

FARAN JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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TREATMENT OF ISLAMIC/MUSLIM HISTORY IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTARCT

Discipline of history has always a lot of reservations while dealing with religions. And when it comes to the history of Islam, this discipline finds itself with the same dilemma. It is an acclaimed fact that Muslim scholars have always been the claimants of being originator and patron of historiography. Though there are certain limitations regarding the belief system of Islam which resulted into a range of factual complications while presenting the history of Muslims and Islam. Muslim historians have strong proclivity of sentimentalism towards Islamic history. This proclivity has always tended to make them rise above the factual grounds of domain of historiography. It is a very interesting topic to trace the real background of this proclivity of sentimentalism while seeing Islamic past. It suspects that this tendency is direct or indirect result of the decline in the Muslim world. After that, period of colonization has landed the Muslim world into a defensive-reactionary mode which ultimately resulted into 'Andalusia Syndrome.'

INTRODUCTION

Historiography of Islamic history in Pakistan is made to revolve around certain themes. There are certain themes around that our historians are rephrasing Islamic history with the help of same facts, figures and narratives available to them. All these themes are made corresponding to each other in order to maintain the thematic integrity of desired scheme of historiography. Another contributing feature found in our historiography is that it glorifies the Muslim history by directly relating it the history of Pakistan. That particular dimension of our historiography eulogized Islamic history and maintains that this Islamic history is essential part of our history. Our historians tend to construct the pre-Islamic

period as period of ignorance thus leave no room for the unbiased study of that period on objective lines.

Pakistani historians have attempted to trace our history since 712, instead of considering the ancient history of our land. Thus this mode has heavily relied on scattered facts and incomplete narrative by presenting them in partial and biased way. Our historians are quite sentimental while dealing with Islamic history. This study seeks to bring into fore all the themes that were and are being adopted to interpret the periods of Islamic history in emotional way so as to long for the prospects of future. Islamic history is constructed as manifestation of linear passage of past. Thus it ignores the pluralistic aspects of past by putting them into negligence. This particular presentation of past is replete with the sectarian tussles and skirmishes. It seems that Islamic history is nothing but story of fighting with so called infidelity in the name of God. The impression which emerged after the minute study of the literature is nothing but of the history with marvelous chain of achievements with lasting

One theme is to narrate the Islamic history in a way that only highlight the period of prosperity and development and period of decline and decadence are not being given due attention. Our historiography aims at presenting that period with special focus on personalities. Depiction of Personalities of caliphs and emperors project them as the sole movers and shakers of history. Thus there is no room left for structural, economic, intellectual, analytical and formulaic investigation of Islamic past. This piece of research brought into fore all the stereotypical themes found into the domain of Islamic historiography in Pakistan. Our research starts from the very fact that what the meaning of term of Islamic history or Muslim history is all about. There seems to be no precedent of using this term of Islamic/Muslim history going back to the early discourse of historiography by Muslim scholars.

CONSTRUCTION OF JAHILIYAH PERIOD (AGE OF IGNORANCE BEFORE ISLAM)

It is a common practice of our historians to start writing Islamic history by constructing the *jahiliyah* period (age of ignorance before the advent of Islam) with specific connotation. Our historians tend to construct that period of Arab history as a justified prelude to the emergencies of Islam. K. Ali in his popular book '*A study of Islam* (1967)' depicted that period of Arab history as age of injustice, Idolatry, vices, superstitious and immoralities.¹ Major focus is on the presentation of that era in a negative way and while doing so all the other

¹ Mehmood-ul-Hassan Siddiqi, Chiragh Hassan Hasrat. *Tareekh-e-Islam: Zamana-e-qabal az isslam se ehd-e-hazer tak* (New York: Silver Bordet Company, 1953), 14.

significant aspects of that period are deliberately ignored or rendered marginalized narration. Dr. Hameedudin also treated that period of Arab history as age of ignorance. However to some extent he tried to notice the other positive aspects of age of ignorance in the history of Arab before the advent of Islam.² In his book '*Tareekh-e-Islam* (1967)' he focused primarily to narrate all the history of Islam which starts from the age if *jahiliyah* and ends with end of crusades. Mostly historians of Islamic history put their all emphasis on the specific connotation of *jahiliyah* period. They tend to present it as an era of extreme ignorance, idolatry and devoid of any civilization and culture. It is a common theme while doing with Islamic history, that age of ignorance is utterly a miserable episode of pre-Islamic Arabia.³ Another prominent writer Sarwat Soulat also sheds light on that era of Islamic history by highlighting the negative features of society and culture. He asserted that age of ignorance was such age where no rules and norms were observed except the law of mighty.⁴ Author elaborated only those aspects which are negative by undermining other cultural and societal behavior in order to put emphasis on the dark side of the Arab society at the age of ignorance.⁵ Our historians usually made it particular that people of Arabia before Islam were used to alcoholic. Their main focus on this feature is with respect of rendering exclusive status to Arabians only.

Prof. Muhammad Raza Khan asserted in book that whole country was hub of idolatry and every one was in grip of all sort of uncivilized and immoral activities. He also contends that usury was a routine practice which resulted into the discrimination of marginalized section of society from the hands of superior ones.⁶ Textbook writer Prof. Shaikh Rafique also lends his voice to this sort of presentation of *jahiliyah* age. According to Prof. Rafique outbreak of generational wars as a result of tribal rivalries were also declared an essential feature of that

²Dr.Hameeduddin,*Tareekh-e-Islam*,(Lahore: Ferozsons,1986), 5-7.

³ According to Dr.Abdul Rauf during the sixth century the entire Arabian Peninsula had sunk into the deepest depths of degradation. Mental, moral and social deterioration had reached the peaks. The Holy Kaabah was overflowing withal sorts of idols and statues. Idolatry had become the order of the day. *Illustrated History of Islam*, (Lahore: Ferozesons, 1997), 22.

⁴ Sarwat Soulat stated in his first volume of "*millat-e-islamia ki mukhtasir tareen tarik'h*" that '*zamana-e-jahiliyah*' was full of vices and with no observance of codes of conduct for the smooth running of society. Author elaborated only those aspects which are negative by undermining other cultural and societal behavior in order to put emphasis on the dark side of the Arab society at the age of ignorance (Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1987), 32-37.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶Prof. Muhammad Raza Khan has written in detail all the negative features of Arabia before Islam. He lamented harsh criticism on the 'jahiliyah' period. Thus it emerged a picture which portrays only negative side of that time. see his book "*Tareekh-e-Musalmanan-e-Alim*" (Lahore: Ilmi Kitab Khana,1997), 29-32.

period.⁷ Not only he depicts it in the same way but also he declared all the other pre-Islamic civilizations such as Roman Empire and Persian Empire as mere manifestations of *jahiliyah*.⁸ Age of ignorance is further substantiated by depicting other features such as slavery, extra-marital affairs as the pride-owning characteristics by the Arabs. Sahibzada Aabdurusul has asserted that Arabs had a strong tendency to feel pride at their indulgence in the extra-marital affairs and never felt ashamed at the other uncivilized manners which were bad marks to every other civilized society.⁹

EULOGIZED NARRATION OF THE RISE OF ISLAM

One of the most prominent aspects of historiography of Islamic history is that when historian did write about the rise of Islam, He tended to eulogize that narration. Nothing is wrong with it but it is done at the cost of rationalism. This emotional dealing is done with the help of art of rhetoric. Thus this tendency deprive the historian to present a more appropriate and intelligible picture of advent of Islam. Abdurasul, Sahibzada in his book *Tareekh-e-Islam*, states that when Islam had come on the horizon of the world it had made all the forces of evil to escape or to be vanished within a while. According to these histories advent of Islam at once resulted in such a magnificent civilization and culture which had created the atmosphere of universality and uniformity on the horizon of world.¹⁰ It is an emotional practice of Pakistani historians that the mere praise of rise of Islam is considered the sole justice of their writing. It is highlighted that rise of Islam had tended to raise a new social order on comprehensive and universal scale.¹¹ New society and new civilization was depicted as a model society for the rest of world as an incomparable example. Islam had not only abolished all the old practices of paganism but also bring out a widespread revolution in Arab culture and society which was quite a novel experiment for them.¹² The foundations of that society are declared as free of any human errors. These histories are written in order to present the city state of Medina as the

⁷ See Shaikh Rafique, *Tareekh-e-Islam* (Lahore: Standard Book, 2006), 12.13.

⁸ Ibid, 19-22.

⁹ Sahibzada, Abdurasul, *Tareekh-e-Islam* (Lahore: M.R. Publishers, 1959), 10.

¹⁰ Ibid. 12-15.

¹¹ Sarwat Sulat stated in his first volume of "*millat-e-Islamia ki mukhtasir tareen tarik'h*" that advent of Islam had landed the Arabs with absolutely new social change. According to author the change was across the board in its nature. New society and new civilization was depicted as a model society for the rest of world as an incomparable example. Islam had not only abolished all the old practices of paganism but also bring out a widespread revolution in Arab culture and society which was quite a novel experiment for them. (Islamic publications, 1987, Lahore), 81-87.

¹² Dr. Hameeduddin, *Tareekh-e-Islam* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1986), 88-91.

utopia for following Muslim generations. Element of eschatology¹³ is essentially used in these histories in order to provide legitimacy of their universal authentication.¹⁴

Pakistani historian's concept of golden era of Islam is confined only to the early 36 years of Islam, since they believed that this sort of presentation is very appropriate in order to propagate the rise of Islam as the sole deriving current for the following Muslim history.¹⁵ Moreover the confinement of that era into a most particular episode of whole universal history is also a topic of utmost concern for the discourse of Islamic history.¹⁶ One such historian is inclined categorically to depict that period free from time and space framework, thus imparting it a status of cosmic absolutism.¹⁷ It appears that, having pre-ordained concept of Islamic history, our historians are all set to always do the practice of re-phrasing in the domain of Islamic history. It is evident from their treatment of early Islamic period in the same lines. This sentimental and emotional treatment of the rise of Islam is to a rather extent beyond the scope of historiography as it is done at the cost of ignoring various side aspects of that period of Islamic history. Although Muslim historians has very clear concept of fundamentals of historiography but it is practiced often against the spirits of historiography.

SECTARIANISM: A DOMINANT BUT PLAIN-NARRATION

Perhaps this one trend of Islamic historiography in Pakistan is most dominant since it is a phenomenal trait. Almost each and every book/work on Islamic history has a major portion which deals with the sectarian tussle in early Islamic history. In other words historians tend to write the events only of sectarian hostilities in the name of presenting all the other aspects with due attention. If we take a cursory look at the readings available to us, then definitely we will come across that particular feature that all these histories are replete with incidents of sectarian strives. Thus it emerged the impression that what the mainstream currents of early Islamic history is its chronology of sectarian incidents in sequences.

¹³The term of Eschatology is used for those history writings which are aimed at certain and determined direction of time. In theological/Abrahamic lexicon it stands for a theological relation between ground histories towards the Day of Judgment with linear progression.

¹⁴Dr. Muhammad Abdul Jabber Beg, *The problem of teaching of Islamic History* (London: The Muslim Educational Trust),99.

¹⁵MD Farooq, *Tareekh-e-Insani ka sunehri daur*, (Lahore: Quran and History study centre, 1999), 18.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 29.

Subject of history is all-encompassing and no aspect of history should be categorized out of its domain. Hence it is a foremost for historians to have a broader look also at the sectarian aspect of early Islamic history. But in case of Pakistani historians if it is not absent then definitely it lack behind in so many aspect while presenting that particular dimension. Pakistani historians do write sectarian history but in a very non-intelligible way. Old family strives between Ummayyeds and Hashmites are given very abstract presentation as historians seems to be skeptical that it might be result into maligning of positive side of Islam.

For instance, assassination of Hazrat Usman (656 CE) is depicted as a result of conspiracy of Abdullah Bin Saba, a hypocrite Jewish turned Muslim, who wanted to dismantle the integrity of newly incepted Muslim empire.¹⁸ According to one interpretation Abdullah Bin Saba had started to insemminate the thinking that Caliphate is right of Hazrat Ali which is snatched by Hazrat Usman with the help of his clan, Hashmites. So it must be the duty of people to get free the institution of caliphate and designate Hazrat Ali on that place. a prominent history book writer put all the blame on the personality of Abdullah bin Saba regarding his role in that particular context in these words.,

Abdullah bin Saba was all responsible for this conspiracy as he wants to create havoc for the newly incepted integrity of Muslim empire. So he started a secret campaign to inculcate the misunderstanding in the minds of simple hearted Muslims. In his conspiratorial campaign he was assisted by newly converted Persians who wanted to fulfill their own designs.¹⁹

Though, it is interesting to note that all the other background aspects of that incident are also mentioned, but with almost subsidiary and trivial analytical focus. Same treatment is given to all the following events up to the assassination of Imam Hussain. This triviality given to all the composing aspects of any historical event is thus resulted into the ignorance about the actual rationale of

¹⁸ Abdullah Malik in his book "*Tareekh-e-Islam*" states the history of that period in such way which shows only the sequence of events. and in this sequence the incident of assassination of Hazrzt Usman is depicted only comparatively important part. This depiction shows that only a conspiracy by a Jewish turned Muslim hypocrite was sole responsible for the assassination of Hazrat Usman. Though, it is interesting to note that all the other background aspects of that incident are also mentioned, but with almost nil analytical focus.

¹⁹ According to Shaikh Rafique, Abdullah bin Saba was all responsible for this conspiracy as he wants to create havoc for the newly incepted integrity of Muslim empire. So he started a secret campaign to inculcate the misunderstanding in the minds of simple hearted Muslims. In his conspiratorial campaign he was assisted by newly converted Persians who wanted to fulfill their own designs. See *Tareekh-e-Islam* (Lahore: Standard Book, 2007),301.

history and historiography as well. Granting the status of actual history-makers to the character of personality has definitely devoid the originality of history.

In the same way presentation of period of fourth caliph of Islam Hazrat Ali (660 CE) is also victim of same dilemma. So that is why historians tend to such portrayal in which all characters are presented into a pacified settlement.²⁰ Jang-e-Jamal (656 CE) and Jang-e-Siffin (657 CE) both are usually given a non-conclusive substance in Pakistani historian's works,²¹ as nobody seems to be interested to do some conclusive analysis. While describing the incident of battle of Jamal, it is made clear that even before battle Hazrat Aisha and Hazrat Ali both had reached a rapprochement but due to the conspiratorial factor they had to fought a battle in which thousands of innocent Muslims had to sacrifice their lives in vain. According a popular history textbook writer Prof. Muhammad Rafique,

Followers of Ibn-e-Saba were all responsible for the happening of battle of Jamal. He states that before battle both parties were ready were almost reached a peace agreement but battle seen was converted into a peace agreement. But whole situation was turned into diametrically opposite dimension. Thus that sad saga of battle of Jamal was made to happen.²²

In the conclusion that after battle a rapprochement was reached upon between two parties after the war. It is concluded that this war was a result of conspiracy of followers of Abdullah Bin Saba.²³ But very surprisingly while author elaborated all the events in sufficient detail regarding the background of the issue but he did not bother to elaborate the conspiracy elements. Thus by neglecting all the other contributing factors, total blame is put on some known or unknown conspiratorial

²⁰ Sher Muhammad Akhtar states that Hazrat Muwayia both was ignorant of so many conspiracies prepared by culprits. Thus it is not correct to declare responsibility on either of them. See, *Kamal-o-Zawal*, (Lahore: Shaheen Matboat, 1959), 138-42.

²¹ According to Dr.Hameeduddin Khawarig were all responsible for the assassination of Hazrat Ali as they were fanatics so their own interpretation of Islam had led them to assassinate Hazrat Ali. *Tareekh-e-Islam*, (Lahore: Ferozsans, 1986), 5-7.

²² Sheikh Rafique has written in his book that followers of Ibn-e- Saba were all responsible for the happening of battle of jamal. He states that before battle both parties were ready were almost reached an peace agreement but battle seen was converted into an peace agreement. But whole situation was turned into diametrically opposite dimension. Thus that sad saga of battle of jamal was made to happen. But very surprisingly while author elaborated all the events in sufficient detail regarding the background of the issue but he did not bother to elaborate the conspiracy elements. See *Tareekh-e-Islam* (Lahore: Standard Publishers, Lahore,2007),323.

²³ Abdurasul, Sahibzada has written in his book *Tareekh-e-Islam* that after battle of jamal Hazrat Ali and Hazrat Aisha reached on a settlement. And without any logical connectivity it is declared that thus it was only because of the conspiratorial factor of Abdullah bin Saba. (Lahore: MR Publishers,1959),172.173.

factor.²⁴ In the Chronology of sectarianism, next incident is of the battle of Siffin fought between the forces of Hazrat Ali and Hazrat Amir-e-Muawiyah. Overall picture emerging from those readings is nothing but event record of that particular episode with almost no need of evaluation.²⁵ It is somehow needed to bring out some sort of conclusive analysis, so that is done by putting blame on some external factors and actors.²⁶ For instance in case of battle of Siffin, according to our historians, it was the mischievous role of some anti-Islam forces that did their worst by going against the rise of Islam and resulted into a bloody war within Muslims. Incident of assassination of Hazrat Ali is also treated in the same way. It is assessed that this act was done by Kharjites as they were fanatics in their belief.²⁷ This description is quite ambiguous as it does not lead to an intelligible conclusion. Depicting the role of Kharjites, as the responsible for the assassination and following events, is such sort of description which on the one side doesn't bear an analysis and on the other, leave an ambiguous picture of that crucial part of Islamic history. What went wrong, in fact, could be ascertained through a deep evaluation of all the background reasons and contributing factors.

SECTARIANISM: ZERO-SUM CONCLUSION TREATMENT

One of the several defining and characteristic feature of Islamic historiography is that it deals with sectarian histories in a non conclusive way. It is evident from the study of all the related works produced by Islamic historians in Pakistan that they always come to deal with sectarianism in a pre-ordained mode to avoid any sectarian complication. Pakistani historians purported to write down all those sensitive histories in very abstract way so that no conclusive outcome may form the intelligent piece of historiography. It is purport to tell the story of hostile relations during the third and fourth caliph of Islam in order to maintain a balance of narration so as to avoid the blame game regarding either of the caliphs. Clan prejudice, family tussle, Persian factor all are mentioned but with no analytical cohesion. That type of approach could not be sufficient to reach at an intelligible conclusion. Sidestepping the ethnic and racial and provincial and tribal grudges tussles and thus reached into an ambivalent position in conclusion. In

²⁴ In order to avoid any sectarian complication, Pakistani historians purported to write down all those sensitive histories in very abstract way. Sarwat Saulat is such historian who has written in his book about the battle of Jamal that after peaceful settlement Hazrat Ali declared that this battle was result of misunderstanding between Muslim. Author goes further without any logical connectivity that battle was result of conspiracies of enemies of Islam. And this conclusion is reached without any analysis of the events. 107, 108.

²⁵ Ibid, 108-111.

²⁶ Sher Muhammad Akhtar states that Hazrat ali and Hazrat Muwayia both were ignorant of so many facts and realities related to their issues. Thus it is not correct to declare responsibility on either of them. See, *Kamal-o-Zawal* (Lahore: Shaheen Matboat,1959),138-42.

²⁷Ibid., 147-149.

order to provide justification to the universality to the teaching of Islam, all the above mentioned possible reasons for clashes are rejected or put into marginalized positions.

CONSPIRACY THEORY FACTOR

One of the prominent and significant features of early Islamic history in the domain of Pakistani historiography is that it always highlights conspiracy factor while doing with early Islamic history. Role of individuals in making conspiracy is given significant portion at the cost of deep analysis of the event/incident.²⁸ According to Dr Hameedudin, Abdullah bin Saba was all responsible for this conspiracy as he wants to create problems against the integrity of Muslim empire. So he started a secret campaign to inculcate the misunderstanding in the minds of simple hearted Muslims. In his conspiratorial campaign he was assisted by newly converted Persians who wanted to fulfill their own designs. according to author, Ibn-e-Saba was not only succeeded to inculcate his ambition which ultimately resulted in to the assassination of Hazrat Ali but got success to infuse his conspiracy for the coming generation²⁹ Discipline of history is of such nature that always tries to find reasons of any particular event/incident by going into detailed background with comprehensive assessment. But in case of Pakistani historians who write history of early Islam, this very objective of historiography is either absent or shadowed by circumstantial considerations. According to one such study rivalry between Hashemite and Umayyad were there but was of no hazardous nature, it was, according to this study, a conspiracy by Abdullah Bin Saba which resulted into the intensification of the already existed rivalry between the clans.³⁰ His efforts resulted into the spread of misunderstandings amongst Muslims. It was his sole efforts which played the prelude part in order to strike the civil war within Islam. Thus conspiracy theory

²⁸ According to Shaikh Rafique, Abdullah Bin Saba was a Jewish turned Muslim with ulterior motives to topple the caliphate. So he started a secret conspiracy to inculcate the misunderstanding in the minds of simple hearted Muslims. See *Tareekh-e-Islam*, (Lahore: Standard books, 2007), 301.

²⁹ According to Dr Hameedudin, Abdullah Bin Saba was all responsible for this conspiracy as he wanted to create problems against the integrity of Muslim empire. So he started a secret campaign to inculcate the misunderstanding in the minds of simple hearted Muslims. In his conspiratorial campaign he was assisted by newly converted Persians who wanted to fulfill their own designs. according to author Ibn-e-Saba was not only succeeded to inculcate his ambition which ultimately resulted in to the assassination of Hazrat Ali but got success to infuse his conspiracy for the coming generation. See *Tareekh-e-Islam* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1976),173-179.

³⁰ According to Professor Muhammad Reza Khan Abdullah Bin Saba was bent upon to intensify the relations between two rival clans. His efforts resulted into the spread of misunderstandings amongst Muslims. Thus it was his sole efforts which played the prelude part towards the civil war within Islam. see his book *Tareekh-e-Musalmanan-e-Alim* (Lahore: Ferozsons,1976), 133.

finds its central place. Muhammad Ata Ullah Khan States in his book *Humari Shehanshahi* that,

Period of four caliphs was no doubt a golden era of Islam but it is maligned due to the conspiracies of Jewish turned Muslim Abdullah bin Saba with his followers. They executed a broad base plan to topple the caliphate.³¹

It is generally assumed in our history writings that there were always enemies of Islam who played the major and pivotal role to wreak havoc to the integrity of Muslims.³² This type of trend always undermines the true spirit of research. No historian tends to focus on the internal dynamics of certain part of our history. Rather it is a pre-ordained line to have certain outside factor responsible for any conspiracy. All the events from the assassination of Hazrat Usman to the assassination of Hazrat Ali and then all the other including events up to the assassination of Hazrat Imam Hussain all were happened only because of conspiracies of Anti-Islam forces who want to dismantle the central integrity of Islam. Study of that particular portion of history books on Islam revealed further that rebellions and conspiracies were all responsible for the sectarianism within Muslims.³³ And thus in this way internal dynamics were relegated to a marginalized position.

Without getting indulged into detailed and minute study of all the factors, it is not possible to bring out some mature analysis. For instance, the civil wars within Muslims are most important topic which needs a range of critical inquiries. But our historians tend to write these incidents in a non critical manner in order to avoid the consequential complications due to sensitive nature these topics. That is why they tend to write such histories in which they easily bypass all the internal factors by searching the external hand in the happening of these civil wars. But it must be remembered that in the domain of serious scholarship nothing is sensitive.

³¹ Muhammad Ata Ullah Khan States that period of four caliphs was no doubt a golden era of Islam but it is maligned due to the conspiracies of Jewish turned Muslim Abdullah bin Saba with his followers. They executed a broad base plan to topple the caliphate. *Humari Shehanshahi*, (Karachi: Muhammad Saeed and sons, 1959),36.37.

³² According to Imtiaz Piracha all the events from the Assassination of Hazrat Usman to the Assassination of Hazrat Ali and then all the other including events up to the assassination of Hazrat Imam Hussain all were happened only because of conspiracies of Anti-Islam forces who want to dismantle the central integrity of Islam. Study of that particular portion of Piracha's book revealed further that rebellions and conspiracies were all responsible for the sectarianism within Muslims. See *Tareekh-e-Islam* (Karachi: Rehbar Publishers, 1979), 205-240.

³³ Ibid.

Same treatment is meted out towards depicting the history of Umayyad caliphate. While presenting the 91 years era of Umayyad, it is generally maintained that the whole era was of predominance of treasons, conspiracies, and rebellions.³⁴ Currency of sectarianism and fanaticism was the major phenomena of that time.³⁵ In this way, the whole period is made revolving around these themes. Thus depicting that era with high level of intrigues and conspiracies is the general practice among our historians. A cursory study of these works produced by Pakistani historians generates the impression that it was the persistent continuity of intrigues and conspiracies whether of internal type or from external side, which played the dominant/defining current of the history of that period. Clannish prejudices between Umayyad and Abbasids was resulted into a series of resentment among the anti-Umayyad forces.

There were so many structural reasons behind that hostile period of Islamic history which could be studied under a range of scholastic studies. But amazingly all these reasons are either ignored or presented into a very loose-cohesive narration in non-analytical way. For instance, role of Abu Muslim Khurasani is presented as the sole mover and shaker behind the decline of Umayyad. It is primarily focused that without his orchestrations and conspiracies, it is difficult for anti-Umayyad forces to bring out the ousting of Umayyad. According to one such study, Abu Muslim Khurasani was a secret and pro-active observer of civil war between Abbasids and Umayyad in Khurasan. He was of the intention that Arab integrity had to be destroyed at any cost. Muhammad Tufail writes in his book while describing the debacle of Umayyad Caliphate in these words,

Abu Muslim Khurasani wanted to oust the caliphate of Umayyad but also he wanted to dismantle the unity of Muslims at any cost. Author lamented that Abu Muslim Kharasani had a strong urge to get start the civil war within Muslim which ultimately led them to the edge of total destruction. It was only the personality of Abu Muslim Khurasani who played the role of sole mover and shaker of all the events leading to the ousting

³⁴ Dr. Abdulrauf states in his book illustrated history of Islam that "...period of Umayyad was that of per-dominance of clannish prejudices sensuous pleasures and vengeful passions rather than focus on sound principles, rationale calculations, dare determination, patience and **perservence**." *Illustrated history of Islam*, (Lahore: Feroze sons, 1997), 67-68.

³⁵ Ibid.

of Umayyad and bringing out the Abbasid in to the realm of caliphate.³⁶

Abu Muslim Kharasani had a strong urge to get the civil war within Muslim at the edge of total destruction. Thus it is insisted that it was only the personality of Abu Muslim Khurasani who played the role of sole mover and shaker of all the events leading to the ousting of Umayyad and bringing out the Abbasid in to the institution of caliphate.³⁷ Without getting into detailed study of all the other related aspect of that particular period of history, it is lamented only at the role of single person who manipulated the anti-Arab sentiments of the Non-Arab populace of the Muslim occupied territories and got success to the whole caliphate.

This confined and repetitive depiction creates two historical misunderstandings. First is that all the essential components of any historical episode are either ignored or encapsulated into marginalized position while constructing narration. And second is that, it also deprived the presentation of next emerging historical era/movement, of all of its essential parts in comprehensive manner. Thus history in its totality could not find reasonable and intelligible expression. In order to further testify this assertion it will be important to make a critical note on the presentation of history of coming into rule of Abbasid. In one such plain account, it is maintained that coming of Abbasid into power was all owed to the moves of one person Abu Muslim Kharasani.³⁸ It seems that there is stereotypical pattern of writing history regarding Islamic history. As when it comes to the writing about the decline of any caliphate in the Islamic world, it is the same way of presenting role of skeptical personalities in a villainous manifestation. For instance, when it is to depict the decline of Abbasid in the mid thirteen century, it is doing by putting all blame on the state minister Ibn-e-Alqami, as he was not from the majority sect. he was accused of inviting the Mongols to attack on the Abbasid caliphate in order to avenge his personal grievances.³⁹ Thus by surpassing all the

³⁶ According to Muhammad Tufail Abu Muslim Khurasani wanted to oust the caliphate of Umayyad but also he wanted to dismantle the unity of Muslims at any cost. Author lamented that Abu Muslim Kharasani had a strong urge to get start the civil war within Muslim which ultimately led them to the edge of total destruction. Thus it is insisted by author that it was only the personality of Abu Muslim Khurasani who played the role of sole mover and shaker of all the events leading to the ousting of Umayyad and bringing out the Abbasid in to the realm of caliphate. see his book *Khilafat Banu Abbas*, (Karachi: Zameer Publications, 1995), 29-31.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.,36-38.

³⁹ Bari Aleeg has written in his book that at the closing period of Abbasid it was the practice of pleasure and easy doing that was responsible for the chaotic condition in the country. In such situation Shia and Sunni sect had started to get engaged in intense debates. And these debates were started to intensify enough to convert into a civil-war like situation. In such circumstances minister

background assessment and structural reasons, the whole debate is closed by narrating the negative role of one person.

To broaden the scope of our study, it will be not out of place to mention that while presenting the declining phase of Muslim Spain, Christian conspiracies are given high place in the narration.⁴⁰ According to one such account, the all Christian forces of that time were united against the Muslim rulers of Spain. These accounts further points out that all those forces were hell bent against the Muslims and were ambitious to annihilate the Muslims from the Spain. Christian and Jews were indulged in plans against the Muslims. And in this regard, all the European Christian powers were helping them. Further stress is put on the role of papacy in this scheme of plans.⁴¹ In the same line of thought, another account maintains that Christians has started their campaign against Muslims very after the inception of Muslim rule in Spain.⁴² According to writer these long drawn out campaigns were comprised of various secret movements, crusaders, Christian knights etc.⁴³ these pieces of history of Muslim Spain either does not contain other factors responsible for the ousting of Muslims from Spain. But unfortunately it is a common practice among historians in Pakistan to search and locate external factors at the cost of real and objective research of the events.

GLORIFY THE RISE OF MUSLIM DYNASTIES/CALIPHATES

Another significant feature of historiography of Islamic history is that our historians highlight the rise of every dynasty or caliphate. All the rulers (caliphs, sultans, Kings) who belong to the earlier period of rise and prosperity were usually given the eulogized treatment. This treatment is extended without keeping

of Abbasid caliphate Ibn-e-Alqami got angry from the caliphate and invited the wrath of Mongols by writing a letter to the leader of Mongol. Thus in such narration Bari Aleeg has put the entire onus on one person of all the destruction of Abbasid caliphate. Bari Aleeg, *Islami Tehzeeb-o-tammaddan*. (Lahore: Takhleqaq,1996),97.

⁴⁰ Syed Nazar Zaidi states in his book *Azeem qoum ki kahani* that muslim had entertained a great civilization in the Islamic caliphate of Spain for seven hundreds years. And after that it was due to the anti-Muslim activities of Christians, that grand empire of Muslim Spain had to face a total annihilation.(Lahore: Ferozesons,1980),123-141.

⁴¹ According to Dr.Naseer Ahmed Nasir, Muslim and Jews of Iberian peninsula all were against the Muslim rule over Spain and considered them as foreign occupied forces. So the started a long range campaign in order to oust Muslim from the peninsula. And in this regard they were helped heavily not only by all the European Christian powers but also by Roman Catholic Church. See his book *Tareekh-e-Hispania*, (Lahore: Ilmi Kitab Khana,1967),483-487.

⁴² Amjad Hayat Malik has asserted in his book that Christian powers of Europe were all against the Muslim rule over Spain. So they started their campaign against the Muslims very after the establishment of Muslim supremacy over Spain. Writer lamented on the Christian powers that they were of the intention to promulgate the new world order. See *Tareekh-e-Alim Ka Azeem Tareen Saniha*, (Lahore: Ahad printing press, 1996), 95-125.

⁴³ Ibid.

in attention the nature of the rulers/ruling period. Whether they are secular in their conduct of ruling or symbol of pure orthodoxy, it is the manifestation of glorification that keeps the presentation of Islamic history in accordance with the desired presentation. For instance presentation of Umayyad period is predominant with the appraisal of the administrative structure, ruling institutions and army they had instituted.⁴⁴ In the same way, writings about that period are replete with the appraisal accounts of architecture, magnificent buildings, grandeur of king palace, and illustration of Durbar is done in very mesmerizing way. Moreover, the assessment about the culture, social, literature and other features of prosperity is also made with high notes.⁴⁵

The same way of seeing the glorious past of Muslims is found in the presentation of Abbasid period in our history books. According to the accounts available, Abbasid was the enviable golden period in the Islamic history. It is a prevalent belief that era of Abbasid was rich with material comforts and had progressed in the fields of science, literature, culture and civilization.⁴⁶ Despite being a little bit liberal in his policies, Harun-ur-Rashid is presented as orthodox stalwart of Islamic caliphate. During his reign, a pluralistic society was coming into existence, but in order to present his caliphate era as golden age of Islamic history, it is generally ignored.

Surprisingly, whenever any major caliphate or dynasty torn apart or got lost its peripheral areas as a result of weakness in the central structure with ultimate emergence of various separate states, our historians start to illustrate them in appraising terms. For instance, when Abbasid caliphate was declined and resulted into the emergence of so many small scale dynasties in the premise of old Abbasid caliphate. So it is also a common practice found in the accounts of our historians that they illustrate all these small dynasties in appraisal diction in order to present them as the newly incepted empires of Muslim civilization. For

⁴⁴ According to Muhammad Siddique Umayyad was the period of true solidarity provided to the nascent Islamic empire. They had played their role in such a way that Islam had gained momentum in the domain of state crafting with utmost stabilizing impact on the domain of caliphate. See his book *Tareekh-e-Islam*, Muhammad Siddique, (Karachi: Aalmi publications, 1967), 111-121.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 121.123.

⁴⁶ Rais Ahmed Ja'ffary in his book *Khalifa harun-ur-rasheed aur un ka ehed*, states that harun-ur-rashid was a person of literature and has substantially contributed in the field of arts and other domains. he further states that era of Harun was of great nature in comparison with other contemporary rulers in all of its manifestations. He elaborated that period of Abbasid was rich with material comforts and had progressed in the fields of science, literature, culture and civilization. Despite being a little bit liberal in his policies, Harun-ur-Rashid is presented as orthodox stalwart of Islamic caliphate see his book, '*Khalifa Harun-ur-rasheed aur un ka ehed*,' (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 1982), 64-69.

instance, after the disappearance of Abbasid, the Saffarid dynasty had get its establishment in the Persia very after the eradication of Abbasid supremacy in Persia. This replacement of rule has a lot importance but instead of conducting a comprehensive study in its true historical sense, our historians focus their full attention on the presentation of that very important transformation in a way to present it as a monolithic continuity of the Islamic empire throughout the course of history.

Another prominent example of this trend is found in the case of history of Islamic Spain in our history books. Islamic Spain has enjoyed a very special status in our history books. Our historians feel much sentimentality towards Islamic Spain and weighed a lot while describing the history of Islamic Spain. In order to present particular dimension of that historical episode it is maintained that only the rise of Islamic Spain is presented in much detail as compare to that period in which Islamic Spain was on its pace of decline and then ultimately withered away. Contributions and achievements of Muslims in Spain are another important topic with significant space given to them. Services of Muslims scholars and scientists are given special status in our accounts. It is elaborated that Muslim civilizations old Spain was one of the great civilization not only at that time but in comparison with other leading civilizations of the world.

Moreover, in particular reference with Muslim Spain, there is another theme propounded by our historians with special enthusiasm. And that our historians maintain that all the progress of 15th and 16th centuries was owed to the achievements and contribution of Muslim scientists and scholars in the Muslim Spain. This tendency has found very strong footings in our discourse of historiography that Muslim scientists, philosophers and intellectuals had created such massive influx of knowledge which transferred to the east-southern European continent and ultimately resulted into the resurgence of renaissance in that continent. This claim is expounded with great vigor and vitality in our accounts. But it is not ever taken slightly into considerations that Muslim themselves got all that flux of knowledge from Europeans at the start of dark ages in sixth century A.D.

The change of dynasty from one caliphate to another is presented in such a way that major focus is put on the establishment of new caliphate by putting aside the transition period as that transitional period was marred with anarchy that is not suitable for our historians' scheme of historiography. Thus at the behest of intentional ignorance it is maintained that Islamic empire and civilization was altogether and truly a monolithic manifestation of the glorious past of Islam and devoid of any fault lines. Such sort of historiography is generated out of deep complex found in our discipline due to the urge to respond colonial legacies. Pakistani historians have served this duty by narrating history in extremely

imprecise and distorted medium. This is done usually to avoid such depiction which to them seems to be an exercise to malign the integrity of Islam.

The next line on the above-mentioned theme picked by our historians is that they tend to present the details of the expansion of the empire during the early phase of progress in very enthusiastic way. Along with it, it is also made prominent that all the achievements in the fields of literature and science are discussed with the tone of pride. And all these achievements are discussed in connection with the glorification of dynasty. It is pretended that all these achievements are only because of the strict adherence towards the fundamentals of Islam.⁴⁷

OVERLOOKED FALL

Another significant trend meted out by our historian is to impart a peripheral status to the evaluation of causes of downfall while describing the end of any dynasty or caliphate. It is done by giving a sudden start to the newly established state setup. It is generally a common practice among our historians that they tend to focus on the history of rise and prosperity and they set this trend at the behest of their intentional ignorance of that period of any Caliphate or dynasty when it was engulfed in its messy affairs which led to its ultimate decline. History of decline and fall is either ignored or presented in a mere cursory assessment of the events. This tendency is generated due to the fact that history of decline has nothing to offer in optimistic impressions. So that is why it is granted a negligent status. On the other hand history of rise has a lot to elaborate in terms of enthusiasm and has sufficient substance to in doctrinaire the readership with particular mind set building.

For instance Hazrat Abu Bakar and Hazrat Umar, from the period of early caliphate, were presented in more detail as compare to the Usman and Ali of later period. Period of Abubakar and Umar was of maintenance if centrality of state and providence of consolidation with ultimate expansion of the Islamic empire. So that is why this period has got of more candid and detailed interest of our historians. On the other hand period of Hazrat Ali and Hazrat Usman was engulfed in anarchy and civil war within Muslims. So that is why our historians deal with this period in plain narrative of the events by inserting their major focus on the non-conclusive and zero sum treatment. In the same manner the period of Ummayed is determined with the character and achievement of Hazrat Umar bin Abdulaziz. His caliphate was the period of peace, development and reforms. So

⁴⁷ Sarwat Saulat in first volume of his book *Tareekh-e-islam ki mukhtasir tareen tareekh*, states that all the achievements Muslims had gained in the fields of science and discourse of literature was only owed to the adherence towards the fundamentals of Islam and that orientation n is the driving force behind the land mark progress of Islam in its early phase. See first volume of book, (Lahore: Islamic publications, 1982), 220-223.

that is why it is maintained that the period of Umar bin Abdul aziz was determined with prosperity and rise. And after him Umayyad caliphate was started towards the pace of decline. Thus that post Umar Bin Abdul Aziz period has not got the noteworthy place in the writing of Islamic history by the historians to study in the detail it deserved.

In the same way, while describing the era of Abbasid, it is only focused on that period in which prosperity and development were getting pace in the Muslim civilization. Period of Harun-ul-Rashid and Mamun-ul-Rashid are given particular attention in our accounts as that was the period of rise in historical sense for our historians. Moreover our history books, the history of Abbasid is presented till the assassination of Caliph Muttawakil. Because after his assassination Abbasid had lost their grace and glory and their period of decline was started. In spite of the fact that after Muttawakil there was a period of almost 600 years from 656 A.D to 1258 A.D comprising over more than 27 caliphs. That whole long period is bracketed into one single tag of period of decline. So no serious consideration is given to the writing of this important period in order to trace the real historical and structural reasons behind the decline of Abbasid. It is also important from the historical point of view to locate all the historical currents at the time of decline.

Depiction of the Fatmid caliphate is also marred in the same above-mentioned dilemma. First five caliphs of Fatmid caliphate are presented in our history accounts while the rest of nine caliphs are either intentionally ignored or are given cursory outlook. The reason behind this partial treatment is in the fact that first five caliphs belongs to the rising and glorious era of Fatmid while the rest are of the period of decline and fall of the Fatmid Caliphate. Same course is followed in the presentation of history of Sallajiqah. Only the period of rise of Sallajiqah is illustrated and after that the period of decline is even not considered to look upon with historical inquiry. From 1037 to 1157 was the period of their rise and consolidation. Ruler of that period were Al Tughral, Alp Arslan, Malik Shah, Barkiarak Muhammad, and Sanjjar. All these rulers found great presentation in our historical accounts and presented as men beyond normal human cadre. All these rulers are bracketed and labeled as Sallajiqah the Great. After 1157 Sallajiqah were started to get on the pace of decline and disintegrated into various autonomous ruling families in different localities of native setup. Some of them were from the royal families and some were from the slave class of royal families.

All these small scale ruling families are usually ignored to get due attention in our history books. These small ruling dynasties are of important stuff to be studied in order to trace the comprehensive assessment of that period of decline. Study of decline period is very important to understand any historical transformation of major level. Period of decline is one such pivotal detriment to

that particular historical transformation without it being studied it is impossible to comprehend that historical episode in true spirit. In our history books only period of rise is presented with glamour and glory while the period of their disintegration was ignored. Another important extension of this trend is found in the presentation of Ottoman Empire in our history books.

NEGATIVE/MARGINALIZED DEPICTION OF PERIPHERAL OR NATIVE RULING DYNASTIES

Another trend that pervades in our historical accounts is negative/marginalized presentation of any such ruling family which had got established by advancing rebellion towards the central Caliphate/dynasty. Generally these small scale ruling families have found no space in mainstream historiography. It is commonly agreed upon believe that these deviated ruling dynasties were incepted by putting rebel to the central Caliphate with covert or overt conspiracy. It is maintained that all these dynasties were rebel and deviant and thus were against the mainstream Islamic empire.

For instance, Idrisiah dynasty was one such example, which got established itself in Morocco in North Africa in the period of Umayyad decline. That Berber dynasty was established in 788 AD and remained up to 974AD. In our accounts of historiography of Muslim civilization, that important part of our history is presented either in minimal lines or totally ignored at the behest of presumed deviation consideration. In realistic terms that sort of study of native movements are of utmost important consideration in order to acknowledge the historical context in its totality. Another example is of Dynasty of Aghlabiyah in the domain of North Africa that lasted from 800AD to 909 AD. That dynasty was also of African Barbers and has enough stuff to produce a substantial study of the historical behavior of native populace against the mainstream Arab state/caliphate at that time. But unfortunately our historiographers do not take these sorts of topics with required interest and attention.

At the declining period of Umayyad, Persians were trying to topple the Arab caliphate. Despite being their persistent failure, however they revolted more than one time to establish their own dynastic rule at small scale level. One such example is the establishment of Tahiriyah dynasty in the upper domain of Kharsan and Iraq. Because of its anti Arab stance that dynasty is assumed as rebel state against the mainstream caliphate so not to get sufficient treatment in our history writing. Dynasty of Tahiriyah was famous for its contribution in the field of literature and sciences and culture. But our particular fixation has deprived us to look in broader scale. So that is why our studies of Islamic history has found no place for such peripheral historical manifestations in due requirements.

DENIED RATIONALISM

It is another important tendency of historians to negate all the rationale voices/movements which were started in the early and medieval period of Islam. Generally it is stereotypical mindset prevailed over the discourse of historiography of Islam in Pakistan that all such rational endeavors were actually against the mainstream Islamic fundamentals. So these anti-Islamic tendencies are usually declared heretic deviation from Islam. Islamic history is replete with the intellectual movements. Muslim scholars and writers started to work on different themes. Whether it is the field of theology or the knowledge of philosophy, Muslim intellectuals had proved their innovative expertise and thus contributed a lot in that field. Currents of rationalism were started to get establish in very cordial and healthy way and contributed phenomenally in the development of Muslim civilization. Medieval Islamic history is very much owed to these epistemological developments. A long chain of Muslim philosophers comprising the time span of five hundred years from 800A.D. to 1300A.D. was there to celebrate the Muslims claim of being the original patron of the knowledge. Ideas and works of those philosophers had lent a massive character in the intellectual development of the Muslim as well in the cultural domain.

Unfortunately that period of philosophical development is not presented in our history books with due share. Generally it is maintained to criticize and negate all the rational voices of that period. It is also intended to present those rationalistic movements as deviation from the mainstream theological scheme of Islamic concepts. So that is why, for this propose, it is a common inclination to present the anti-rationalist schools of thought with far greater acknowledgement as compare to the notes given to rationalist schools of thought. For instance, school of Asha'arites is given the highest appraisal presentation in our accounts. A close study of all these accounts is enough to substantiate our theses that our historians have developed a kind of obsession in this regard and have skeptical vision while dealing with those philosophical currents. It is generally assumed that if Asha'arites had not dealt a strong engagement with Rationalistic school (Moatazilites, Merjia, Ikhwan-ul-Suffa etc.) than original spirit of Islam would have got damaged to unbearable limits. All the acclaimed names that belong to the anti-rationalistic school are given high attention with special focus on all the other personality traits and presented in a dignified protocol. Ibn-e-Hazem, Abu Mansoor, Imam Tahawi and Al-Ash'ari are leading personalities of that particular school. All the texts available for this research are all full of appraise for all these personalities at the cost of criticizing the rationalism. It is elaborated that these philosophers had purged Islam from all the influences of Greek philosophy. And thus provide intellectual safeguard to the élan vital of Islamic theology at that time.

Thereby it is the foremost duty of our historians that conformist philosophers who supposedly are torch-bearers of orthodox Islam are given all appraisal presentation. Therefore depiction of rational faces of that period is given biased and negative meaning.

PERSONIFICATION OF HISTORY

Another significant and major trend in historiography of Islamic period is that it has granted the central place to the character of individual in the dynamics of historical currents. Our historians tend to present the character and achievements of rulers and warriors in order to narrate any episode of history. Whether it is the period of caliphate of any other ruling dynasty, it is pertinent to look through all the passage of history by taking the role of personalities and ultimately connecting them with the dynamics of history. Personality protagonist is essential element to determine the course of history. Umayyad caliphate, Abbasid caliphate Fatimid caliphate, Sallagiqah, Ottoman Empire etc all are presented in a way in which the personalities of rulers, caliphs and kings were the sole moving force behind the progress of history. On mega level it is the presentation of history of dynasties (cluster of personalities) and on small scale it is the personality of one caliph or ruler whose central role is depicted as the holistic manifestation of the history. History of whole dynasty/caliphate is presented as the history of whole period while the history of one ruler/caliph is historical demarcation from previous and later ruler's period.

GLORIFICATION OF WARS

Our historiography has founded its discipline at the period of decline in the Muslim world after getting freedom from the colonial dispensation. So that is why historians tend to focus on digging out or formulating such themes which to them serve the need to bring out collective glorification of the past. In this ambition they had nothing more important than to fill the discipline of history with the eulogized narrations of the wars. This proclivity towards the glorification of wars is such a phenomenally prevalent in these available pieces of histories that it emerged that history of Islam is nothing but the long sequence of wars, battles and victories.⁴⁸ It is depicted that history of Islam is much owe to achievements in the battlefields in order to raise the vanguard of Islam in the far and flung areas of the world. And that was the utmost duty characterized by the ambition of

⁴⁸ According to Shaikh Rafique. History of Islam is much owed to the battles in the name of Islam in order to raise the vanguard if Islam in the far and near of Arabia was the utmost duty characterized by the ambition of Muslims. Author further elaborate his assertion by giving credit of all such wars and victories to the purity of Muslims believe, enthusiasm for holy fight, bravery and personality of their commander in chief. See *Tareekh-e-Islam*, (Lahore: Standard book Depot,2006), 341-43.

Muslims. At that time Islam was on the speedy plain of rise and expansion of Islamic empire was the most prevalent and rapid manifestation of that rise.

Our historians are of the opinion that that expansion was directly results of battles and wars with ultimate success. This particular mindset goes further to elaborate this assertion by giving credit of all such wars and victories to the purity of Muslims believe enthusiasm for holy fight, bravery and personality of their commander in chief.⁴⁹Element of rhetoric has also found its value in the diction while narrating these histories of wars and battles in order to gain more and more vitality in its expression. These elements of sentiments, emotions and mythological presentation of commander-in-chief and other leading personalities of that time related to that war/battle do nothing but only manipulate the authenticity of historicism of past and that is exactly what our historians love to do. It has also generated such accounts which are devoid of many other serious and important aspects of history of wars and battles.

By making an extension to this study, depiction of battle of Yarmook is important to evaluate. This is an important war fought between Muslims and Romans and landed victory to Muslims in the lands of Syria. That was perhaps one of the major events of that time which transformed one whole era to another as it dealt a death blow to the invincible Roman Empire by eradicating its mandate over Syria. Unfortunately our historians show their proclivity only to present the plain narration of war. Social, political and cultural impact of that major event is totally ignored or rendered negligence treatment. Battle of Qadsia is also dealt in the same above-mentioned way. Battle of Qadsia had transformed another long historical era into a totally different civilization setup as that battle had landed the Persian Empire into a long range of socio-political and cultural landscape but our mode of viewing that transformation is confined only to the narration of war events. The set of cataclysmic changes is not a worthy study to be conducted in our discourse of historiography and thus put to a confined and fixated frame of seeing past as it required being. That particular mindset devoid to acknowledge what the interaction of two civilizations has to offer in its pure historical context.

Era of Umayyad caliphate is also depicted in a way that only sheds light on the particular period of 704 to 715 when Umayyad were on the pace of expansion in the outermost frontiers of central Asia. That period is constructed revolving around the events of wars and success. This tendency of our historians is resulted into such depiction of past in which all other important aspects of historical changes which were generated through the interaction of civilizations are put into ignorance zone. Minute detail of preparation of wars and preparation

⁴⁹ Ibid.

of army, numbers of personals, and their enthusiasm regarding the holy war is presented in very sentimental and exaggerated tone. Personality of commander-in-chief is also of pivotal status to discuss in detail.⁵⁰ And to give all the credit of success in war to the personal characteristics of commander is very favorite and repetitive line to narrate.⁵¹ This tendency has found its dominant impressions because it imparts a high sense of glorification of past with the note of pride on the achievements of Muslim civilization.

Another theme which is articulated by these historians is that during and after wars Muslim army had always abided by all the rules of war and done no exploitation of any sort to the enemies and invaded people. After the success in every war, native/indigenous people were used to very happy at the success of Muslim army and considered them such party that helped them to get rid of the cruel rulers of past by defeating them. Our historians have insisted that Muslim army was always given the warm welcome by the native people as they freed them of the past rule that was very obviously based on exploitation and cruelty.⁵² Thereby local/native resistance movements are either ignored as presented in very negative assessment and end the narrative by declaring them as conspiratorial element.⁵³ In the same line, another theme that draws from the above mentioned trend is that those wars and battles in which Muslims had got defeated were not discussed or narrated in a thorough and comprehensive scheme. In reading the various studies on the narration of wars and battles, it is come to appear that only the war-led-success entities are discussed in detailed and presented as a momentous and noteworthy part of history. It is tried to focus that all such events were in fact the original scope of Islamic history and indomitable for the mainstream ethos of Islamic history.

⁵⁰ According to Muhammad Akhtar Bhatti, early Islamic history is much owed to the great leaders and generals. And only because of their personality it was possible that Islam has founded such a vast empire that stretched from east to west and from north to south. Bhatti further states that those great commanders were not like other military generals in history, rather they were unmatched in their characteristics. See *islami tareekh kay naamwar jarnail*, (Karachi: Maktaba-e-islami tareekh, 1981), 11, 12.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² According to author Shafee e-hdi puri Muslim armies always fought for the cause of Islam and thus have no worldly and material ambitions for their invasion. Writer stressed on the fact that Muslims were desired to do away the cruel and infidel rulers of non-Muslim countries and wished to eliminate them in order to spread the cause of Islam and getting the people of those territories rid of those merciless rulers. *Islami Jangein*, (Lahore: Kutab Khana-e-Anjuman-e-Hamayet-e-Islam, 1969), 69, 70.

⁵³ Ibid.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SILK ROUTES IN THE CROSS CULTURAL CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA

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ABSTRACT

Since ancient times, the social, religious, cultural, economic and political history of most of the South Asian countries is closely linked to the silk routes. In south Asia, the geography played most important part in determining the promotion of trade and silk trade routes because of diversity of its physical features. The travelogues and writings of Hiuen-Tsang (602- 664 A.D), Abu Rehan Muhammad-bin-Ahmed Alberuni (973-1048 A.D), Sheikh Ali Hujwairi, (1009-1077 A.D) Ibn Batuta (1304-1369 A.D)-and Shihab al-Umari (1300-1384 A.D) are of great importance in this regard. In the Indian subcontinent, without going through the studies of these travellers and writers of early medieval and medieval times, one cannot think of India's trade, trade items like silk etc. and commerce, modes of trade, transport, communication, postal system, means of exchange, trade routes, caravans, and caravan serais, towns, cities and markets, attitude of the Rulers towards trade and trade routes, impact of Trade and commerce on the Politico-Economic strengths on the South countries. The Silk routes connecting India, with South Asian, Central countries, Europe and China played an important role in history. The splendid civilizations and cultures of India, China, Persia, Greece and Rome came in contact with each other along Silk routes inspiring the scholars to call it a 'cultural bridge' between Asia and Europe. Silk routes played a sheet anchor role in promoting socio-cultural and harmonious trade and travel in medieval Asiatic world. Against this backdrop, the present paper highlights various points like origin of the silk route, its linking routes, cities and markets on the routes, caravans and serais in India and other countries. The paper also describes the philosophical transformation and ideas in the social and cultural dynamics of trade.

The Silk Route originated around 206 B.C. The term Silk Route was coined by a German Geographer scientist and explorer Ferdinand Von Richtofen in 1877.⁵⁴ The Route originally established between Rome and China. Modern

⁵⁴ Xinru Liu, *An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600-1200*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 7.

historians and researchers term 'Silk Route' or 'Silk Road' using as a metaphor of European and Asian cultural exchange. The linking silk routes have captured the passionate desire of travelers, scholars, artists, tourists and adventurers since nineteenth century. Silk was China's contribution to the World. Most Chinese scholars regarded the silk routes as a channel for silk textiles and yarn that flowed out from the north-west borders of the ancient empires-the Han Dynasty (206 B.C to 220 A.D) to the T'ang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) to the west India, Persia and the Mediterranean world. The most extensive part of the Silk Route passed via the territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In Nineteen nineties (UNSECO) United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization sponsored large-scale expeditions to explore the cultural and textile transactions that took place ancient times on Silk routes. Indian, Chinese, European and scholars from Islamic countries view the silk trade from various angles.⁵⁵ Split branches of the caravan routes linked Europe and Asia from Mediterranean Sea to China and served as significant means of trade dealings and channel of communication of cultures between West and East in the ancient, early medieval and medieval times.⁵⁶

The first most important in opening the Silk route between the East and the West came with the expansion of Alexander's empire into Central Asia. In August 329 B.C, he founded the city of Alexandria at the mouth of the Fergana Valley in Tajikistan the northern Silk route. Later on Alexandria became a foremost point on the northern Silk route.⁵⁷ Certain political and cultural events heralded a period of regular communication and interaction among the few cultural regions- East Asia, South Asia, West and Central Asia, the Mediterranean and West Europe.⁵⁸ Between the East and West, the rise of Islam as well as Islamic enfolded Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia, all ancient civilizations, into a new political domain by the mid-seventh century, and this subsequently rise to a new social, religious, political, economic and cultural domain. Pilgrimage, missionary and religious activities and the cultural exchanges had the deepest impact on the South Asian cultural domains.⁵⁹

In the beginning of early medieval and medieval times the formation of the largest world empires; India, Persia, China and Byzantium also symbolized certain types of culture and out of the ordinary system of statehood and command. These countries closely associated with the largest natural resources. The

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid,9.

⁵⁷ Chandra Pant, *'The Silk Route'*, Mansura Haider (ed.) *The Silk Road, Trade, Caravan Serais, Cultural Exchanges and Power Games*, (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014), 5.

⁵⁸ Xinru Liu, *An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600-1200*, 1.

⁵⁹ Ibid.,8.

formation of these empires, situated in the directions of four parts of the world, closely connected with each other. India was considered as the country of elephants (South); Iran and Byzantium as the countries of jewellers (West); Turk Khanate (North) as the country of horses; and China as the country of people (East).⁶⁰

The prominent towns and cities in India famous for economic and cultural momentum on the Southern Silk Routes since ancient times are Tamrlipta or Tamluk, Leh, Jaisalmer, Mathura, Varanasi and Patliputra. In Pakistan, Multan, Quetta, Peshawar, Taxila, and Debal are famous cities on the Silk Route. Silk Route is crossed from Katmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur (Nepal). Jakar and Paro cities of Bhutan are also associated with silk route. It runs through Bangladesh linked to many cities like Wari-Bateshwar, Pundranagora, Vikrampura, Somapura, Bhictargarh, Sonargaon, Chittagong, Samatata and Dhaka.⁶¹

One of these routes turns northwest entered into famous cities of Afghanistan like Balkh, Herat, Qandahar, Bamyán and Kabul along the Amu River including Bukhara and Samarkand the centre of Silk Route to the Aral Sea, the present site of Astrakhan on Volga River in southern Russia. The southern silk route ran through northern India, then to the Turkestan-Khorasan area into Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In India silk routes travels west along the Brahmaputra and Ganges river plains, probably joining the Grand Trunk Road west of Varanasi. It runs through northern Pakistan and over the Hindu Kush Mountains to rejoin the northern route briefly near Merv (Turkmenistan).⁶² Then, it followed an almost straight line from the west through the mountains northern Iran and the northern tip of Syrian Desert to the Levant (eastern Mediterranean). From there Mediterranean ships to Italy.⁶³

The role of sea routes in connecting the East and the West gained importance during the T'ang dynasty. After mid-ninth century sea routes superseded the land routes through Central Asia to China. The Muslims, Zoroastrians, Christians, Nestorians and Sogdians were the conveyors of silk on the sea routes.⁶⁴ Trade between East and West also developed through the sea, between Alexandria in Egypt and Guangzhou in China, and it supported the

⁶⁰ Sattar F. Mazhitov, *The Silk Route Historical Memory of Central Asian People*, Mansura Haider (ed.) *The Silk Road, Trade, Caravan Serais, Cultural Exchanges and Power Games*, 14.

⁶¹ D.C. Sircar, *Ancient Geography of the Punjab*, L. M. Joshi and Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1997, 25, website

⁶² Chandra Pant, *The Silk Route*, Mansura Haider, (ed.) *The Silk Road, Trade, Caravan Serais, Cultural Exchanges and Power Games*, p. 4.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁴ Xinru Liu, *An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600-1200*, p. 184.

expansion of Roman trading posts in India.⁶⁵ In short, from East to West, no single route was taken; crossing Central Asia different branches developed, passing through different oases settlements. Some other routes were also used for trade and travelling. Kashghar (China) became the important crossroad of Asia from where the route was again divided.⁶⁶

Since ancient times, silk route was the primary source of trade and communication among civilized nations of Eurasia; it was also served as the means for trans-cultural dialogues and international many-sided connections. The immeasurable area covered by the Silk routes touched upon all the most important centres of serving to unite and join together the nations and preserving their cultural heritage.⁶⁷ The spread of Buddhism from India to China triggered a profession of cross-cultural exchanges that a profound impact on Asia and world history. Christianity also made an early appearance on the sponce. In northern Iran, merchants brought their belief along the silk route.⁶⁸ On the eve of Islamic expansion into Central Asia, many people were trading along the silk routes from China to Europe.⁶⁹ We have significant evidences that the various Sufi orders were also developed through the connecting silk routes in the adjacent parts of the silk route countries.

The caravan Serais on the linking silk routes played very significant role for the promotion of trade and cultural relations. Caravan Serais on roads were the most important buildings of commercial life. Multan and Kabul were the main gathering places of the caravans from West and Central Asia. By and large, traders returned from Persia, Khorasan and other countries came within the company of Mughal caravans.⁷⁰ There is enough evidence in contemporary literature about the existence of serais or rest-houses for travellers. These were maintained by the religious orders or set up by the kings or members of the royal family or the aristocratic order.⁷¹

Ibn Batutta writes that at every post from Delhi to Daultabad, there was a serai which catered to the needs of the travelers and merchants. He also noticed a

⁶⁵ Chandra Pant, *The Silk Route*, Mansura Haider, (ed.) The Silk Road, Trade, Caravan Serais, Cultural Exchanges and Power Games, 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Foreword, p. V.

⁶⁸ R.N., Dandekar, 'Some Aspects of the Gupta Civilization: Economic Conditions,' Bulletin of the Deccan College Post Graduate Studies and Research Institute, vol. 20, 1960, 111.

⁶⁹ Xinru Liu, *An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600-1200*, 179.

⁷⁰ Manrique, Sebastian F. *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique 1629-1647*, (Hakluyt Society, Oxford University Press, vol, II, 1922), 221-222.

⁷¹ Joginder K. Chawla, *India's Overland Trade with Central Asia and Persia (During the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries)*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2006), 22.

fine serai at Bhakkar (Pakistan) which was constructed by Kishlu Khan, younger brother of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Balban (1266-1287 A.D). It provided food for travellers. The famous Khanqah of Sheikh Farid (1173-1265 A.D) at Ajodhan (Pakistan) was used as a serai where travellers and traders used to lodge their mounts or pack animals.⁷² According to Shams-i-Siraj Afif, in Firozabad and Delhi there were one hundred and twenty-one serais. The travellers were allowed to stay as guests for three days.⁷³ During the Sultanate period, the entire northern and western India had trade relations with west Asia and extending through it to the Mediterranean world, as also to central Asia, south-east Asia and China, both by over-seas and over-land routes. The thirteenth century opened a new chapter in the world history, particularly in Asia. It witnessed the rise and fall of different dynasties, finally allowed the Mongols to carry on as the vast power in central Asia, Persia and China for more than a century.

The decisive battle of Panipat 1526 A.D laid the foundation of Mughal Empire in India. With the establishment of Turkish rule, India enjoyed the status of a powerful state in the next two centuries. During this time India had maintained trade relations with Persia, Egypt, Europe and Africa. The trade was fostered by the Arab settlements along with the east Africa. *Ibn Battuta* and *Barbosa* both have described this trade.⁷⁴ In 1441 A.D., Abdur Razak, a Persian, arrived at the port of Calicut during the reign of Sayyids. He mentioned that traders of seven climates resorted to it from Egypt, Turkey, Azarbaijan, Iraq, Khurasan, and China.⁷⁵ Punjab, the land of five rivers had always been of decisive significance for trade and cultural exchanges on the linking silk routes. Before the discovery of sea-routes between the East and the West, all the main trade-routes connecting India with Central Asia, Persia, China and other far-away regions of west Asia and Europe lay across this strip. The well frequented passes viz. Khybar, Khurram, Tochi, Gomal, Bolan etc. enabled the concentration of camels and caravans for cementing commercial contact of India with the neighboring countries.

There were many significant connecting routes which can be divided into different categories. The prominent route was Delhi-Hansi-Sarsuti-Abhor-Ajodhan, and Multan which joined Sind through Uch, Bhakkhar. It was followed by Ibn Battuta. *Zafarnamah* of Maulana Sharfuddin Yazdi gives us an idea of the

⁷² Amir Hasan Al-Sijzi, *Fawaid-ul-Fu'ad*, English translation by Ziaul Hasan Faruqi, (New Delhi), 181.

⁷³ Shams-i-Shiraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, Hindi translation by S.A.A Rizvi, English translation by R. C Jauhari, (New Delhi:Kali, 2002),330-31.

⁷⁴ Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, English translation by H.A.R. Gibb, (New Delhi: 1993), 594.

⁷⁵ Abd-al Razak (*Samsam al-Daulah Shahnawaz Khan*), *Maasir-ul-Umara*,(Calcutta:1888), 209.

route followed Timur which ran from Multan to Delhi via Tulamba-Janjani-Sahwal-Aswan, Jahwal-Ajodhan-Bhatnir-Sarsuti-Tohana-Samana-Kaithal and Panipat.⁷⁶ Multan was further well linked with Kandhar via popular Bolan Pass which ran through Sukkhar and Quetta. Multan occupied an important place being the capital of north-west frontier during the Mughals. It was linked with Kandahar through land and with sea via river Indus. The city had also regular contacts with native trading centres in northern India. Delhi-Uch route was another regular route which was covered either from Lahore side or via Hansi and Sarsuti.

The Turks, realizing the strategic and mercantile value of good communications repaired existing roads and built new ones. Lahore-Attock route was used by Mughal emperors Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, (1526-1530 A.D) Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun (1530-1539 and 1555-1556 A.D), Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (1556-1605 A.D) and Salimuddin Muhammad Jahangir (1605-1628 A.D) led to Kabul.⁷⁷ It is needless to mention that Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar were the main gates to India which were well connected with the towns in Central Asia and Persia. Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, the founder of Mughal Empire in India was well aware of the significance of foreign trade and communication through these trade routes. He had particularly ensured the regular flow of reinforcements from Kabul. Thus, soon after the occupation, he measured his conquered territory from Kabul to Agra. Square towers were erected after every eighteen miles, while horse chowkis were established every 36 miles in order to create an efficient communication system. These measures proved their worth even during Babur's brief reign. Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun had insufficient opportunity to show his capability as an administrator.⁷⁸

Travel for men and commercial items became easier and safer during Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar's reign. He constructed the new roads, bridges and military posts which encouraged the trade on the connecting silk routes with foreign countries. Salimuddin Muhammad Jahangir ordered Zamindars to plant trees on the routes between Agra -Attock and other roads in Bengal. During his time, local chiefs were responsible for the maintenance of the roads. Whenever any disturbance took place in the areas given to the local chiefs then the latter's were supposed to be answerable for the safety measures of traders and trade routes.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Maulana Sharfuddin Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, Hindi translation by S.A.A. Rizvi, (Aligarh:1958),77.

⁷⁷ Bigham, T.C., *Transportation, Principles and Problems*, (Calcutta: 1868), 11.

⁷⁸ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, English translation by H. Blochman, Calcutta, 1868, vol.1, 258

⁷⁹ Salimuddin Muhammad Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English translation by H.Beveridge, London, 1909, vol.1, 7.

We can easily classify the items of trade among the countries connecting through these silk routes into two main categories-luxury and non-luxury. The descriptions left by medieval travelers and Persian chroniclers reveals that horses, furs, precious stones, silk, silk stuffs and slaves were among the first category which were imported from Central Asia and Persia. Among other goods, various types of clothes, fruits, plants, herbs, gold, silver, olive oil, rose water, glass etc. being to the second category. In barter India exported several articles which were in demand not only in Central Asia and Persia, but also in other Asian and European countries. Among luxury items, these were few apart from some varieties of cloth, pearls, elephants, tusks, horns and peacocks etc. Non-luxury items included spices, musk, different types of wood, sugar candy, food grains, dry fruits and dye-products etc.⁸⁰

The caravan was both the oldest and the most popular way of travelling in large groups on these trade routes. It provided the maximum protection, safety measures and made a significant involvement to the social, cultural, religious, political and commercial life of the country. The size of caravan depended on the existing conditions. The caravan selected up groups of pilgrims along the way like a rolling snow-ball, some of the walking, others riding horses, mules, donkeys or camels, the number reaching thousands.⁸¹

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur in his *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* mentions about the caravan coming from Hindustan consisted of 10, 15 or 20 thousand herds of horses bringing slaves, white cloth, sugar candy, refined and common sugars and aromatics. Multan and Kabul were the main meeting places of the caravans in the north-west India and central Asia.⁸² The main body of a caravan usually consisted of traders with large materials of goods. Other travellers-individuals, Muslim faqirs, Hindu yogis and some time pilgrims joined large caravans for their own safety purposes.⁸³ The members of the caravan had to safeguard against both kind of fears like attacks from outside and infidelity from within the caravan.⁸⁴ The leader of the caravan was called Mir, Salar or Bakshi. His authority, familiarity of the route and good organization were of remarkable help to other members of the caravan.⁸⁵ He was responsible for selecting halts, and for announcing the

⁸⁰ Mohammad Idris, *Foreign Trade under Mughals*, Shree Publishers, New Delhi, 2004, p. 78

⁸¹ Abul Khair Muhammad Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, (New Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat, 1977), 57.

⁸² Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, English translation by A.S. (London: Beveridge, 1921), 15.

⁸³ Manrique, *Travels of Manrique 1629-43*, English translation by Hosten, (London: 1927), vol. 11, 221.

⁸⁴ Peter Munday, *The Travels of Peter Munday, in Europe and Asia, 1608-67*, edited by L.M. Anstey, London, 1914, vol. 11, 95.

⁸⁵ William Foster, (ed.), *Travels in India 1583-1619*, London, 1968, 144.

departure of the caravans. He was also specialist at the art of managing complicated and delicate matters, particularly dealing with the custom officers.⁸⁶

The Banjaras were the most travelled tribe on these connecting routes in Mughal times. The term Banjara is mainly functional to those who indulge in trade of grain, salt and cattle, and who lived in tents moved with their livestock and carts.⁸⁷ They were the major suppliers of grain and other products to the Royal camp.⁸⁸ Next to the Banjaras, there was another group of transport contractors known as Adavivas. They were an organized group mainly functional in western India. They were big assets to traders. They were paid a lump sum to accompany a caravan and provide important items such as bullocks and camels. At the time of need, they also supplied to the caravans with all kinds of transport like cart, camel, and bullock etc.⁸⁹ The foreign traders travels on these routes seems to have gained reputation and authority to such an level during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. According to Tavernier, the foreign traders' viz. Khurasanis, Europeans, the Dutch were enjoying a variety of privileges and honours amongst the traders coming to India via these routes. He further informs us that the foreign traders after committing any crime when brought to the sovereign were never put in chains like other criminals.⁹⁰

Indian oxen were used for the use of carriage and were swifter than their overseas counterparts and would carry a man 20-30 miles per day. Horses were preferred to other beasts for their swiftness, remarkable look and comfortable journey. They were employed for riding and carrying goods from one place to another. The kings had a great desire for the Persian horses and were ready to give maximum trade concessions for the procurement of Persian horses.⁹¹ The camels normally used in sandy places like Rajasthan, Sindh and Multan. Camels were frequently employed to cover distances as they could work without water for days together. The swiftest camels came from Ajmer while the best in carrying burden, were from Sind. The Jamamza and Lok were two important varieties of camels.⁹²

Abul Fazl wrote in *Ain-i-Akbari* that camel came from Jodhpur, Nagour, Bikaner, Jaisalmer. The use of camels in caravans was not popular on all routes. They were in good demand from Surat to Agra, Sind and Baluchistan connecting roads. The routes connecting India, Persia and Central Asia were surrounded by

⁸⁶ Peter Munday, *The Travels of Peter Munday, in Europe and Asia, 1608-67*, 96.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁸⁸ William Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, (Calcutta: 1896), 149.

⁸⁹ Peter Munday, *The Travels of Peter Munday, in Europe and Asia, 1608-67*, 291.

⁹⁰ Tavernier, J. B., *Travels in India*, translation by V. Ball London, 1889, vol.3.

⁹¹ Peter Munday, *The Travels of Peter Munday, in Europe and Asia, 1608-67*, 291.

⁹² Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, 133.

the uppermost mountainous ranges and the Jungles and caravans routes themselves through one pass or another depending on the reports of snow, rock slides etc.⁹³ Caravans, usually, travelled during the dry season, starting the journeys three hours before sunrise and resting before noon. In the morning drums were beaten to announce the departure of the caravans.⁹⁴

To ensure added security of the caravan, armed sentries and guards were hired. The Mughal emperors were aware of hazards of the travel and ordered physically powerful measures to maintain peace and security in the empire. William Finch (1608-1611 A.D), British traveller came across many police posts whose purpose was to prevent robbery and to attend to them for the welfare of travellers.⁹⁵ During Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar's reign, if some robbery took place on the highway, it was considered to be due to the negligence of the local Kotwal or Zamindar, as he had either to recover the stolen property or pay compensation to the victim.⁹⁶

In Muhammad Shahjahan's period the overland routes from Multan and Kashmir had lost their importance on account of the disturbances on the frontier. The Indo-Persian wars regarding the occupation and maintenance of Qandhar had caused great trouble to these trade routes and other routes which linked to them.⁹⁷ Towards the end of seventeenth century, Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb's constant wars in the Deccan, economic failure of the administration and collapse of the imperial treasury, caused confusion and resulted in the ruin of trade and trade routes. The Mughals tried hard to make travel safe, but more or less it was the duty of the caravans to make precautions for themselves like employing guards to escort them during journeys, not only from highway robbers but from wild animals also especially when the caravan halted near some forest or hilly places. In the process of transportation of goods, risk of wild animals, dangers on the roads, problems of food and fodder and natural calamities were the main challenges. Extensive trade suffered from two most important dangers-robbers on land, pirates on sea. Due to the insecurity of roads, the caravans moved with armed escorts. The expenses on the transport were increased and loss of goods on account of robberies increased the prices, same in the case of sea trade. The articles in Europe were sold at prices five times more than what they cost in India.

Trade flourished along the Ganges, Jamuna, Jhelum and Indus rivers. It was easier and cheaper to send commodities by river than by land, and a huge

⁹³ Ibid.,143.

⁹⁴ William Foster, (ed.), *Travels in India 1583-1619*, 35.

⁹⁵ Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, p. 15

⁹⁶ Peter Munday, *The Travels of Peter Munday, in Europe and Asia, 1608-67*, 145-146.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.144

volume of trade was carried on by river between Agra and eastern provinces. The overland transportation of goods was no less important than river transportation, but followed a different model. In Sultanate and Mughal times, there is a long list of the cities which were frequently visited by the merchants. Some of the major towns' and cities like Balkh, Tirmiz, Kish, Samarkand and Bukhara were very significant for trade and linking routes. In addition to the town of Kabul since it was a link between India and central Asia from earlier times.⁹⁸ Zafarnama gives an idea of the route followed by Timur, which ran from Multan to Delhi via Tulamba, Sahwal, Jahwal, Tohana, Samana, and Panipat.⁹⁹

Despite the less adequate facilities of communication, transportation and travelling on these silk routes connecting East to West, the medieval traders, missionaries, preachers, pilgrims, adventures and other travellers continued journey. The state machinery of the period applied all its authority to overcome these difficulties and the network of roads, post houses, Caravan sarais, bridges and plantations of trees provided safety and security to the caravans and their commodities. This period witnessed a large network of trading centres like Mansura, Ajodhan, Debal, Uch, Sarsuti, and Hansi were the main centres of trading activities with Delhi. Lahore and Multan as the international marts where the Indian and foreign merchants exchanged their goods. On the basis of information given by early medieval and medieval travellers and contemporary accounts Kabul, Samarkand, Bukhara, Kish, Isfahan, Baghdad, Tabriz, Ray, Shiraz, Nishapur, Hurmuz, Ghazni, Qandhar, Tus, Qazwin, Yazd, and Hamadan were the prominent trade centres of connecting silk routes Central Asia and Persia with East and West. For commercial and political causes these trade centers had kept in good condition by the rulers of South Asian countries.

In course of time, silk route and its connecting roads promoted inter cultural relations between India and other countries of Asia, Europe, Africa and China. Almost throughout history, Silk Route has the greatest commercial and cultural communicative roads. Communication between India and Asia increased in ancient times, because of the popularity of Buddhism in the Central Asian countries. It helped for the spread of Islam in India through the contact between Asia and India during early medieval times. Most of the Arab, Turkish, Persian, and Afghani Muslim scholars and intellectuals travelled to India by the Silk Route to spread Islam. Intellectuals have also all along played very significant role in the transformation of society, shaping the consciousness of the people, revolutionizing ideas of the people of countries on the silk routes. The institutions of Caravan serais and Khanqah also contributed as vehicles of

⁹⁸ Bretschneider, E, *Medieval Researches*, London, 1887, 67

⁹⁹ Nizamuddin Shami, *Zafarnama*, Prague, 1937, 112.

intellectual ship, composite culture and spread the dissemination of the religious, cultural and commercial life of the people of these countries. Caravan serais located on the silk route were one of the significant mechanisms of economic and social growth as they do not served as the place of sojourn and for the storage of goods of traders from neighbouring countries. Caravan serais also worked as cosmopolitan cultural centres of gravity and a nodal institute for bringing collectively people from different regions together.¹⁰⁰ Muslim rule in India brought the country into closer contact with Asia, enriching Trade, Architecture, tourism and Culture.

In the history of East and West, particularly Eurasia, Silk Route was in its glorious days a great route of trade, understanding, folklore, wittiness, technology, science, astronomy, stories, philosophies of religions, beliefs, fairs, customs and commodities etc. The ideas of the west amalgamated with the ideas of East though the silk routes. Wisdom of different cultures met through the Silk routes in higher levels of understanding. Many religions including Buddhism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Islam have exchanged their ideas among the people East and West through Silk routes. Sufism emerged as a devotional movement within Islam that was also spread through the Silk routes and reached various parts of India. The Silk Routes changed the life style of the people. It made nomads into city dwellers. The vigorous exchange of ideas through the ages between India with other countries and interchange and communication in the spheres of society, economy, polity, culture, fine arts, learning, medical science, astrology, languages, literature, music, painting, sculpture and various other arts and sometimes diseases throughout its history is well established.

¹⁰⁰ Gul'chehra Azizovna Agzamovna, 'Some Problems of the History of Uzbekistan's Caravan Serais (First Half of the 17th-19th Century)', Mansura Haider, (ed.) The Silk Road, Trade, Caravan Serais, Cultural Exchanges and Power Games, 101.

**Punjabi Diaspora:
PUNJABI DIASPORA IN PUNJAB'S HISTORICAL
WRITINGS**

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ABSTRACT

Present paper talks about Punjabi diaspora, its importance and the place it occupies in the history of Punjab during colonial and post independence Punjab. There is virtually no country in the world where Punjabis are not settled. They have made positive political, social, cultural and economic impact on the host societies and vice-versa. Paper argues that the place which Punjabi diaspora deserves in the history of Punjab, that due has not been given to it. Major works on the Punjab history with one or two references, are silent on the amazing processes and events of Punjabi diaspora, which has now taken a form of a culture. History of Punjabi diaspora is the history of the struggle of their identity and dignity, a struggle to free their native land. It's a struggle for human rights which were denied to them, a struggle which sets an example for others to follow. The history of their achievement, their assimilation in the host countries. This history has various social, political, economic, cultural, religious and literary aspects which demand due recognition. Paper is divided into five sections. First section deals with introduction of the topic arguing about studying the history as a whole. Punjab historical work is reviewed to find out the themes which were being talked about at that time when on the other hands the diaspora process had already began. Third section deals with the various themes of Punjabi diaspora taken by eminent scholars but the whole narrative of the Punjabi diaspora is missing somewhere in the contents. Fourth section talks about the early movements across boarder in the pre-colonial times. Fifth section takes an overview of the early Punjabis diasporic process started in the colonial Punjab and continues after independence.

KEYWORDS: Diaspora, Punjab, Colonialism, Post-colonialism, Migration

HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS IS THE NEED OF THE HOUR

The way Punjab history has been written, reminds me the argument given by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch for historical synthesis. The integrated history is the need of the hour, which need a high level of historical scholarship, they says that writing history in segments giving maximum idea of the particular aspect of life is valuable to the general reader, but problem lies when there is un connectedness among these segments. The history is being written dividing history like science into thousands isolated specialties and have compelled the treatment of various aspects of civilization in separate longitudinal sections- economic-history, political history, religious history etc, prevents it from pursuing unity and understanding of the interconnectedness of the whole events and their repercussions on each other. As we know the study of man and his society in which he is moving and the society which is moving along with the man needs special treatment, with this regard the migration aspect should also be taken into account.

The societies keep growing with the mobility of its members, Taking here the case of colonial Punjab, what we see the period from 1849-1947 and after wards, was very crucial in the history of Punjab not only in the political, social, economic and cultural sense but also in the diasporic sense. Major writings of Punjab history included socio-economic and political life, but lacking in explaining the effort which were being made by the Punjabis to face the challenges posed by the alien setup right after the annexation and in later times. The colonial census reports, statistical reports, port reports did talks about the mobility of the Punjabis within and outside India. Hundreds and thousands of soldiers went South East Asia to work overseas as military personnel. Such huge remittance was flowing to India; the economic writers missed the aspect, did not correlate with the home economy. The post and telegraph department sources, the resources of the airport authorities and of different ship agencies have not been explored to catch the ever growing process whom the British were making every effort to control. The Psychology of the emigrants those who were leaving their home behind, without knowing to return back, what was their state of mind needs special treatment. Some of the work in form of interview method is done but that provided information about some limited areas and events only. Endeavour for historical reconstruction and inclusion of the migration process in the text books at secondary and university level is also missing.

PUNJAB HISTORICAL LITERATURE

To mention all the studies in one paper is not possible, but by studying the popular works we can address the issue to some extent. B.S. Saini,¹⁰¹ provide

¹⁰¹ B.S. Saini, *The Social & Economic History of the Punjab including Haryana and Himachal Pradesh 1901-1939*, (New Delhi: S.S. Publications, 1975),51.

information about the socio- economic condition of the Punjab covering the period from 1901-1939. It explains the condition of education, agriculture, causes of rural indebtedness, condition of the industry etc. M.L. Darling's,¹⁰² study in-depth analysis of socio economic conditions of the peasant of Punjab. He studies the reasons of debt, being closely associated with the Punjab peasantry, reflects upon the contemporary economic crisis. Imran Ali ¹⁰³ explained the process of agriculture and canal colonization which commenced in the western Punjab from 1885. Nine colonies developed during this period. Migration to canal colonies particularly from central regions, agricultural policies of the British influenced the rural structure of the Punjab and relationships between different caste groups. Military grants were given to the ex- soldiers have been discussed in the book. Khuswant Singh,¹⁰⁴ gives a vivid account of the annexation and the setting of the Board of Control, the setting of the Canal Colonies and rehabilitation of the various categories of people over there, the participation of the Punjabis in the two W.W.R.s. Book also throw light on the developments during the partition and the aftermath, which helps a reader to have an idea of the Socio-Economic and political conditions of the whole period from colonial Punjab to an independent state. Tom G. Kessinger's¹⁰⁵ study of a village 'Vilyatpur' examined the changes occurred in that particular village situated in Jalandhar District of the Punjab. The study touches the course of development by taking the factors into consideration such as government policies and programs, social and economic organizations, demographic trends and thus explaining processes of commercialization, differentiation of occupations in rural Punjab and also migration from rural to urban and vice-versa. The study also examines the migration aspect of that particular village which helps us to have an idea about trend in other parts of the province.

S.S Thorburn¹⁰⁶ posted at Dera Ismail Khan as Deputy Commissioner in 1882; provide a vivid picture of the causes of indebtedness and exploitation of the Muslim peasantry in the hands of the money-lenders in the West-Punjab. He gives suggestion to improve the situation, which was not heard during his tenure; later Land Alienation Act (Act xiii of 1900) was passed to improve the situation. Tan

¹⁰² M.L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, (New Delhi: New Delhi, 1977),79.

¹⁰³ Ali, Imran, 'The *Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947*', (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 56.

¹⁰⁴ Khuswant Singh, *A History of The Sikhs 1839-1964*, Vol. II, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1966), 98.

¹⁰⁵ Tom G. Kessinger, *Vilyatpur 1848-1968 : Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village*, (California: University of California Press, 1969),45.

¹⁰⁶ S.S., Thorburn, '*Musalms and the Money-Lenders in Punjab*,' Mittal Publications, New Delhi,1984,88.

Tai Yong¹⁰⁷ covers the military preparations, recruitment, and participation of the Punjabis in the two world wars. He also provides the information of the military districts of Punjab which provided military labor market. D. Brief¹⁰⁸ in his thesis examines the development of army recruitment, the social and economic background of Punjabi soldiers, gives scholars an idea about the provincial life which was directly and indirectly affecting soldiers' life. It also explains the changing situation in Punjab at the border which led the British to change their policies and this in turn had its consequences on the Punjabis in particular.

THEMES OF DIASPORIC LITERATURE

Most of the studies on Punjabi diaspora have been done either by sociologists or anthropologists and the work is done by the foreign writers or the Indians/Punjabis based abroad. Among such studies few are discussed. Archana Verma¹⁰⁹ in her book talks about the Mahatan who followed the migratory process of the Jats in Canada. Sohan Singh Bhakna's¹¹⁰, autobiography narrates the struggle of his early life and migration to the U. S. A. Darshan Singh Tatla¹¹¹ in his book describes the historical, economic, social and cultural between the migration process of Sikhs and Punjab. G. S Arora's,¹¹² study concentrates on the Punjabi immigrants in Greenland, England. Kernail Singh Sandhu's¹¹³ studies about Indians in Malaysia provides extensive commentary on Punjabis also. Manjit Singh Sidhu¹¹⁴ explains the early emigration of the Punjabis to Thailand. R.S., Gabbi¹¹⁵ a community historian in his book under the topic 'Sikhs in Australia' describe how the people of Punjab migrated to Australia. Sohan Singh Josh¹¹⁶ attempts to evaluate the reasons of Punjabi migration abroad, the racial discrimination meted out to the Punjabi community and their reaction in form of

¹⁰⁷ Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State –The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab 1849-1947*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2005,87.

¹⁰⁸ D. Brief, *the Punjab and Recruitment to the Indian Army 1846-1918*, M.Phil Dissertation, St Antony's College, Oxford, 1978,65.

¹⁰⁹ Archana ,B. Verma` *The making of Little Punjab in Canada- Pattern of Immigration*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003,109.

¹¹⁰ Sohan Singh, Bhakhana, *Jiwan Sangram: Atamkatha* (Punjabi), Yuvak Kender, Jullundhur, 1967,216.

¹¹¹ Darshan Singh Tatla, *Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood*, UCL press, United Kingdom,1999,221.

¹¹² G.S. Arora, *The New Frontier: A sociological Study of the Indian Immigrants in the United Kingdom*, Popular, Bombay 1967,291.

¹¹³ Kernail Singh Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya-Some Aspects of Their Immigration and Settlement 1786-1957*, Cambridge University Press, London, 2007.

¹¹⁴ Manjit Singh Sidhu, 'Sikhs in Thailand,' Chulalongkorn University Phyathai, Bangkok,1993.

¹¹⁵ R.S, Gabbi 'Sikhs in Australia,' (Sydney: Aristoe offset, Victoria Australia,19980,176.

¹¹⁶ Sohan Singh Josh, *The Hindustan Ghadar Party: A Short History*, Vol 2,(New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977),76.

the Gadar movement, its significance and the trials of the revolutionaries are well documented.

Harold A. Goulds¹¹⁷ narrates the early migration process to United States and Canada till World War II. Hugh Johnston¹¹⁸ study describes the migration from Punjab to East Asian Colonies to Canada and their revolutionary activities. Joyce Pettigrew¹¹⁹ makes an empirical study of the socio economic background to the emigration of Sikhs from the Doaba region of Punjab. Karen Leonard¹²⁰ in her book has discussed the Punjabi migration to the United States, particularly those who settled in rural California. During the first two decades of the twentieth century. La Brack's¹²¹ extensive and important study is concerned primarily with the immigration and settlement of Sikhs in California from 1904 -1975. M.G. Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery,¹²² in their edited volume of Sikh Diaspora, include the research papers presented at a conference on the Sikh Diaspora held at the university of Michigan, in 1986, deals with multi dimensional aspects of Sikh migration at different times, their pattern, and some relevant questions deeply connected with the process and the relation of the Sikhs outside the Punjab and their host societies are attempted to address properly. Mark Juergensmey,¹²³ The study attempts to correlate the events in contemporary Punjab and the immigrant community abroad. It tries to evaluate the development of Gadar movement. Norman Buchignani, Doreen M. Indra with Ram Srivastiva¹²⁴ in their work describes in three distinct eras the history of the people living in Canada of South Asian origin. Harish Puri¹²⁵ talks about the socio- economic background of

¹¹⁷ Harlod A, Gould, *Sikh, Swamis, Students and Spies :The Indian Lobby in the United States 1900-1946*, (New Delhi: Sage, 2006),82.

¹¹⁸ Jonhston, Hugh, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, London, 1979),92.

¹¹⁹ Joyce Pettigrew " Socio Economic Background to the Emigration of Sikhs from Doaba," *Punjab Journal of Politics*, Vol I, No.1, Department of Political Science, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1977.

¹²⁰ Keren Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americas*, (Philadephia: Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1992),101.

¹²¹ Bruce, La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California 1904-1975*. A.M.S. Press, New York, 1988.

¹²² M.G. Barrier & Verne A. Dusenberry, (ed.), *Sikh Diaspora : Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab*, Chankya, (New Delhi,1989),84.

¹²³ Mark Juergensmey, ' *The Gadar Syndrome: Nationalism in an Immigrant Community*', *Punjab Journal of Politics*, Department of Political Science, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1992.

¹²⁴ Norman Buchignani, Doreen, M. Indera, Ram Srivastiva, *Continuous Journey : A Social History of South Asians in Canada*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1985),205.

¹²⁵ Harish .K., Puri, *Ghader Movement – Ideology, Organization and Strategy*, Guru Nanak Dev University Press, Amritsar,1983.

Punjab emigrants. W.H. McLeod¹²⁶ explains in his book the earliest Punjabi migration to New- Zealand.

All the above works help us to understand the diaspora process, gives an idea about the location of the Punjabis in some countries. But the whole narrative of Punjabi diaspora was still in waiting which I tried to fill through my thesis entitled 'the Punjabi Diaspora: A Historical Perspective 1849-1980. While engaging myself in this field, made me realize that it is a very comprehensive process going in different directions at the same time. Much sincere efforts are required to research the various aspects of this amazing process. Its connections with the homeland will also open various breakthroughs in academic sphere. Such a fascinating process deserves to be told to the next generation and should not be confined to the seminars only. In following paras paper tried to catch the whole Punjabi diasporic narrative which starts from pre-colonial times when Punjabis had their trading relations with the Central Asian countries, would enter the colonial time period when diasporic process started due to various policies of the new set-up and then will enter the independance era covering the effects of partition and punjabis going to Britian, other western and gulf countries.

EARLY MOVEMENTS ACROSS BOARDER

Punjab, the land of five rivers where rivers were used not only for fertility of land but also for trade, this aspect is explored by handful of scholars. Lahore's importance for ship building during Akbar's reign is mentioned in Akbarnama. It was between Lahore, Multan and Thatta that the greatest amount of trade existed. Thatta served as an outlet for the Punjab manufactures and much of the commodities manufactured at Lahore were sent down by boat to Thatta. Later Lahore prospered as compare to Multan by 17th century, but thereafter Multan showed the signs of improvement.¹²⁷ The city of Multan (in modern Pakistan) remained a commercial centre. Trade and commerce come to be monopolised by Hindus such as Khattris, Baniyas, Suds, Mahajans, Bhatias, Bhabras and Aroras, and some sects of Muslims such as Bohras and Khojas were in trade. Multan acted as the inlet through which goods to India from the west passed and through

¹²⁶ W.H. McLeod, '*Punjabis in New- Zealand- A History of Punjabi Migration 1890-1940*,' Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1986.

¹²⁷ Chetan Singh, '*River Transport in Punjab and the Decline of Trade in Multan During the Second Half of the 17th Century*,' in *Punjab History Conference*, Fifteen Session, March 13-15, 1981, Punjab Historical Department, Punjabi University, Patiala, 80-85.

which Indian merchandised moved to Kabul, Kandhars and further west. Multan and Lahore were great marts for India's trade with Afghanistan and Persia.¹²⁸

Punjab a border state acted as a gate way to India from the Arabian Peninsula to Gangentic Valley of Indian subcontinent, as mentioned above, Punjabis were involved in trade that means mobility across border. The written history of pre-colonial is scares. What happened in terms of specific settlement in the Middle East is not known or has not found any specific study. Levis and Markovitis do mentions about the Sindhis and Punjabi Khartis traders with a base in Multan during early Islamic incursion into India and Mughal imperial patronage given to such traders, some of whom had settled as far as Russian occupied Islamic regions of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Essentially written sources and discernible movement to destinations other than Middle Eastern countries is dated from the colonial era. For many centuries the colonies of South Asian merchants were present in many ports of the Indian oceans and of the China Sea, including Hindus and Muslims. Early evidences talks about the Hindu merchants' presence in the port of Siraf on the Persian shore of the Gulf since at least the ninth century. From the fifteenth century onwards, the Sindhis also contributed in the growing diaspora of the South Asian merchants. Oldest continuous Indian commercial colony is that of Masqat, Bhatias from the town of Thatta in Lower Sind had intense commercial relations. Trade with the South East Asian increased considerably in the second half of the nineteenth century, and many Indians traders from South India, but also from Gujarat and Punjab and Sind were extremely active in it.¹²⁹

With passage of time the movement across the border saw tendency on the increase. Nothing to equal the research done concerning immigration exists for the emigrants and the effects of emigration on the home country.'¹³⁰ This statement of Pettigrew is true to Punjabi diaspora. The colonial history of migration is not only important in its own right, but it sheds considerable light on the characteristics of post-independence overseas settlement.¹³¹ The emigration from Punjab must be looked at within the framework of colonial emigration

¹²⁸ Fauja Singh, *History of Punjab AD 1000-1526*, Volume III, (Patiala: Punjab Publication Bureau, Punjabi University Patiala, 2002),283, 287.

¹²⁹ Marcovits, Claude, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947 Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*, 9cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10-12.

¹³⁰ Pettigrew Joyce, 'Socio-Economic Background to the Emigration of Sikhs from Doaba.' *Punjab Journal of Politics* Vol 1, No 1, October,1977, G.N.D.U., Amritsar,48.

¹³¹ Tatla, Dr Darshan singh,(2004) ' Rural Roots of the Sikh Diaspora,' Talbot Ian & Thandi, Shinder, (ed), *People on the Move-Punjabi colonial and post-colonial migration*, (New Delhi: Oxford Press University),45.

which affected other provinces of India.¹³² In a society no factor acts in isolation, factors are inter-connected which leads to chain reaction and comes out in different shades in form of result. The same happened in the colonial Punjab which affected and established its diasporic trends.

Looking at the present scenario what is seen that the long historical experience and connections nearly 150 years and more of Punjabis' abroad, is being exploited by the billboards display invites the intended immigrants, and allure them of better prospects of life which today has become Punjab's fastest growing business most of the time in return have negative repercussion on innocent youths of Punjab. Punjabis of Indian Punjab especially in rural areas, almost all are connected with Punjabi diaspora. Visit in different villages, some place or the other reminds us the diasporic connections and 'visibility of migrant wealth' 'in different foams' `continues to act as an important spur for further migration from Punjab. Diasporas are 'positive asset which need to be harnessed for the greater good of the homeland country.' Daily especially regional newspapers now almost donate a page to overseas diasporic activities particularly related with Punjabi Diaspora.¹³³

Effort by the government to give recognition to the N.R.Is materialized only after their contribution in form of remittances started contributing positively to the depressing economy of 1970s, and what we see the extensive Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora, Labor and development vol. 9, no2. Came only in 2003. As far as Punjabi diapsora is concerned McLeod once expressed that due to lack of sufficient archival there is certain urgency for research in this area. 'Several studies of Sikhs (or Punjabi) migration have now been published and it is high time that we attempt to draw these different approaches together.'¹³⁴

PUNJABI DIASPORIC PROCESS: AN OVERVIEW

During the last two decades, the word diaspora has become widespread term of use in sociological studies. Etymologically the term is derived from the Greek language as 'Diasperien,' 'Dia' meant across and 'sperien' stood for to sow or scatter seeds. Diaspora thus refers to the displaced communities dislocated

¹³² Tatla, Darshan.Singh:(1993) 'The Politics of Homeland : A Study of Ethnic Linkages and Political Mobilization Amongst Sikhs in Britain and North –America,' Ph. D thesis, University of Warwick, London, 76.

¹³³ http://www.india-seminar.com/2006/567/567_shinder_s_thandi.htm, 12/6/2015.

¹³⁴ McLeod, W. H. 'The First Forty Years of Sikh Migration: Problem and Some Possible Solutions' in *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab* (ed.), N. Gerald Barrier, Verne. A. Dusenbery (New Delhi: Chankya Publication, 1989., 30.

from their native homeland through migration, immigration or exile.¹³⁵ However, such migrations differ in time and geographical positions, so its nature and origin in each case might be different.¹³⁶ But the term 'is now commonly used in the generic sense for the communities of migrants living or settled permanently in other countries, aware of its origin and identity, and maintain varying degree of linkage with the mother country.'¹³⁷ Applying this to the Indian setting, there is a long history of people of Indian origins going abroad. The modern movement of Indians was established under the colonial rule after the abolition of slavery.¹³⁸ As a result, Indian diaspora is now scattered in all continents of the world. This was confirmed by 'Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora', commissioned by the Government of India. According to its summary, there are 20 million overseas Indians residents in 48 countries while there are other 100 countries with 10,000 or more Indian population. The Report also noted that recent Indian migration has drawn a significant proportion of professional class with skills in IT and other trades and this movement is predominantly towards western countries, with the United States as the most important destination.¹³⁹

The Punjabi Diaspora for the purposes of this study means all those Hindus, Sikhs and Muslim migrants who left Punjab for some overseas locations. As the events in Punjab history proceeded so is the history of the Punjabi Diaspora moves during the colonial and post-colonial times. After annexation Punjab was deprived of its prominent leaders. When Punjab on one hand was put under the Board of Administration, on the other hand Maharaja Duleep Singh was shipped to England in 1854. His mother Maharani Jind Kaur who was deemed dangerous for the Company Raj was imprisoned but she however managed to escape and took asylum in Nepal. Punjabis as presented by the British were happy under their

¹³⁵ Jana Evans Brazil, Anita Mannur, (ed.), *Theorizing Diaspora*, Blackwell Publishing, U.S.A., 2003, 1.

¹³⁶ Harpreet Kaur, "Diaspora : Some general Expositions" in *Punjab Journal Of Politics*, Volume XXX no.1, 2006, 110-111.

¹³⁷ The Ministry of External Affairs, *Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora, Labour and development*, Vol. 9, no.2, Government of India, New Delhi, 2003, p.290.

¹³⁸ Leela Gujadhur Sarup, *Colonial Emigration 19th, 20th Centuries, Annual Reports, from the Port of Calcutta to The British & Foreign Colonies*, Vol. II, Aldrich International, Kolkata, 2006, Introduction, p. I. A movement for abolition of slavery in British colonies started around the latter part of the eighteenth century. A motion was tabled in British Parliament in 1807, the House of Commons approved the prohibition of slave trade and by 1823, envisaged abolition of slavery, in 1828 Colour Bar was abolish, finally in 1833 slavery was abolition throughout the British Empire. On August 1st 1834, twenty millions pound sterling was approved by Imperial Treasury to be released as compensation to the owner of the slaves. The slave owners of Mauritius received a little over two million pound sterling and in other British Colonies, £19 was paid for release of each slave.

¹³⁹ The Ministry of External Affairs, *Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora, Labour and development*, Vol. 9, no.2, (New Delhi: Government of India, 2003), 290.

newly established rule, was far from truth. British government as we see took every measure to destroy every means of warfare, ordered to submit every type of weapon to the government to avoid punishment. According to Tan Tai Yong nearly 1, 20,000 weapons of all sorts were collected from the people, Khalsa army was disbanded and 50,000 soldiers were paid off.¹⁴⁰ Still many Punjabis were making every effort to resist the new regime. One among many, who challenged the foreign rule, was Bhai Maharaj Singh, his was the first strong resistance to British after the annexation. He did every effort to regain the lost empire and install Dalip Singh on the throne. He even tried to take the help of the local important powers and even Dost Mohammad but none helped, his plan to revolt was leaked and was arrested.¹⁴¹ He along with Bhai Karak Singh were the first Sikh convicts to arrive in Malaya as political prisoners. Many Sikh commanders were also sent to Burma. Almost after two decades, due to the Kuka rebellion, Guru Baba Ram Singh was sent to British Burma in March 1872, eleven others arrested along with Baba Ram Singh, were sent to different places and some were imprisoned in Aden,¹⁴² all communications were barred among them.¹⁴³

On the other hand what we see that as the British were occupying one territory or the other in South East Asia for that they needed apart from administrative machinery, soldiers in their newly occupied territories. Leaving behind the early policy of disbanding the Punjabis, British started recruiting them and sending to far off territories as there was no such restriction of crossing the seas as was with the rest of the Indians in their customs and traditions. While working in these areas they discovered the new opportunities lying nearby islands. Punjabis belonging to various other professions also started migrating from Punjab. This was the beginning of the Punjabi Diasporic process. Punjabis were the agricultural class, possessing fighting skill, were independent in their attitude. After the abolition of the slavery in 1834 Indians were going to the Caribbean and other islands, Punjabis along with the other also moved towards these territories but were not considered good indentured laborers due to their resistance against exploitation and demand for fair rights. Plantation masters protested to the Indian authorities not to send such people who are conscious about their rights and are

¹⁴⁰ Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947*, (New Delhi:Sage Publications, 2005),35-36.

¹⁴¹ Harinder Singh, Bhai Maharaj Singh Freedom Fighter for Punjab, 15 May, 2017, Sikhri .Com. Downloaded 1.9.2020.

¹⁴² Home Department, Judicial, July, 1876,B, File no. 177/ 179.

¹⁴³ Home Department, Judicial, June,1877, File no. 333-338.

ready to fight for that. That's the reason why migration towards these areas could not become so popular.¹⁴⁴

Then comes the important event of 1857. But interestingly what we find that a myth is created and repeated every time while writing the history of Punjab of this time period that Punjab sided with the British. But there are numerous accounts related with this event which uncovered this lie and fully reveals the other side of the story. The Princely states were neither the representatives of the whole of the masses, nor their loyalty represented the sentiments of the masses of Punjab. Further to ease out the situation number of Punjabis, who participated in the revolt of 1857 as soldiers and as civilians, were sent out of Punjab and beyond sea. On 21st May, 1858 in a circular from Under Secretary to Government of India to the chief Commissioner of Punjab mentions that 'it had been determined to send all 'mutineers' and 'rebels convicts' to Port Blair in the Andaman'.¹⁴⁵ In another letter from Judicial Commissioner of Punjab to the Session Judge, Hissar, mentioned that transportation beyond sea. It is hoped will prove a more effective deterrent from crime than imprisonment in the country.¹⁴⁶ Rules and the Routes were framed with regards to the transportation of prisoners beyond sea.¹⁴⁷

Meanwhile they were also embarking for East Africa as military personnel and later as laborers in Uganda. The port of Karachi appeared for the first time as an emigration port in the year 1897-98 when 330 emigrants were dispatched to Mombasa for the work on Uganda Railways. During three years some 27,000 male laborers left Karachi for East Africa and the great bulk of these emigrants were from Punjab.¹⁴⁸ In the year before 1902, around 2,500 Indian contract workers died and 6,500 became invalid. Many Punjabis/Sikhs died of diseases such as malaria, yellow fever, dysentery, scurvy ulcer. Some of the emigrants

¹⁴⁴Hugh Tinker, *Separate and Unequal : India and the Indians in the British Commonwealth*. C. Crust & Company, London, 1976, p.29. See also, Hardeep Kaur, ' *Understanding Early Formation of Punjabi Diaspora: Causes and Dispersions*', *Journal of Sikh and Punjab Studies*, Vol 27,- November -1, Spring 20,1-30.

¹⁴⁵ Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 21st May, 1858, Circular no. 41.

¹⁴⁶ Principal Matters, Hissar Division, May, 1863, Letter no. 1586.

¹⁴⁷ Principal Matters, Hissar Division, R. N. Cust, Judicial Commissioner for Punjab, 10th September, 1863, leaf No. 295-300. See also, Hardeep Kaur, ' *The Punjabi Diaspora: As Military Personnel*', *Multiple Perspectives on India/ Punjabi Diaspora identities, locations and intersections*, ed, Manjinder Singh, Joga Singh, (Patiala: Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, 2004),433-449.

¹⁴⁸ *Statistics of British India from 1907-08 and the Proceeding years*, Part V, Area, Population and Public Health, Calcutta, 1909, 27.

while working under blasting operations got trapped in accidents which resulted often in loss of both the hands.¹⁴⁹

Punjab at that time was witnessing a large scale projects of canal irrigation and colonization. Time also witnessed the agitations against unjust laws of the colonial government such as Bari Doab water tax and tax on crown land. This was the time when considerable emigration to British Columbia from Taran Taran Tehsil occurred. Punjabis also emigrated from district of Peshawar, Ludhiana, Amritsar, Lahore and Gurdaspur few from Rawalpindi.¹⁵⁰ After knowing about the better opportunities, Punjabis who were already working as military personnel, started going to North America from South East Asian regions then straight from Punjab. This was also the time when they moved to Argentine and Brazil. Landing was not welcomed in America. They had to leave their homes and factories due to Anti- Asiatic riots in 1907-1910 and in later years. They were not being recognized as the owner of the property which they had earned after much hard work under Alien Land Laws 1913.¹⁵¹ Another discriminatory law such as 1924 Asian Exclusion Act also was a challenge to their identity as British subjects. While working in the saw mills and in other factories along with the people of the various nationalities such as Japan, China, Turkey, Russian, (in some of these countries movement of independence was going on) Punjabis got more enlightened. Punjabis as were guided by their native values not only helping each other, but people of various nationalities in the time of need, which created a congenial atmosphere and they started exchanging their views and ideas on various issues.

Not treated well in North America as British subjects, forced Punjabis to think that all this is their being under foreign rule.¹⁵² This forced agriculturists to turn organisers, having native far sightedness they thought of creating an organization to solve their problem. So an association was formed named ‘Hindustan Association of Pacific Coast’ with a proposed newspaper ‘Hindustan’ under the leadership of Sohan Singh Bakhna as President, G.D kumar as Chief Secretary, Pandit kanshi as Treasurer. Although eighty percent of the migrants were Sikhs

¹⁴⁹ Revenue & Agriculture, Emigration, May, 1902, File no. 8, Pro. 10. See also, Hardeep Kaur, ‘The Punjabi Diaspora: Far East Connections’, *Critical Perspectives on Indian/ Punjabi Diaspora: Narratives of Migration in Southeast Asia and Far-East*, ed., Manjit Inder Singh, Tajinder Kaur, (Patiala: Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala), 141-157.

¹⁵⁰ Commerce & Industry, March, B, 1908, File no. 63 see also, Hardeep Kaur, ‘*The Punjabi Diaspora : A Historical Perspective 1849-1980*’, Unpublished Thesis, Panjab University, 2017, Chandigarh, 135.

¹⁵¹ Education, Health and Lands, Overseas Section, August, 1923, B, Pro. 61.

¹⁵² *Akali te Pardesi*, 29th March, 1930, p. 5; 30th March, 1930, p.7; 3rd April, 1930, p. 5; 6th April, 1930, 4.

but taking all the communities together into confidence, was the beauty of this organization, all including Hindus, Muslims used to attend the meetings of the organization and were free to express their views, celebrating each other's festivals, because the aim of all the members was the same, the freedom of their native land. Later an umbrella Organization 'Hindi Association of Pacific Coast' was established under the president ship of Sohan Singh Bhakna. Lala Hardyal (who remained in the organization for just five months) used to write in Urdu and Gurmukhi translation was done by Kartar Singh Sarabha. After the departure of Lala Hardyal, Bhai Santokh Singh took the command of the office and the responsibility of publication of the newspaper was on the shoulders of Harnam Singh Toondilaat and Kartar Singh Sarabha.¹⁵³ The tragic incident of Komagata Maru, the trials of Gadarites and their contribution in the freedom struggle, cannot be ignored in the Punjab history.

Punjabis emigration towards Australia and New Zealand occurred in 1890s. By 20th January, 1898, Punjabis were in a position to present their case before the government in foreign land single handily. A memorandum by Bishan Singh along with more than fifty Punjabis, was presented to Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of States for the colonies complaining about the disabilities which they were facing due to Miners and Hawkers Acts.¹⁵⁴ As far as other areas of South East Asia is concerned by 1902 the first Punjabi appeared in Philippines from Jalandhar village sangatpura, many other joined them later. Early 20th century saw the popularity of the credit system operated by the Punjabis known as 5'6 in Philippines. Many came move further to North America, used it as a transit passage.¹⁵⁵ It is believed that Shri Kirparam Mandan, later joined by his relative went to Thailand by 1884, by 1920 several Sindhi and Punjabi forms started operating in Bangkok. Some Sikh firms had branch offices in Japan also.¹⁵⁶

The shadows of the First World War started looming large in the first decade of the 20th century. Here Punjab was the province having 20 Million population contributed 3,26,000 recruits and felt the brunt of the war more than any other province of India. Apart from that for the Great War one lakh non-combatant were also recruited from the province. The losses of Punjabis in the Punjab is not duly address which led the wiping out the young population and left behind the

¹⁵³ Malwinder Singh Waraich, (ed), *Jiwan Sangram Atam Katha Baba Sohan Singh Bhakhna 4-1-1870-20-12-1968 Gadar Party De Pehley Pradhan*, Tarakbharti Publication, Barnala, 2013, p.34

¹⁵⁴ Revenue & Agriculture Emigration, May, 1898, Pro no 55, no. 8.

¹⁵⁵ Medha Kudaisya, "Trading Networks in Southeast Asia", in *The Encyclopedia of Indian Diaspora*, 62-65.

¹⁵⁶ Manjit Singh Sidhu, *The Sikhs in Thailand*, Chulalongkorn University Phayathai, Bangkok, Thailand, 1993, 1-35.

injured or the widows on large scale and disturbed its demographic set up.¹⁵⁷ Forced by the circumstances at home and due to better societies set up overseas, decided to settle abroad. Forced by the circumstances, Punjabis who by this time were well established in the South East Asia again had to leave their business behind and came back to Punjab. The effect of the war on economy of Punjab has not been duly assessed neither addressed. The Jallianwala Bagh incident which they got in return of helping British with men and material in the first world war, forced Punjabis to move out of country. The Second World War again affected immensely to Punjab and the partition of Punjab in 1947 proved to be the greatest blow to the socio-economic and cultural fabric of the province. This period saw migration of the Punjabis not across the border but outside India to U.K and many other European countries. Post Second World War saw the era of reconstruction in the west, they needed labor for their destroyed economics, many Punjabis moved to these areas. Later due to changes in the migration policies, introduction of the quota system by America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, led Punjabis settling down there.¹⁵⁸ In the beginning of 1970 Punjabis had a new destination; the Gulf states to move. So the big picture of the Punjabis diaspora changed as is seen above according to the needs of the colonial interest and attitude of the host countries.

Punjabi Diaspora has complete history of its own which speaks boldly how Punjabis were helping building the societies overseas and contributing socially, politically, economically and culturally in the host countries. Whether they were in South East Asia working as military personnel and later settling down as community or in Uganda, building its railways under trying circumstances, or struggling in North America for survival, contesting for their rights and identity, or facing problems in Philippines, Brazil, Argentina, Fiji or moving as ‘twice migrants’ from Kenya and starting their life right from the stretch in the western European countries, putting their steps in ‘White’ countries such as Australia, New Zealand. Facing discriminatory policies during colonial times and after independence, asserting their rightful rights in the host countries. So it’s time to recollect and duly mention at proper place the struggle of the first generation of Punjabi emigrants who had to face the brunt of the discriminatory policies wherever they went. The Punjabi Diasporic history is full of struggle for the survival on the alien land, which still is in continuation. Thus narrative be properly addressed and added in the history of Punjab for future generation.

¹⁵⁷ Report of the Army in India Committee 1919-1920, Part II, Section VI, p.71.

¹⁵⁸Ministry of External Affairs, A.M.S. Section,1957, 44 (2) –AMS/57.

Challenges and Security threats faced by Pakistan from India and Afghanistan

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ABSTRACT

The paper highlights how Pakistan has to be vigilant on its border as it shares border with India and Afghanistan. Since the day of independence Pakistan is not having fruitful relations with these countries. The paper highlights the Pashtun issues, the Durand line controversy, factors which may help Pakistan to be known as Peace loving country. The paper will also highlight about the Refugee problems which Pakistan is facing since ages. The primary aim of this research paper is to bring a closer look at the diplomatic and other avenue in respect of the security dilemma situation in the region. By keeping in attention the main theme of real politics, this study will try to enhance the scope of future prospects of the regional peace and security.

KEYWORDS: India, Afghanistan, Balochistan, Pashtun issue, Durand Line, Refugee, Borders, War on Terror, Diplomatic, China, Russia.

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan shares its border with India and Afghanistan. In its north west is Afghanistan and India in its east. “The enemy of my enemy is my friend” Suits best in the case of Pakistan. As Afghanistan and India both are enemies of Pakistan. India never wanted to accept Pakistan as an independence state. Neither Afghanistan voted in favor of Pakistan in United Nations on September 30 1947. Pakistan did not accept such attitude from Afghanistan as Pakistan thought Afghanistan as its brother.

Similarly relations with India can never be categorized as bed of roses it has always been bed of thorns. India was never in favor of independent Muslim state. Pakistan has been in state of war with India since 1947 and the honest perception the two states can never be in good terms. Pakistan’s twin challenges are its relations with India and Afghanistan. Both fronts have posed enduring security dilemmas. Pakistan faces a full spectrum of security challenges – and militancy, conventional threats and the imperative to ensure the credibility of its nuclear defense.

PASHTUNISTAN ISSUE AND THE DURAND LINE CONTROVERSY

Pakistan's strategic concerns are defined by its expressed apprehensions on the issue of Pashtunistan and non-recognition of the Durand Line as an international border between Afghanistan and Pakistan by various afghan rulers including the Taliban. Moreover, the porous border and close tribal and cultural linkages between the Pashtuns across the international border are some of the factors that concern the security interests of Pakistan. Pakistan has traditionally followed the policy of stabilizing the Durand Line by exerting economic pressure on various afghan governments to restrain them from evoking the issue of Pashtunistan. Historically, though the Durand Line physically demarcated the spheres of influence between the afghan rulers and British India, politically the Afghan Rulers never respected the non-interference clause and the continued to exert influence by sending emissaries across the Durand Line. An analyst puts, "for the Pashtuns, the attachment of Afghanistan had been the traditional symbol of their independence, while they had had little prior involvement in Indian politics."

WAR ON TERROR AND PAKISTAN

War on terror is important and Pakistan holds a significant role. Pakistan has a long border with Afghanistan and its deep linkages with Taliban qualified it to be a major ally. Pakistan has deployed a large number of troops, around 75 to 80,000, in the border areas which are semi-autonomous and happens to be first time in history that Pakistan has taken such a bold step. Operation in the tribal areas have been problematic for Pakistan due to two reasons.

1. This area is treated semi-autonomous administratively
2. It is fighting its own people, which has created a problem of legitimacy for these operations.

According to news reports around hundred people were killed in Waziristan due to armed clashes between militia and the army. Some were killed when the United States of America (U.S.A.) warplanes bombed the area to flush out the militias. The inadequacies of these operations are reflected from the fact that they are not highly successful in terms of capturing some of the fugitives that the U.S.A. has in its most wanted lists. Doubts are expressed by Kabul and the U.S.A. army officials regarding the complicity of the ISI with the Taliban and Al Qaeda remnants which has resulted in most of the fugitives escaping arrest.¹⁵⁹ At the same time, the growing opium trade has enabled the Taliban elements to fund themselves for arms and ammunition. The Taliban elements are trying to control some of the key border areas like Kabul, Spin Boldak and Helmand areas which

¹⁵⁹The Nation, 19th September 2014

are mountainous and provide them with greater operational advantages. The ethno-tribal linkages the Taliban have with the tribes have given them strategic depth to deal with the U.S.A. and Pakistani forces. The Waziristan operations indicate how difficult these can be in the tribal areas where even the Pakistan government writ is not established. The nexus between the tribes and the Taliban elements due to ethno-religious factors and the powerful local customs and traditions have obstructed the success of such operations. There are reports that the Kakar tribesmen are giving protection to one of the trusted lieutenant of Mullah Omar, Mullah Dadullah, in Southern Waziristan.¹⁶⁰

The Pakistan army lost men in the Wana operation when the militia ambushed a military supply convoy in South Waziristan. The operation in these tribal areas has been difficult and in some cases the tribes are not ready to cooperate with the government. Especially Yargulkhel tribe in Waziristan demanded that the government withdraw troops from the area. They held some troops as hostage to have their demands fulfilled. The domestic dynamics of this operation can be understood as protests were held all over Pakistan accusing the government of acting against its own people at the behest of the U.S.A. Apart from the religious parties, professional bodies like the lawyers joined the protest.¹⁶¹

Pakistan's geographical advantage of being a direct neighbor of Afghanistan, would give Pakistan a greater say in Afghan regional policy. Both the Pashtuns and other minorities are suspicious of Pakistan's motives. Moreover, the success of disarming various groups in Afghanistan would determine the political stability of both Afghanistan and Pakistan given the porous nature of their border. As rightly observed by a Peshawar based analyst, "A more durable and sustained policy initiative will depend on whether the Pakistani intelligence apparatus is willing to forgo its monopoly on the Afghan policy."¹⁶² This would need reorientation of Kashmir policy, primacy of the civilian government and future role of military in Pakistan's defense decision-making. Long period of military role have entrenched the military interest over other interests and have led to the emergence of intelligence agencies being powerful. To restrict these elements from non-interference in decision making would be difficult. All these would greatly depend on Pakistan's Definition of security and its priority. This would remain a challenge to Pakistani policy makers. The Durand Line controversy will dominate the Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. As in the 1990s, if the western countries abandon Afghanistan or leave it to Islamabad's

¹⁶⁰The News, 20th December 2014.

¹⁶¹The Express Tribune, 1st October 2015.

¹⁶²M. IlyasKhan, "Exit Strategic Depth", The Herald, December 2001, p.32.

management, Afghanistan will revert to deep quagmire having severe security implications for the neighboring countries and the world at large.¹⁶³

Any Afghan peace process is incomplete without complete and clear involvement of Pakistan. Pakistan has had deep interests in Afghanistan and ignoring or sidelining these interests will only destabilise Afghanistan and put the region in peril. Among others, there are five particular factors which are vital to Pakistan's Policy calculations in Afghanistan and need to be considered seriously.

FACTORS VITAL FOR PAKISTAN'S POLICY CALCULATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Preventing India from gaining significant foothold in Afghanistan has remained one of the top priorities of Pakistan. Pakistan has always remained skeptical of the India's influence in Afghanistan. Islamabad on its part assumes that India's deep presence inside Afghanistan is a direct threat to its national security. While Pakistan's perception of the Indian threat in Afghanistan might be exaggerated yet the fears of Pakistan should not be dismissed. Afghanistan can give both India and Pakistan an opportunity to work together in stabilising Afghanistan, with the important side effect of improving their own relations too. To some extent the objective of India and Pakistan in Afghanistan do collide, but there is a large measure of agreement too, so if the positives are worked upon, peace and stability might be promoted and the areas can progress.

Pakistan's economics interests in Afghanistan are limited. In recent years, the abundant energy resources in Central Asia, largely untapped, have triggered a race amongst the big powers for gas and oil pipelines in and around the region. Pakistan and Afghanistan's geostrategic setting between the energy-loaded Middle East and Central Asia, and the energy-keen and growing economies of India and China naturally triggers some strong potential drivers for economic development in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Pakistan needs energy for its own economic revitalization and the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India pipeline [TAPI], with all its hurdles, provide an energy source that will be in Pakistan's capital stock for fifty more years. The pipeline is expected to complete by 2019. Pakistan flagship economic project, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) also has similar stakes in Afghanistan. The CPEC, which is a part of the China's One Belt, One Road development framework, promises to connect Central Asia with South Asia and beyond via Afghanistan and Pakistan. So the security situation in Afghanistan, whether worsens or stabilizes, directly impacts Pakistan's economic interests.

¹⁶³K. Warikoo (ed.), "Afghanistan: The Challenge" (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2007), 160.

The Durand Line is the western border of Pakistan divides it from Afghanistan. It is named after a Foreign Secretary of India, Sir Mortimer Durand, who in 1893 along with an Afghan leader, Abdul Rehman Khan, signed a treaty, the Durand agreement, which demarcated the border separating India and Afghanistan. When Pakistan became an independent state, the Durand Line became the first reason for a perpetual conflict between the two countries. Pakistan recognizes the Durand Line as its legitimate western border, Afghanistan has never recognized it as an international border – Pakistan could not even get recognition of it during the Taliban government. Durand Line issue has also caused serious hurdles in border management as militants move freely across the Durand Line because of prevailing non-cooperation between the both countries. Therefore, the time has come to finally attempt to resolve this long-standing dispute.¹⁶⁴ Pakistan and Afghanistan are two sovereign countries and need a border which is recognized by both sides. They need to create a commission to revisit the issue, and mutually agree on a recognized border. While wholesale redrawing of the border might not be possible but smaller enclave and mirror adjustments might provide a way forward.

Pakistan has faced the Baloch insurgency since its inception. The movement has evolved over the decades, drawing its strength basically from early resistance offered to the proposed merger with Pakistan in 1947- 1948, followed by sporadic revolts against the state since then. The largest uprising took place between 1973 and 1977 with 80,000 or more Pakistani troops being deployed in the province.¹⁶⁵ Insurgency is still going on in Baluchistan and Pakistan claims that both India and Afghanistan have a hand in fueling the insurgency. Pakistan's former president, Pervez Musharraf, on many occasions pointed about a scheme in which some of Pakistan's neighbors were complicit in supplying funds and weapons to the Baluch insurgents. While Pakistan has not been able to produce substantial evidence of Indian involvement, India has always denied it. From Pakistan's perspective, Indian involvement cannot be disregarded. It cannot be argued that India's interest in Afghanistan is entirely humanitarian. India's proactive involvement in Afghanistan, especially close to the Pakistan border, definitely makes Pakistan sensitive. The claim is not without historical justification as Pakistan has been dismembered before and that too with the help of Indian intervention.

Critics argue that even if India is involved in inflaming insurgency in Baluchistan it is because of Pakistan's involvement in Kashmir for similar purposes and India is just returning the favor by playing a tit-for-tat game with

¹⁶⁴The News, 17th January 2016.

¹⁶⁵ Aziz M. Bugti, "Balochistan: Siyasi Culture aur Qabaili Nizam", (Lahore: Fiction House, 1995), 90.

Pakistan. There exists a serious territorial problem for Pakistan which sits next to Afghanistan. Hence, not only does Pakistan need to work internally to develop Baluchistan which will have a sobering effect on the insurgency, it needs to talk to its neighbors to end their tacit support of the Baluch insurgents. An independent Baluchistan will neither serve the interests of Afghanistan nor of India and will further destabilize the region, for the detriment of all countries, with the start of the CPEC project peace and stability is even more paramount in Baluchistan and so the time is set for Pakistan to act.

When the British were leaving the Indian Empire in 1947, Afghanistan pushed for review of the border and when the request was refused, Afghanistan called for an independent Pashtunistan to be carved out of Pakistan. Pakistan has always considered Afghanistan's support for Pashtunistan as a threat to National Security. During the 1950s and 1960s, Afghanistan sponsored a Pashtun separatist movement in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province [NWFP], now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa [KPK]. In 1979, the Afghan Prime Minister, Hafizullah Amin, explicitly stated Kabul's aspiration for a 'Greater Afghanistan'. The Durand Line, he said, 'tore us apart'.¹⁶⁶

These concerns continue to feature in Pakistan's evaluation of the events in Afghanistan and so the Afghan government needs to assure Pakistan that no such tactic will ever be used against Pakistan. While there is little support for an independent Pashtunistan in Pakistan now, elements in Afghanistan still think it to be a useful future. Confidence needs to be built on the Pakistan side by the Afghans that Pashtunistan was and will remain a thing of the past. These five are important considerations not only for Pakistan, but for Afghanistan and India. With the rise of Islamic State in the Middle East and increasing instability there, any more instability in South Asia will fuel fires which will be difficult to contain. The time has come for all South Asian countries to focus on the promotion of peace, stability and development in the region rather than playing blame game.

IMPLICATIONS ON PAKISTAN

Pakistan has focused its defenses on eastern border but since India is enhancing its presence at the western border, Pakistan has to reconsider and redesign its military strategy. Hostile India on East, Pro-India Afghanistan on western border and Indian intelligence network in Afghanistan are posing security threat. For Pakistan there is a serious competition, even challenges from other regional players already present in Afghanistan, one of them being India. Shah Mahmood Qureshi, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, stated in October 3, 2009. "If you want Pakistan focused more on the [threat from Afghanistan in the]

¹⁶⁶The Times of India, 15th August 1979.

west, then then we have to feel more secure on the east. There is a linkage there.”¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, Indo-U.S.A., Indo-Afghan and Afghan-U.S.A. strategic partnerships are directed against Pakistan with ulterior designs and hence a huge threat to Pakistan’s Security. Army public School Peshawar incident which took place on 16th December 2014 is also one of the security dilemma Pakistan has to face. 151 innocent school kids were killed in this incident leaving a great question mark that the citizens of Pakistan are not safe.

DIPLOMATIC MANEUVERING

India is acting as a spoiler and is continuing to devise strategies to keep Afghanistan and Pakistan destabilised and on warpath. Indo-Afghan nexus will become an impediment for Pakistan’s outreach to CARs and will also place India in an advantageous position to maintain status quo over unresolved core issue. India-Iran friendship, India’s economic ties with China and assistance to Afghanistan is a means of encircling Pakistan diplomatically. Indian muscle-flexing is disturbing regional balance of power which will destabilise region in coming years.

Indian access to Afghanistan and Central Asian markets through Pakistan would flood our markets with cheap Indian goods and cripple our manufacturing industries, and would also fulfill India’s dream of monopolizing the economics of South Asian and Central Asia. Unable to compete with India, it will adversely impact Pakistan’s manufacturing industries and will also negatively impact Pakistan’s trade with Afghanistan and with CARs. Road/Rail connectivity will allow landlocked Afghanistan an alternative outlet and will reduce Afghanistan’s dependence on Pakistan on reduce latter’s leverage over former. Delaram-Zaranj road project is aimed to bring Afghanistan and Iran into an economic and strategic alliance and to isolate Pakistan.

INDIA SPONSORING TERRORISM IN PAKISTAN

“The Pro Indian Afghan establishment is not a friend of Pakistan either, nor is the anti-Iran Jundullah or the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi entities. Deadly proxy war is being waged in FATA and Balochistan by the Indians. Indian sponsored weaponry was also recovered from terrorists during Zarb-e-Azab Operation by Pakistan Army in North Waziristan”¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁷The News, 3rd October 2009.

¹⁶⁸Maj.Gen. ShaukatIqbal, *The New Great Game and Security challenges for Pakistan* (Karachi: Paramount Publishers, 2014), 89.

Indian leverage in Afghanistan will create space for Indian intelligence agencies continue clandestine operations against Pakistan. Raw officials are training Afghans to hold strikes in Pakistan. Moreover India has been declared friend by National Directorate of Security (NDS) which has a majority of retired Uzbek and Tajik officers of former Northern Alliance of Afghanistan. India has been declared as friend and savior of Afghanistan by NDS. According to Strategic Partnership signed between two states Afghanistan army officers and soldiers are being trained in the Indian military academies and the natural hatred for Pakistan is being inculcated on the very first day in the Afghan army men minds and souls.¹⁶⁹ The resignation of NDS chief Rahmatullah Nabi on the basis that Pakistan cannot be trusted is a proof of it.¹⁷⁰

PAKISTAN: COUNTERING INDIAN AMBITIONS

1. Peace in Afghanistan is necessary for peace in Pakistan and vice versa. Pakistan should focus on encouraging and facilitating an intra-Afghan dialogue aimed at national reconciliation and a broad-based Afghan government in cooperation with Iran, Turkey and other regional countries. Sartaj Aziz current advisor to P.M on Foreign Affairs in meeting regarding to Afghan peace process proposed four points:
 2. Creating conditions to incentivize the Taliban to move away from using violence to pursue political goals and come to negotiating table.
 3. Sequencing actions and measures appropriately to pave the way for direct talks with the Taliban
 4. Using confidence building measures to encourage Taliban groups to join the negotiating table.
 5. A realistic and flexible roadmap which broadly defines steps and phases but avoids unrealistic targets and deadlines is important for charting the course of action.¹⁷¹

Pakistani Pashtun community has cultural ties with Afghan people, Pakistan should improve bilateral relations by more focusing on cultural and economic exchanges and by provision of facilities to Afghan refugees. Pakistan should take China into confidence and jointly work out a strategy to counter Indian moves. Pakistan needs to stay relevant in the “endgame” by retaining its links with Pakistan friendly elements in Afghanistan. Pakistan is already engaged in number of development projects in Afghanistan like Torkham-Jalalabad Road, Jinnah Hospital Complex in Kabul, a department at the Kabul university Called Allama Iqbal Faculty of Arts, Silk Road and CEO forums. Afghanistan cricket

¹⁶⁹ The Times of Islamabad, 14 June 2016

¹⁷⁰ The Nation, 12 December 2015.

¹⁷¹ The Nation, 11 January 2016.

team was trained in Karachi. Higher education commission of Pakistan allocates special quota for Afghan students. Over 30,000 Afghan students have graduated from Pakistan universities. Pakistan has been home to world's largest refugees from Afghanistan. Pakistan closer ties with Russia with the help of China and further cementing relations with Iran would help Pakistan getting isolated and remaining relevant in the region.

HAMID KARZAI AND ASHRAF GHANI SPEECHES

Statements for Pakistan have always been changed by the Presidents of Afghanistan. After every event or incident either Pakistan is blamed or is appreciated. Few of the extracts of some statements are as follows. Karzai acknowledged that Pakistan had suffered immensely and he would always remember the generosity of the Pakistan government and people including him. He mentioned Pakistan as a "twin brother" and India as a "great friend" in an interaction with the think tanks of Delhi. On another occasion he referred Pakistan as a conjoined twin.¹⁷² He stated: "if there is any tension between Pakistan and America we will stand by Pakistan."¹⁷³ On the other hand Ashraf Ghani before becoming President writes in his election manifesto "that there has been a courteous relationship between Pakistanis and Afghans,"¹⁷⁴ "we have deep cultural interests with Pakistan and more than three million Afghans still live in Pakistan."¹⁷⁵ But interests change after cordial relations with India, Ashraf Ghani in his address stated that Pakistan and Afghanistan are the neighbors only, not brothers.¹⁷⁶

CONCLUSION

Afghanis are seeking asylum in Pakistan for about more than three decades. Pakistani authorities have always supported the refugee and gave the share of the natives to them but unfortunately the refugees have never thought good for the country. They have been found in terror involved activities again and again. Ex-Balochistan Home Minister Sarfraz Bugti who is serving as senator now in a statement emphasized that: "Afghan refugees needed to go back to their country as they are involved in terror activities including bomb blasts, murders and target killings."¹⁷⁷ He further added: that there had been a strong nexus between NDS and RAW, The arrested Afghan intelligence agents have confessed to killing 40 people and attacks on citizens and Frontier Corps (FC)

¹⁷²The times of India, 11 March 2010.

¹⁷³ The Guardian, 23 October 2011.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid:253.

¹⁷⁶ The Nation 28 September 2015.

¹⁷⁷ The Business Recorder, 27th May 2016.

personnel.”¹⁷⁸ Furthermore he added: “We have had enough. Either the Afghan refugees can return voluntarily with respect and dignity, or the people of Balochistan can humiliate them and throw them out of the country.”¹⁷⁹ He mentioned that “In our opinion law and order is suffering because of them (Afghan refugees), and the NDS and RAW are using them to destabilise Pakistan, by destabilizing Balochistan.”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Ibid

¹⁷⁹ The Dawn 26th May 2016.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

INSTITUTIONAL BUILDING IN PAKISTAN: CASE STUDY OF ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE (1973 -1977)

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ABSTRACT

The study is aimed at exploring Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's role in institutional building from 1973 to 1977. Findings of the study are divided into four parts i.e. Bhutto's role in the institutionalization of parliament, executive, military and bureaucracy. The findings indicate that Bhutto's regime was not similar to the majority of the regimes in Pakistan. He was unlike other political leaders who were mainly concerned about their own characterization and political ambitions. Nevertheless, he also tried to achieve his political goals as well. Parliament and executive were two major tools which he used to materialize his personal desires. Although he proposed and successfully presented the first civilian constitution in 1973, introduced new laws and tried to introduce some changes in civil-military bureaucracy yet he was unsuccessful in many ways. He tempered the true spirit of Westminster parliamentary model which resulted in making the political institutions weak in the country.

KEYWORDS: Institution building, Institutional autonomy, Bhutto's role in Pakistani politics

INTRODUCTION

The present study is aimed to explore the Bhutto's role in institutional building of parliament, executive, army and bureaucracy from 1973 to 1977. Pakistan came into being in 1947. Before that sub-continent was the colony of British Empire. British rulers were concerned to maximize their rule in the area.¹⁸¹ Resultantly, they developed civil-military bureaucracy and also transformed the judicial setup of sub-continent and develop judiciary on the same patterns as in Britain. In 1947,

¹⁸¹ Ali, Imran. *The Punjab under imperialism, 1885-1947*. Vol. 923.(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 35-40.

Pakistan inherited a well-trained, discipline and organized civil-military bureaucracy from British rule in subcontinent. However, British did not develop political elite in sub-continent as compared to civil-military bureaucracy and judiciary¹⁸². Therefore, Pakistan faced many problems of nation and institutions building. The majority of the political elites and civil-military bureaucracy did not realize the delicate and complicated nature of nation and institutions building¹⁸³. The task of nation and institution building become more fragile in the presence of heterogeneous society which was not visualized by the political leadership and civil-military bureaucracy. There was a dire need of extra efforts, vision, wisdom and professionalism among all the relevant stakeholders in nation and institution building in heterogeneous society¹⁸⁴. The experiences of Pakistan as a new state were not much different from all the other decolonized states i.e. India, United States and China. Pakistan had to face some indigenous issues as a newly decolonized state¹⁸⁵ along with those issues which were similar to the issues faced by decolonized states. However, one of the biggest problems faced by newly decolonized Pakistan was national integration. It is also reported that national integration is a common issue in all the heterogeneous states in the world because of the ethnic diversity¹⁸⁶.

Political leadership was mainly responsible for the nation and institutional development along with other key stakeholders i.e. civil-military bureaucracy. In most of the times, leadership and bureaucracy were not working for nation and institutions building but for personal gains and glories¹⁸⁷. In addition, stakeholders did not work on political development and show their commitment to resolve political issues in the country. Personal gains and personal glory remained major problem in the way to political development, nation and institution building. Another major issue faced by Pakistan was military dictatorship¹⁸⁸. Pakistan soon after independence was hacked by military bureaucracy and they were legalized

¹⁸² Ahmed, Zahoor, and Manzoor Khan Afridi. "Challenges of Institutionalization in Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* 4, no. 9 (2014), 335-350.

¹⁸³ Cohen, Stephen P. *The future of Pakistan*. (New York: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 38-50.

¹⁸⁴ Brass, Paul R., ed. *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal*. (London: Routledge, 2010), 200-218.

¹⁸⁵ Sharma, Nandita, and Cynthia Wright. "Decolonizing resistance, challenging colonial states." *Social Justice* 35, no. 3 (113 (2008): 120-138.

¹⁸⁶ Memmi, Albert. *Decolonization and the Decolonized*. U of Minnesota Press, 2006. 167-181

¹⁸⁷ Haqqani, Husain. "History repeats itself in Pakistan." *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 4 (2006): 110-124.

¹⁸⁸ Rincker, Meg, Ghazia Aslam, and Mujtaba Isani. "Crossed my mind, but ruled it out: Political ambition and gender in the Pakistani Lawyers' Movement 2007–2009." *International Political Science Review* 38, no. 3 (2017): 246-263.

by judiciary. Interference of military destabilized democratic government. Democratically elected government was overthrown which resulted lack of institutionalization in the country¹⁸⁹. Furthermore, it also weakens already weak political institutions and democracy¹⁹⁰.

None of the stakeholders including political leadership and civil-military bureaucracy took pain to overcome the hurdles faced by Pakistan for institution building. Particularly, positive development for creating harmony and understanding between civilian and military leadership remained unavailable in the country which resulted three martial laws in the first quarter of the history¹⁹¹. Besides misunderstanding of civil-military relationship, Pakistan also faced bad governance. Bad governance resulted negative image of democratically elected government in country which further deteriorated the democratic system in the country.¹⁹²

Despite of the lack of national integrity, misunderstanding of civilian-military relations, bad governance, ethnic conflicts and institutional illegitimate interference, political leadership tried to establish civilian supremacy for strengthening political institutions¹⁹³. However, they were failed in most cases. As a result, Pakistan had to face continuous martial laws which were negative for the overall image, development and democracy in the country¹⁹⁴. After the general election of 1970 Pakistan People's Party (PPP) came into power in West Pakistan. Political leadership of PPP worked on many issues including legislation, institutionalization and national integration. The tenure of PPP is divided into two parts i.e. civilian dictator regime of PPP 1971-1973 and civilian regime of PPP from 1973 to 1977. In the first regime, leadership of PPP focused on legislation and they successfully prepared the first civilian constitution for the country. In second regime they worked on miscellaneous tasks as the boundaries of the institutions were defined in constitution¹⁹⁵. The role of the Chairman of PPP, Mr.

¹⁸⁹ Ali, Imran. *The Punjab under imperialism, 1885-1947*. Vol. 923. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 51-58

¹⁹⁰ Ahmed, Zahoor, and Manzoor Khan Afridi. "Challenges of Institutionalization in Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* 4, no. 9 (2014): 335-350.

¹⁹¹ Taj, Shaista. "Civil Military Relations in Pakistan (1998-2015)." PhD diss., Qurtaba University of Science & Information Technology, Peshawar., 2019. 95-103.

¹⁹² Paul, Thazha V. *The warrior state: Pakistan in the contemporary world* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), 15-18.

¹⁹³ Ahmed, Muhammad Ashfaq. "*Pakistan: Extraction, State-Building, and (Misplaced) Societal Preferences*."": 8-9.

¹⁹⁴ Abdullah, Syed Aamer. "*Political economy of conflict: The social contract and conflict in Pakistan*." (2010): 5-8.

¹⁹⁵ Rudalevige, Andrew. *Managing the president's program: Presidential leadership and legislative policy formulation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 128-133.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was very important in both regimes¹⁹⁶. Bhutto was a dictator in his political party. It was not possible for any political leader of his party to challenge and question him. He remained sole decision making power in his party as well as in his both tenures. It means that Bhutto's role was very important from 1973 to 1977 in Pakistan¹⁹⁷.

BHUTTO AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, first Chairman of PPP was one of the most popular leaders in Pakistan. He was one of the most controversial leaders as well. In general election of 1970, PPP was successful to secure majority seats in West Pakistan and Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman's Awami Party secure majority of seats in East Pakistan. However, because of both internal and external factors, the dream of united Pakistan ended and a new state of Bangladesh came into being in 1971¹⁹⁸. Bhutto being the Chairman of PPP was handed over mandate by General Yahya Khan. Bhutto took the charge of both President and Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA). It means that Bhutto a civilian political leader enjoyed the powers of CMLA too. He from 1971 to 1973 exercised both the powers of president and CMLA. In the first two years of his tenure, he exercised his powers against different state institutions as well as his opponents¹⁹⁹. However, in his desire of personal glory and wishes, he played havoc with the fate of the country. He not only tempered the true spirit of parliament but also interfered in executive body, army, bureaucracy and judiciary. So, it is important to discuss his role in all the major institutions for understanding nation and institution building in Pakistan.

BHUTTO AND PARLIAMENT

Parliament in Pakistan includes two houses i.e. Upper House or Senate and Lower House or National Assembly. The membership in senate is equal among all the federation units plus the senators from federal territory and federally administrated tribal areas. On the other hand, national assembly includes members from each unit of federation according to the population of provinces, federal

¹⁹⁶ Ahmed, Feroz, Aijaz Ahmad, and Eqbal Ahmad. "Pakistan, Bangladesh, India: 1970-73." *MERIP Reports* 16 (1973): 6-11.

¹⁹⁷ Fruman, Sheila. *Will the Long March to Democracy in Pakistan Finally Succeed?* (New York: US Institute of Peace, 2011), 47-51.

¹⁹⁸ LaPorte Jr, Robert. "Pakistan in 1971: The disintegration of a nation." *Asian Survey* 12, no. 2 (1972): 97-108.

¹⁹⁹ Khan, Arif, Bakhtiar Khan, and Saeed Ahmad. "Empirically Studying Pakistan's Democracy and its Political Maneuvering: A Study of 1970 General Elections." *sjesr* 3, no. 1 (2020): 48-56.

territory and federally administrated tribal area²⁰⁰. Bicameral legislative body was established under the constitution of 1973. On the other hand, unicameral legislative body was decided in the constitution of 1956 and 1962. PPP manifesto includes bicameral legislation in the country. However, after winning election, Bhutto did not fulfill his commitment. Later on he was more likely to create a strong executive body including a very strong president in the country. In other words, Bhutto changed his mind towards presidential system because of his personal wishes and ambitions²⁰¹.

Regardless of Bhutto's personal ambitions, he successfully entitled him as a first political leader in Pakistan who along with his political party setup bicameral legislative system. Resultantly, democratically elected parliament worked on first ever civilian constitution and came up with the constitution of 1973²⁰². Although Bhutto was successful to setup parliamentary system in Pakistan yet he distorted the true Westminster model of parliamentary system. He proposed many new clauses and even articles in the constitution and also undermined the role of opposition. During his tenure, opposition remained under continuous threats by Bhutto²⁰³. He used state apparatus to threaten his opponent and opposition political parties. Resultantly, opposition was not able to play an active role in legislation. For example, in 1974, an amendment bill was introduced in the assembly targeting opposition parties. According to the bill, it was decided that executive body is responsible for declaring any political party illegal which executive body find working against national interests and against the integrity and sovereignty of the country²⁰⁴. This amendment was aimed to target political party of Khan Abdul Wali Khan. It means that Bhutto was also concerned about maximizing his tenure and fulfilling his ambitions and worried about institution building as well.²⁰⁵

Because of clear majority in parliament, Bhutto used parliament for individual wishes and ambitions. Parliament worked under the sole directions of Bhutto 1973 to 1977. It is also clear from the number of amendment bills introduced in

²⁰⁰ Khan, Arif, Taj Moharram Khan, and Ashfaq U. Rehman. "Government-opposition relations amidst the provincial autonomy during Bhutto regime." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 54, no. 2 (2017): 41-52.

²⁰¹ Khan, Kishwer. "Bicameralism in a federation: An historical analysis of role of Senate in promoting federalism in Pakistan." *Available at SSRN 3119480* (2017). 135-157.

²⁰² Blood, Peter R. *Pakistan: a country study*. DIANE Publishing, 1996. 76-88.

²⁰³ Kaushik, Surendra Nath. *Pakistan under Bhutto's leadership*. (Lahore: Uppal Publishing House, 1985), 21-23.

²⁰⁴ Syed, Anwar H. "ZA Bhutto's self-characterizations and Pakistani political culture." *Asian Survey* 18, no. 12 (1978): 1250-1266.

²⁰⁵ Kaushik, Surendra Nath. *Pakistan under Bhutto's leadership*. (Lahore: Uppal Publishing House, 1985), 112-109.

parliament. Out of total seven amendment bills, four were directly linked to the powers to prime minister of the country on Bhutto's personal wishes and ambitions.²⁰⁶ It means that the Bhutto played both positive and negative part in the parliament. He on one hand setup bicameral legislative system and on the other hand did not let the parliament flourish as an independent legislative body. Instead of independent law making, parliament translated party decisions into laws.²⁰⁷ In addition, Bhutto was all in all in his party and none of the parliamentarian could think to oppose and challenge him. It was not possible for any parliamentarian refuting his wishes. Resultantly, institution building of parliament suffered. It also destabilizes and weaken parliament as an institution which could not stop another martial law in the country regardless of law making.²⁰⁸

BHUTTO AND EXECUTIVE BODY

Bhutto was one and only executive power in his tenure. After successfully winning general election of 1970, Bhutto assumed the offices of both CMLA and President. In addition, Bhutto also served Pakistan during Ayub regime which included authoritative behavior in him²⁰⁹. He was in favor of strong executive body in the country for overcoming the problems of national integration in the country. He tried his best to maximize the duration of his tenure as CMLA and president and ruled in the country with the help of ordinances. Opposition political parties and even some candidates of his own political party were not in favor of presidential system in the country in opposition to his political ambitions²¹⁰.

It means that from the start of his tenure from 1971, Bhutto was aimed to setup the supremacy of executive body in the country. Because of the pressure from general public as well as from opposition political parties, Bhutto give up his efforts for presidential system of government and start working for parliamentary system²¹¹. However, he was very committed to establish a very strong executive body in the country which was beneficial for resolving the issues faced by Pakistan as per his understanding. It means that he did not want to established

²⁰⁶ Burki, Shahid Javed. *Pakistan under Bhutto, 1971–1977*. Springer, 1988. 65-68.

²⁰⁷ Hussain, Mahboob. "Parliament in Pakistan 1971-77 and Chief Executive: An Analysis of Institutional Autonomy." *Journal of Political Studies* 20, no. 1 (2013): 83-95.

²⁰⁸ Burki, Shahid Javed. *Pakistan under Bhutto, 1971–1977*. Springer, 1988. 123-129.

²⁰⁹ Shafqat, Saeed. *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. (London: Routledge, 2019),12-16.

²¹⁰ Raza, Rafi. *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997),23-37.

²¹¹ Jan, Farah. "Pakistan: A struggling nation-state." *Democracy and Security* 6, no. 3 (2010): 237-255.

answerable executive body. He was somehow successful to give supremacy and authority to the executive body over all the other state institutions particularly parliament²¹².

From 1973 to 1977, Bhutto worked very hard with the help of his political party to make changes in Westminster parliamentary model of government. He used every mean to suppress opposition to eliminate every potential aspect which could pose threat to his supremacy as Chief Executive. Parliament from 1973 to 1977 remained under his direct control²¹³. It is not wrong to claim that parliament both senate and national assembly worked as the subordinate institution of executive body under Bhutto regime. In most of the decision and legislation, priority was given to the wishes of the executive body²¹⁴. On the other hand, executive body confirmed, controlled, defined and implemented the laws in the country which were the translation of the political party's decision. In addition, Bhutto intentionally did not build the institution of executive too as per Westminster parliamentary model. He instead builds a distorted and manipulated form of executive body.²¹⁵

BHUTTO AND ARMY

Bhutto's relationship with armed forces was initially very pleasant. He worked as foreign minister with General Ayub Khan. However, his terms were not as pleasant with General Yahya Khan as with General Ayub Khan. After successfully winning general election of 1970s, Bhutto assumed the charge of CMLA and president from a military dictator²¹⁶. He was also well aware about military coup since the birth of Pakistan. Therefore, he remained very conscious in developing his ties with army. It is also a fact that Bhutto assumed the charge of government with the help of military personals i.e. General Gul Hassan. General Gul Hassan is believed to be very helpful for Bhutto to take charge from military government in 1971.²¹⁷

²¹² Syed, Anwar H. "ZA Bhutto's self-characterizations and Pakistani political culture." *Asian Survey* 18, no. 12 (1978): 1250-1266.

²¹³ Burki, Shahid Javed. "Preparing for Elections in 1977." In *Pakistan under Bhutto, 1971-1977*, pp. 171-194. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1980), 181-184.

²¹⁴ Shah, Aqil. "Pakistan's "Armored" Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 4 (2003): 26-40.

²¹⁵ Ahmed, Zahoor, and Manzoor Khan Afridi. "Challenges of Institutionalization in Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* 4, no. 9 (2014): 335-350.

²¹⁶ Raza, Rafi. *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. Oxford University Press, 1997. 172-189.

²¹⁷ Cloughley, Brian. *A history of the Pakistan Army: Wars and insurrections*. Simon and Schuster, 2016. 113-117.

Bhutto was well aware and very conscious about the potential threat from armed forces to civilian government. Resultantly, Bhutto took some bold steps to minimize and even eliminate the probability of taking over of civilian government by armed forces. He added article 6 in the constitution. According to the article 6 clause 1 of the constitution, abrogating the constitution, conspiring and tempering and subverting the constitution of the country with the use of forces and/or with the show of forces is a high treason²¹⁸. It means that Bhutto constitutionally took a measure to limit and define the boundaries of armed forces to stop potential martial laws. He also highlight that it was the mistake of army that Pakistan had to lose one of the part in the form of Bangladesh. He advertised and highlighted the incident of surrender and conspire about army that military government was unable to handle law and order situation in East Pakistan.²¹⁹

Bhutto was not satisfied with the system and structure of the traditional army. Consequently, he proposed a new system of army based on Vietnam model in the name of People's Army. This measure was based on the fact that Bhutto in any matter wants to eliminate the potential threat by army over civilian government²²⁰. He went further in taking very firm actions against armed forces i.e. forced resignation of General Gul and many other officers from army and Air Force who according to the government of PPP were planning to take over civilian government which distorted relationship between Bhutto and army.²²¹ General Gul and General Raheem were accused by Bhutto for planning military coup. Resultantly, both were arrested and asked for resignation. On 30th March 1973, 59 officers from army were arrested again for planning military coup. In addition, twelve officers from Air Force were arrested on 2nd May 1973. However, some officers were court martial and there are also a significant number of officers who were asked to resign.²²²

It is a fact that Bhutto included a new article in constitution, took resignation from Chief of Army Staff and many other senior officers and official of army and air force to establish and maintain civilian government in the country. It was his bold step to strength political institution and democracy in the country. On the other hand, it is also clear that Bhutto was very conscious about army to minimize any

²¹⁸ Shafqat, Saeed. *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. (London: Routledge, 2019), 7-11.

²¹⁹ Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal. *The armed forces of Pakistan*. NYU Press, 2002. 18-31.

²²⁰ Cloughley, Brian. *A history of the Pakistan Army: Wars and insurrections*. Simon and Schuster, 2016. 113-117

²²¹ Cloughley, Brian. *A History of The Pakistan Army: Wars And Insurrections Second Edition With A New Chapter On The Kargil Issue*. (London:Lancer Publishers, 2002), 27-32.

²²² Raza, Rafi. *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1997), 114-131.

potential threat to his government. However, it very hard to understand the underlying motives of Bhutto yet is it believed that Bhutto was the first civilian leader who took some measure to cater military coup but failed as General Zia ul Haq took over civilian government in 1977.

BHUTTO AND BUREAUCRACY

Bhutto's relationship with bureaucracy developed with the passage of time. Initially, Bhutto was very close to some of the leaders of his own political party. However, Bhutto because of his personality characteristics and political ambitions was not good in maintaining his relations with other people.²²³ Bhutto wants to temper parliamentary system of government which was not accepted for his own law minister. Consequently, Bhutto asked him to resign. This implies that Bhutto was not able to bear any question and not able to handle criticism. It is also rightly claimed that Bhutto was one of the civilian authoritative leaders not only in PPP government but also in party decision.²²⁴

After spoiling his relations with his co-workers, Bhutto turned towards bureaucracy. Civil bureaucracy remained one of the important tools to establish law and order in the sub-continent since British rule. Pakistani leadership was also very close to civil bureaucracy in initial days of history. Bhutto also adopted the same pattern of relationship with bureaucracy.²²⁵ Civil bureaucracy became directly involved in decision making and legislation in Bhutto regime from 1973 to 1977. He included some very energetic and well trained bureaucrats in his cabinet too. Political workers of PPP and even many ministers were not happy with the inclusion of civil bureaucracy in Bhutto's cabinet. One such example is the inclusion of Vaqar Ahmad as Cabinet and Establishment Secretary²²⁶²²⁷²²⁸.

The attitude of Vaqar Ahmad was not positive with even ministers of PPP. Consequently, many ministers reported misbehavior by Vaqar Ahmad. It is also reported that Bhutto was more concerned about suggestions of bureaucracy. One of the ministers of Bhutto's cabinet in a press conference clearly announced that

²²³ Taseer, Salmaan. *Bhutto: a political biography*. (London: Ithaca Press, 1979), 12-14.

²²⁴ Shafqat, Saeed. *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. (London: Routledge, 2019), 102-109.

²²⁵ Shafqat, Saeed. *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. (London: Routledge, 2019), 102-109.

²²⁶ Heeger, Gerald A. "Politics in the post-military state: some reflections on the Pakistani experience." *World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations* (1977): 242-262.

²²⁷ Hussain, Mahboob. "Parliament in Pakistan 1971-77 and Chief Executive: An Analysis of Institutional Autonomy." *Journal of Political Studies* 20, no. 1 (2013): 83-95

²²⁸ Kiran, Naumana. "ZA Bhutto's Cabinet: A Study of Its Role in Formulation of Economic and Foreign Policy, 1971-1977." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 52, no. 2 (2015): 133-152.

the government is not being run by the democratically elected PPP leadership but bureaucracy of the country²²⁹²³⁰. On the other hand, Bhutto also introduced some changes in the structure of the civil bureaucracy from 1973-1977. Officers from civil services were also forcefully resigned from their post because of their corruption. It is also said that Bhutto eliminated all those civil servants who were against his rule and basic political philosophy. Thus, it is confirmed that Bhutto introduced changes in civil bureaucracy also to minimize corruption and to strengthen his power.²³¹

CONCLUSION

Pakistan is very unfortunate country in term of nation and institution building. Political institutions did not work in their pre-defined boundaries. In addition, the training of political leaders was not sufficient to work on nation and institution building resultantly, disturbing relationship among state institutions. Military bureaucracy took over the civilian government many times. Political leaders were mainly concerned to maximize their political career. Bhutto's contributions in parliament, executive and civil-military bureaucracy from 1973-1977 are admirable too to some extent. Though, he was less intended to build independent state institutions but he introduced some changes in civil-military bureaucracy for eliminating any potential threat to his rule. So, it is concluded that Bhutto contrary to the majority of the other political leaders worked for institution building as well as for his own political ambitions.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF PAKISTAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS US

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ABSTRACT

²²⁹ Shafqat, Saeed. *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. (London: Routledge, 2019), 19-25.

²³⁰ Ziring, Lawrence, and Robert LaPorte Jr. "The Pakistan Bureaucracy: Two Views." *Asian Survey* 14, no. 12 (1974): 1086-1103.

²³¹ Hussain, Mahboob. "Parliament in Pakistan 1971-77 and Chief Executive: An Analysis of Institutional Autonomy." *Journal of Political Studies* 20, no. 1 (2013): 83-95.

In present day's world of changing dynamics, it is hard to refrain from being involved in international politics. Involvement in politics however must be systematic based on principles that are a reflection of the foreign policy of a certain country or state. Foreign policy justifies any state actions in international sphere. Scholars therefore have rightly highlighted the importance of foreign policy. Like every other country, the main purpose of Pakistan's foreign policy is to achieve national interests. After the independence Pakistan developed good ties with the US. With the passage of time many ups and downs spoiled these relations. All the scholars agree that foreign policy is concerned with the behavior of a state towards other states. Foreign policy of any country can influence and be influenced by external and internal factors also. These factors include the degree of political activity, population, and personal qualities of authorities and elites which are very important. After the independence Pakistan faced many fatal disputes with India which later on became central to Pakistan's foreign policy. The course of Pakistan's foreign policy has been intricate one and it has undergone many developmental stages.²³² In the early years of its inception, Pakistan adopted the principle of neutrality in her foreign policy making. But after serious threats from its neighboring India, Pakistan seriously began to think about enhancing its military capabilities. This article has its special focus on this tide of ups and down while making a study of the Pak-US relationships.

KEYWORDS: Diplomacy, US, Pakistan, War on Terror, National Security.

INTRODUCTION AND MEANING OF FOREIGN POLICY

There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the meaning of foreign policy and divergent definitions have been offered. According to C.C Rode: "A group of principles that is adopted by the states to protect the national interests and to change the behavior."²³³ George Modelski views foreign policy as: "The system of activities evolved by communities for changing the policies as per their shifts in national interests of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. Thus in this set of understandings we can develop a

²³² Aziz, M. *Military Control in Pakistan: The Parallel State*. London, (New York: Routledge, 2008),112.

²³³ C. Raja Mohan. (2007, March 28). *US military aid to Pakistan: Managing a troubled alliance*, Indian Express (New Delhi).

broader cognizance that foreign policy consists of the principles essential to build relations with other states. Normally a state cannot ignore these principles.

Like every other country, the main purpose of Pakistan's foreign policy is to achieve national interests.²³⁴ After the independence Pakistan developed good ties with the US. With the passage of time many ups and downs spoiled these relations. The United States had been much concerned about the communist threat to the region as policy of cold war frame work relationship during the early years and the Soviet military intervention by the end of 1970²³⁵ Pakistan's interests were linked with the security issues from its Eastern and Western borders. Thus the major problems in the relationship of United States and Pakistan stemmed from the differences in their different positions and role in the region and international environment. It was also observed that on Indo-Pak matters Pak-US ties were not very strong. America's presence in that region has affected Indo-Pak peace process. Many Pakistanis including general population believe that US has always created hurdles in Indo-Pak peace process.²³⁶

NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Every country makes its foreign policy in accordance with its ideology, historical background, political and geographical circumstances. Quaid-e-Azam as the chief founder of Pakistan's foreign policy which is based upon the ideological principles. A country's domestic policy shapes its foreign policy. Foreign policy changes with the changing circumstances. Pakistan's foreign policy is deeply rooted in its ideological and national basis.

National Security is of prime significance in Pakistan's foreign policy. When Pakistan came in to being she faced problems from her neighbors especially from India and Afghanistan. Pakistan faced threat of war from India on account of Kashmir issue. So strengthen security was the need of hour at that time. Pakistan wants to save its national security at any cost. Due to aggressive attitude of India Pakistan needs national integrity. Musharraf also highlighted this issue in his addresses. That is why national security comes first in Principle of foreign policy of Pakistan. Pakistan took several measures to ensure its national security. Peace is necessary for the survival of mankind. Pakistan has always supported co-existences and respected the fundamental values of liberty, freedom and sovereignty of other countries. Pakistan does not believe in the policy of

²³⁴ Pakistan's interests were linked with the security issues from its Eastern and Western borders. Thus the major problems in the relationship of United States and Pakistan stemmed from the differences in their different positions and role in the region and international environment. Duncan, E. *Breaking the Curfew: A Political Journey Through Pakistan*: (Howard: Howard University Press, 2013), 226.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Moskalenko, V. (1974). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy Asian Survey*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 267-278.

interfering in the internal affairs of any country. Likewise, it does not like any form of aggression from any country. It wants peace and stability with the neighbors on equal footing and without any compromise on its sovereignty and national integrity.

Initially, Pakistan had followed the policy of neutrality and had not aligned itself with any block. When non-aligned movement was formed it joined it and remained its active member. Although Pakistan was facing some serious security threats from its neighbor but putting all these threats aside Pakistan adopted the policy of non-alignment. It did not show any type of interest to be a part of any block. Pakistan is an active member of Non-Alignment Movement. (NAM). To make good relations with neighboring countries is also another basic principle of our foreign policy. Since independence Pakistan sought to make good relations with its neighboring countries. The father of the nation, Quaid-i-Azam defined Foreign Policy towards other countries of the world in 1948, as follows,

“Our Foreign Policy is one of friendliness and good-will towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the policy of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.”²³⁷

Although we faced aggression from our neighboring India, we did not lose our temper and tried to solve all issues in peaceful manner. On Kashmir issue Pakistan mostly invited India to solve it through the talks and try to maintain the balance of power in this territory. Pakistan has always been in favor of promoting peace in the world. And Pakistan has always welcomed efforts for peace. It does not believe in any aggressive attitude towards any country. And it has always respected the sovereignty of all countries. It has always expressed a positive desire to solve all conflicting issues through dialogue and table talks and democracy. Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam. Soon after its formation the new country started to develop good relations with Muslim world. It has a prominent place in the Muslim community. To develop good relations

²³⁷ Due to this background, it became quite clear that the major problems in the relationship of United States and Pakistan stemmed from the differences in their different positions and role in the region and international environment. It was also observed that on Indo-Pak matters Pak-US ties were not very strong. America's presence in that region has affected Indo-Pak peace process. Many Pakistanis including general population believe that US has always created hurdles in Indo-Pak peace process. Ibid.

with the Muslim countries became a vital principle of Pakistan's foreign policy. Whenever a Muslim country faced troubled Pakistan did its best to solve the issue and render help. Interests of national security of our state has led us to develop deep relations and concerns with, OIC, ECO, and Iran and with Central Asian Countries.²³⁸

Bilateralism is another discourse to solve the problems in a peaceful manner. Pakistan wanted to develop healthy and sound relation among the nations around the globe. Conflicts and disputes with India must be resolved through bilateralism. Due to this particular policy, Pakistan always showed its tilts to engage and invite India to come and talk on controversial issues. Pakistan is a member of United Nations and because of its membership it has to follow its charter. Pakistan has always followed and supported United Nations charter. Pakistan sent its army to peace keeping missions of United Nations in different countries of the world. After independence Pakistan became a member of United Nations and actively participated in peace keeping missions. Besides, Pakistan decided to become active member of regional and international organizations. Pakistan became an active member of Non-Aligned Movement, (NAM), and Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). Pakistan has also developed good relations with all the members of these organizations. Pakistan believes in "atom for peace" which is why main objective of our country's policy is non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Pakistan is willing to sign NPT if India also does the same. Pakistan is against all types of nuclear non-proliferation which can damage peace in the world.²³⁹The objectives of a country's foreign policy are determined by the geo-politics, strategic interests, historical urges and common aspirations of its people. Pakistan is no exception. For various reasons its objectives were still unchanged since beginning to the present times. Since independence the foreign policy of Pakistan has reflected the ideological view point of its strongly motivated leaders. As everyone knows, objective is very important to achieve a goal. So as far as a state's foreign policy is concerned, the objectives of foreign policy a country seeks to achieve are as follows:

National interest is vital to foreign policy of Pakistan as regards its national security or independence. Security is another important objective of Pakistan's Foreign policy. Although this interest is common to all countries, for the Pakistan it is extremely important as its security has been a major concern

²³⁸ Mush Hussain, M. *Pakistan's politics: the Zia years:* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers.1996), 273

²³⁹According to Lord Palmerston,"In the international relations, there is no permanent friend and enemy but the preference is given only to the national interest by any state from its foreign policy on the basis of National Security and interest." Duncan, E. *Breaking the Curfew: A Political Journey Through Pakistan:* Michael Joseph,226.

since independence. In its beginning Pakistan needed security arrangements for its survival. Consequently, national security issues are the real determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy. It was given prime significance to keep up its national security. Pakistan adopted many defense Pacts with the western world as a result of which Pakistan achieved military and economic aid.

The improvement of the living standards of the people is another objective of our foreign policy. Economic development is necessary to improve living standards of a people. Since Pakistan is still a struggling economy, she has to develop good relations with other developed countries to improve its trade and to improve quality of life of its citizens. On this account, Pakistan has made changes in its foreign policy according to current economic trends. For achieving that goal Pakistan has to get rid of poverty and other social evils that has plagued this region for centuries. The first Prime Minister of Pakistan decided to establish close ties with US and other western countries for economic assistance and in this regard Pakistan's policy was successful. Pakistan is an ideological country and the basis of its ideology is Islam. To protect its ideology is one of the main objectives of its foreign policy. The basis of Pakistani nationhood also stands on this ideological frame. Field marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan proclaimed, "We in Pakistan cannot ignore the fact that our country is the product of the ideology of Islam. This is the foremost justification of our existence and we cannot be true to Pakistan without being true to this ideology."²⁴⁰

Pakistan's ideology can only be saved by strengthening warm and lasting relations with Islamic block. In view of this aspect of foreign policy, Pakistan has made efforts to develop good relations with all the Muslim countries and successfully maintained and strengthened them over the years. In the early phases of establishment Pakistan followed the policy of non-alignment. Pakistan did not become a part of any block and sought to make good relations with all other countries. Now a days it is also developing good relations with all other countries such as China, United Kingdom, France, etc. Pakistan strictly follows this policy during so many times in the world. Pakistan came into being after a hard laborious struggle that claimed many sacrifices. It supports the right of self-determination of all the suppressed nations on the any platform of the world. Pakistan has played very important role in the struggle of independence of Kashmir, Palestine, Bosnia, etc. Pakistan has always been in favour of promoting peace in the world. And Pakistan has always welcomed efforts for peace. It does not believe in any aggressive attitude towards any country. And it has always respected the sovereignty of all countries .it has always expressed a positive desire to solve all conflicting issues through dialogue and table talks and democracy.

²⁴⁰ Speeches and Statements, Volume III, Karachi, p. 52

Pakistan has always desired of peace throughout the world. It has always protested against aggression, use of force, and supported the oppressed nations in their efforts for peace and stability. Pakistan has time and again invited India to resolve their conflicts in a peaceful manner. And it has always shown willingness to co-operate with the United Nations peace keeping missions all over the world. A state seeks to protect its territorial integrity and protect the interests of its citizens. The state is responsible to protect its citizens within the city or outside the state. For this purpose she has to build good relations with other countries. It is very difficult for a state to exist in the world polity without establishing good relations with other countries for survival in the world a state has to maintain good terms with other countries. National interests hold a very important place in the foreign policy of any country. A country cannot ignore or overlook its importance. The primary interests of a country include self preservation, security and wellbeing of its people. Governments work in accordance with their national interests. In short, in foreign policy national interest carries a significant place. Unfortunately, Pakistan is facing many challenges in achieving its objectives of foreign policy. Pakistani leaders should take some bold measures to confront these problems and they should find effective ways to solve these problems which are creating troubles in the way.

DETERMINANTS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN:

“Determinates indicates the factors and forces, both internal and external which effect foreign policy.”²⁴¹ Foreign policy of any country is determined by many factors. It varies from country to country. Some determinants of the foreign policy of Pakistan are given below. Foreign policy is linked with the overall policy of any state. Its goals and basic directions can be determined by the interests of the ruling class. It is a composition of three top class persons of our country. The President, Prime Minister, and the Army Chief. These three persons play a vital role to making a foreign policy. Approval and disapproval of foreign policy is normally based upon this administrative troika. The mutual understanding between them can help to develop a strong foreign policy. Akram Zaki, a political analyst gave an interview to *Daily Express* stating that it is very difficult for the government to make foreign policy without the help of the Army.²⁴²

Ministry of foreign policy plays a pivotal role in formulating foreign policy as it is a key factor of determining foreign policy. It constitutes experts and

²⁴¹ Patnaik & Nunes, 2007, 418.

²⁴² The mutual understanding between them can help to develop a strong foreign policy. Akram Zaki, a political analyst gave an interview to Daily Express stating that it is very difficult for the government to make foreign policy without the help of the Army Zaki. *Daily Express*, 27 June, 2015.

bureaucrats of high level who make foreign policy according to what is advantageous and disadvantageous for the country. They always keep in touch with administrative troika. In every country intelligence agencies are very important. As far as our country is concerned, intelligence agencies play a very effective role in formation of foreign policy. They have a close observation upon relations with other countries. In the light of their information it is very easy for the government to make foreign policy. In under developed countries political parties and pressure groups are a part of political system. Political parties highlight the priorities of foreign policy in their manifestoes, and after assuming power they act upon on it. It is quite evident that pressure groups can also influence a country's foreign policy. Although Ministry of foreign policy is instrumental in deterring a country's foreign policy the role of intelligence agencies cannot be overlooked. Parliament is supreme institution in a country. In its sessions foreign policy of a country is discussed. Pakistani parliament plays a decisive role in foreign policy making process. After debate it can put pressure on the government to change foreign policy making according to international environment.

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW:

Pakistan's foreign policy is based upon national security requirements. Pakistan has always faced significant threats which have created problems for its survival. Since Pakistan was unable to overcome these threats, she decided to extend hand forward towards US. Since independence Pakistan had only two options to meet the threat of India, Washington and Moscow. Pakistan adopted the option of Washington because the main policy makers in the early years of Pakistan were educated in western traditions. After achieving Independence Pakistan gradually moved towards US. In fact, many reasons were behind this tilt towards America. Among them security issues, economic consolidations and development were very important. Three factors security, ideology, and development shaped Pakistan's foreign policy during initial stages.²⁴³

Pakistan's foreign policy faced many phases since very beginning. Many elements were responsible for reshaping it. For instance relations with major powers of the world and some domestic and political issues of country. After independence Pakistan and United States established relations with each other. Pakistan wanted to gain economic and military aid from United States. In the first phase, it was an independent foreign policy in the sense that Pakistan was not formally aligned to a particular block. Quaid-i-Azam who was the Governor General of Pakistan at that time clearly declared the staple elements of foreign policy of Pakistan many times. He asserted that it would be based upon "peace

²⁴³ M, Raziullah, Azmi, 1983, 37.

with all, and enmity with none". In a message to the nation on August 15, 1948, he elaborated his foreign policy vision as follows:

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and good will towards all the nations of the world." Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder and father of our state, declared: that Pakistan wants friendship with all the countries of the world and no enmity with any nation. That was the blue print of our foreign policy while he was the head of our state and it remained our guiding light for some years thereafter."²⁴⁴

It was a guide line for the foreign policy makers of our country which should be followed. Quaid-i-Azam's foreign policy vision clearly showed territorial integrity, peace in world and noninterference in each other's affairs. Jinnah wanted to see Pakistan among the peaceful nations of the world. That is why he focused on making such a foreign policy as would achieve that goal. Unfortunately, from past to present Pakistan has gone through distressing experiences due to which our foreign policy could not remain stable. When Pakistan came in to being, its foreign policy was shaped by its geo-political environment. National security and regional integrity were some other factors that also left their prints on reshaping country's foreign policy front. Pakistan's geographical location has placed her as a prominent country not only in the subcontinent but also in rest of the world. It was also observed that Pakistan's foreign policy towards US basically depended upon economic and military aid. Whenever Washington needs any help in that region to safeguard its interests Uncle Sam frankly asks Pakistan to sort it out. It is strongly believed that Pak-US tie started due to our first Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan's visit to US.²⁴⁵

Geographical location of any country is another factor that determines the features and shape of its foreign policy. Due to its geographical location Pakistan is very important among its neighbors as well as in the eyes of the West. Mostly Pakistan's foreign policy was defined by its geo-strategic position and by its governers and defense challenges. Since its very beginning our foreign policy centers around four major issues. In this particular context the main concerns are security, survival, and defense of the newly born state. Second our relations with India. Third was rally on west for the purposes of economic, political and military aid and last but not the least was to make good relations with the Muslim world and become a part of Islamic block.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Moskalenko, V. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy Asian Survey*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 231.

²⁴⁵ C. Raja Mohan. *US Military Aid to Pakistan: Managing A Troubled Alliance*, Indian Express, 27, March 2013.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.,

Foreign policy of a country is linked with its domestic policies, governance issues and socio-economic and political milieu. Indian fear and Soviet expansion towards warm water affected Pakistan's foreign policy in the early years of our independence.²⁴⁷ US is among the first countries which established their relations with Pakistan after its independence.²⁴⁸ When Pakistan came into being, it adopted a neutral foreign policy. It did not show its leanings towards a particular bloc. It was evident that Pakistan was avoiding taking any sides of power politics. About the alliances Jinnah realistically stated in 1946 "naturally no nation stands by itself. There will be an alliance with other nations whose interests are common". Since Pakistan was facing serious security concerns from its neighbors, its precarious situation compelled it to enhance military capabilities with the help of some major powers. But Pakistan remained neutral. It was called an era of neutrality. It was also observed that Neutrality phase in Pakistan's foreign policy remained until its independence.²⁴⁹ But neutrality was broken when Liaqat Ali Khan accepted the invitation of US rather than USSR. It was the first move to make good relations with US. The Soviet Union was fully committed to India that is why Pakistan felt isolated and insecure in very early years.²⁵⁰

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS US

In the beginning of fifties, Pakistan's neutral policy weakened by depending upon western powers specially United States. In fifties Pak-US ties were based on controlling the international threat of communism.²⁵¹ Pakistan's ideology led her to become a part of western block rather than communist bloc. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah Liaqat Ali Khan became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. After the Second World War a cold war started between USA and USSR. Both invited Pakistan to visit their country but the nascent country accepted the invitation of USA which gave a clear message to USSR. It was the time when the world was divided in to two poles. Pakistan's tilt towards USA was a clear sign that Pakistan was going to become an ally of USA. It marked the beginning of Pak USA ties. Pakistan turned towards US because of its security issues as she was facing major threats from its neighboring country India. In the early years Pakistan's foreign policy objectives were determined by its power relationships with the India and Indo-Pak disputes. In 50s US achieved base facilities from Pakistan for the purposes of spy flights over Russia and

²⁴⁷ Doc, Mehmood, Farhat. (1991). "A History of US-Pakistan Relation" (Lahore: Vanguard Books,1991),11.

²⁴⁸ Dawn 4 July 2012)

²⁴⁹ Hussain, M. (1990). *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years*: (Lahore: Progressive Publishers,1996),273.

²⁵⁰ Shah, A. *The Army and Democracy Military Politics in Pakistan*. (Howard: Howard University Press,2013),155.

²⁵¹ Ibid,38.

China. In consequence of Liaqat Khan's visit Pakistan became a part of four alliances by signing 'Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement (1954).' Due to this agreement Pakistan and US tied with each other although US president Jon F. Kennedy criticized US decision to give military aid to Pakistan Under the US-mutual defense Assistance Agreement.²⁵² All these pacts were signed to ensure security and to get military assistance from the US. In the beginning Pakistan faced various security issues and sought US help. US chose India rather than Pakistan.²⁵³ These pacts proved useful for Pakistan's military and economic conditions. Pakistan received record 2 billion economic and 508 billions dollars in the terms of military aid. In the views of an American scholar the main aim of these alliances for US was to control communism and for Pakistan to enhance its security economic and military capabilities over her neighbors.²⁵⁴ In the end of 1950s it Pak-US ties were flourishing with the passage of time.

General Ayub was pro-American who gave much importance to US in Pakistan's foreign policy parameters. In his era both countries enjoyed good relations with each other. In 1961 he for the first time visited US as the president of Pakistan. He was highly welcomed and given great protocol. Pakistan was given military and economic aid after that visit. In that period Pakistan relied on US for economic and military aid. Ayub khan himself admitted that "we are in military alliance with the United States of America." During 1958-60 Ayub government adopted pro-American policies which were favorable for US government. In May 1960, U-2 incident created troubles between Pak-Soviet relations. Ayub's attitude was harsh toward the USSR government on that issue. It was the proof of the fact that Pakistan was getting involved in the Cold War. Pakistan allowed US to use its territory for intelligence purposes along with the using facility of an Air Base in Peshawar. This was further used for intercepting the communication of Soviet Union.²⁵⁵ In 1962 America provided military aid to India after Sino-India war of 1962. Due to this act Pak US ties suffered. India received ten times greater military and economic aid than Pakistan.²⁵⁶

Pakistan's foreign policy changed considerably in Ayub regime due to quest for solid security measures and survival ideology. This decade, was very

²⁵² SEATO (1954), Baghdad Pact, (1955) and Bilateral Defence Agreement, (1959). Mehmood, Farhat, 1991, 121.

²⁵³ Hussain, M. (1990). *Pakistan's politics: the Zia years*: (Lahore: Progressive Publishers,1996),163.

²⁵⁴ M Shah, A. (2014). *The Army and Democracy Military Politics in Pakistan*.(Howard: Howard University Press,2013),238., 231..

²⁵⁵ D Jalal, A. (2007). *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense*(Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications,2002),67.

²⁵⁶ Kux, Dennis (2001) *The United States And Pakistan, 1947-2000; Disenchanted Allies*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001),182.

bountiful for economic and military point of view. Pakistan was able to receive a large number of aid to enhance its economic and military capabilities. It was all due to Ayub Khan's efforts. In that era Pak-US enjoyed strong friendship. Ayub Khan gave a free hand to Washington to establish their air bases in Pakistani territory.²⁵⁷ By the middle of 1960s, a change in the angle of our foreign policy became perceptible as our relations with other countries, particularly the neutralist and the socialist, improved. We were willing to accept aid and technical assistance, if offered without strings, from the advanced socialist countries. Gradually, our Foreign Office began to show increasing independence, much to the joy of those who faithfully and honestly believed that the salvation of our State lay in the pursuit of such a course.²⁵⁸ US and China were given importance in foreign policy during Ayub's regime. During Indo-Pak war of 1965 US imposed an embargo on both the countries. But Pakistan was much affected by it because it relied upon the supply of American military weapons. It is a common understanding that our military capabilities are normally based upon US military aid.²⁵⁹ Suspension of military assistance gave rise to the feeling among the people of Pakistan that US is not a trust worthy ally.²⁶⁰ US officials "bitterly blamed "Pakistan for "provoking the crisis.²⁶¹ During 60s Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the then foreign minister of Pakistan also explained our foreign policy in these words, "Pakistan foreign policy had chained the people. We had no free will to go anywhere. We had to obey what the US ordered us to do. The US ambassador could keep Pakistan's policy in the line of Washington's". Due to ban on military supplies India adopted harsh attitudes towards Pakistan.²⁶²

During the cold war era Pakistan and US enjoyed better relations than the rest of the time. Pakistan played a pivotal role to bring US and China closer to each other. During his visit to Pakistan US President Nixon urged Yahya Khan to play a role in bridging to make good relations with China. Yahya accepted this task and at last Yahya Khan played an instrumental role in bringing China and USA close. He arranged a secret trip of Henry Kissinger to China which brought both the countries close.²⁶³ Due to this move Pak-US ties became more strengthened. During the East Pakistan crisis US attitude was not very clear. Although after the "fall of Dhaka" Nixon administration pressurized India to

²⁵⁷ Shah, A. (2014). *The Army and Democracy Military Politics in Pakistan* (Howard: Howard University Press,2013),13.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 231.

²⁵⁹ Farooq, S, Hasnat, 2011, 29.

²⁶⁰ Duncan, E. *Breaking the Curfew: A Political Journey Through Pakistan*: Michael Joseph,(London: Bankum Press,2010),226.

²⁶¹ New York times, 1965.

²⁶² Shah, A, *The Army and Democracy Military Politics in Pakistan*. (Howard: Howard University Press,2013),29.

²⁶³ Duncan, E. *Breaking the Curfew: A Political Journey Through Pakistan*: Michael Joseph,226.

come for a talk with Pakistan, People of Pakistan were still very disappointed by the unclear attitude of the US.

After the winning election in 1970 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. It was the period of course-correction of the Foreign policy of the country.²⁶⁴ In Bhutto's regime Pak-US ties were ambivalent. During Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regime US policy towards Pakistan was vague and unpredictable. In that period Bhutto's concentration was towards nuclear program. US threatened the government many a time to roll back its nuclear program but Bhutto government was not willing to do so. Bhutto's attitude towards US was very offensive and aggressive on account of nuclear issue. Bhutto was trying to make good relations with Soviet block and US aid declined because of Bhutto's aggressive attitude as regards Pakistan's nuclear program. US also cancelled export license of near about \$3.6 million for military equipment's. This decision pleased India. In November 1972 Pakistan withdrew from SEATO, but remained its attachment with CENTO. The main bone of contention between their relations was Pakistan's nuclear program. Henry Kissinger threatened Bhutto to stop the nuclear program, "otherwise, we will make a horrible example of you."²⁶⁵ Bhutto also made good relations with Islamic countries. He wanted an Islamic block to encounter the western block. In that phase Pakistan US ties were not so strong. Pakistan aid was suspended in April 1977 before Bhutto's fall. Pakistan's nuclear program was smooth running but it was a bone of contention between the two countries. The Carter Administration imposed the Symington Amendment on Pakistan in April 1979. American government slashed the economic and military aid.

SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAK-US RELATIONSHIP

In 1979 relations were at the lowest ever following the burning of US embassy in Islamabad. The Soviet-invasion in Afghanistan on Christmas Eve in 1979 changed this low point to a highly cordial one and the US attitude towards Pakistan changed dramatically. The nuclear issue remained there; nonetheless, it was no more at the center of the relationship. In this period Pakistan's foreign policy remained stable but the international environment became threatening after the soviet intervention in Afghanistan.²⁶⁶ In this phase US in Pakistan and Afghanistan increased as the security of Pakistan was the direct result of Soviet

²⁶⁴ Ghori, Karamatullah, 2007,14.

²⁶⁵ Kux, Dennis (2001) *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*; disenchanting allies, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2001,210.

²⁶⁶ Maria Madalenal, C. F. (2004). *Pakistan under Siege, Pakistan after September 11th*, 2001,177. (Howard: Howard University Press,2013),13.

Invasion in Afghanistan. ²⁶⁷In the last period of 80s General Zia toppled the government of Zulfikar Bhutto and became the President of Pakistan. In his early regime Pak-US ties were not very strong. US embassy was burnt in Islamabad by student mob due to which incident Pak-US ties suffered to some extent. Zia did not stop Pakistan's nuclear program. On this refusal to roll it back US suspended the economic aid of 50 million dollars annually. ²⁶⁸US charged him with violating human rights and destroying democracy. President Carter administrant put a pressure on Zia to roll back nuclear program. In an interview to *Time* magazine in 1978 Zia admitted that Pak-US ties were at a low point due to nuclear program. "He called US policy "unfair" and real arm-twisting."²⁶⁹ In April 1979 Carter Administration suspended all development aid on account of this allegation that Pakistan was developing nuclear devices. Soviet invasion in Afghanistan provided a chance to both countries to develop again good ties with each other. US changed its policy towards the region and Pakistan became an ally of US.

Zia became more important in the eyes of US administration. Pak-US were attached with each other in marriage of connivance. In 1981 Reagan Administration decided to support Pakistan against Soviet occupation. The underlying purpose of this support was to stop the expansion of communism. US also ignored Pakistan's Nuclear Programme. During and after the cold war the security concerns were the basis of Pakistan's foreign policy. In overall view Zia period and the decade was congenial for both the countries as they enjoyed friendship. In fact, the nature of their ties was founded upon national interests. Pakistan became a "frontline" state and fought a proxy war for the interests of US. Pakistan achieved benefits from the US in return in the form of Military and economic aid. Both Countries helped out each other to stop the communism in Afghanistan. CIA and ISI had a joint venture for this purpose. During this phase the relations were at the peak. Pakistan received military and economic aid from her counterpart. After the withdrawal of Soviet Union from Afghanistan many countries changed their foreign policies. But Pakistan could not do so. After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the political scenario witnessed another change. Most of the countries changed their foreign policies according to the new emerging situation. After using Pakistan as a "jumping pad" US also revised its relations with Pakistan. Pakistan was not more beneficial for US now. As a result their government again pressurized Pakistan government to wind up its nuclear program. Pakistan lost aid of \$564 Million due to which its nuclear policy

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Farooq, S, Hasnat, 2011, 37.

came to a halt.²⁷⁰ Pressler Amendment demanded annual certification from the Pakistan's President as an evidence that Pakistan did not keep nuclear devices.

In 1990s Pak-US ties were not healthy due to nuclear Program Besides, Taliban were ruling Afghanistan and US blamed Pakistan for supporting them. PAK-US ties were not good in the post cold war era. Within a brief period, all channels of bilateral aid to Pakistan were shutdown. Akram Zaki, secretary general for foreign affairs in the foreign ministry, defined Pakistan's foreign policy in these words, "Pakistan's foreign policy used to be walking on a tightrope, now it is walking a minefield and it does not have a map."²⁷¹ During the decade, two democratic governments took charge. Benazir Bhutto's visit to US in 1989 resulted in economic and military assistance worth \$576 million.²⁷² Benazir visited US in 1989 and she was asked to stop supporting Mujahidin in Afghanistan. She was much concerned about making good relations with US who was at draggers drawn with Pakistan due to non-proliferation issue. So that is why she put pressure on US to remove sanctions upon Pakistan by Pressler Amendment. Her government adopted some extra steps to improve good relations with US. After that Nawaz Sharif visited the US in 1990. And he was also blamed with similar allegations. During her second visit to US in 1995 Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto asked the US President Bill Clanton to amend Pressler amendment but could not succeed during this period. The US provided meager economic aid to Pakistan and almost no military assistance. Benazir Bhutto was trying to convince the US administration all the time to remove Pressler amendment. After some efforts she succeeded and the Pressler amendment was replaced by Brown Amendment. By virtue of which Pakistan was able to get military equipment including F-16. It was observed that both the democratic Prime Ministers patiently bore the pressure of US administration about Nuclear Program. Both democratic governments refused to roll back nuclear program till India did the same. During Benazir government Pakistan's policy towards US was one of hostility although she was able to achieve maximum goals of military and economic aid for Pakistan.

In 1998 India exploded five tests of atom bomb. Clinton administration asked Pakistan not to follow India. They also offered lifting of sanctions and

²⁷⁰ Maria Madalenal, C. F. (2004). *Pakistan under Siege, Pakistan after September 11th, 2001*

²⁷¹ Ziring, Lawrence, *Pakistan Intwntieth century*(Karachi: Oxford University Prerss,1997), 538.

²⁷² During and after the cold war the security concerns were the basis of Pakistan's foreign policy. In overall view Zia period and the decade was congenial for both the countries as they enjoyed friendship. In fact, the nature of their ties was founded upon national interests. Pakistan became a "frontline" state and fought a proxy war for the interests of US. Pakistan achieved benefits from the US in return in the form of Military and economic aid. Both Countries helped out each other to stop the communism in Afghanistan. CIA and ISI had a joint venture for this purpose. M, S, Burke & Ziring, 1990, 464.

recommencement of military and economic aid. But due to internal pressure Nawaz Sharif refused to accept the offers of Clinton government and at last in 1998, Nawaz Sharif's resolved to conduct atomic explosion, it startled USA administration. Consequently US President Bill Clinton banned all the economic and military aid to Pakistan. Due to nuclear explosion Pakistan faced many other challenging situations on world level. Besides, Kargil war was a bone of contention between Pak and India. Due to which both countries were at logger's head with each other. Due to Kargil War issue Nawaz Shairf made an emergency visit to USA and accepted the request to pull his troops back to line of control (LOC). A year after Pakistan faced a new military coup when General Musharraf assumed power. His government was toppled by General Pervez Musharraf. At the start of his tenure Musharraf promised to restore democracy as soon as possible. But he did not fulfill his promise. In the early period of 2001 three issues were responsible for weak ties with US: signing the CTBT, Pakistan's close ties with Taliban and thirdly Military takeover in Pakistan.²⁷³ In his early period Musharraf developed good relations with US. The incident of 9/11 provided a chance for both the countries to enjoy good relations again. Due to this incident the whole frame of Pak-US ties changed. US put pressure on Pakistan and asked the Pakistani government to become a partner in the "global war on terror". Thus due to this given condition, Pakistan accepted all terms and conditions.

In September 2001 Pakistan was already facing sanctions on account of its nuclear test, missile proliferation and Musharraf's military coup of 1999.. History repeated when again Pakistan became an ally of US like in Zia regime. The terrible events of 9/11 provided chance to General Pervez Musharraf to get these sanctions removed and to become once again an ally of US. Musharraf took the opportunity and became a partner of US against the global war on terrorism" but it paid a heavy cost and earned some benefits after becoming a partner of US war on terror. For example United States provided \$14.6 billion in Military aid to Pakistan from 2002-2011.²⁷⁴ Pakistan also provided naval, aerial and logistic support to US. After 9/11 Pakistan decided to support US policy on war on terror .This war started on 7th October 2001 and American gave it the name (OEF) Operation Enduring Freedom.US openly asked the Musharraf" "whether Pakistan

²⁷³ Benazir visited US in 1989 and she was asked to stop supporting Mujahidin in Afghanistan. She was much concerned about making good relations with US who was at draggers drawn with Pakistan due to non-proliferation issue. So that is why she put pressure on US to remove sanctions upon Pakistan by Pressler Amendment. Her government adopted some extra steps to improve good relations with US. Farooq, S, Hasnat, 2011, 55.

²⁷⁴ The terrible events of 9/11 provided chance to General Pervez Musharraf to get these sanctions removed and to become once again an ally of US. Musharraf took the opportunity and became a partner of US against the global war on terrorism" but it paid a heavy cost and earned some benefits after becoming a partner of US war on terror. For example United States provided \$14.6 billion in Military aid to Pakistan from 2002-2011D, Paul, Miller, 2012, 40.

was a friend or enemy of the United States.” They further asked for the logistic support, intelligence sharing and air bases. It was observed that without the help of Pakistan it was difficult to launch this operation.²⁷⁵ A new term “good Taliban and bad Taliban” was introduced in Musharraf regime. Pakistan’s policy towards US created many troubles for Pakistan. Extremism, suicides attacks were common in that period. According to a media report 35000 people lost their lives after Pakistan’s participation in the war on terror. After becoming an ally of US Pakistan got all sanctions removed one by one. General Musharraf proved himself a dedicated soldier for US global interest of imperialism like his predecessors General Ayub and General Zia-ul-Haq. After becoming an ally of US he offered logistic and intelligence support as well as three important air bases against Taliban and Al-Qaida.²⁷⁶

Reference

BOOK REVIEW

Book:	Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab
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²⁷⁵ Since Pakistan gained independence in 1947, only once has an elected government completed its tenure and peacefully transferred power to another elected government. In sharp contrast to neighboring India, the Muslim nation has been ruled by its military for over three decades. Even when they were not directly in control of the government, the armed forces maintained a firm grip on national politics. Shah, A. (2014). *The Army and Democracy Military Politics in Pakistan*. (Howard: Howard University Press,2013),238.

²⁷⁶ Rizvi, Hasan, Askari. *Military, State, and Society in Pakistan*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 276.

Author:	Farina Mir
Language:	English Language
Year of Publication:	2016
Pages:	244
ISBN:	1107404436
Reviewer:	Hasan Rai

Language is the mother of all communications that provides foundations for every discipline. Many disciplines altogether make knowledge. History is one of the branches of that knowledge. Languages further divided into many categories such as vernacular, mother, official, and national etc. Every category has its own significance but both national and official have privileged over other two because economic interest link with them. As for as we discuss here the British linguistic policy one can easily predict that Punjabi language was intentionally ignored than other vernacular languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, and Urdu etc. during colonial rule. Farina Mir's *Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* focus on the Punjabi language and its literary formations also provides an extremely effective intervention within the many histories of the Punjab that primarily examine the emergence of religious communal division. She argues that the Punjabi literary formation reveals a different history of social and cultural relations than that suggested by socio-religious reformist's tracts, language activists, propaganda, and the Urdu press. She beautifully incorporates master pieces from Punjabi literature such as Heer Waris Shah after studying seventy five Qisse on Heer-Ranjha love story by different writers and Aj Akhan Waris Shah Nu(to Waris Shah) by Amrita Pritum into her narration that created novelty and logic into her socio-cultural history of the Punjab. Her narration contributed to understanding of postcolonial South Asia, and its language politics in particular. She mainly focuses Punjabi language in this context and argues that Punjabi had not historically been prominent in state arenas. Here we discuss briefly chapters of the book as under.

In first chapter (Forging A Language Policy), she tells that how British state replaced Punjabi language with Urdu (and to many other regional South Asian languages endowed with literary traditions similar to Punjabi). She argues that the Punjabi literary formation's distance from colonial institutions and venues enabled greater continuity with precolonial practices and structures of meaning in the Punjab. In her second chapter (Punjabi Print Culture), she explains that the development of the world of Punjabi print culture from the mid-nineteenth century onward, highlighting the instability of Punjabi as a linguistic categories

and at the same time. She argues that Punjabi literary production reflects remarkable continuity between the precolonial and colonial eras despite the radical changes being wrought on Punjab society. The instability reflected the colonial state's absence of will to codify or standardize the language while the continuity similarly points to the relative independence of Punjabi literary culture and to the resilience of its practices. Third chapter (Punjabi Literary Formation) talks about her key concept Punjabi Literary Formation. She elaborates the work of three scholars such as Sheldon Pollock's socio textual community, Mary Poovey's notion of cultural formation, and Michael Warner's distinction between publics and counter publics but also introduces a set of alternative notions of politics and alternative relationship between literary production and forms of power, particularly state power. She talks about rich culture of the Punjab which was based on pleasure and entertainment, devotional practices, social relationship, occupations, and modes of business activities. It was very difficult to find record of above mentioned from historical record. She argues that by confronting the state not preserving such forms of sources that historians comfortably use them into their work. She fills this gap by introducing a unique feature as Punjabi Literary Formation. She writes "while it had amazing traction in Punjabi society, incorporated a diverse range of people around the practices of literature, and represented shared social and cultural values, these values did not translate into political action in state arenas.

In fourth chapter (Place and Personhood), she wants to shift the scale of analysis away from broad patterns of literary production and circulation to focus on individual texts; in particular, colonial-era printed renditions of *Hir-Ranjha*. This chapter focuses on three themes in particular, each of which is critical to notions of self and community. The first is *zat* (caste or kinship group), which figures in these texts as the most salient category of social organization. The second is territoriality, which emphasizes the affective attachments people established with the local, and particularly their natal places. The third is gender: *Hir-Ranjha* texts portray female figures, particularly *Hir*, as having remarkable power given their patriarchal context. The last chapter (Piety and Devotion) focuses on the proper performance of piety and devotion, a theme that figures prominently in both the form and the content of colonial-era compositions of *Hir-Ranjha*. She concludes that by discussing the Punjabi Suba movement in Indian Punjab which finally won by stance of *Arya Samaj*. Later portion of the conclusion she elaborates Punjabi in Pakistan, She argues that Punjabi missed the opportunity when Bengali were protesting for Bengali language. They did not come forward to protect their linguistic rights. Despite of all concerns and challenges, the Punjabi language survives without state support or an official status. Punjabi may not produce a

nationalist politics, but the language remains the site of sustained and political engagement by its speakers.

Ayesha Jalal's pupil Farina Mir well developed her argument and successfully defended it. Her dissertation under Dr. Ayesha Jalal's supervision deserves hats off. It is well researched, articulated, and easy to understand. This book not only quench the thirst of those who are interested in Punjabi language or in literary production in South Asia but also to those seeking to understand cultural formations and the production of life- worlds more generally. It is a good book on South Asian culture, history, language, or literary production, colonialism, language and affect, and historical methodology.

BOOK REVIEW

Book:	Punjabi Identity In Pakistan: Between State And Culture
Author:	Sarah Khokhar
Language:	English language
ISBN:	978-1-987900-16-3
Year of Publication:	1999.
Pages:	221
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Sarah Khokar in her dissertation *Punjabi Identity In Pakistan: Between State And Culture* Examined Central Punjab in relation to Pakistani state in the light of its dominance of state institutions and because of its privileged class in nation state. She explained the changing relationship between Punjabi and Pakistani state in the light of their prominence with in army and bureaucracy. She used community as key word and explained it as an affective relationship between people and language to demonstrate that with the partitioning of Punjab, the effective aspects of the Punjabi community were subordinated to the overarching needs of the Pakistani nation-state. Her central argument of this dissertation is that most of the struggles over Punjabi identity and expression occur in multiple forms outside the structure of the state. In exploring how Punjabi is taught and presented in Pakistan and its use in the realms of literature and film, the project illustrates how Punjabi is evolved outside the state institutions. She followed subaltern studies model during her research that enriched the story of Punjab's absorption with in Pakistan, attending to both losses and gains. Here we are briefly discussed the chapters of this dissertation as under below.

In first chapter "Partition, Punjab and Pakistan", she locate Punjab in the colonial state, presenting the history of the privileged relationship of Punjab to the colonial state in order to clarify the conditions of Punjab at the moment of 1947 and its bearing on Pakistani Punjab. Having laid out the composite nature of Punjabi society in the pre-partition years, she discusses the partition of the Punjab and highlights the splitting of community by drawing on people's accounts of their experience and sense of the times. The sudden and dramatic change in peoples' lives lends substance to the bare bones of the moment of rupture. She seeks to not only show the experiences of Punjabis, but point to how this moment defines what is left of the community of Punjab after the breakup of the colonial greater Punjab. Chapter Two, "Pakistani State and the Place of the Punjab", is concerned with the emergence of the new state and the place of Punjabis within it. As evidenced in the previous chapter, 1947 and its aftermath played a crucial role

in what became Punjab in independent Pakistan. In fact, the early years can be construed as the moment that produced the state. She lays out the particularities of the post-colonial state in Pakistan and the military industrial bureaucratic complex, which marks it. She also examines the truncation of Pakistan largely with reference to its implication for Punjab. The key question she addresses here concerns the place of Punjab and Punjabi Muslims in Pakistan. She discusses the new tensions and cohesions that are produced as a result of their dominant role and position in the Pakistani state. Her project cannot be complete without an examination of the socio-cultural milieu of Punjab, as Punjabi identity and consciousness exists in multiple forms outside the scaffolding of the state. This is the focus of chapter three, entitled "Punjab and its Cultural Identity." Having examined the role of Punjab in the statist domain as well as outside these parameters, chapter three considers how the notion of Punjabi has become important and gained "affective" power. Perhaps nowhere is it more evident, than in the arena of linguistic identity and in Punjabi films which dominate the cultural milieu outside state politics. She lays out the case of Punjabi language in Pakistan, particularly its relationship to Urdu, which is the national language and its trajectory in Pakistan in terms of state patronage and scope. Further, she focuses on the linguistic movement in Punjab, without examining in detail the larger cultural movement. She also explores how Punjabi is taught and presented in Pakistan and its use in the realms of literature and film to illustrate how Punjabi is operationalized and evoked outside institutional forms. In the final chapter, she points to the new departures and challenges facing Punjabi identity today. The unraveling of the politics of Pakistan, and Punjab as a political question in the 1990s, shapes where the region stands today. It is paradoxical that the majority and apparently dominant ethnic group seems to have lost its moorings and is struggling to define its place and its own sense of identity within the context of a volatile Pakistan. I discuss the political implications of the nascent affective community of Punjab in seeking ties with East Punjab and its meaning in Pakistan today. She concludes that offering some sense of where this attachment can take Punjab and Pakistan and the implications of that for Punjab. At best Punjabi identity may be characterized as a majoritarian identity which has fissures in it. Some of these are acquired historically and involved elements of trauma and loss through modes of reattachment, such as the sacrifice of language. The sacrifice of language can only be partial. The mother tongue continues to be the language of intimacy, of the social, of the formal, of the daily necessity for most Punjabis. It has not been possible to replace it fully by Urdu, though the Punjabis were willing to do so. Being in a dominant position in the Pakistani state promotes the idea of Punjab as a homogenous entity which is all encompassing and powerful. This does not give a multi-faceted image of Punjab, so that it is too easily made the straw man for Pakistan. This work has shown that dominance in itself is not

homogenous and uncomplicated. It also illustrates the possibility that despite the contradiction in Punjab's standing in the two registers of state and community, there is a way to live with difference and even harness it for a richer understanding of peoples.
