

## **The Third Azan**

Khalil-ur-Rehman\*

### **Abstract**

*The narrative is that a child was born on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 by the name of Pakistan. The little one was Muslim by birth and the rite of saying azan in the ears of the newborn is an Islamic ritual. However, this child went through the ritual of not one, but two 'political' azans. The First Azan was that of a nation-state with well-defined frontiers where people have commonality of interest, having national anthem and a flag, aspirations for the future and a rational national interest to pursue within the framework of High and Low politics. The Second Azan dictated that Pakistan's center of gravity is non-geographic, its focus and essence is not confined to geography or space and that it will have to answer to the call wherever it may occur or come from. The Second Azan stood for pan-Islamism and pan-Islamic aspirations. The two are totally contradictory. Pakistani perception mixes one with the other, takes one for the other. The First Azan is driven by the geography; the Second Azan is oblivious to it and belongs to the space of MIND*

**Keywords:** Thought, Perception, States of Mind, Contradiction, Consonance, Dissonance, Emotions, Reductionism.

### **Introduction**

Consonance opposed to noumenon is harmony. It is the best state of being e.g., a beautiful conversation or vibrating in sympathy with instruments, whereas, cognitive dissonance is disharmony and this too is part of life. In day to day life, human beings expect from each other. Dissonance is experienced when expectations fail. The frustration creates motivation to rationalize the dissonance. It brings confusion into being. The process of understanding is hampered. Things go wrong, because, phenomenal facts are important in the function of perceptions. The level at which dissonance is pitched is important. It matters in case of important people involved in the affairs of state. The failure of calculations at the leadership level may lead to a dissonance based decision. Since perceptions are not objective, but are phenomenal, these tend to be

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subjective. The corrective measures help to reduce the negative impact of subjective phenomenon. One should avoid dissonance because it affects perception, attitudes and behavior. Emotions take over. The psychological construct is that emotional and conflicting ideas need to be processed and avoided pragmatically. Otherwise, it results either in wrong decisions or conduct unbecoming. Any rationalization of problematic behavior is cognitive dissonance. This is the reality.

Cognitive dissonance is a violation of general logic between any two related cognitive elements,<sup>1</sup> e.g., nation-state and its geography. The breach occurs in mind. The same is true for the mandarins of Pakistan's foreign policy, politics and the masses in general. The cognitive dissonance of Pakistani perception stems from Urdu language, resultant pan-Islamic culture, psychological structures, passions and emotions. It is simply being double and the double think and double talk. Pakistan's political, economic and strategic and foreign policy crises are linked to the cognitive dissonance of Pakistani perception. The problem persists for the absence of corrective measures. It manifests itself in the internal and external crises. The conflict and chaos along with the reappearance of repression and oppression indicates. The cosmology and methodology both are deductive furthering the dissonance. A new perception has to be tailored to be in harmony with the modern world and worldview. Many civilizations have gone through serious problems but they overcame the crisis through knowledge and wisdom. The historic reductionism continues chiseling out the pluralism and good things of Islam. The consequences have emerged. Everything is at a critical balance. A micro tremor can turn macro unleashing Chaos Theory. It will be devastating.

Somehow some cultures are more liable to be unconscious, whereas, consciousness is not the passage of time. Time passes through us and not us passing through time. Time is solvent being attentive in time. Only an in time alliance with time succeeds. An adherence to time gives control. There is no stretching of the time. Time does not stand still. Time becomes rational as one grows old. The passage of time is missed when one gets involved. The present should be the referent. For the caver continues to be the prisoner of the half-lit intellect. Bring to witness the passage of time that the *Mystique* is going through the *Night of Trial*, the *Dark Night of Soul*. The *Master Thought* is that the caver has to go upwards towards the *Light* and not to another cave. Every individual is a universe of his own. The perception of reality is through the

consciousness and it dies when one dies. The universe is in self and not self is in the universe. The universe is the function of an individual consciousness. Are we in this universe or this universe in us?

The idea of the *passage of time* is negated sub-consciously and unconsciously. For no other language or culture can countenance to *kal* for tomorrow as well as yesterday. Any language that countenance tomorrow and yesterday as one has a problem of perception and history. In real world, time does not stand still. It does not stop when one is asleep. Its progression is linear. We are an ahistorical culture. This is a conclusive proof of the insensitivity to the passage of time. In combination with the denial of geography, it is a disadvantage in policy formulation, decision making and diplomacy. The impact of cognitive dissonance on economy, politics, geo-strategy and foreign policy is negative. The awareness is lacking that the birth and rise of Urdu was in a particular historical context. And to sustain the North Indian Muslim culture, i.e., pan-Islamism; political reductionism continues in combination with religious reductionism. What remains attracts enmity and accentuates cleavages. What Pakistan attempted before the attacks on New York and Washington was to play cannon (Kashmir, Afghanistan and Central Asia) with this billiards ball while having skates under its feet. These skates are economy, debt, political instability, discontent, social disharmony, administrative breakdown and psychological despair, let alone no sanctity of life.

All rolled into one, the mess is pan-Islamic. The belittling of this idea will not work. It remains problematic cutting across time and space dimensions. The crisis in Pakistan is the disguised form of psychological repression. The idea that Pakistan has achieved political stability is false. The authority and order is dead. What is the positive starting point? Who is the saving grace, if at all? Now there are always times when one has to fight it out with oneself to make a correct choice and right decisions. And notwithstanding the ravings and ranting, the day after has resulted in nothing so many times. It is all very curious. Enjoying power is different from having serious associations and meaningful policies. The idea is to make an escape through an act of imagination from dissonance based shadows to wisdom. The shift of focus has to be towards intangibles. One has to see beyond the obvious. The taking of desire for reality has not worked. The willingness to do anything required to solve the problem is certainly lacking. Would it be fair to make a distinction that the *Second Azan* was heard sharper in

North India as opposed to the present day Pakistan? The lip service has turned everything upside down. The reductionism continues. What was anguish is an extended grief now. And an extrovert can never be an introvert, or the other way round.

Pakistan today is at the heart of make or break. For the perception continues to be driven by cognitive dissonance. Ignorance and spin is a deadly mixture. There was a situation. Today, there are situations. Certain things cannot be hidden under any measures. The sum and substance is now complex. It is social, political and religious reductionism. The banalities are torturous. The skipping of the premises has not worked. The failure cannot be concealed. Holding on to power and power struggle is an addiction. The truth has a force. The finding out fascinates. Criticism can be an outlook. The cup should pass. Yet, there is a degradation of the prestige. Is democracy an end or means to an end? Amelioration is the end.

Besides, the *Second Azan* has emerged as the dangerous of all skates a decade after 9/11. The post-9/11 FATA and Balochistan are obvious whereas Karachi manifest dangers. The mega city is infamous for local, regional and global variables. Pakistan is an important country in a strategic region and choosing between various evils is always a difficult choice, especially for the thick skinned. The case of dwindling insurgencies in the North West and Balochistan in its last throbs is not rational. It is not convincing either for the number of fighters is not diminishing. The intensity of the insurgencies remains under the effective control of the insurgent leadership. The switching-on and switching-off is meaningful, let alone the escalation at will. Little is known about the insurgents as a whole that are getting more and more organized. The delaying battle can turn into a rout. Who holds the initiative? The possibilities are many and are likely to get worse. The threat and danger was never perceived in the correct sense. It is violent and competitive. What is playing out was in the waiting. It is not possible to dominate the Hindu Kush Mountains, let alone securing it. There are no flanks. It is frontal. The ultimate geo-political and geo-strategic truth is that Balochistan offers an alternative to the failures in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some changes are already there. The confrontation continues. All knives are out. Pakistan is sinking more and more into Balochistan, Waziristan and Karachi. The finale is to come. The issue is not survival; it is the scale of survival. There is always a point where tactics end and strategy starts. The tactics could be unpredictable, but the strategic truth is always clear. Pakistani mind is tactical cum operational. It

is slow to absorb strategic truths. It takes time to register strategic shifts. If one is in a negative position in the strategic sense, then the options are gradually reduced strategically. The odds are negative. Still, a war against Pakistan will never be an option for *others*. For Pakistan's nuclear weapon capability leaves room for imposition of will on *others*, if it comes to it. The *suicidal instinct* is a card in this context. And the world needs to be reminded again and again.

Nonetheless, the ancestral spirit has failed. It failed to catch up with the modern world. An epistemology centered on harmony is required. It requires critical thinking and developmental approach. The need is of rethinking to steer a new course to tackle the crisis. After this anarchy what else could have emerged? For what could have never happened has happened so many times. What is the correct hypothesis, for when everything is excluded; the only thing left is an accurate hypothesis. There are two problems that haunt Pakistan. There isn't a third. It is plain and evident. The 1971 was a critical year and a nation died. An idea failed. Two other nations were born. The by-product is that Pakistan is pitted against India which is seven times the size of Pakistan. How do you fill the gap for we are pitted for a life time? So the distortion in the strategic and foreign policy, and politics and economy are distorted. How do you make two plus two five? It is simply not possible mathematically. The second problem is the political imbalance cum pan-Islamic ideology. It is a fog like phantom. And the mysterious *Unmanifest* i.e., the *Second Azan* is spreading.

A big lie means that small lies have no meaning and value. The Great Questions are: Whether the Pakistani perception will harmonize itself with nation-state or not? Is the soil of Islamic World hospitable to the sciences of modernity? For the intellectual evolution is certainly questionable. It is rather absent. The environment is stagnant. It is neither Phil nor Reason. No reason, no rational, no science; no arts and literature. Although revelation is light but mind is failing. Mind is blinded. All arteries are blocked. How long ignorance and shadows will continue to prevail? When will the soul turn around? When will the knowledge and wisdom prevail? The system of thought is Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic is deductive. The future of induction in an environment of dissonance and deduction is negative. The interpretation at the same level has not worked. It will not work, unless it is complete. The veiled meanings will have to be unveiled. Only the insightful and sophisticated *Third Eye* with wisdom can be transformative.

*Renaissance* means nothing but turning around and outward. The spirit whispers *Interpretation* to harmonize the *Second Azan*.

The theoretical basis is Freud's sub-conscious. His genius was in the basics of neurosis that he highlighted. The basis of neurosis is self-deception through psychological repression. The truth is concealed so that it does not torment. It festers and returns in disguised forms. The patient suppresses; suffers and reaches the stage of psychosis. Mind suffers from dissociation in the context of memory, attention and decision making. For mind throws veils. An imbalanced problematic behavior is an example. In this context, neurosis is a disease that can be controlled. An advance stage of it becomes psychosis, and one loses control. The sense of guilt is suppressed through psychological repression. The escape is through concealment. Sometimes it is of fundamental nature, and appears in indirect forms. The root or reason is hidden. The hidden has to be revealed. The exposure takes the venom out. The logic can be transferred to collectivity i.e., collective psychoses. The dissonance based defensive mechanism is now pathology. The wounds will have to be opened to heal them. Light of wisdom will cure it. There is no other way.

### **The Historical Context**

Historically, dissonance is important in political situations. An example is that of the Muslims who found themselves in a grim situation on the eve of British withdrawal from the sub-continent. The real danger was in the socio-economic terms. Against this background, the world of Gandhi and Nehru wanted to assert and break the shackles after one thousand years of subjugation. The Hindu apprehension, fear and dread had its origins in the one millennium of foreign rule. The *Second Azan* i.e., pan-Islamism was prolongation of something that already existed in an embryonic form since centuries. It was neither local nor rooted in the soil. All the comparisons and correlations were trans-national, trans-geographic and trans-cultural. The roots were present long before Jinnah's arrival on the scene. It was Nehru's refusal to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan that finally triggered the Muslim fears into an action. Jinnah was left with no choice but to use the pan-Islamic card. The gates of religiosity were opened and Pakistan never recovered from it. Essentially every leader is a follower as well. Jinnah became a symbol of the rehabilitation of Muslim ego. The pan-Islamic culture became the driving force in the creation of Pakistan. Other than the Nehru Report (1928), the phenomenal fact of the Cabinet Mission Plan proved decisive and

the partition of the sub-continent took place. With a touch of an autocrat, vanity and abstinence, Jinnah thought an iron curtain will not fall. Jinnah tried to roll back the impact of the use pan-Islamic card on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947 in his speech to the first constituent assembly of Pakistan. However, the subsequent illness and an early death (11<sup>th</sup> September 1948) did not let him succeed. And Objectives Resolution was adopted by the constituent assembly on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1949 confirming the pan-Islamic worldview. Since then the passions and emotions have governed the State of Pakistan and its worldview. The sense of minority complex prevailed at the conscious level and it continues to prevail at the sub-conscious level as 21<sup>st</sup> century unfolds.

The fear of Hindu domination and the majority's refusal to concede *constitutional guarantees* to a major minority led to the partition of India. Yet, one wants to dominate whereas the other fears domination. The differences and mutual suspicions that existed at the time of partition still exist. The end result is continuing cognitive dissonance. After the failure of Cabinet Mission Plan (1946), Lord Ismay's proposal to partition the Punjab and Bengal was an attempt to dissuade the Muslims of India from demanding a separate homeland. The receding British Empire wanted to leave behind a united and democratic India. The promotion of modern worldview was the desire. We must bear in mind that Mountbatten, Attlee, and all the other British statesmen were extremely unhappy that the unity of India, which they regarded as proudest achievement of their glorious regime, had been destroyed by the creation of Pakistan.<sup>2</sup> The British desire to exercise power through the commonwealth in a way, which the Romans could not, nor could the Mughals or anyone else was yet another longing. It was felt that perhaps Jinnah would back down if he could get only a truncated Pakistan and not the country he envisioned.<sup>3</sup> The tables were turned on the Muslim League by proposing the partition of Punjab and Bengal. The heart of India in the 1940s was nothing but the two provinces. Of course, the British and the Congress leadership had a common understanding on the proposition to partition these provinces. However, the fear of Hindu domination and the cultural obsession prevailed in the Muslim League. The first partition in the minds of the Founding Fathers of Pakistan took place. The compromise was evident in the subsequent developments.

Emotions governed and the hypnosis of the verb prevailed. The actual partition of the sub-continent materialized on the British lines. Other than belonging to the space of mind in the form of an

idea, the Two-Nation theory is pan-Islamic. It is *Second Azan*. It is cognitive dissonance, a contradiction. Had it been rooted in geography, it would have been ideal. It is possible to have charisma yet no administrative experience or vice versa. Jinnah was charismatic but short of administrative experience. The administrative reason entrenched in geography was not part of his perception. Jinnah was acting until he forgot that he is acting. The pan-Islamic and emotions based logic emanating from the North Indian culture and the fear of Hindu domination was the driving force behind Pakistan's creation, and not geography. First, the moth eaten East and West Pakistan, then Kashmir, 1971, Siachin, Waziristan and still Pakistan! What else is it if not geographical blindness? And nobody was taken to *account* after 1971. Nation-State is ingrained in geography, whereas, the reason and logic of pan-Islamism is insensitive to it, and is attached with emotions. The creation of Pakistan and its subsequent history indicates the same. What Jinnah was awarded by the Raj was geographically an artificial state.<sup>4</sup> The interests of colonialists came into play and played a questionable role in the partition of India. A product of cognitive dissonance, is Pakistan an entity which is an instrument of pan-Islamism or is it a territorial state? Pakistan since day one is torn between the *First Azan* and *Second Azan*. Still, how can one agree that there is no solution to a set of problems faced by Pakistan? Culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilizational identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world.<sup>5</sup>

The Muslims of India lost their kingdom, their Mughal Empire, their emperor, their language, their culture, their capital city of Delhi, their sense of self,<sup>6</sup> and the *Second Azan*. The sense of loss persisted the then and continues to persist now. This minority lived in two worlds. It thrilled because of Khilafat Movement while having no geographic connection to it. Khilafat Movement was a miniature *Second Azan*. It said bye bye to geography and rationality. Although the Turks were rejecting, the Muslims of North India were trying to restore the dying Khilafat. For all practical purposes the Khilafat Movement ended up, as an attempt to stave off the rout of a system of religious leadership of Muslims that was no longer going to be tenable in the contemporary world.<sup>7</sup> There was a black-out on space and geography due to cognitive dissonance as was the case in the lack of geographic connection between the former East and West Pakistan. Its parallel is visible even today, i.e., blotting out of the geography. The romance continues. Pan-Islamism was and is love

with an idea and not with the geography. And geographic separation produced not only administrative but social, economic and political problems as well.<sup>8</sup> By 1971, pan-Islamic pursuits ended united Pakistan. Later, it led to the political and foreign policy problems creating threats to the Federation of Pakistan in the post-9/11 world. These threats to the federation matured over the decades while pursuing cognitive dissonance. The prevalence of non-geographic ideas continues to this day, as opposed to the perception grounded in geography. The truth is that reformation can only be by a mind willing to transcend the problem. For Pakistanis do get thrilled by the events in the North Africa, Middle East, Central Asia, the Balkans and elsewhere in the world at large. Support for the executed tyrant Saddam Hussain during the two Gulf Wars is an example. This is the inversion of values. This is a curious psychological condition with no parallel in the Muslim world.

During the first term of late Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto; Pakistan had to move a resolution in the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in connection with Pakistan's foreign policy stance on Kashmir dispute. The diplomacy to garner support took her around the Islamic World including Iraq. During the negotiations with the Iraqi leadership, Pakistan sought Iraq's support for the resolution on Kashmir dispute. The Iraqi leadership refused. It was proposed to them to continue dialogue on the issue, to which Iraqis reluctantly agreed. Afterwards, the Pakistani leadership got in touch with the Egyptians and it was Egypt's diplomacy that led to the Iraqi support for Pakistan's resolution on the Kashmir dispute in the OIC. Yet, Mirza Aslam Baig went on strategic defiance during the first Gulf War over Kuwait despite the Iraqi aggression and occupation. The rational course for him would have been to denounce the act on the basis of what a big country did to a small one. It would have suited Pakistan against its adversary India. Besides, notwithstanding the so called *Pakistan first* slogan, Musharraf asked Bill Clinton during his visit to Pakistan to recognize Pakistan as the leader of the Islamic World. This trans-geographic cultural attitude is cognitive dissonance and an antithesis of national interest grounded in geography and rationality. It is now common to the masses and the bogus elite that failed to evolve a political system and the economy. Other than the political and economic failures, and a military defeat, what are the claims? This haunts Pakistan both in FATA and in Balochistan as 21<sup>st</sup> century unfolds. Its roots are in the Urdu language, the resultant pan-Islamic psychological structures, emotions and the

cognitive dissonance of the perception. The *Second Azan* has hypnotized the perception. There is no other reason, nor there ever was.

This is split psychology since we now know the future of Pakistan's past, the passions, emotions and the agony involved. There is no difference between the agony of a splintered soul and the agony of a splintered nation.<sup>9</sup> Pakistan since its birth is going through this agony. A transcendent pan-Islamic culture was imposed on a peasant-cum-tribal society. The reality created over the decades is not in harmony with the concept of nation-state fixed in geography. The dynamics of the 9/11 led to compromise. Pakistan is going through the cleavage, rage and anger. Pakistan's emotional desires and wants are limitless. The paradox between the nation-state and pan-Islamism arises because the Islamic world is defined as one nation. It is also a geo-political challenge to the existing political units including Islamic countries and global order. The pan-Islamic aspirations involve uniting a number of supposedly separate political units into a greater whole. It brings forward religion for cultural reasons to establish political unity. Yet, the problem of ethnicity and language remains. And what about the metaphysical divide? Pan-Islamism also erodes the centrality of the nation-state. It is an instrument for cultural and emotional reasons stemming from the Urdu language. Different stages of consciousness present a different view of the world.<sup>10</sup> The world looks different is different at each stage.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, it appears different, especially in Pakistan. For everything is distorted in the process of pursuing an un-natural aim. Now the challenges are within and without. However, where is the insight and realization? Let alone the vision and wisdom. The manner and style with which problems are addressed owe much to the culture and history of the people of the area and may well affect the context and orientation of the various foreign policies of the government's concerned.<sup>12</sup>

Historically, the clash has always been between the cultures and civilizations. The same is true even today. In the ultimate analysis emotions become the core and the center of gravity of all human activity. An example could be of the Greek miracle which developed out of paganism and mythologies while exalting reason against tribalism. The *Reason* was exalted to the level of godhead. No other civilization isolated reason to that extent. Is it possible to segregate reason from emotions? What if reason stems from emotions? The forced implanting and imposition of modernity and its associated arts and morals during

the colonial era is a case in point. The neo-colonialism is no different. In a similar sense, the dominant force behind the creation of Pakistan was the North Indian Muslim culture. The demand for the creation of Pakistan did not imply the establishment of any specific kind of sectarian Muslim state; it was a state for anyone who considered himself a Muslim.<sup>13</sup> The abolition of the Khilafat by Turkey formed a watershed in the evolution of Muslim politics in India, and Muslim hopes, having lost their outside focal point, turned inward.<sup>14</sup> After Cabinet Mission's failure, this introversion led to the demand and subsequent creation of Pakistan. In fact, the creation of Pakistan is manifestation of *Second Azan*. The irrelevance of Lahore Resolution and that of the 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947 speech of Jinnah is evident as opposed to the Objectives Resolution. After partition, the West Pakistan leaders who were more in line with the Aligarh tradition were furthermore dominated by the pan-Islamic ideology.<sup>15</sup> The transcendentalism of pan-Islamism was formally adopted by the state. The *Second Azan* i.e., the North Indian Muslim culture was embraced by the Pakistani State after the partition of Hindustan. The emotions attached with pan-Islamism turned into a dynamic. The contradiction became the driving force. *The split in the soul took place.*

### Language and Culture

The worldview of a nation and language's relation is vital. Urdu has influence of varying degrees all over Pakistan. The pan-Islamic *Second Azan* is a dissonance-based experience for a peasant-cum-tribal society. To begin historically, an alien language was forced on the people of art and literature. Jinnah later recanted and regretted but the damage was done. It led to the language-riots of the 1950s in the former East Pakistan. The Bengali Language Movement for the socio-cultural integrity of East Pakistan had, in fact, started even before the creation of Pakistan, but several factors at the Pakistan Government level had turned it into the pro-independence Bangladesh Movement.<sup>16</sup> The political, linguistic and cultural reductionism resulted in the chiseling out of the former East Pakistan. The 1971 Indian invasion of East Pakistan which terminated an enormous massacre and refugee flight (more than 10 million according to estimates at the time) had highly beneficial humanitarian consequences.<sup>17</sup> The Indian intervention in East Pakistan in 1971 was defended, *inter alia*, as a response to the demographic aggression.<sup>18</sup> Pakistan Army fought against the very people it came to defend against its enemy. The former East Pakistan fell because Bengalis did not get their dispensation. If this

was not so, then why did millions of East Pakistanis go to the enemy country once their own army came to protect them? And why did they come back once Pakistan Army surrendered? This may be termed iconoclastic but this is what reality is. Still, a part has the audacity to call itself the “whole”. Pakistan calling itself Pakistan is a psychological denial as if nothing has happened. The bitter facts have no value. Official histories in Pakistan continue to lie<sup>19</sup> with no end in sight. Besides, there appears to be no intention not to do that in future. Is it tendency of the mind to do more than expected? There is a controlled anger in Pakistan. And anger is one of the sinews of the soul.<sup>20</sup> The situation is a complex blend in a macro context of cognitive dissonance. The need of the hour is education, socio-economic development and a functional system that delivers, whereas, the emerging external environment is critical for Pakistan. Any escalation will let the dynamics take over.

The Pakistani perception, emotions and psychological structures rooted in pan-Islamism i.e., *Second Azan* are in direct clash with the basic ideas of nation-state, national interest and nationalism i.e., *First Azan*. Although nationalism has always proved to be an elusive concept, the *sine qua non* is the knowledge, the feeling of a group of people, large or small, that they belong together; that there is a sense of solidarity, of mutual dependence, the desire to share in common the vicissitudes of life; that they feel themselves to be inextricably interwoven, for good or bad; that they wish to be or remain united forever; that there is among them a sufficient conformity of attitudes on the “fatal tests” of life.<sup>21</sup> Nation-State and its management is a great abstraction. The quasi one within the globalized world is its latest version. The quasi state in Pakistani perception furthers the contrast between the *First Azan* and *Second Azan*. The problem of perception has many layers and shades. It increases the complexity. Indeed, the handling of geography bound nation-state by a pan-Islamic perception that in its origin is peasant-cum-tribal is an epistemological complexity. In the midst of a world driven by nation-state and national interest, it is a double dissonance, perhaps more. The trajectory of the *Second Azan* via Urdu has reached where Pakistan is today. Pan-Islamism is spearheading the Pakistani mind, sociology, economics, politics, geo-strategy and foreign policy, let alone the education. Indeed, it has been the core of Pakistan’s geo-strategic culture.

Culture represents the historical experience of a people, is embedded in their institutions, and shapes their attitudes and

expectations about the world.<sup>22</sup> It can get codified in institutions and practices, which are real barriers to success.<sup>23</sup> The misery of the masses is an evidence of the fact that the declining state phenomenon is in operation since the creation of Pakistan. The collapse of nations is due to two factors: internal rigidity coupled with a decline in the ability, both moral and physical, to shape surrounding circumstances.<sup>24</sup> It deserves to be remarked, perhaps, that it is in the progressive state, while the society is advancing to the further acquisition, rather than when it has acquired its full complement of riches, that the condition of the laboring poor, of the great body of the people, seems to be the happiest and most comfortable.<sup>25</sup> It is hard in the stationary, and miserable in the declining state.<sup>26</sup> The progressive state is in reality the cheerful and the hearty state to all the different orders of the society,<sup>27</sup> as opposed to a state of decadence, decay and decline. The stationary is dull, the declining melancholy.<sup>28</sup> The Petrifacts of Egyptian empire, the Roman, the Chinese, the Indian may continue to exist for hundreds or thousands of years; dead bodies, amorphous and dispirited masses of men, scrap material from a great history is to be taken as the typical symbol of the passing away.<sup>29</sup> Pakistan's internal and external problems stem from this state of decadence and dissonance. The foreign, strategic and domestic policies are part of this cognitive dissonance. Pakistani perception and decision making are the historic manifestation of this phenomenon. Reforming Pakistan – economically and politically – is a near-impossible task.<sup>30</sup>

Reality isn't static any more, and when you really understand dynamic reality you never get stuck.<sup>31</sup> It has forms but the forms are capable of change.<sup>32</sup> To bring change, the entire system of moral values and of the socio-economic structure has to be changed.<sup>33</sup> And imagination leavened with creativity is an instrument to initiate reforms to get Pakistan reformed. In Pakistan, old perceptions have to be altered in order to transcend them, to see the world aright. Pakistani perception needs one such transcendence in the context of the nation-state system i.e., *First Azan*, especially in the post 9/11 world. The problem with the Pakistani perception is epistemological. It is trans-national, trans-geographic and trans-cultural. Valid epistemology and methodology was and remains its central problem. The reality perceived by this perception is reflective of disharmony in the convergence of thought and language. It is devoid of historical context. It first perceives the pan-Islamic reality through Urdu language and deductive process of reasoning, and then observes

the world accordingly. The cultural tradition, cosmos, milieu and the ambience of this perception are pan-Islamic. The canvass is even bigger and includes historical experience, folklore, arts, artifacts, architecture, and system of thought and process of reasoning. All are pan-Islamic. It views the rest of the world from its own value system. The same is true for others as well. In a fast changing world, all this is static as well. An epistemological assumption is that a *real world* (italics added) exists apart from our comprehension of it and that our perception of this world is in some significant way different from reality.<sup>34</sup> This results in distortion, which permeates into perception, decision making, implementation and the consequences. The chaos and general lawlessness in the world reflect it.

Moreover, the emotional thrust of Pakistani mind cuts across nation-state whereas there is an established order of which nation-state is the basic unit, unless the idea is to pose a challenge? No doubt there is China, Russia, India and Pakistan is an Asian power, but the American led west is the core of the modern world. Without an economic and strategic base to support it, Pakistani mind stands for pan-Islamic aspirations. The role of Urdu language, the national language of Pakistan is central and critical in this regard. It is not we who speak, in the first place, but speech or language.<sup>35</sup> Language is in some way a being.<sup>36</sup> Language is the soul existing as soul.<sup>37</sup> The example could be the role of English and Sister European languages in furthering modernity. In English language, “verb” is everything. It is action oriented. The essence of modern industrial revolution and scientific inventions is traced back to these modern languages. The failure of other languages to be modern and scientific is civilizational. Japanese language is an example of an exception. It may be worth inquiring as to how did Japanese change their clothes. Language creates, distorts, carries, discloses, hides, allows, oppresses, enriches and entralls.<sup>38</sup> There are linguistic structures and cultural practices so deeply contextual that we are still trying to dig them up and understand them.<sup>39</sup> Language has both an ideal sense, to say something, and a real reference, to say it about something.<sup>40</sup> In one movement of transcendence language leaps across two thresholds, and thereby takes ‘hold of reality and expresses the hold of reality on thought’.<sup>41</sup> The social input through Urdu over the decades has been pan-Islamic in Pakistan. This has resulted in a mind and a perception which is the product of a particular historical experience. The mind suffers from an egocentric attitude, an emotional outlook, a historic childishness and the cognitive

dissonance. A sense of unreality is prevailing.

The leaders of the country must become aware that a nation can be awakened only through its own language.<sup>42</sup> Which is the language of the people of Pakistan? Ironically, this state created on the basis of religious fraternity chose Urdu as the national language, which was not the mother tongue of any Pakistani living in the provinces that became Pakistan, but of the Mohajirs who came from Northern India.<sup>43</sup> Language is the armory of the human mind, and at once contains the trophies of its past and weapons of its future conquest.<sup>44</sup> It might carry the seeds of self-inflicted destruction. Language has codes that give it order, coherence and intelligibility.<sup>45</sup> A highly organized and encoded system, employing devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information, represent and so forth.<sup>46</sup> What is the impact of an adopted language on the people of Pakistan? It is cognitive dissonance stemming from Urdu language. It is *Second Azan*. In language there is no such thing as delivered presence, but a representation and representations are first embedded in the language then in the culture, institutions, and political ambience of the representer.<sup>47</sup> Every utterance, no matter its singularity, has to be understood as part of something else,<sup>48</sup> and this understanding is that of linguistic relativity. In the affairs of state, as in the context of an individual perception, it is double thought and double talk. What kind of a culture finds it congruent to speak in two or more than two languages? The lacerations of Pakistani mind are pan-Islamic. The aspirations are expressions of the worldview. What is true for individuals is equally true for nations.<sup>49</sup> Pakistan is conclusively a failed case of coordinate bilingualism and the resultant cognitive dissonance. Human beings have a stunning ability to misperceive for cultural reasons e.g., the *Second Azan*.

Each nation, state or country inhabits a cosmos of its own.<sup>50</sup> It has a cultural tradition; a certain milieu in which it lives; an ambience which it breathes – the product of its own historical experience and development; its folklore, its arts and artifacts, its language, its symbolism; its way of thinking and its outlook on life; its prejudices, its hopes and yearnings, its fears and anxieties; its geographical and socio-economic compulsion and co-ordinates, as also the totality in which its scale of values operates.<sup>51</sup> The perception of even physical reality is frequently a function of the cultural environment within which it is observed, and every culture has its own worldview, a spirit of *Zeitgeist* that animates it, a unique thrust predisposes it to see things in a certain special way.<sup>52</sup> The major and in many ways the defining characteristic of all

adherences is ego centricism, or an early and initial disability to transcend one's own perspective and understand that reality is not self-centered.<sup>53</sup> And the culturalist approach is based on one principle: culture does exist in itself, is transmitted from generation to generation, and is the ultimate explanatory model of any society.<sup>54</sup> Without a clear sense of identity a nation has neither a clear sense of national interest nor a clear set of foreign policy maxims.<sup>55</sup> Learning one language means acquiring its culture because language cannot be separated from culture.<sup>56</sup> This gain is accompanied by the inevitable transformation or loss of certain aspects of the first language and culture.<sup>57</sup> The older layers do not die out when the new emerges, but are superseded by it.<sup>58</sup> The *ability* to speak an additional language transcends the specificity of mother tongue. It is like stepping into geometry after learning arithmetic. The things change when you look deeper.<sup>59</sup> In Pakistan Islamo-nationalism seems to have been superseded by radical Islamic transnationalism<sup>60</sup>, i.e., the *Second Azan*. And the royal road taken by everyone is that of the violence, whereas, the gaining of honors can be in creative ways as well.

The scarcity of Islamo-nationalists in Pakistan is a consequence of the difficulty of defining this country as nation-state.<sup>61</sup> A value system as a source of action is indispensable and must not be betrayed, but as a glass through which to see reality, it is an encumbrance and must be shed.<sup>62</sup> Human environment tends to accentuate human inadequacy.<sup>63</sup> Persuading anyone to change their mind is difficult.<sup>64</sup> It involves years of rational education to transcend the problem. Yet, at times the former self breathes and gasps. How will this be managed at national level in Pakistan is a philosophic abstraction. Our interests and values are not identical and neither are anyone else's.<sup>65</sup> And "trust between states", the classical realists may scoff, "is impossible".<sup>66</sup> Languages and cultures contain a spirit, unique to each community.<sup>67</sup> Urdu language is not heir to any territory.<sup>68</sup> Languages are natural organisms which emerge independent of man's will, grow and develop according to certain rules, and in turn become old and die; these also possess series of symptoms which one is accustomed to understand as "life".<sup>69</sup> The existing Urdu language and idiom do not have the capacity to keep pace with modern times and that revolutionary and desperate measures need to be taken in order to accommodate modern issues and themes in the Urdu language.<sup>70</sup> What's more the schema of speech development in Pakistan has social, political as well as foreign policy implications due to cognitive dissonance i.e., *Second Azan*. No matter what dreams are

entertained by Pakistan's intellectually ill-equipped strategists, they must realize that if we don't abandon the "mug's game" that we are currently engaged in; the country will collapse around us.<sup>71</sup> If not reversed, the consequences are not far off. Has it changed? The restoration of an effective civil-military compact – one based on honesty and forthrightness rather than dissimulation – promises to be a daunting task, the equivalent of restoring trust to a marriage after both parties have committed serial infidelities.<sup>72</sup>

The rise and decline of states has a great deal to do with demographics, culture, natural resources, educational systems, economic policy, political stability, individual opportunity and legal frameworks – all matters largely beyond the control of outsiders.<sup>73</sup> The idea of a Muslim homeland has never fully worked.<sup>74</sup> And dissonance could arise because of cultural mores, past experience and exists simply because the culture defines what is consonant and what is not.<sup>75</sup> The hard reality must sink in; otherwise, the whole thing will come down tumbling. The two lenses are unmanageable. The crux of the answer is one of the fundamental insights of linguistics: *the present is key to the past*.<sup>76</sup> One way of dispelling the crudities and irrelevancies of the "culture wars" is to find out what actually goes on in classrooms,<sup>77</sup> because, in school and college it is the application of the known, whereas at university level, a *New Interpretation* is an addition to the knowledge. No evolution is possible without an *Art of Interpretation*. All the signs, symbols, linkages, connections, expressions, styles and contacts are loaded with interpretations. Since interpretations could be diverse, it is the correct context that gives it legitimacy. The post-modern education is contextual. There is no royal road to heaven but only the many roads large and small, the innumerable brambled paths and curving detours as well, a thousand steps and turns leading to education.<sup>78</sup> A meaningful and purposeful education; is in fact, an illumination of mind.

Many states still see history teaching, and the inculcation of foundation myths, as a strategic imperative; others see it as an exercise in teaching children to think for themselves.<sup>79</sup> What kind of education system finds it congruent to speak in Urdu cum English? The connection between mind and language is the final and vital linkage. What went around in class is at hand in Pakistan. Still, there is this spirit of certitude. For the ripple effect of good education is ennobling. It is important in societies where conversation is not encouraged and the courage to hear truth lacks. It has impact on society. The phenomenal fact is that the pleasures

of life are consonant conversations as opposed to unending arguments. Moreover, what matters in relationship between interests and values is the type and nature of *means* adopted in pursuit of policies. The inter-State relations since mid-17<sup>th</sup> century have been embedded in geography on Westphalian principles i.e., domestically *justice* and externally *non-interference*. Mind cum perception and different aspects of the state have to be in harmony with this criterion. These are not in case of Pakistan. The perception violates these basic assumptions of nation-state domestically as also in the realm of foreign policy. Consequently, the Pakistani State is engulfed in a cycle of violence cum political instability. It is unraveling. Pakistan's blind alley is its War of Creeds. So is the case with rest of the Islamic world. It is in the head. It is time to decompress. It is equally true for *others* for their cognitive dissonance. Minds are central to whatever is happening. The make-up of the minds is devastating. The Middle Kingdom syndrome is global. We are headed for a difficult world, one that is not likely to fit any of our ideologies or simple theories.<sup>80</sup> What would be world like when a computer conditioned mind makes it to the White House?

### **The Idea, Emotions, VMPFC, Mind, Imagination & Happiness**

Many of us have encountered what may be the most enticing idea of modern linguistics: that language determines the way we perceive the world.<sup>81</sup> The idea that emotions shape all activity in adaptive ways is quiet a subtle one.<sup>82</sup> The mystery of memory is being teased apart, exposing the way we store facts and experiences in addition to the emotional flavors associated with them.<sup>83</sup> And it would be cowardly to ignore those occasional appearances of the spirits of others – of minds uncloaked.<sup>84</sup> The mind is a uniquely personal domain of thought, dreams and countless other things, like the will, faith and hope.<sup>85</sup> Reason may indeed be, “slave of the passions”.<sup>86</sup> Humans may be neurologically unfit for strict utilitarian thinking, because emotion and reason cannot be segregated.<sup>87</sup> The Ventromedial Prefrontal Cortex (VMPFC), a small brain region located just behind the forehead is the critical circuitry for processing intuition and emotions.<sup>88</sup> The Prefrontal Cortex has moved to center stage, that it has the power to suppress impulses and can override logical decisions when they conflict with belief or emotions.<sup>89</sup> It is the seat of genius, the engine of choice, flexibility, decision making, and foresight and this puts it at the heart of our humanity.<sup>90</sup> Whereas the dorso lateral prefrontal cortex is the place where cool,

utilitarian choices are made but if you complicate things with the idea of pushing the innocent victim, the medial frontal cortex – an area associated with emotion – lights up.<sup>91</sup> As these two regions battle, we may make irrational decisions.<sup>92</sup> The people with VMPFC damage are more likely to make utilitarian choices in moral dilemmas – judgments that favor the aggregate welfare over the welfare of few individuals.<sup>93</sup> And on a philosophical level, the ability of empirical knowledge to penetrate the ultimate reality of things has been questioned and the primacy of the human mind and imagination asserts as the true source of knowledge.<sup>94</sup> Ability to somehow intuit features and patterns of unseen objects is blind sight and that consciousness and visual perception can be separated in our brains.<sup>95</sup>

The phenomenal fact is that the ultimate privacy of mind provides space to adapt, adjust and get accustomed to the contradictions with the passage of time. And when dissonance of a perception reaches a point, it is visible in all its forms. Language helps to convey and maintain a culture's conventions—and similarly affects perception.<sup>96</sup> The failure to understand that the reason of State is *raison d'etre* has domestic and foreign policy implications. The original sins should always be few. For living with one is enough in a single life. The first original sin is the hiding of Jinnah's speech of 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947. Since then, the idea of psychological repression and suppression continues. The society is impregnated with psychological repression. The Pakistani nation suffers from historical psychoses. Pakistan has gone through and continues to go through the religious and political reductionism and chiseling out. Pakistanis are like Greek spectators witnessing a tragedy. We have to unburden ourselves of the weight of centuries of nostalgia, suffocating our capacities to find our way out from the darkness of ignorance.<sup>97</sup> The silent majority is getting increasingly vocal as it comes of age intellectually, and gains the confidence necessary for critical thinking and its expression with conviction.<sup>98</sup> Reductionism is not a philosophy but a method.<sup>99</sup> Above all; Pakistan needs a statesman, i.e., one who is man enough to place the State before and above self.<sup>100</sup> Certainly, the *First Azan* needs to be placed above and beyond the *Second Azan*?

Human nature never changes.<sup>101</sup> Human life, it would seem, is delightfully bedeviled by paradox.<sup>102</sup> Mind creates worlds. It deceives itself. This distorts the reality. Consonance i.e., the comfortable state of being is lost. A society's happiness requires us all to play our part, because playing our part is part of being happy.<sup>103</sup> Contentment is the mainstay of happiness, and its secret

lies in the belief that harmony and great expectations are not necessarily directly related.<sup>104</sup> How selfish so ever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him.<sup>105</sup> The ability to recognize hidden relations among our memories, a characteristically human feature, is vital for solving problems in creative ways.<sup>106</sup> After all, knowledge is power.<sup>107</sup> And the brain is busy during a night's slumber and is processing all that we learned during the day, making valuable memories more resilient and tossing away irrelevant details.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, if you control the definition of identity, you can change the world.<sup>109</sup> In short, who we think we are determines both how we perform and what we are able to become.<sup>110</sup> Our brains use shortcuts for social identification, swiftly categorizing others, and ourselves, to avoid the energy-intensive processing of conscious thought.<sup>111</sup> To decipher memory's making, was to strive to decipher one's essence and identity.<sup>112</sup> Every once in a while somebody ties a knot in it that lets everybody stand on and keep going.<sup>113</sup> People's performance on intellectual tasks is shaped by awareness of stereotypes about the groups to which they belong.<sup>114</sup> Still, the troubling truth is that the *words* have *meanings* and as a result there are serious dissonance based psychological problems of worldview in Pakistan. The inferences associated with *Second Azan* are no more abstract and are crystal clear. Yet, the awareness and the willingness to tackle the problem is lacking. The Grand Strategy requires clarity and vision.

Moreover, the anger of masses has reached a boiling point. It is fast reaching a point of no return. There are limits to being pushed around. Now people find it unacceptable. For they have been used and abused at conscious, sub-conscious and unconscious levels for centuries. Some of them have now picked-up guns. The chaos is touching anarchy and becoming riotous. The point is "where is the frontier between fact and fiction, truth and interpretation?"<sup>115</sup> How does one construct a perspective without constructing a lie?<sup>116</sup> Additionally; the regional and global foreign policy issues are being fought on Pakistani soil and in its neighborhood. Historically, fantasizing in the *Real World* has never worked. The dissonance does not mean that there are no limits. The make-up of the psyche is the heart of the instability. Pakistan has overreached and an overreaching always has consequences. The things are way beyond emotions and rationality. The truth of it is here. Will Pakistan be able to dig itself out of the hole that it has dug for itself? How to put the led into the

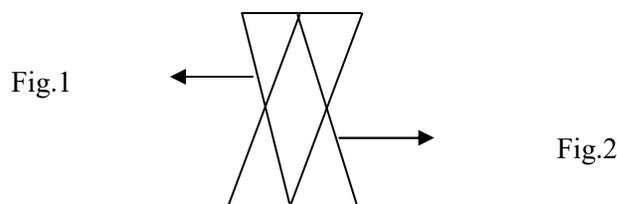
pencil? For the zone of conflict is local, regional and global for Pakistan. The tactical meanings may differ, but the strategic sense remains the same. The disparity in the objectives and means too remains. The point is to live within means and Pakistan is not living within means. The leadership continues to be beyond insight. The made-up mind refuses to be confused with the facts. What principles emerge to handle the crisis of Pakistani perception? Which is that singularity from which solution will emerge? The spirit of criticism and creativity is now critical.

The ways in which we think and act are founded on consensus about reality and appropriate responses to it.<sup>117</sup> Pakistan needs a therapist and its emerging civil society could play this role, for the political leadership remains a suspect.<sup>118</sup> What meaning can be given to the sense of potential harmonious and homogeneous society in Pakistan? For men's minds are so constituted that they seem more impressed by the transiency of the conditions than by the undying principle which coped with them.<sup>119</sup> The wider consensus in Pakistan does not exist for the failure of leadership. And leadership is partly a matter of character, partly intellect, partly organization, and partly what Machiavelli called 'fortuna', the mysterious interaction of fate and chance.<sup>120</sup> The critical consciousness is actively mediating between a state that appears nation-less, and a nation repeatedly betrayed by the state.<sup>121</sup> Consciousness does not singly and wholly create the social world, but it does play a significant role in the making of history.<sup>122</sup> The greatest pleasure in life is doing what other people say you cannot do.<sup>123</sup> Every nation has its own mode of development and its own organic epistemology; sciences are inevitably 'national', 'applied', and at the service of the state, and they converge in a system of thought that encompasses them and provides a nation with its ideology.<sup>124</sup> To interpret the present day pan-Islamism is to interpret the history of *Second Azan*. And the correct interpretation has verified it as a case of cognitive dissonance resulting in the functional problems at the state level. What really matters is *where* a culture or language developed for linguistic groups are shaped by geo cultural affiliations, rather than origin.<sup>125</sup> There is a philosophy of the history of language, for language evolves just like a living organism,<sup>126</sup> giving birth to a reality e.g., Pakistan and the *Second Azan*. Why is it that the same thing appears different to different people?

### **The Cognitive Dissonance**

By and large any worldview is an abstract and a philosophic frame

of mind towards life, and rest of the world as a whole. A worldview is central to any society and its citizens. It is an essence that gives focus to perception, domestic politics, geo-strategy and foreign policy. The understanding of a worldview is the true comprehension of a given society. The worldviews around the world entail philosophic differences as well. In this age and time, the major worldviews directly involved in the power struggle are Anglo-Saxon, Chinese, Indian, Russian and pan-Islamic. Ironically, all are deeply seated in nation-state and geography, except the *Second Azan*. It is a spanner in the wheel. While chasing shadows in near and far off lands, pan-Islamic worldview not only influenced domestic and strategic culture, but has also complicated the context and conduct of Pakistan's domestic politics, economy, foreign policy and diplomacy. The adoption of pan-Islamism by Pakistan's peasant cum tribal society over the decades is a double contradiction in the context of culture and nation-state resulting in a state of decadence. It is all about emotions. The problem of perception is due to emotions. The fallacy remains. Pakistani worldview needs to be in harmony with the objective world that demands leap in the quality of judgment and decision making. The sense has to be distinguished from the nonsense. If foundations are crooked, everything raised on it will also be crooked. There is a fault line and scholars lack courage to speak and write about it. Are they all living a big lie? And whereas we all need each other's compassion, these scholars need it more than anyone else. Where is the nation? The whole world makes the power pyramid as shown in Fig.1. Pakistan makes it as shown in Fig.2. The first one is rationality, the second an emotional insanity in the psychological sense.



The connection between language and myth is as old as humanity itself. Take for example the system of verbs in the Urdu language that has been taken from the Hindi language. This has enriched Urdu language; yet, the flexibility of Hindi verb not only gives manipulative power, but also leads one into believing reductionist

political slogans. The psychological construct is that the conflicting ideas are not tolerated and that rationalization of conflicting ideas is cognitive dissonance. It should be avoided as far as possible. For the sinews of the dissonance are always sharp and intense. Pakistan's problem is cultural. It is that of psychological structures. It reflects the clash between the *First Azan* and *Second Azan*. In the process what happens is that in a world governed by the logic of the nation-state system, Pakistan's national interest gets subsumed in foreign lands. It is like playing tennis without a net. The nation of Pakistan and the running of Pakistan are two different things. One should come to terms with the phenomenon. The currents of thought and the extra ordinary despondency are amazing. The absence of standing up for anything is astonishing. The propaganda must fulfill the expectations. The die and the passage of time are linked. The die is cast. The Aligarh Movement and the Two Nation Theory were attempts by the North Indians to rationalize the cognitive dissonance. The total consciousness is whole consciousness i.e., the galaxies.

Wars historically have been products of perceptual errors. A curious transformation has taken place. What would be Pakistan like five or ten years from now? The closest of judgment and projection is neither stable nor healthy. Never mind what circumstances bring, and one does not have to say it, but Pakistan is geo-politically and geo-strategically a low pressure area. The relationships in certain situations should not be taken for granted i.e., any relationship. Every country has aspirations and objectives. Nations direct their foreign policies to balance the two on the basis of rationality. The problem of Pakistan is that its aspirations far exceed its resources. A gap exists in this respect. To tackle this problem either resources have to be increased, or objectives have to be reformed. And notwithstanding the element of being an infantile, the success lies in operating in a balanced scale. Pakistan's previous domestic and foreign policy decisions are haunting it in the present. What if the present decisions trouble Pakistan in the years to come? The dissonance has domestic and foreign policy implication for Pakistan e.g., the situation a decade after 9/11 or the economy. The reality remains and continues to assert itself. The strife continues. The tribalism on Durand Line has repercussions. It is a cauldron. And whereas the political parties are caught bathing, the over developed establishment has run away with their clothes e.g., Kashmir, Afghanistan and the nuclear weapon capability or the joint Pak-Saudi *Second Azan*. One does not have to be a genius to see it all.

The crisis of the state will not precipitate easily. The metabolism is under stress. It is bursting at its seams. It is multiple sclerosis. The efforts have fallen flat on face. The law and order have gone through the roof. The weakening of the federation is worrying. One cannot see a single group of factors holding together. The individual insecurity of politicians at the conscious and sub-conscious levels impacts decision making. When a public office holder speaks, it is state speaking and not that individual. However, that is not the case in Pakistan. The tendency to go into the orbit and the loss of connection with the nucleus is a dilemma. The truth is that whenever Pakistan was faced with a crunch, what emerged was a series of unilateral concessions. And Americans since years are looking for someone who can look into the eyes of the *Cardinals*. Nevertheless, Pakistan and Pakistan Army cannot exist without each other. The dependency is in the blood. It is the only institution standing in between an all-out anarchy and whatever is happening in Pakistan. Considering the pearl light that the army is seen in, since the last three decades, one way to purify is that it contributes towards restoring the power in the *Real Sense* to where it belongs i.e., the *people of Pakistan*. It is time for womb to accept new ideas. The inevitability is destiny. The implicit assumption is not yet shattered in the inherent goodness of Pakistan's only institution. The *Idea of Justice* continues to stand supreme in the metaphysics of domestic statecraft. The jewel of the crown is forgiveness.

More interestingly, the subjective experience *can* be scientifically investigated even when the investigator is investigating himself.<sup>127</sup> Life is an interpretation, a spiritual journey. It is a dream for the dream has come true. The phenomenal world revolves around *self*. Events throw you in a certain direction. Sometimes different elements come together in an astonishing way. The coming together of the two became an *event*. The contradiction is now in concrete shape. Time established polarities. The pursuing of people depends on how they interpret what you tell them. It is critical where *Art of Conversation* is not encouraged. The intolerance for conversation has grown through cynicism. The disjunction is due to the block in perception. No contact is possible without an interpretation. All contacts, gestures, signs, symbols, words and even eyes are loaded with interpretations. Ghalib got hold of it and gave it a new meaning. The religious brinkmanship of Ghalib is full of interpretations. And poetry is the magic of beautiful words, about the beautiful phenomenon, incorporated in time and space, the

ultimate beloved i.e., ALLAH.

### Conclusion

Before drawing our conclusions an important observation must be made. This paper by no means indulges in criticizing Pakistan paternalistically, without acknowledging the fact that the findings are attributable to countries like India and America as well. The second election victory of George W. Bush was prevalence of American cognitive dissonance, let alone the American universalism; whereas, the Indianness of India is India's cognitive dissonance. And in the framework of nation-state system, the *perception* behind Pakistan's foreign and domestic policies has a problem of cognitive dissonance. This is the heart and soul of the continuing instability in Pakistan. In a world governed by the logic of the nation-state system, the adoption of the North Indian Muslim culture, i.e., the *Second Azan* has led to cognitive dissonance in a peasant-cum-tribal society. Pakistan since its birth has been living by a myth. This has resulted in a state of decadence. The state of decadence stems from cognitive dissonance. The decades old slide into decadence continues. The gravitational pulls are now dangerous. The times are tense in a tense part of world. The union is no more harmonious. A reason amongst many for this decadence and disharmony is that the public money in Pakistan is considered an instrument to further the pan-Islamic causes in the region and beyond. Historically, the Pakistani leaders have failed the children of Pakistan politically, economically and socially. Will the present day leadership too fail the Pakistani children or is it that they have already failed them? For an educated one with wisdom amongst them is a rarity. They cling to everything except vision and knowledge. They do not know their job. It is insulting. To liberate the qualities of Pakistanis; what they need is freedom and pluralism in contrast to the control over the temporal and the secular by the national security state, led by a bogus mix. The problem is also the failure to listen to an independent opinion. Luckily, sometimes being weird leavened with psychopathic charms makes one highly functional. There was never a genius without a tincture of madness.<sup>128</sup>

And whereas Pakistan's standing is at its lowest, the coming together of a mixture and the combination of different geo-political and geo-strategic interests has proved devastating. The correlation of forces is clearly arrayed against Pakistan. The strategic error has reduced Pakistan's strategic capacity. The tactical cum operational deceptions and measures to cater for the strategic error have not worked. Most of the conflicts and upheavals in the contemporary

times have risen from within. All infections are local, but the pan-Islamic is global. Sometimes assumptions become reality. It all starts slowly and gradually. What are the consequences of cognitive dissonance? The forecast is negative. And no one is buying Pakistan's story.

Oil has thrown Pakistan willy-nilly into a confrontation. It is caught between the Caucasus and Persian Gulf. The initial misleading success proved disastrous, whereas, the post 9/11 strategic policy based on the idea of Wild West and the Bad Boys is not different. The problem is that the number of Bad Boys has increased. The use of asymmetrical power by the Bad Boys continues. The trans-Indus AfPak crystallization continues to the dismay of Islamabad, Kabul, New Delhi and Washington. The historic assumption that we are up against an enemy and we fight them as we have fought others has not worked. It will not work in future. For fighting without a critical mass is a shot in the dark. There is always more to the warfare than meets the eye. The triggered chain of events is changing the world dramatically. Pakistan is quashed between national interest and pan-Islamism. The internal and external problems are rooted in the disharmony of convergence of thought and language. The dissonance based foreign, economic and political policies are the gravest. As a result, over the decades, Pakistan has developed a strategic inability to discard; a blend of idealism and egotism has not worked in this pragmatic world. The inability to discard is monumental and is now a threat to the federation. In Pakistan, both at state and individual levels, approach to the reality is pan-Islamic. It is cognitive dissonance within the framework of nation-state system, an unleashed structural dynamic that is blind. To overcome this problem, Pakistan needs transcendence cum paradigm shift, centered on the nation-state and national-interest. Pakistan needs to shift its axis to make an escape through an act of imagination. Somehow every solution has couple of versions. Which one or what mixture has to be mobilized? Who and what is favored by the classical idea of unity of time and space? For no one is hero to his own valiancy. Let wisdom prevail.

The times are interesting. The characterization of it is increasingly difficult. One should take into account everything. The extrication requires creation of new space and original policies. Pakistan needs to concentrate on multidimensional time and space dimensions. To understand the subjective, objective has been analyzed backwards, to comprehend the hankering for the past. The handling of the two opposites is problematic. It has to be shaped out. The priorities at any given time cannot be more than five or six.

These are selected on the basis of impact on things and events. The span of a man is sufficient for few things and not many. The failure to assess correctly is extraordinary. The psychological repression continues in the collective psyche. The desire to hear lies remains. This is a saga that is not ending. The dynamics are forcing a new balance. It has to be interpretive. It needs both metaphysical and practical wisdom. A new script is required. The whole idea of state has to be restated. To win it, one has to be part of it. And to see universal or general laws at work in a specific situation is a sign of superior mind. A crude mind does not understand intangibles.

The integrity creates around leader a halo and the scarlet thread goes through the entire being. The bogus Czars and Czarinas continue to fail, the neo-liberal mixture of business and politics is devoid of basic compassion. It is not in contact with the objective reality. The metaphysical reality is asserting itself. The events are fast moving towards the critical mass. The shape it will take is anybody's guess. The invisible synergy should be the objective. The consciousness of it is lacking. We should transcend the cognitive dissonance by choosing national interest consciously. It should get priority. The shift of focus is not abandoning. It is a correction and shift in emphasis. For not doing has already created serious problems and limited the options. In a federation, federation should be the *First Azan* and when federation is *First Azan*, the constituent elements too will become *First Azan*, automatically. Pakistan suffers from basic distortions. The mind dwells in extremes due to insecurity. It is not strong enough to be flexible and interpretive. The reason is the nature of fundamental thought governing the affairs of the state. The flaw is central. The transformation of basic thought is required. Education is an internal transformation. It nurtures inductive process of reasoning. Education is not knowledge. It is preparation for knowledge. The *Real World* is knowledge. A good teacher teaches through the *known* to the *unknown*, at times backwards.

The breast is the battlefield of conflicting ideas allowing virtues to emerge. Only virtues are beyond the reach of time and decay. A person who brings to harmony this raging war has to be at peace with himself first. The *Real* is the *Now Moment*. The rest is for the birdies. The "word" *pan-Islamism* is the microcosm of cognitive dissonance. There is no difference in the raising of a child and that of a nation. When history will be written, who will be at its heart? Beyond a certain point, what is not said is more important than what is said? The only certainty is the uncertainty. One should not be predictable. Sometimes it is too little too late for

failing to catch up. Could it be that in the perception of politicians the establishment is so powerful and represents a growth that is a power of its own? Pakistan is a country where not everyone needs to know as to what exactly happened. The psychological repression to conceal and get away with it goes on. Mind has to open up to greater self-awareness and wisdom to tackle the crisis. The antibodies of Pakistan are not in harmony with pan-Islamism. The split in personality has created schizophrenia.

The al-Qaeda-Taliban bond is pure *Second Azan*. It is neither down nor out. They are impressive at tactical level, whereas, suicide bomber as opposed to drone has restored the strategic balance. The attack or retaliation is always different because of reach and grasp. They act like guerrillas with wisdom. It is now classic guerrilla warfare as opposed to the earlier head-on confrontations. They are methodical, focused, determined and motivated. Even the *restraint* is lethal. Allowing and permitting others to have a measure of one-self is always dangerous. Sometimes an opportunity lost is a strategic error. The law and force failed to join hands and the political forces could not crystallize around it. The incompetence leads to alternatives. How do they hope to solve it? What is the embryo? The action required is seamless as opposed to a fractured one. The threshold of tolerance remains the most critical principle of diplomacy or to make a strategic or political decision. Pakistan's threshold of tolerance is its nuclear weapon capability. For the equalizer undoubtedly works in the defensive posture. Yet, for all the wrong reasons, Pakistan has emerged as a mixture of nuclear weapons, fundamentalism and chaos. It has to be admitted first to begin with. Pakistan is what it was meant to be. Pakistan is victim. Are YOU *First Azan* or *Second Azan*? For all Great Powers fear the emergence of a Talibanized nuclear Pakistan – a global swing state.<sup>129</sup>

The seamless moves of a dancer surmount the challenges involved conveying consonance and harmony. Even a consonant blind man is more aware of himself and his home, than an unharmonious one with eyes. Though strange things happen, few endings are happy endings. For once discipline is achieved of a certain level; reality asserts and romance comes in again. The memories remain. The true tragedy is not a conflict between the right and wrong. Historically and in literature, a real tragedy is a conflict between the two rights. The great disorder needs to be understood. For the grip is slipping. It is spinning and out of control. The chaos is reshaping the landscape. The twilight of gods

is not stopping. The consequences always take time to emerge. Accepting is always helpful. Individuals and cultures communicate not only through words, but also through gestures, signs, symbols, references and metaphors. The civilizations, religions, nations and the world are in move and run on signs and symbols at conscious, sub-conscious and un-conscious levels. Yet, it is shrouded in an ambiguity. And not living in an ambiguity is a tactical advantage, but a strategic disadvantage. One may not like it, but to live in an ambiguity, requires sophistication and patience. One also shudders to think as to what will happen to this country, if it is not for few individuals.

Cognitive reappraisal is a deliberate move to change the meaning of a situation by altering our emotional response to it.<sup>130</sup> The Developmental Approach will do the trick both ontogenetically and culturally. The problem is in Lower Mental Functions (will, attention, memory, perception), and in an Instrumental Approach (one dimensional i.e., materialistic, self-centered, manipulation of desires and instincts). The absence of Higher Mental Functions (gesture, language, sign system, mnemonic signs, decision making) and High Culture (contemplation, esthetics, higher instincts) to understand and critically interpret is part of the problem. It is Critical Reason vs. Instrumental Reason. The Instrumental Approach is repressive as opposed to Developmental Approach that is caring. The reductionist mixture of Pakistani Memories, Attention and Decision Making historically has revolved around an unachievable world i.e., pan-Islamic unity. It has become a suffering. The failure speaks for itself. Imagination will rescue Pakistan. Imagination is the gift of Divine. It is not achieved by prescribing it. While it is wise to observe things that are alike, it is also wise to look for things that differ, for when the imagination is carried away by the detection of points of resemblance, – one of the most pleasing of mental pursuits, – it is apt to be impatient of any divergence in its new found parallels, and so may overlook or refuse to recognize as such.<sup>131</sup>

Theoretically a nation creates a state. State is product of a nation. The nation is isolated from the state. The mind separates the two. Are we two nations the world over? The focus of perception is inward and not outwards. It has a special significance. Culture influences even grammar whereas every word has a halo, a fringe, which is difficult to communicate. The halo is the unheard part of word meaning, as in symphony, which only a sensitive mind picks. Around a word are multiple meanings. It is

tendency of mind to fill in the blank. Jinnah used *Second Azan* to get *First Azan*. The need of the hour is *Third Azan* i.e., the *Reconciliation*. The *Second Azan* is a wave whereas the *First Azan* is a particle, at the same time as, the *Third Azan* is mystical. An idea may be good or bad in the function of perceptions, but at times one is attracted to it. What if it had to be? Wisdom neither writes any one off nor counts any one out. The problems are always there, yet some do it so gracefully. Authoritarian places nurture a class of recognized intellectuals whose utterances are both carefully listened to and strictly controlled.<sup>132</sup> The wars start and end at philosophers' table. Why it did not occur to Iqbal that the *Second Azan* is to be reconciled with the *First Azan*? The choice now is between Faiz and Iqbal. A thought is always in thoughts' language.

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