Pakistan’s development.”

Impak is a private, not-for-profit organization that seeks to bring a level of positive change by connecting individuals to Pakistan through meaningful work and volunteer opportunities.

Further details on the programs supported by Impak are available online at: http://www.impak.org. Unanswered questions may be directed to Bilaal Ahmed, Co-Director of Impak at 703-527-5214 or info@impak.org.
On Saturdays this spring, SAIS-Johns Hopkins University is offering its first Urdu course to twelve selected students and professionals in the Washington, DC area. Initial interest was keen, and the pilot course filled within days after being announced. The course takes participants with varied sets of skills from their current ability levels into the equivalent of the second semester of a four-semester SAIS language course sequence. In an Urdu-speaking environment, they develop listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills that are vital to performing everyday communicative tasks successfully. As they move toward the intermediate level, participants display confidence in dealing with routine tasks and narrating in different time frames, and also start acquire vocabularies appropriate to their particular areas of expertise. On completing the course, they will be eligible to advance to the intermediate Urdu sequence, which SAIS expects to offer in 2005-06.

Urdu teaching at SAIS is student-centered and classes are interactive. Curricular enrichments include uses of authentic audio-, video-, and Internet-based materials, along with texts such as news headlines, advertisements, folktales, and classic short stories. Participation in intellectual and cultural events in the Washington area’s vibrant and growing South Asian diasporic community is strongly encouraged. SAIS’s Urdu instructor, Rubab Qureshi, has taught since 2002 at the University of Pennsylvania. She also serves as a consultant for the American Institute of Pakistan Studies for website development, with particular attention to religion in Pakistan for K-12 teaching resources and Pakistan Online. She earned her BA with honors at St. Joseph’s University, has done fieldwork on Shi’ite Muslim and Marian Catholic devotion and female devotees, and is a PhD candidate in religion at Temple University focusing on sociocultural contexts of Islamic Studies.

Studying Urdu at SAIS offers particular appeal to second-year student Rose Dakin, who holds a BS from Cornell University and is concentrating in International Energy and Environmental Studies and South Asia Studies. Ms. Dakin spent last summer in New Delhi. There she studied Hindi and worked at the United Nations Asia-Pacific Center for Technology Transfer researching climate change abatement in developing South Asian countries through the Kyoto Protocol’s Clean Development Mechanism. After returning to SAIS, Ms. Dakin developed a strong second interest in issues of ethnic identity in Karachi and throughout Muslim South Asia in the course of research for a seminar on Pakistan’s political economy taught by visiting professor S. Akbar Zaidi. Although Ms. Dakin has not yet visited Pakistan, studying Urdu along with Hindi this year will enable her to begin to understand Pakistan’s complex sociocultural fabric in greater detail.

The reasons that professionals give for taking Urdu at SAIS are varied and just as interesting. One such Saturday student, Dodd Sims, is a physician of internal medicine who does volunteer work in an emergency room and free clinic in northern Virginia, where patients speak some fifty languages, of which Urdu is the fourth most common. When enrolling in the course, Dr. Sims mentioned that members of the area’s growing South Asian population seeking medical care often are middle-aged and older parents of successful immigrants, who become ill on long visits with their children in the United States. Dr. Sims has found that even rudimentary knowledge of Urdu helps to establish rapport so essential to successful physician-patient relationships, and that Urdu-speaking patients are highly appreciative of his efforts to communicate in the language.

Another SAIS Saturday Urdu student is Faheen Allibhoy, a graduate of Wellesley College and Harvard University, who works for the International Finance Corporation, which is part of the World Bank Group. Ms. Allibhoy is a Pakistani citizen who was raised overseas. Although she speaks Urdu fluently and uses the language in everyday interactions, she enrolled in the course to learn to read and write in a systematic way in a structured environment. She is highly impressed with the progress made toward fluency in reading and writing by several of her classmates who are non-native learners of Urdu and related languages. At the same time, her classmates remark on the benefits of having Ms. Allibhoy in a mixed ability-level course, to which she contributes native-speaker pronunciation, as well as helpful notes on usages and cultural practices.

One of Ms. Allibhoy’s regular conversation partners is Jason Crosby, a candidate for joint degrees from the Washington College of Law and the School of International Studies at American University. Mr. Crosby’s consulting job after graduation from Texas A&M University took him for two years to Pune, India with an open mind but absolutely no prior exposure to South Asian languages and cultures. He felt very fortunate to receive language tutoring and to have to communicate with his new colleagues and friends in Hindi and Urdu. The pioneering SAIS Urdu course offers him a chance to revive his Urdu-Hindi in a collegial atmosphere that provides enjoyable challenges as well as breaks from the rigors of law school. Mr. Crosby now is eager to visit Pakistan, and ultimately hopes to return to South Asia to work in the areas of law and diplomacy.

Seed funding for SAIS-Johns Hopkins University’s Spring 2005 Urdu course was generously provided by the Pakistan Fund, which has been reimbursed fully through course fees paid by the participants. The seed funding also made possible a few welcome tuition awards and waivers. Classes are being conducted in a state of the art ‘smart classroom’ funded by the Hodson Trust. For more information on studying Urdu or contributing to the development of Urdu studies at SAIS, please contact Maggie Ronkin at mronkin1@jhu.edu.
was slow to take root and grow. The Cold War was beginning as the countries of South Asia embarked on their post-colonial history. Over the next forty years the effect of the Cold War on the endogenous political dynamic of most of the Third World was similar to that of colonialism in the fifty years or more before: it was restricted by outside forces. Only since 1991, when the Cold War ended with one of the two opposing parties vacating the field, have local political dynamics re-emerged. But they did not reemerge immediately. The process has been slow. Old hatreds surfaced quicker than more positive initiatives. Only now, fifteen years on, we can begin to see how old forces, and some new ones, may settle into new relationships to form the major parameters of world organization through the coming century.

It is not yet fully recognized that most of the commentary on the history of Pakistan since its foundation in 1947 has been blinkered by the framework of the Cold War. Studies have focused on national politics and bilateral relations with India, the U.S. or in a few cases particular other countries, such as China, and have tended to be based on questions about the likeliness of good or bad results (most often the latter). The effects of the Cold War context were taken for granted and inadequately understood, partly because there was nothing to compare them with. The disappearance of the Soviet Union from the scene in 1991 left a power vacuum. Before the significance of that vacuum was fully understood the events of 9/11 suddenly changed the international climate, and forced a remapping of the world that transformed Pakistan and its northern Islamic neighbors from marginal areas to strategic focuses of world attention. The forces that are now emerging in Pakistani society, based on Islamic and local identities, were there before, clear to anyone with a long term historical perspective on the area. But until 1947 this territory had received relatively little scholarly attention, and for fifty years all attention on Pakistan was focused on politics at the national level.

Islamabad's relationship with each of its provincial populations, and each of its regional neighbors has now changed in ways that would not have been predicted even five years ago. The current situation in Pakistan and the international image of Pakistan and breadth of interest in the field of Pakistan Studies could not have been predicted before 9/11. It began to change with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979, which ushered in the last act of the Cold War, in which the U.S. used Pakistan to pursue its campaign against the Soviet agenda in Afghanistan. The effects of this campaign transformed Pakistani society in much more radical ways than Zia's Islamization policy (which is more typically cited), and was equally Zia's responsibility. But everything that has emerged now was already in evidence before 1947, among the Indians who became Pakistan's Muhajirs, and among Baloch, Pashtuns, Punjabis and Sindhis. When 9/11 hit, and galvanized American determination to play a more actively focused role in the region, the stage was already set for the subsequent internal developments.

What happened next to Pakistan Studies is the greatest irony in the history of the field. While Pakistan almost immediately became a “key front-line ally in the U.S.-led anti-terrorism coalition” (Kronstadt 2003), the U.S. Government placed an injunction on the use of its funds for research there by Americans. AIPS could therefore no longer pursue the program that had identified it since its foundation in 1973—research fellowships for American scholars to work in Pakistan. For two years we assumed this was a temporary problem. Finally, it became clear that although we must continue to campaign to have the injunction lifted, in the meantime we must work out other ways to promote the study of Pakistan and related topics or forfeit all remaining academic interest in the field. New programs take time to develop. Funding agencies have to be persuaded. Meanwhile, the rate of change continues to accelerate.

Our first new programs were launched in 2003, and reported in last year’s issues of PSN. They were designed to make Pakistani research materials more easily accessible for scholars unable to travel to Pakistan. The first was the development of our website (www.pakistanstudies-AIPS.org) into a cyber-center for Pakistan Studies. Thanks to the dedication of a number of students, whose work will be fully acknowledged elsewhere, and the continuing devotion of one of our previous U.S. Directors, Ms. Uzma Rizvi, it is already becoming a major source of reference material on Pakistan-related subject matter. The interactive dimension of the cybercenter, which will provide continuing threads of discussion in a variety of disciplines among scholars in Pakistan, the U.S. and elsewhere, who would rarely have been able to attend face-to-face meetings in the best of times, will take longer to get going. The second new project, under the acronym PLASP, for Private Library and Archive Survey Project, under the direction of Dr. S. Nomanul Haq, is designed to enhance the accessibility of private collections through publication both in print and online, and is already producing concrete results.

In the past six months several more of our new initiatives, more than at any time in the past, have produced fruit. Let me bring you up to date. They fall neatly into two categories: (a) fellowships and (b) collaborative activities with other organizations which will raise the visibility and significance of Pakistan-related research.

I. FELLOWSHIPS.

Starting with the 2006 financial year, AIPS will once again be allowed to use its U.S. Government funding for fellowships—NOT in Pakistan, and not in the U.S., but in any other country which can be shown to offer resources
for important Pakistan-related research. AIPS is therefore relaunching its fellowship program now (see announcements elsewhere in this issue and on the website). The deadline for pre- and post-doctoral applications is August 31, 2005. Decisions will be made in mid-October and funding will be available by October 31. While this concession on the use of funds is significantly less than we have been lobbying for, it is a valuable advance.

II. COLLABORATION WITH OTHER RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS, CONNECTING PAKISTANISTS IN PAKISTAN AND THE U.S. WITH RESEARCH IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

Apart from the biennial series of international conferences, two other AIPS events this year will bring Pakistanists from the U.S. and Pakistan into interaction with scholars from other countries around themes of common interest. The first, which is devoted to an investigation of the range of issues deriving from the Durand Line, the current border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, originally drawn by Sir Mortimer Durand in 1893, will be held in Istanbul May 7-8. It is a joint project of AIPS and the new American Institute of Afghanistan Studies and is funded by the new Hollings Center for East West Understanding, which is currently administered through CAORC.

The second is devoted to issues relating to the historical practice of *adab* throughout the eastern Islamic world, the Ottoman, Safavid, Uzbek and Mughal Empires and their successor modern states. It will be held in Hyderabad (A.P.) September 2-4, similarly under CAORC auspices.

Both of these projects are innovative in that they build on the resources of other American Overseas Research Centers and National Resource Centers to investigate issues that are of larger than national interest. In both cases AIPS has played a leading role. Besides the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC), the other contributing centers in one or more of these three AIPS meetings this year are the American Institutes of Afghanistan Studies (AIAS), Bangladesh Studies (AIBS), Iranian Studies (AIIRs), Indian Studies (AIIS), Sri Lankan Studies (AISLS), the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT), the Berkeley Urdu Language Program in Pakistan (BULPIP), the Center for South Asia Libraries (CSAL) and the South Asia Language Resource Center (SALRC). We hope to continue this program of collaboration in panels at national meetings in the U.S. in the coming year: the South Asia Conferences at Berkeley and Madison, and the annual meetings of the Middle East Studies Association and the Association of Asian Studies.

It is now two decades since the first efforts to break out of the area-studies mold began. But no new paradigm has yet emerged to take its place. Meanwhile, country studies (i.e. Pakistan Studies, as distinct from South Asia Studies) have been strengthened, perhaps perversely, by the structure of U.S. Government funding, on which most overseas research depends. AIPS may be leading the way to a new thematic paradigm. Whatever the outcome, the future of Pakistan Studies will be very different from the past. It will never again be blinkered by an international environment that masks the forces conditioning its subject matter, but rather in the light of comparative studies relating it to other World-historical situations. These changes are different from those experienced in Iranian Studies after Iran was cut off in 1979, or in Chinese Studies after China was cut off in 1949. The difference is largely due to the different international situation after the end of the Cold War. The new trends will be obvious in many of the papers presented at the current conference.

Since people are already beginning to enter the field of Pakistan Studies from a variety of new points of the compass and of new disciplinary and theoretical backgrounds, they will bring new points of view and research questions, new points of reference. Pakistan Studies is no longer a minor specialization within South Asian Studies: it is a topical focus that interrelates a variety of theoretical interests in the social sciences and the humanities concerning topics in world history.


Brian Spooner
PRESIDENT

Chowrangi is a quarterly magazine envisioned by a group of Pakistani academics, professionals and artists. It’s a vital platform for progressive Pakistani and Pakistani-American voices. Chowrangi showcases the cultural diversity and complexity of the Pakistan diaspora. The publication focuses attention on social, cultural, political, technological and business issues as they impact Pakistanis in North America and Pakistan. Insightful, provocative, and candid, Chowrangi is a unique resource for Pakistan-watchers and those who feel a kinship with the country and its people.
The research work at Harappa under the direction of Richard H. Meadow (Harvard University) and J. Mark Kenoyer (U. Wisconsin- Madison) is still continuing even though full scale excavations have not been conducted for the past two years. Kenoyer was at Harappa during the 2004-2004 winter break to collect data and conduct laboratory research along with graduate students Randall Law and Katie Lindstrom. Pakistani team members, such as Nadeem Ghouri, Tahzeem-ul Hasan and Ghulam Hussain continue to be involved in drafting artifacts, data collection and computer data base management.

Here in the US, the final preparation of field notes and excavation drawings is going on both at Madison, under the direction of Kenoyer and at Harvard under the direction of Dr. Richard Meadow. Over 140 articles and edited volumes on the recent research at Harappa have been published by various team members and final reports on the Harappa cemetery excavations and excavations in other areas of the site are being prepared for submission.

**STUDENT REPORT: RESEARCH VISIT TO LAHORE**

**BY: TRYNA LYONS, ZAYED UNIVERSITY, ABU DHABI, UAE**

I have just returned from an exploratory trip to Lahore, where I continued my investigation into the various visual arts associated with the Shi‘ite commemorative event of Ashura in South Asia. This was my first visit to Pakistan, although I have done considerable work on this and related topics in India and Bangladesh. In fact, my Muharram research is part of a larger project that looks at the art of festivals and processions in the northern and eastern portions of the subcontinent. Many of these art forms are ephemeral, designed to be disposed of ritually after the period of their use is over. In Lahore, however, most ta’zias, tabuts, jhulas and other commemorative objects used in worship and procession are permanent rather than disposable. Some Imambargahs preserve fine old wooden ta’zias that look like multi-storeyed palaces, complete with jharokas, chattris, and other architectural details. I anticipate returning to Pakistan to visit Punjabi towns renowned for the craftsmen who construct these intricate model tombs (although perhaps not with such fine detail as the century-old examples I saw in Lahore). I also hope to travel to other regional centres where disposable funerary objects are more common than in Lahore.

Mr. Mohammed Razzaq of the Berkeley Urdu Language Program in Pakistan was most helpful to me during my stay. The Shi‘ite community of Lahore is friendly and welcoming, and I encountered no major difficulties while there.

TO SUBMIT NEWS ON ONGOING RESEARCH RELATED TO PAKISTAN
EMAIL US AT: INFO@PAKISTANSTUDIES-AIPS.ORG

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**PAKISTAN AND THE LASHKAR-E-TAIBA: COMPLICATIONS OF A PROXY WAR**

**BY: HEATHER HARMS, JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON**

This paper examines the militant group the Lashkar-e-Taiba to illustrate the difficulties with viewing the conflict in Kashmir as a proxy war. The ideology and goals of the Lashkar are different from those of the state, which leads to them having differing interests in the Kashmir conflict. The Lashkar also is not reliant on the state for support, having significant backing from Pakistani society. This leads the Lashkar to act as a constraint against any efforts Pakistan makes to resolve the Kashmir conflict. This paper also includes a discussion of sources that have been produced through secret, or closed, methods.

The objectives of the Lashkar-e-Taiba in Kashmir are far more expansive than those of the state of Pakistan. Pakistan would like Kashmir to become part of its state. In contrast, the Lashkar-e-Taiba wants to reclaim all lands that previously were under Muslim control (including but not limited to Kashmir). The state of Pakistan promotes jihad as an ideological justification for the proxy war. From the state’s perspective, jihad, is a tool that can be used to mobilize men and resources to fight for state interests. But the ideology of jihad is not simply a tool. The men recruited to fight in militant organizations believe deeply in the correctness of jihad and are not so easily dissuaded from these beliefs when it suits the state’s purposes.

If the Lashkar still relied mainly on Pakistani state support this would not be such a concern, but widespread societal support for the Lashkar has reduced its reliance on the government. The Lashkar pursues its own objectives without much consideration for the goals of other groups, the state, or society in general. The Lashkar asserts that its actions are for the benefit of the public – in fact, the entire Islamic world – as a whole.

On such a politically charged topic, the use of materials that have been produced through secret means present challenges to the researcher. When governments and organizations produce information that does not reveal sources and methods, it is difficult for the researcher to assess the biases and integrity of the information. This paper questions whether this challenges the code of ethics for the academic production of knowledge, which values the openness of source material.

It is vital to recognize the distinction between the state and proxy forces that fight for the state’s current objectives. Pakistan can count on the Lashkar-e-Taiba to fight for
Pakistan’s claims in Kashmir. It cannot count on support from the organization if Pakistan’s objectives change to peace making. The Lashkar is committed to making Kashmir part Pakistan. When Pakistan negotiates with India, the Lashkar views this as the government turning its back on the Lashkar’s essential cause. As long as Pakistan desires to continue the armed conflict in Kashmir, militants such as the Lashkar-e-Taiba will be assets to that struggle. However, if Pakistan ever seriously decides to turn from that course, those militants will become a liability, an armed, trained organization with the ability to oppose the state.

The occasion for the most prominent display of musical patronage at these Sufi shrines is during the festivities connected to the ‘urs or death anniversary of the saint. ‘Urs literally means “wedding” and signifies the Saint’s union with God at the time of his death. The occasion is the most auspicious time for a pilgrimage to the shrine when there are festivities including musical performances for 3 to 4 days in succession. The Saint’s tomb becomes the center of the rituals associated with pilgrimage for both Sufis and the general public.

Sheikh Fariduddin Masud Ganj-I Shakar (d. 1265)

Sheikh Fariduddin Masud Ganj-I Shakar is one of the most revered Sufi saints of South Asia. He established a principal seat of spiritual authority in Pakpattan, Punjab (formerly Ajodhan). Fariduddin Masud Ganj-I Shakar, also known as Baba Farid, was the spiritual guide of the renowned Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi, who became a leader within the Chishti order of Sufis and the spiritual guide and teacher of Amir Khusrau. Baba Farid was a scholar and a poet who believed in the power of spiritual music. His ‘urs is celebrated in the first week of the month of Muharram and includes several organized qawwali concerts as well as other performances of music.

It is known that Fariduddin Ganj-I Shakar, was adamantly opposed to royal patronage and refused to deal with the worldly government. Yet, many of the personages and rituals associated with Sufi shrines in general and the terminology used have the trappings of a royal court. The shrine of a saint is known as dargah, meaning “door, court.” The court of the saint, like the court of a king, is known as darbar. The successor to the spiritual leadership of the shrine is known as sajjada-nishin (he who sits on the carpet) or gaddi-nishin (he who sits on the throne).

The sajjada-nishin of the dargah of Fariduddin Ganj-I Shakar is his hereditary descendant and is known as diwan. It is ironic that although Baba Farid had great mistrust of the government and avoided dealings with its representatives, the uncle of the present diwan (the brother of the late Diwan) tried to regain his seat as the rightful spiritual descendant of Baba Farid by taking his case to a government court of justice.

There are seven musicians attached to the shrine known as darbari qawwals who perform the shrine rituals. They are drawn from six hereditary households who provide services for the shrine, each household providing one qawwal. The seventh and youngest darbari qawwal is not
from a traditional, hereditary household, but was inducted in 1996 because the present diwan heard him and liked him. In this sense, these qawwals are the clients of the diwan in a traditional patronage system.

The diwan and shrine representatives also provide less traditional, less formal patronage to other qawwals by organizing sama’. The two most important occasions for these spiritual concerts are the kacheri (court, assembly) in the presence of the diwan, in front of his home, and the hazeri (presence, attendance) at the darbar in front of the saint’s tomb.

The occasion of the ‘urs of Baba Farid is also an opportunity for musicians other than qawwals to perform as hired accompanists for religious processions, as hired entertainers for individuals and groups, or to perform as an act of devotion or as an offering. In this way, the shrine of Baba Farid provides musical patronage to three different types of musicians: the darbari qawwals, other qawwals, and other musicians.

Video examples
1. Darbari qawwals during Diwan’s shrine ritual
2. Qawwals at hazeri

Ali ibn ‘Uthman al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri

Ali ibn ‘Uthman al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri, was an eleventh century Sufi who wrote the celebrated Persian treatise on Sufism, Kashf al-Mahjub. He spent the last years of his life in Lahore and is buried there. There is no descendant or spiritual leader of his shrine. The shrine was nationalized under the military regime of General Ayub Khan in the late 1950s. Since then, it has been administered through the ministry of Religious Affairs. Nevertheless, al-Hujwiri, who is popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, is considered the patron saint of Lahore. Lahoris love and revere him, and the city of Lahore has declared the anniversary of his death in the month of Safar (18-20), an official holiday. His shrine is located in a very congested urban area near the old city of Lahore. During his ‘urs, the shrine’s kitchens are exceptionally busy feeding the thousands of pilgrims and dervishes who visit the shrine. Farmers from throughout the region bring great vats of milk to be blessed and distributed to the pilgrims. Groups of young men carry large sheets of cloth (chadar) to be used as offerings to the shrine. Dholi drummers playing large double-headed drums accompany them, along with groups of men who dance all the way to the shrine.

Al-Hujwiri was a Sunni who cautioned against habitual attendance of sama’ and felt “that beginners should not be allowed to attend musical concerts (sama’ha), lest their natures become depraved. These concerts are extremely dangerous and corrupting, because women on the roofs or elsewhere look at the dervishes who are engaged in audition; and in consequence of this the auditors have great obstacles to encounter.”

Antithetical to his feelings about sama’, the occasion of his ‘urs is celebrated by a mehfil-e sama’ lasting two days and two nights. This annual mehfil-e sama’ has grown into the largest gathering of qawwali singers in Pakistan and possibly in the Indian subcontinent. In 1954, Malik Khoda Bakhsh brought together groups of qawwals on the old grounds of Data darbar and developed a sequence and hierarchy of the sama’ ritual that has been preserved to the present. Since 1965, a group of Lahore citizens took over the organization of this ritual with the express purpose of propagating spiritual music in their city. Scores of qawwali groups gather to participate. They come out of devotion for the saint, as well as for the money they collect from the assembled Sufis who shower them with offerings when spiritually moved or inspired.

As mentioned before, the mehfil-e sama’ is organized by a committee of citizens of Lahore. Those seated in the center of the assembly are politicians, spiritual leaders and the organizers. Before the construction of a new structure, the mehfil-e sama’ was held outside, under a tent, in a space adjacent to the shrine. In 1999, the government completed the construction of a large underground complex with a courtyard on top which connects to the original darbar. The new complex houses an underground assembly hall where the mehfil-e sama’ was held for the first time that year. The large hall seats over a thousand people. It is entirely enclosed, with a distessingly low ceiling, and is fully air-conditioned. A temporary stage is built at one end of the hall, presumably facing the saint’s tomb, but frankly, with no visual clue to the outdoors, I’m not sure.

There has been a long tradition of women observing sama’ as indicated in the translated quote from Data Sahib himself, and also from the video of the hazeri sama’ at the ‘urs of Baba Farid. While the sama’ of Data Sahib was held out-of-doors, in a space close to the shrine, there was no assigned space for women, but women could and did sit around the periphery of the assembly to listen to qawwali. Now, enclosed in an underground building, there is even less of an opportunity for women to observe the sama’.

When the sama’ was held outdoors under a tent, it was decorated with tinsel and flashing colored lights. Each year, the latest equipment from Singapore was imported for this event, including decorative lights and a fog machine. The atmosphere is definitely festive and seemingly secular. Yet, the sama’ is opened with prayers, readings from the Qur’an and na’t singing and is closed by the singing of the rang (a hymn by Amir Khusrau paying tribute to his guide, Nizamuddin Auliya) and prayers.

Qawwali singing starts after the na’t singing and continues until the dawn of the next day. After a break for prayers and
rest, the singing begins again the next morning and continues again until dawn. In the middle of the second day, dozens of qawwals are carried in a procession, accompanied by musicians, to the tomb of the saint. Throughout the day and night, over one hundred groups perform one after the other.

Until his death in 1997, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan sang the opening set of qawwals, sang during the radio broadcast at midnight of the first night, and returned to sing the last songs including the closing rang. The chadar ceremony, for as long as I have attended the sama', has been accompanied by Akhtar Hussain Arupwali. In the absence of Nusrat, various qawwals of Ghulam Farid Sabri. Several groups sang for the radio broadcast including Akbar Husain Faridi, Faiz Ali Faiz and Badar Mian Dad. The final rang was sung by Mehr Ali and Sher Ali.

The principal patronage during the 'urs of Data Sahib is directed towards qawwals. All the qawwals that come to the mehfil-e sama' get an opportunity to participate, even if it is for as little as 10 minutes. Whatever money is offered during their performance is kept by the musicians. Those qawwals who can afford it, stay at the Pilot Hotel where a great number of private sama' are held and arrangements for other private performances are made.

Video examples
1. outdoor sama', chadar ceremony
2. indoor sama', rang

Throughout the Islamic world, orthodox Islam has been associated with political authority while Sufism has been associated with the personal, private side of worship. At Data Sahib, patronage is decidedly more modern and public than that of the shrine of Baba Farid. Political authority seems more closely allied to the 'urs of Data Sahib than to the 'urs of Baba Farid.

1. A public holiday is declared for the 'urs of Data Sahib
2. While Nawaz Sharif was the prime minister (Lahore is his home), he officially opened the 'urs celebrations by visiting the tomb of Data Sahib, and in 1999, he opened the new Data Darbar complex at the beginning of the 'urs celebrations.
3. Radio Pakistan broadcasts live from the mehfil-e sama'.
4. Public officials are chief guests at the mehfil-e sama', sitting in the middle section along with spiritual leaders and the sama' organizers.

Such public exposure to the mehfil-e sama' also extends to the qawwals who sing there. The performance of certain qawwals also indicates recognition of their excellence and popularity. This exposure adds to their national reputation and fame in ways similar to winning the Grammys.

There has been a long history of musical patronage at the Sufi shrines in the Indian Subcontinent. Some forms of patronage remain traditional while others have adapted to modern political and administrative changes that have taken place. All forms of patronage of the shrines of Pakistan have contributed to the public recognition of devotional music as a form of popular music, i.e. music for the general populace as opposed to art or classical music reserved for the appreciation of society’s elite. Therefore, it should be no surprise that the world has come to recognize Pakistani music as synonymous with the spiritual music of the Sufis.

(Footnotes)

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**Pakistan Studies in North America: 1947-1989**

The following is the eighth in our series of excerpts from Maureen Patterson’s unpublished work on the history of Pakistan Studies in the US.

**Further Meetings, Seminars, and Attempts at Organization, 1956-73**

The Group on Pakistan Studies held its first meeting, again at McGill University, on October 19-20, 1956. Those who attended this Rockefeller-funded meeting were:

Keith Callard (McGill), Chair
Freeland Abbott (Tufts)
W. Norman Brown (Penn)
John J. Honigmann (U of North Carolina)
Shamsul Haq (Embassy of Pakistan)
Stanley Maron (Human Relations Area Files-HRAF)
Richard L. Park (UC-Berkeley)
I.H. Qureshi (Columbia)
Khalid bin Sayeed (McGill)
Wilfred Cantwell Smith (McGill)

The Group first discussed higher education in Pakistan (universities except for Dacca were in a deplorable condition), and then debated the proper role of the Group and its future activities. They laid plans for a series of seminars on Pakistan, and then assessed research in progress or planned by individuals and at the various institutions represented at the meeting. [CSA Newsletter #11, Jan 1957, pp. 8-9] By the fourth meeting of the Group on 2 April 1957, held in conjunction with the AAS’ annual meeting in Boston, it was decided to continue getting together for informal exchange of information and views.

In the fourth meeting of the Group in April 1957, it was reported that Berkeley planned to run a seminar on Pakistan; Penn would offer a seminar on regionalism in South Asia, including problems in Pakistan; HRAF would produce a volume on Pakistan; and McGill had received a grant permitting substantial expansion of research on Pakistan. [CSA Newsletter, 13 Sept. 57, p. 3] In 1957, McGill was still the frontrunner in organized studies of religion and politics in Pakistan, with W.C. Smith, Keith Callard, and Khalid bin Sayeed as the major scholars concerned under the umbrella of the Institute of Islamic Studies.

In 1955 the Far Eastern Association (later to become the Association for Asian Studies) organized its Committee on South Asia (CSA). The CSA held its first meeting on October 22-23, 1955. By its fifth meeting (23 November 1956), CSA appointed Keith Callard a member so that Pakistan interests could be directly represented in what was becoming the most important associational group for South Asia studies as a whole. Thus within a year of its formation, the new Committee on South Asia included articulate representation for the study of Pakistan. When Callard’s three-year term was up in 1959, Ralph Braibanti of Duke was appointed to...
the “Pakistan slot” on the nine-person committee. It could be suggested that this was inadequate representation for a sizeable and complex segment of South Asia, but it cannot be said – as often asserted – that Pakistan interests were routinely ignored in an allegedly indocentric cabal.

The unaffiliated Group on Pakistan Studies continued to meet informally at AAS conferences and eventually in 1968 became the Pakistan Studies Development subcommittee of the AAS’ Committee on South Asia (CSA). Shortly after the appointive CSA became the elected South Asia Regional Council (SARC) after implementation of the 1970 AAS constitution, its Pakistan Studies Development Subcommittee split into two units in 1971, one for Pakistan and one for newly-established Bangladesh. In 1973, SARC established new Area Committees. The Pakistan Area Committee’s first batch of members comprised: Lawrence Ziring, Charles J. Adams, Craig Baxter, W. Eric Gustafson, Hafeez Malik, and Howard Wriggins.

Through efforts of the Group on Pakistan Studies, McGill’s Institute of Islamic Studies in cooperation with the AAS’ Committee on South Asia sponsored a major 3-day seminar – June 18-20, 1958 – on “Political Forces in Pakistan”. Topics discussed included religion and politics; regional, local, and economic factors in the political life of Pakistan; and the civil service and the struggle for power. Paper-givers were to include: Keith Callard (McGill), S.M. Ikram (Columbia), Richard Lambert (Penn), Gustav Papanek (Harvard), Henry Goodnow (Columbia) and Norman Palmer (Penn). [CSA Newsletter, #16, May 1958] As it turned out, the seminar was held just four months before Ayub Khan’s coup in October 1958 and the consequent imposition of martial law and complete ban on political parties. Events overtook many of the scholarly analyses that had been presented in the seminar, and its proceedings as such never appear to have been published.

The martial law administration (October 1958 to June 1962) which was not conducive to North American (or any foreign) field research in Pakistan, led to decreased activity in the development of Pakistan studies within American academe. Planning for such development did not resume until 1964.

On 15 February 1964, under the direction of Ralph Braibanti, Duke University hosted a large group to explore the feasibility of organizing an institute to further Pakistan studies. The American Institute of Indian Studies had been successfully launched in 1961 and immediately devised ways to facilitate research in India by American scholars. It was this model that the Pakistan specialists hoped they could emulate in order to restore momentum for North American studies in Pakistan. The Duke conference, funded by the US Department of State and the AAS’ Committee on South Asia, brought together 26 persons from 15 US and 4 Canadian universities, as well as representatives from the US Office of Education and the Department of State’s Bureau of Cultural Affairs. These deliberations were shortly followed by Ralph Braibanti’s visit to Pakistan to explore the possibilities for setting up a North American academic outpost there. However, he found that at that time “the political climate in Pakistan was clearly not favorable for such an institute and plans were tabled”. [AIPS Report of Activities, 1973-87, pp. 1-2]

American influence in Pakistan had begun to ebb in 1962 when the US sent military aid to her arch-rival India to help repel a Chinese invasion. Later, in 1965, all military aid was suspended when Pakistan invaded India. The 17-day war – and Pakistan’s defeat – brought about a sharp decline in Ayub Khan’s fortunes, and an end to his role as a friend to Washington. Soon thereafter Pakistan developed close relations with both China and the USSR, further straining its ties with the US, and causing general American interest in and concern for Pakistan to plummet. Conditions for research on Pakistan in the field became even more unfavorable. American advisory and technical assistance work continued even under these strained circumstance, although Peace Corps operations stopped in 1967 when its last batch of volunteers was sent packing. The fast developing rift between West and East Pakistan – with official governmental perception of American sympathy for Bengali aspirations – served to make plans for an academic outpost less and less possible as the sixties came to an end. And only a handful of scholars managed to work in the field. [* Braibanti notes that in 1964-65, for example, “fewer than five researchers were there” – in Pakistan: The Long View, p. 440]

Study of Pakistan limped along in the US, however. By 1970, the Ford Foundation, after 16 years of broad advisory and technical assistance to Pakistan during a tumultuous period of its national life, in an effort to re-establish a modicum of non-official friendly relations and understanding, decided to stimulate Pakistan studies in the US by making a substantial grant to Columbia University to supplement its Center for Pakistan Studies. With a contribution of $100,000, Ford proposed to support some mechanism which would bring together specialists (both American and Pakistani nationals) who tended to be employed in universities other than those which house the major South Asia centers. Columbia’s Howard Wriggins and Wayne Wilcox – both political scientists – designed a series of working meetings over weekends several times a year to which they invited “isolated scholars” to contribute working papers for discussion. The Goal was not production of volumes of proceedings but rather collective critique of individual papers which could be revised and submitted as articles to normal journal outlets.

Thus the National Seminar on Pakistan at Columbia University, with its social science emphasis, began its somewhat stormy career in November 1970. It was stormy because that was precisely the period when Bengali-speaking
East Pakistan was agitating for greater autonomy, if not secession. Scholars in the US, especially those who were Pakistani nationals, were not immune to the agitation and not above taking sides. Within a year, of course, East Pakistan became Bangladesh and the scholarly community became temporarily polarized. The National Seminar continued holding meetings at Columbia because Wriggins felt it important to keep scholars talking with each other within an academic setting. The Seminar’s name was amended to reflect the changed international situation: it became the National Seminar on Pakistan and Bangladesh.

By 1974, however, the Ford Foundation grant had run out and the fourth – and final – year of the Seminar turned out to be 1974. The death of Wayne Wilcox in a plane crash in 1973 had taken a lot of the steam out of the Seminar since he had been an energetic host for the meetings on the Columbia Campus.

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies, 1973- Context

The secession of East Pakistan, the Indo-Pakistan war, and subsequent establishment of the independent nation of Bangladesh in December 1971 added up to as traumatic a development in Pakistan’s first quarter-century of existence as partition itself had been in 1947. But at least it cleared the air and rid residual Pakistan of its always problematic and troublesome distant wing. After the cease-fire on 5 December 1971, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, chairman of the Pakistan People’s Party took over reins of power from the discredited president, General Yahya Khan. In March 1972, Bhutto was formally installed as President. He quickly lifted martial law and began to bring about some kind of normalcy. By July 1972, through the Bhutto-Indira Gandhi Simla Accord he restored relations with India. And in April 1973, Bhutto instituted a new constitution which returned Pakistan to a parliamentary form of government, taking over the powerful prime ministership himself under a figurehead president.

Under Bhutto’s guidance, Pakistan in 1973 began slowly to open its doors more widely than before to foreign scholars. Its government became “more facilitative of American research in Pakistan than at any other time in twenty-nine years” [Braibanti, In Ziring et al eds., Pakistan: The Long View, p. 440]. Braibanti describes a major benefit for such research in the newly cleared air in truncated Pakistan in the following passage:

[In addition to the new government posture], a second factor is the contraction and consolidation of the cultural heartland of Pakistan resulting from the establishment of Bangladesh. This greatly simplifies research and lessens the distortion and imprecision consequent to the formulation of generalizations of proximate nationwide validity. No longer do we have to qualify our observations by limiting them to half the country. Nor do we have to immerse ourselves in two cultures and life-styles to understand one nation. The regionalization that exists can be exaggerated in the interest of national disunity and can be underestimated by euphoric nationalism. But on balance it is no more than that of Belgium, Lebanon, the United Kingdom, and certainly less than that of India. From the perspective of scholarly research, consolidation of a heartland with reinforced psychic and political bonds with the Middle East is a distinct advantage. [ibid., 440-441]

Separation from the Bengalis of the borderland with monsoon South East Asia who are culturally worlds apart from the deserts of West Asia, and with whom Islam alone was in common, made it possible for “…Pakistan [to] move increasingly into the sphere of Middle Eastern concerns which is its authentic cultural heritage and will be its meaningful economic and strategic arena as well”. [ibid., p. 453] All these new conditions and factors made it possible in 1973 to revive plans to establish an American academic outpost in a much less complex and more open Pakistan.

Establishment of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies

After the conference held at Duke University in 1964 to explore possibilities for an overseas institute, Ralph Braibanti went to Pakistan to propose its establishment. However, in his words, “That period was the nadir of American scholarly relations with Pakistan [and] from 1964 to last year [1972], American graduate students and mature scholars doing research on Pakistan could be counted on the fingers of two hands”. [Braibanti, “Remarks…on the occasion of the inauguration…”, In AIPS, Report of Activities, 1973-1987, p. 34]. And, he explained, “the inauguration today [of the AIPS] caps an effort started a decade ago by a small group of scholars who had long tried to place Pakistan properly in the context of Asian studies particularly and comparative studies generally” [ibid., p. 33].

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies (AIPS) was incorporated in the State of Delaware in August 1973 under leadership from Duke and Villanova Universities, and with the support of scholars from 20 other US institutions. Its goal, as an independent scholarly organization, was to promote research on all aspects of Pakistan. It was inaugurated at a ceremony in New York on 21 September 1973 by Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who was in the US on his first state visit. On that occasion, Ralph Braibanti, who had assumed the residency of the Institute, in his remarks before Prime Minister Bhutto, took note of the person he proclaimed to be the driving force behind the Institute, Hafeez Malik, Professor of Political Science at Villanova and newly named Director of AIPS:

I must also express the gratitude of the scholars present here to our distinguished director, Professor Hafeez Malik, who a year ago took the initiative in this
enterprise and almost singlehandedly brought the negotiations to the epiphenomenon which this occasion represents. All activities of this kind depend upon the initiative, courage and energy of one man. In this instance it was Professor Malik who successfully confronted the citadels of three great bureaucracies – that of Pakistan, that of the United States and (the most formidable bureaucracy of all) that of the American academic community. He emerged triumphant though not entirely unscathed. I must also name Professor Lawrence Ziring of Western Michigan University, Professor Howard Wriggins of Columbia University, and our distinguished legal counsel, Irving G. Pollock, all of whom worked to make this event possible. Let it be said now that although in some respects this has been a “one-man show”, our “one man”, Hafeez Malik, has consulted and cooperated with these colleagues and many others to the maximum feasible extent. [Braibanti, “Remarks…” pp. 33-34]

After citing the relevance of Pakistan to four contemporary intellectual currents, Braibanti concluded his remarks to the assemblage by addressing the Prime Minister directly:

It is my hope that the work of this Institute will further develop some of these and other perspectives. We shall seek to avoid becoming the victim of any ideology. We shall encourage not only more intensive studies of Pakistan, but we shall encourage other scholars who have concentrated on other countries to study Pakistan with a view toward improving their comparative insights. We shall promote the highest quality of scholarly production. We hope for your continued support and we assure you that we shall bend every effort to respond with the finest standards of the ancient traditions of virtuous, dispassionate, empathetic, cautious academic scholarship. [ibid., p. 37]

As a Government of Pakistan press release on 21 September 1973 put it, the Institute represented “…part of Pakistan’s new policy of encouraging foreign scholars to study the problems of Pakistan”. This policy of active promotion of research and study on and in Pakistan was supported by an initial grant of Rs.500,000. Clearly, the Government saw that it could benefit from helping to establish the Institute and to offering continuing support, just as it did from the establishment and upkeep of the Center for Pakistan Studies at Columbia. Such support is all well and good, but might there not be strings attached? A research institute must assure its independence.

MEMBERSHIP

At the outset, the Institute was strictly an organization of individual scholars. But beginning in 1974, it offered institutional membership for an annual fee of $500. The first members were:

In a release of November 1988, the Institute described itself as a consortium with a membership of sixteen colleges and universities. These are:

Columbia          Michgan State           Wake Forest
Duke              Ohio State              Juniata College
Harvard           Villanova              College of Charleston
Illinois          Texas A & M             South Carolina
Arkansas State    ?                         ?*

Of the “Big Four” South Asian studies centers, the University of Chicago has never been a member of AIPS, but the Universities of California-Berkeley, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin-Madison were until they withdrew in 1988-89 because of dissatisfaction with the Institute’s administration. The above list shows that only one South Asia National Resource Center – Columbia – remains a member of AIPS. While Duke and Harvard each has substantial work on various aspects of South Asia, none of the remaining member institutions has much more than a marginal South Asian studies component centered on a few (or perhaps only one) scholars. The increasing amount of interest in Pakistan studies at the major centers is now focusing more and more on the new American Pakistan Research Organization which will be described below.

ADMINISTRATION

The Institute is run by an Executive Committee elected by the 15-member Board of Trustees. As of 1989, the officers are:

Ralph Braibanti (Duke), President
Charles H. Kennedy (Wake Forest), Director
Afak Haydar (Arkansas State), Treasurer
Craig Baxter (Juniata College), Secretary
Hafeez Malik (Villanova) had been Director from 1973 until 1988.

Previous presidents were: Ralph Braibanti (Duke), 1973-76, Lee Bean (University of Utah), 1976-19__; George Dales (California-Berkeley), 19__-19__; Ralph Braibanti (Duke), 1987-.*

While officers serve without remuneration, the Institute’s representative in Islamabad is paid an annual fee. No funding is available for administration in the US (except for the costs of an annual trustees meeting), but institutions with which officers are affiliated provide support. Between 1973 and 1988, the Directorship and the AIPS’ major activity, its Fellowship Program, were located at Villanova University and received substantial logistical support from that institution.
At the Pakistan end, the Institute is administered from the US Educational Foundation in Pakistan (USEFP) in Islamabad whose main job is to handle the Fulbright exchange program. As of 1989, the Executive Secretary of USEFP is Peter C. Dodd.

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies is a member of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, an twelve-member group started in 1981 and housed in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. In addition, AIPS officers attend meetings of the US-Pakistan Sub-Commission on Education and Culture, held alternately in Washington and Islamabad, and coordinates its activities with Sub-Commission policies. [AIPS Report of Activities, 1973-87, p. 1]

FUNDING

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies receives funds from three sources: government, participating institutions, and private corporations. First, both Pakistan and American governments have provided funds since the Institute’s establishment in 1973. After an initial grant of Rs.500,000, the Government of Pakistan thereafter has made annual contributions through its Ministry of Education. US government support has been from the beginning primarily through the United States Information Agency’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, with local Institute administration in Pakistan handled by the United States Educational Foundation/Pakistan (USEF/P). Since 1967, the Smithsonian Institution has contributed ____* through its Special Foreign Currency Program 9using US-owned Pakistan rupees).

Second, membership fees from participating US universities and colleges, plus fees payable by fellowship grantees at non-member institutions, provide dollars for some domestic administrative costs. As noted above, home institutions of AIPS officers have provided local logistical support for officers’ activities on behalf of the Institute.

In the third place, the AIPS receives contributions from eleven corporate donors in the US and Pakistan [according to a November 1988 statement]. As Braibanti pointed out in the first published account of the Institute’s activities, “The Institute occasionally receives special purpose grants for conferences of other needs from American corporate entities”. [AIPS: Report of Activities, 1973-1987, p. 1] For example, in the preface to this report, Braibanti acknowledges grants to underwrite publication of the report from North Carolina-based Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company of Durham, and the Aeroglide Corporation of Raleigh.

GOALS, ACTIVITIES, AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The major goal of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies has been to award research grants to American scholars for study in the field. The Institute’s 1987 review shows that between 1974 and 1987 it awarded 103 fellowships to individuals representing 24 disciplines and coming from 55 institutions. Of these fellowships, one-third (28) were at the pre-doctoral level and two-thirds (61) were post-doctoral and went to established scholars in their respective fields. For one reason or another, 14 of the total grants were not activated. Over the years, the Institute has given an average of 5 activated fellowships per year and it plans to try and maintain this rate.

A breakdown of the 89 fellowships actually taken up reveals that an overwhelming number, 76 (or 85%) were in the social sciences (archaeology and history included here); 9 (only 10%) were in humanistic disciplines (art, art history, literature, music, religious studies, Urdu), while 4 (4.5%) were for professional advancement (nursing, photography, communications, and education). [AIPS report gives numbers for each of 24 disciplines, analysis of these data is mine- MP] The three most popular disciplines – anthropology with 23 fellowships, political science with 18, and history with 16 – total 57, accounting for 64% of all fellowships. It is surprising that even though the Berkeley Urdu Language Program was operating in Lahore throughout this period (with some financial support from AIPS) and might have been expected to generate interest in Urdu studies leading to advanced research, only three or four grants appear to be for some aspect of Urdu literature. In general, these statistics once more reveal the minority status of the humanities within South Asian studies as a whole, as indeed within non-western area studies.

In addition to supporting American researchers in Pakistan, the Institute provides grants to Pakistani scholars to visit US institutions to pursue work on their specialities or to attend conferences. Between 1975 and 1987, these short-term post-doctoral awards have brought 17 Pakistanis to eleven American universities (about one per year) and have sent four scholars to an international conference, sponsored in part by the AIPS, and held in Italy. A statement of Institute plans for 1987-89 noted that, in accordance with suggestions made to it by the US-Pakistan Subcommission on Education and Culture (of which more later), it would undertake to increase the number of visiting Pakistani scholars to 5 to 6 per year.

The Institute’s mandate to promote the study and understanding of Pakistan in the US has led it to seek out forums for presenting Pakistani views and issues. Thus AIPS encourages scholars to participate as panel-organizers and paper-givers in regular learned society meetings, both of area organizations such as the Association for Asian Studies and its regional conferences, and of discipline organizations. Perusal of conference programs shows, however, that a small number of the same people heed this call and turn up at meeting after meeting to expound somewhat well-worn subjects, in an often contentious manner.
In its fifteen years, the Institute has succeeded in putting Pakistan studies onto a firmer footing than in the difficult fifties and sixties. Under the auspices of the AIPS fellowship program, scholars have produced a substantial corpus: some 54 books, 290 articles or chapters in books, and 13 dissertations. [AIPS release, November 1988] The total output of writing by AIPS grantees may even be higher since these data are difficult to track accurately. Charles H. Kennedy of Wake Forest University (then Secretary, and now Director of AIPS) in 1987 compiled the first directory of publications by Institute fellows based on research done during the period of their awards. To that he added an impressive list of Pakistan-related publications produced during their careers by members of the then AIPS Executive Committee and Institute officers. [Charles H. Kennedy, AIPS: Directory of Publications...December 1987; 24 p., 9 p.]

As part of its effort to promote the study of Pakistan, the American Institute of Pakistan Studies has on occasion provided funds for travel and maintenance of the American Resident Director of the Berkeley Urdu Language Program in Pakistan which has its headquarters in Lahore.

Without a doubt, the AIPS has facilitated American scholarly activity in Pakistan through its successful work in Islamabad to simplify and accelerate governmental acceptance of research proposals and issuance of visas, problems endemic to many nations where Americans travel for study. India, for example, has presented a thicket of thorns which researchers must penetrate before proposals are accepted and visas issued. One of the American Institute of Indian Studies’ most time-consuming and sensitive tasks in New Delhi is to gain clearance for its fellowship grantees. In this respect, Pakistan appears to put fewer bureaucratic stumbling blocks in a scholar’s way than India.

AIPS Problems and Charting of New Directions

Administrative problems and alleged financial irregularities in the AIPS surfaced in the mid-eighties. Funding agencies such as USIA and Smithsonian, along with some institutional members, began to express dissatisfaction with and lack of confidence in the administration of Hafeez Malik. This eventually led to his replacement by Charles Kennedy and the removal of operations from Villanova to Wake Forest in 1987-88. The Washington Coordinating Group of the US-Pakistan Subcommission on Education and Culture was set up in November 1986 under the chairmanship of Christopher Van Hollen to work with its counterpart in Pakistan, the Islamabad Monitoring Group, to do several things. One is to function in an oversight capacity over such organizations as AIPS as well as to evaluate new organizations in the field of Pakistan studies. An immediate result of the Subcommission’s 1986 new action arm appears to have been pressure on the AIPS for reorganization of its administrations. Meanwhile, a group of scholars at many of the major South Asian centers in the US urged withdrawal of their institutions from the AIPS and got together to form an alternative Pakistan studies group, the American Pakistan Research Organization (this will be discussed further below). It remains to be seen how these two organizations – AIPS and APRO – will divide the field. So far, both governments seem to be dealing in an even-handed way with both organizations.

As explained in earlier issues, Dr. Patterson’s ms. was unfinished. Both she and the editor would be grateful for any relevant information that readers may be able to supply.

Recent Oxford University Press, Pakistan Publications:


The following titles relevant to Pakistan studies have been reviewed in: The Journal of Asian Studies: Vol. 63, No. 4. November 2004.


*Talbot and Thandi (eds), People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial, and Post-Colonial Migration. Reviewer: Anne Murphy.*


1 Also reviewed in Pakistan Studies News #13, Winter 2004.
REVIEWS:
The following are reviews of recent publications:

HASSAN ABBAS. Pakistan’s Drift Into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America’s War on Terror. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2005. pp. xvii + 275. $ 25.95 USD (paperback).

Hassan Abbas, a Ph.D. candidate at the Fletcher School at Tufts University, is a former police officer in Pakistan who also held other government positions. He writes with these experiences paramount, but also as one who is discouraged about the turns his state has taken.

He says that radical Islamic fundamentalism and corruption are the key causes of the present situation in Pakistan. He ties the rise of fundamentalism, properly, to the help given to Islamist groups as part of the support by the Interservices Intelligence (ISI) to those groups in their assistance to the Taliban in Afghanistan against the Soviet occupation of that country. Help provided by the United States (and others) to the anti-Soviet forces through had the unintended result of reinforcing a Taliban that was offering refuge to Osama bin Laden.

The cooperation between Pakistan and the United States in the war on terrorism is seen as advantageous to each side, but this has not stopped the apparent growth of the Islamists. Abbas provides useful descriptions of many of the jihadi groups.

His chapter on the present president is entitled “General Pervez Musharraf: A Season of Hope.” One can only wonder whether this description will prove valid.

This is a quite useful book even if at times a bit disorganized. Those interested in the politics of Pakistan will find it helpful in the understanding of such politics.

Craig Baxter
Juniata College

LIVING A PASHTUN LIFESTYLE: WHO ARE “THOSE” PEOPLE?

GRIMA, BENEDICTE.  Secrets from the Field: An Ethnographer’s Notes from North Western Pakistan. Author House, 2004. pp. $15.50.


In light of recent (post-9/11) interest Afghanistan, and the North Western parts of Pakistan, much of the American public has turned to academics and researchers studying the area to comprehend the seemingly incomprehensibly alien people and culture. Providing the much needed insight are books like Benedicte Grima’s “Secrets from the Field: An Ethnographer’s Notes from North Western Pakistan” and Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak’s “A Pathan Odyssey”. Both texts are similar in that they are first person accounts of experiences of living in the region. The striking differences between the two can be looked at along the lines of culture, gender, class and even profession. And yet, in spite of those incredibly complicated set of differences, there is something essential that joins the two – the sense of what it means to be Pashtun.

Conducting research in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan is commendable by sheer virtue of the inhospitality of rugged terrain, the difficulty of access to material and, for a woman, the cultural laws of conduct based on gender segregation. Benedicte Grima’s book “Secrets from the Field: An Ethnographer’s Notes from North Western Pakistan” is an example of just how difficult it can be to conduct research work in such areas, simultaneously providing an illustration of strategies to understand and cope with the differences and difficulties in being a researcher in such a culture. The book positions itself very carefully as a text to provide a glimpse inside what it actually feels like to be working with Pashto – not just as a language, but as an actively performative way of life.

Stories and impressions compiled of over 12 years of research work in North Western Pakistan, Grima provides the reader with multiple levels of insights into the range of people she lived, worked and traveled with; spanning from the elite to the rural farming villagers. Every chapter is another slice of her life – provided to us from her field notes – and not fully contextualized in the traditional model of anthropology. There is a very raw feeling to much of this book; an almost voyeuristic pleasure one receives, as if the reader has gained access to Grima’s personal diary. It is a refreshing look at data from the field without the complications of anthropological theory – which works both for and against the book.

One of the most compelling segments in Grima’s book is her chapter “From Two Lives to One Story: Mina & Me” in which she narrates the story about her interactions with Mina. Mina is a woman who comes to work in Grima’s household as a nanny for her daughter, while Grima conducts her research throughout the day. The style of narration changes when Mina relates her own stories, in her own words. Mina’s words take on a poetic verse that resonates strongly with folk traditions of gendered storytelling in Pakistan. Mina’s words and stories are intricately woven into issues of gender and sexuality, and create a riveting textured narrative that shines through as a highlight of the entire book. I would recommend Grima’s text for supplemental reading material in undergraduate classes on field work, ethnography and gendered experiences.

In a similarly textured and rich account is the story of Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak. This autobiographical text was edited with a forward by James W. Spain. The book follows the course of Khattak Sahib’s* life, and is structured more as an oral narration about a life story, rather than a structured volume. This technique of writing allows for a remarkably strong voice and provides the reader with a familiarity that fosters the feeling that one is sitting in the garden drinking tea with Khattak Sahib as he relates these stories.
Contextualizing his own birth in Chitral, in 1908 within the framework of his lineage (patrilineal) and their contributions to the political and social life of the NWFP, Khattak Sahib provides an incredibly vivid and dramatic sense of the times, an equally prolific insight into the politics of the last century in the region, and most tantalizingly, historical gossip. Having led a particularly privileged life, clear in his upbringing and schooling (at Oxford), it is no surprise that he enters into politics at a relatively young age and proceeds to leave a mark on the emerging nation state of Pakistan. After independence, he was appointed ambassador to Afghanistan (twice), Iran and Iraq. In 1965 he also became a member of the West Pakistan Assembly, and by 1971 was elected on to the NWFP Assembly. From Speaker of the Assembly to Governor of the NWFP, and to the various ministries that he served on throughout the years, Khattak Sahib’s accounts are most explicit about the strategies and tactics of diplomacy that he had to adopt in order to ensure effective governing.

Most telling of his own personal politics is his constant strife to maintain the integrity of Pashtun identity. Throughout the entire narrative, the pride of being Pashtun is deeply integrated and woven into every action. At first, a distinction made clear in opposition to the British, and much later on, a resistance to merging into the larger Punjabi cultural mix. Through his work as the first director of the radio station in Peshawar, he provided a platform upon which the love of Pashtun music, poetry and literature could maintain itself.

Benedicte Grima and Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak, may be two diametrically opposing figures in multiple ways, but there is one story that they both understand and communicate well – and that is the concept of what it means to live a Pashtun lifestyle. In efforts to understand the people of the North Western parts of Pakistan, both books provide insights that complement one another.

Uzma Z. Rizvi
University of Pennsylvania

* Against academic tradition, I am choosing to write Khattak “Sahib” due to the culturally bound respect I feel for this gentleman after reading this book.


Cohen dissects Pakistan from the beginning of the concept of a separate state through the failures of the state to the present presidential-centered government. He sets the tone of his study by noting five failures of the state (pp. 3-4). Briefly these are: (1) failure to meet the expectations of a Muslim homeland formed by dividing India, (2) failure of vision in that the state is not shaped by the idea of the founders (especially Jinnah and Liaquat Ali) but has been dominated by the military and civil bureaucracies who serve their own interests, (3) economic failure, even after the loss of the much weaker economy of East Pakistan, (4) failure of a leadership he describes as “The Establishment”, an oligarchy, and (5) catastrophic failure including such domestic failures as the lack of full integration of areas like Balochistan and the 1965 war fiasco.

Having set these failures, Cohen goes on the consider the political development of Pakistan including military intervention, the Bangladesh revolt, and “the Kashmir curse,” (p. 51). Within the subjects of the state and society are detailed studies of the army, the political system, the place of Islamists, the question of regionalism and separatism, and economic prospects.

In his commentary of Islamic Pakistan he states: “Pakistan would seem to be a candidate for membership in the ‘axis of evil’: it has terrorists, nuclear weapons, an increasingly influential group of radical Islamists, and a stagnant economy” (p. 196).

As to the future, Cohen concludes in part: “democracy could happen, but likely to be unstable; more likely to revert to military rule, or to Islamist or personalistic system (p. 297). He finishes with alternatives for American policy toward Pakistan.

In this reviewer’s view, this is one of the most important books on Pakistan. Few others have given so careful and exhaustive an analysis. This is not to say that all who study Pakistan and its world will agree with all Cohen says. It should be read.

Craig Baxter
Juniata College


The author’s self-professed aim of this book as expressed in its Preface is to “analyze the pattern of local government finances in the province of Punjab, Pakistan. In particular, the study specifically examines, through a multidimensional approach, the changes emerging in this field and their repercussions for the sociopolitical scene of Pakistan.”

It may be useful to think about the local government in terms of two of its component dimensions separately – as a purely economic institution and as a political entity. We will briefly describe each of these roles to be followed by how the author of the book under review tackles these tasks.

MODERNISM in URDU and HINDI:
Two Poets
Urdu-Hindi Workshop

Saturday April 23rd, 2005
10:30-3:30
Columbia University
School of International Affairs
Room 1134 (enter from 118th)

This workshop will explore the literary history of modernism in South Asia by focusing on the Hindi poet Gajanan Madhav ‘Muktibodh’ (1917-64) and the Urdu poet N. M. Rashed (1910-75). The workshop will consist of both close readings of poems and more general and comparative discussions about modern poetry in Hindi and Urdu. It is free and open to the public, but registration is required. The registration form is available at: http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/sai/.
As a purely economic institution, at least in theory, the local government’s workings can be analyzed in purely financial terms (or at least in terms which are devoid of any deep political ramifications) where such institutions raise revenue (through taxes, fees, etc.) and make expenditure decisions regarding provision of services. In the same vein, any shortfall (‘deficits’) must somehow be financed, often by way of grants from provincial or federal levels of the government.

In this capacity as purely economic institutions, it is important to have appropriate and credible statistics or data that allow a ‘technical analysis’ of the functioning of the local government – for instance, questions need to be answered as to sources of revenue and their relative incidence or burden in terms of their being ‘progressive’ (burden distributed in proportion to ability to pay measured by income or wealth of the payer) or ‘regressive’ (burden falling disproportionately on the relatively poor as in the case of sales taxes). Further, the composition of expenditure patterns and their implications need to be examined – e.g. what proportion of expenditures are being devoted to basic services such as sanitation and other municipal services versus the proportion spent on services such as schooling which have more of a social capital investment component to it. Finally, there should be sufficient and reliable data available to examine the trends in revenue and spending patterns.

Let me now turn to an equally brief description of the second dimension of the local government institutions – i.e. as political entities. It is obvious that local government institutions do not work in a political vacuum. Their character, scope of their influence, relative autonomy with which they may perform their purely economic functions (of raising revenue and making expenditure decisions) are a reflection of the macro level or country wide political infrastructure. Local bodies function differently in different political systems such as a state controlled (‘communist’) or a one, dictatorial, fledgling democratic, or fully matured democratic. In many very important ways, the local government institutions are closest to the daily life of the citizens which in very important ways shape their existentialist experiences in terms of the kind of political system they inhabit.

How does Mr. Ayaz Muhammad’s book, “Local Government Finance” deal with these two aspects of the local government experience i.e. as purely economic institutions and as political entities in the context of his purported case study of (the Pakistani) Punjab?

In terms of a description of the purely economic aspects of the workings of the local government, the author is up against heavy odds as he sets out (Chapter 4) to present a statistical picture of the income, expenditure patterns, taxing power, budgeting, grants and other financing aspects of the local government. The reason for this is obvious – the data are not generally available (and may even be deliberately held back), are often unreliable when available and thus it is very hard to have any level of comfort with the statistical analysis. This is despite the fact that the author has apparently made heroic attempts to leverage his contacts with the civil bureaucracy to privately extract statistical information. This general lack and unreliability of the relevant data, more than anything else, reflects on the severity of the problem that any serious analytical study of the economic functioning of local bodies in Punjab (or, for that matter, the rest of Pakistan) will have to face. This, however, in my view, raises an important question. Does this paucity or unreliability of the statistical information mean that we do not have any sense at all of the economic functioning of the local bodies in Punjab and Pakistan in general? Not really. There is enough anecdotal evidence buttressed by spotty data series and qualitative analysis of the decision making process as well as observations regarding the outcomes on the ground which we can use to form a fairly detailed picture of how the local governments have worked since the Independence. Unfortunately, the picture is not a pretty one since it shows that the local government bodies have been under overall indirect control of the provincial governments and a fairly direct control of the civil bureaucracy (often the Deputy Commissioner or the Assistant Commissioner), autonomous only in name, hamstrung by inefficiency and marred by corruption. And as the historical and contemporaneous analysis by Ayaz Muhammad in this book points out as well, little real reform has found its way in the workings of the local government since the days when the British ruled India.

An interesting and important aside in the context of the treatment of local bodies governance reforms in this book is that while this book discussed proposed ‘devolutionary local bodies governance reforms’ of the Musharraf government (Plan 2000 pp. 62-68), it apparently did not have an opportunity comment on its actual workings since its phased actual operation since August 14, 2001. This ‘new order’, with its institution of the (indirectly) elected office of the ‘nazim’ at the helm of the district level local body, is apparently meant to redress some of the excesses attributed to the former ‘control and command’ structure as spearheaded by the office of deputy commissioner. This ‘new order’ is also portrayed as a harbinger of ‘true’ local financial autonomy. However, it remains an experiment in the making. Whereas, in a limited sense, some positive changes are visible it is yet not clear how the thorny issues of the relative supremacy of the elected MPA and MNA at the provincial and the federal level with their tradition of controlling patronage funds in the guise of the local developmental grants will be resolved vis-à-vis the newly enfranchised and somewhat assertive ‘nazims’ at the local level. The conflicts can be particularly nasty if the party affiliations of the ‘nazim’ and the respective MPA or MNA conflict! Again, in terms of the local financial autonomy issue i.e. how much taxation authority local government is really going to have is an important issue. However, in my opinion, not as important as another, relatively neglected issue - one of compliance which is the ‘weakest link’ in the financial autonomy chain in many developing countries. In the final analysis, any ‘authority to tax’ is only as meaningful as the effectiveness of tax compliance. I cannot imagine, for instance, property being effectively foreclosed for non-payment of real estate taxes in Punjab (or, Pakistan for that matter). Thus, putting the issue more positively, compliance is the source of the effective tax authority which in its absence is merely a listing of so many legalistic Acts replete with their respective clauses and sub
In any event, I believe that this emerging ‘new order’ of the local bodies’ governance in Pakistan deserves a separate detailed study of its own even though some preliminary work is already starting to emerge.

In terms of the author’s analysis of local government institutions as political entities, his pronouncements, particularly in terms of the prognosis, are as bold as they are depressing. He laments the fact that many of these institutions (especially the ‘thana’ (local police station)) have been institutions of repression and oppression. He appears to have idealistic hopes of local bodies to become harbingers of truly democratic national institutions. However, he does not seem to follow through with an analysis of this dimension of the local government as explicitly and unequivocally as he does with the purely economic/statistical analysis. Thus, while it is noteworthy that, as part of his top-ten ‘wish list’, the author states, as number 9 on this list, the need for a “democratically elected leadership guaranteed by the constitution”, the author does not press this point enough (or explicitly enough) through the rest of the book - even when the author may sporadically bemoan the lack of democratic norms, he never makes an unequivocal, direct, explicit and significantly strong statement about the ‘correct’ role he would like the local government institutions to play in the national political context. Of course, it is hard, if not impossible, for the local government institutions to be bastions of democratic norms if the macro level political entities (provincial and federal assemblies and governments) are often non-representative, democratic only in name, and often singularly under the direct control of the military. The grass roots democratic institutions flourish only in a national environment of democratic norms, values, and culture and unfortunately that has been often missing in Pakistan. The need for effective national level democratic institutions as a necessary condition for the representative functioning of local government can also be appreciated by observing the democratic developed countries. Indeed, this is the message Pakistan needs to heed when thinking seriously about the ‘correct’ political role of the local government institutions.

In closing, Ayaz Muhammad’s book is a useful one to read for anyone interested in knowing about the functions (or dysfunctions) of the local government institutions in Punjab, Pakistan. Besides providing details of the basic structure, this book recognizes the inefficiencies which have marred these institutions in their economic functioning. The author makes some interesting observations worthy of additional debate which include (a) proposal to make the ‘tehsil’ as the primary unit of local government and (b) need to pay attention to rural-urban and intra-local government constituencies’ differences in access to financing and resources. In addition, in political terms, the author also exposes the culture of underdemocratic norms, bureaucratic control and repressive state apparatus that the local government institutions have had to historically contend with, though the solution to this aspect of the problem could have been enunciated in much greater detail and with far greater directness. As a quick editorial aside, the book would have been much more enjoyable to read if a good editor would have gone through the text a little more carefully. In any event, in an overall sense, anyone interested in the local government in Punjab (and to that extent, in Pakistan) would find this to be a very useful book especially in terms of its efforts to gather statistical data and provide a historical perspective.

Tayyeb Shabbir
University of Pennsylvania


This book is another publication Baloch from Uppsala—one of only three centers of Baluchi Studies (the others are Naples and Quetta). Earlier titles were Language in Society: eight sociolinguistic essays on Balochi, 2000, and Standardization and Orthography in the Balochi Language, 1989, both similarly edited by Carina Jahani. This volume is based on an international symposium on the Balochi language held at the Department of Asian and African Languages in August 2000. It brought together a number of linguists and social scientists working on a variety of issues in Balochi communities in different parts of what has sometimes been called “Greater Baluchistan,” which besides the Western province of Pakistan, the southeastern province of Iran and the southwestern provinces of Afghanistan includes areas in Turkmenistan and Oman as well as Iran's Khorasan province. The book is their best product yet, and it is worth noting (p. 9) that in the process of producing it they have created “an international forum of researchers on Balochi [in order to] increase cooperation between the scholars working in Iran, Pakistan and neighbouring countries and those active outside the countries where Balochi is spoken.”

The book contains nineteen articles, divided among three parts: on (a) Historical Linguistics, (b) Language Contact in Modern Times, and (c) History, Culture, and the Future of the Balochi Language. The future for Balochi does not look too bright because more and more young people depend upon other languages for their socio-economic advancement. But the contributors form an interesting community of Balochists, hailing as they do from the Armenia, Germany, Iran, Italy, Pakistan, New Zealand, Russia, the U.A.E., U.K., and U.S.A., as well as Sweden. Every article contains some combination of interesting new data and a useful summary of existing knowledge. Although the book contains little in the way of new ideas, there is plenty of new data that will be valuable for the exploration of new ideas.

The topics addressed include the historical relationship between Balochi and other Iranian languages, comparative regional changes in the use of the ergative, movement between prepositions and postpositions, the effects of modern contact with the surrounding languages in Oman and Turkmenistan, as well as Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan, the shifting socio-linguistic boundary between Balochi and Pashto, the repertoire of personal names, how we should understand “Kuch o Baluch” in the Shahnama, a bibliography of periodicals published in Balochi, and a discussion of the confused application of colonial law to the statuses of
slave and woman under the British. A few especially important points deserve to be singled out. Perhaps the most significant is the finding that Jadgali (spoken on the Dashtiari plain in the extreme southeast corner of Iran) is “almost certainly a variety of Southern Siraiki” (Farrell, p. 172). Secondly, the article by Titus is the first serious effort to provide data relating to Barth’s well-known hypothesis for explaining the historical movement of the Baloch-Pashtun boundary counter-intuitively at the expense of the Pashtuns over the past two hundred years. This is long overdue and Titus deserves credit for taking it on. The documentation of personal names (Badalkhan) and the listing of periodicals (Dashtiyari) are also particularly valuable. The maps are also very useful, and there are many useful new items in the bibliography.

The statement in the Introduction (p. 11) on the nature of the relationship between epic tradition about Baloch origins and historical fact also deserves mention. It finally confronts the problem head on, instead of avoiding (or even ridiculing it, as many have done in the past). Perhaps the next step will be for someone in a future publication to take up the challenge and make the more detailed historical investigation that is needed. Otherwise, the historical references and assumptions throughout are generally good, but Mahmoodzahi’s statement (p. 148) “the Baloch tribal confederacy was also established during the first centuries of the 2nd millennium” (giving no source) is surprising and requires some justification.

If the book has a more general weakness it is that none of the authors does much to bring Balochi studies out of their historical closet by suggesting what can be learned from the Baluch that might be useful or interesting to non-specialists. Good though it is, therefore, and despite its wealth of data, there is little here to attract the non-Balochist.

Brian Spooner
University of Pennsylvania

the annual of urdu studies

The aim of the Annual of Urdu Studies (AUS) is to provide a forum for scholars working on Urdu Humanities in the broadest sense in which to publish scholarly articles, translations and views. The AUS also publishes reviews of books, an annual inventory of significant Western publications in the field, reports, research-in-progress, notices, and information on forthcoming events of interest to its readers (conferences, workshops, competitions, awards, etc.). Each issue of AUS will also include a section in the Urdu script featuring old and new writing. Annual subscriptions are $18 for individuals and $30 for institutions (postage and handling extra). To subscribe or for more information visit the AUS site at http://www.urdustudies.com or write to:

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variş ‘alavi

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Shadam az Zindagi-e Khish
ralph russell

“Bravo! Bravo!”
asad Muhammad khan

Ghazaliyat
jalal al-din rumi
The second biennial conference of Pakistan Studies will focus on the relationship of Pakistan to larger historical processes, not only in the neighboring regions of South and Central Asia, but in Asia and the Indian Ocean, and in a globalizing world.

Plenary addresses will be offered by Zulfiqar Gilani (Director of the Centre for Higher Education Transformation, former Vice Chancellor or the University of Peshawar), M. Ashraf Adeel (Professor of Philosophy and former Director of the Institute of Education & Research at the University of Peshawar, and former Vice Chancellor of Hazara University), and Brian Spooner (Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, and President of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies).

The eight panels cover the spectrum of disciplinary interest in Pakistan and related topics, in Archaeology, Economics, History, Language, Literature and Politics. Details of the participants and papers are given below.

Further information is available online at: http://www.pakistanstudies-aips.org or by calling: 215.746.0250.
11:00 - 12:45 pm
Session Four: The Politics of Pakistan, A Roundtable
Rainey Auditorium
Chaired by: Craig Baxter, Juniata College
Marvin Weinbaum, Middle East Institute
Stephen Philip Cohen, Brookings Institution
Rasul Bakhsh Rais, Lahore University of Management Sciences

12:45 - 2:15 pm
Lunch
Lower Egypt Gallery
Keynote Address: The Development of Philosophical Thought in Pakistan
Ashraf Adeel, Peshawar University

2:15 - 4:00 pm
Session Five: Beyond the State: Interregional Histories of Pakistan
Rainey Auditorium
Chair: Rubab Qureshi, University of Pennsylvania
Pashtun Diaspora: Migration to the Gulf, 1970-2000
Robert Nichols, Richard Stockton College
Labor Migrants’ Call to the Ummah in Kuwait: Contradictions and Interconnections
Attiya Ahmed, Duke University
The State and Diaspora: The Pakistani Transnational and the New Return Migration
Junaid Rana, University of Illinois
Discussant:
David Gilmartin, North Carolina State University

4:15 - 6:00 pm
Session Six: Literature
Co-Sponsored with the Annual of Urdu Studies
Rainey Auditorium
Chair: Daisy Rockwell, University of California, Berkeley
Prudery in South Asian Muslim Literature: The British Legacy
Tariq Rabbani, University of California, Berkeley
Fugitive Meanings and Veiled Resistance in an Oral Narrative
Maggie Ronkin, Georgetown University
Saba in Ruins: Urdu Modernism’s Imaginative Geography
Sean Pue, Columbia University

6:00 pm
Reception
Co-Sponsored with the South Asia Studies Department of the University of Pennsylvania
Mosaic Gallery

7:00 pm
Dinner
Upper Egypt Gallery
Keynote Address: The Future of Pakistan Studies
Brian Spooner, University of Pennsylvania, President AIPS

8:30 - 10:00 pm
Film Screening: Khamosh Pani (Silent Waters)
Sabiha Sumar/2003/95 min/video/Pakistan
Rainey Auditorium
Khamosh Pani, Sabiha Sumar’s debut feature film, has won tremendous critical acclaim, 14 international awards, and has been presented at numerous film festivals around the world. Set in 1979 in Pakistan, when General Zia-ul-Haq took control of the country and stoked the fires of Islamic nationalism. Ayesha, a Muslim woman who gets by on her late husband’s pension and by teaching young girls the Koran, invests her hopes in her beloved son Saleem. But when Saleem takes up with a group of Islamic fundamentalists just as a group of Sikh pilgrims come to town, Ayesha’s haunted past turns her present life upside down.

Sunday May 1
8:30 am
Coffee
Children’s Cafe

9:15 - 11:00 am
Session Seven: Historical Correctness: Writing and Teaching the Pasts of Pakistan
Rainey Auditorium
Chair and Discussant: Aslam Syed, University of Pennsylvania
Shifting Archives in Pakistani Historiography: The Role of Literature
Farina Mir, University of Michigan
Grain from Chaff: the Incredible Lightness of Pakistan’s History in the U.S. College Classroom
Rich Barnett, University of Virginia
Pakistan’s Strategic Perception and History: The Problem of Linearity
Ayesha Siddiqa, Woodrow Wilson International Center Fellow, and the University of London

11:15 - 1:00 pm
Session Eight: Adab and its Sources
Co-sponsored with the Center for South Asia Libraries (CSAL)
Rainey Auditorium
Adab and the Library Dunya
Jim Nye, University of Chicago & Center for South Asia Libraries
Literacy as Adab
Brian Spooner, University of Pennsylvania & Bill Hanaway, University of Pennsylvania
Between Document and Culture: Surveying Private Libraries in Pakistan
Noman-ul-Haq, University of Pennsylvania and AIPS

1:15 pm
Lunch
Upper Egypt Gallery
Concluding Remarks and Plans for Third Biennial Conference
Thursday, March 31st, 2005

**Session 8: 7:00 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.**

Individual Papers, States, Religion, and Discourses of the “Other”

Chaired by Paula Richman, Oberlin College
Columbus Hall AB – Gold Level/East Tower

Pakistan's Madrassahs: Teaching the Alphabets of Jihad?
Ali Riaz, Illinois State University
Fundamentalism, the Curriculum and National Identity; Lessons from India.

Marie Lall, University of London

Spencer A. Leonard, University of Chicago
Between Security and Conflict: Governments and Muslim Minorities in Asia.

Sandra Leavitt, Georgetown University

Saturday, April 2nd, 2005

**Session 120: 10:45 a.m. – 12:45 p.m.**

Getting to Rapprochement over Kashmir: Implications for India, Pakistan, and China

Sponsored by the South Asia Council
Chaired by Anita M. Weiss, University of Oregon
Grand Ballroom B- Gold Level/East Tower

Resolving the Kashmir Dispute: Blending Realism with Justice
Rijaat Hussain, Quaid-e-azam University

Chitrakoot Kh Zutshi, College of William & Mary
China and the Kashmir Problem

Jing-dong Yuan, Monterey Institute of International Studies
Discussants:
Sumit Ganguly, Indiana University
Husain Haqqani, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Sunday, April 3rd, 2005

**Session 195: 10:45 a.m. – 12:45 p.m.**

Roundtable. Women in World History: A Reappraisal of Approaches to Teaching.

Sponsored by the Committee on Teaching About Asia
Chaired by Keith Snodgrass, University of Washington
Grand Ballroom A – Gold Level/East Tower

Discussants:
Wendy Doniger, University of Chicago
Anand A. Yang, University of Washington

**Session 202: 10:45 a.m. – 12:45 p.m.**


Chaired by Rakka Ray, University of California, Berkeley
Columbus Hall KL – Gold Level/East Tower

The (Un)Making of a South Asian Aesthetic: The Consumption of Bollywood in Pakistan and the Pakistani Diaspora.


Tanisha Ramachandran, Concordia University
First Night: Conservative Sexual Humor in Madras Theater.

Kristen Radixill, University of Texas, Austin
Geographies of Contagion: Hijras, Kotsi and the Politics of Sexual Marginality in India.

Gayatri Reddy, University of Illinois, Chicago
The Twentieth Annual South Asia Conference at the University of California, Berkeley, drew academics from all regions of the country and a variety of academic disciplines. The conference was held at the International House on February 11th and 12th. The keynote lecturer, Dr. J. Mark Kenoyer, is the Director of the Center for South Asia and Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. His talk drew upon archeological discoveries from over two million years ago to the Early Historical Period, around 300 B.C. He suggested innovative ways of interpreting “models of culture change,” including a controversial critique of the Indo-Aryan invasion model. Most of his fieldwork was conducted in present-day Pakistan, the seat of the Indus Valley Civilization. Other highlights of the conference included a panel titled “Who is Muslim? Religion and Politics in Pakistan Fifty Years after the Munir Report (1954).” The panel was chaired by Professor Tariq Rahman, the Quaid-i-Azam Chair of Pakistan Studies at UC Berkeley, and covered topics ranging from modern education in Pakistan to the politics of Sufism.

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies may provide financial support for participation and presentations at the conferences listed. Topics of research must be related to Pakistan/Pakistani studies. Please contact us at info@PakistanStudies-AIPS.org with requests for conference support.

Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting 2005
MESA’s 39th annual meeting will be held November 19-22, 2005 at the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel in Washington, DC. Proposals are invited for pre-organized panels, individual papers, roundtables and thematic conversations.

34th Annual Conference on South Asia
The 34th Annual Conference on South Asia will be held from October 6-9, 2005 at the Concourse Hotel, One West Dayton Street, Madison, WI. Details are available online at: http://www.wisc.edu/southasiaconference.

Call for Papers: South Asia in Crisis: U.S. Policy, 1961–1972

Paper proposals (abstract and c.v.) should be sent, via email (ahlbergkl@state.gov) or fax (202.663.3272), before April 25, 2005 to: Dr. Kristin Ahlberg, Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State. Further information may be obtained from the U.S. Department of State website at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/39543.htm

American Institute of Pakistan Studies Fellowship Program 2005-2006
Applications are invited for research fellowships at the pre- or post-doctoral level for projects lasting two to nine months. Awards will include international travel expenses and stipends (subject to availability of funds). The amount of the stipends will be comparable to Fulbright Awards and will be announced later. Funds may be used for research on materials relating to the history and culture of Pakistan in any country except Pakistan and the U.S.

Applicants must be U.S. citizens. Pre-doctoral applicants should have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation.

Applications should include a proposal (5 pp.), curriculum vitae, and contact information for two referees. Pre-doctoral applications should include a transcript and a letter from the dissertation advisor.

Deadline for applications: August 31, 2005

Further information: http://www.pakistanstudies-aips.org or call: 215.746.0250

AIPS regrets that security regulations continue to preclude the use of U.S. government-funded fellowships in Pakistan.

Call for Papers: Heritage Learners: Overcoming Curricular Challenges
This year the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is hosting a symposium on teaching South Asian languages that will precede the 25th meeting of the South Asian Language Analysis (SALA) roundtable, September 16-18, 2005. For more information on the SALA roundtable, please visit our web-site: http://www.linguistics.uiuc.edu/shappeck/sala25/index.htm

Pre-conference Symposium: September 15, 2005, 9 am to 4 pm, Lucy Ellis Lounge, Foreign Languages Building, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Invited Speaker: Silvina Montrul, Helen Corley Petit Professor of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Abstracts are invited for 30 minute paper presentations addressing issues of instructional methodologies in language programs with substantial numbers of heritage students.

Deadline: April 30, 2005. Email submissions: sala-25@uiuc.edu

Note: Faculty and graduate students at South Asia (or International Studies) National Resource Center campuses should look to their Centers for conference support. SALRC has funds available to support some travel and lodging costs for presenters from non-NRC institutions.
The American Institute of Pakistan Studies

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies is managed by elected officers, an executive committee, and a board of trustees. The incumbent officers are Brian Spooner (President), Daisy Rockwell (Treasurer), and David Gilmartin (Secretary). The Board of Trustees is composed of representatives from each of the Institutional members, plus one elected trustee to represent every 20 individual members. Individual membership is open to all Pakistanists—all students and scholars of Pakistan and related subjects in whatever discipline. Annual membership dues are $25.00, payable before the beginning of the academic year. Members receive the Newsletter and participate in the Institute’s programs, including panels at the annual meeting of the South Asia Conferences at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in October, Middle East Studies Association in November, Berkeley in February and the Association of Asian Studies in March.

Funding

In addition to the dues of Institutional members, AIPS currently receives substantial annual funding from the U.S. Department of Education, the Council of American Overseas Research Centers and the Ministry of Education (Government of Pakistan).

Pakistan Studies News

This newsletter is the fourteenth of a new series, and normally appears twice a year. It has two purposes: (a) to serve as the organ of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies, recording its activities and publicizing its programs, and (b) to improve communication in the field generally and enhance the sense of community among all Pakistanists in whatever discipline.

The details of how to achieve these objectives will no doubt evolve from year to year as we learn more about the work of colleagues and gain experience in the solicitation of materials. However, apart from a series of statements and reports on particular programs of the Institute, each issue will feature a particular current project, brief reports of current work, and news of recent publications, with reviews, at least one of which will be substantial. Each issue is likely to emphasize some disciplines and topics at the expense of others, if only for reasons of space. But care will be taken to even out the coverage of some fields over time. Overall, our editorial ability to cover the field will depend entirely on your willingness to keep us informed and to send in contributions.

AIPS On-line: www.PakistanStudies-AIPS.org

The AIPS website contains further information on membership and our current programs. Also maintained on-line is a directory of scholars and research that have been associated with AIPS over the past thirty years. We intend to build it further into a directory of all related to Pakistan in the social sciences and the humanities. Our goal is to develop this site as a major resource not only for Pakistan Studies but for related fields in which Pakistan, its component communities and geographical territories have been significant players. We would like it ultimately to function as a cyber-center for the study of Pakistan in the context of the eastern Islamic world. To help us with this endeavor, we would request you to visit the site and offer your comments and suggestions.
American Institute of Pakistan Studies Welcomes New Members

Name: ___________________________________________________________________
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Field of Specialization and areas of interest: ________________________________
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Members receive The Pakistan Studies News and participate in the Institute’s programs, including panels and receptions at the annual meetings of the South Asia Conference at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in October, the Middle East Studies Association in November, and at the Association for Asian Studies Meetings in March. We welcome you and look forward to your membership in our organization.

Please send check for $25 annual dues payable to
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Omissions and Corrections:

In Pakistan Studies News Volume 13, Winter 2004:

“PLASP Completes First Survey’ was authored by Dr. Nomanul Haq and “Launch of New AIPS Website” by Uzma Rizvi.

“Launch of New AIPS Website” continues on page 8.
“Three Posters: Negotiating Time/History and Community in Pakistani Sufi-Oriented Lithograph Portraits” continues on page 9.

Our apologies for the oversights.