

FARAN JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Volume: II Number: 1 (January - June 2021)



ARTICLES:

- Social Impacts of Epidemics and Pandemic in New Zealand, Pakistan and India
Kerin Freeman, Dr. Mudassar Shafique, & Akhtar Hussain Sandhu
- US President Andrew Jackson: Political Assessment
Nhora E. Gomez
- Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Lahore (1886-1947) and the Making of 'Arya Samaj'
Adnan Tariq
- Brief Description of Mastani, Bajirao and their Descendants
Dr. Purushottam Singh
- Temporal and Spatial Ideological Goals of Blasphemy, Contemporary Trends
Afsheen Hassan, Saba Nasir, M. Imran Malik
- Indo-US Relations and its Implications on Pakistan
Zainab Mohsin

BOOK REVIEWS:

- **Inderjeet Singh**
Afghan Hindus and Sikhs: History of a Thousand Years
- **Aziz Ahmad**
Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857–1964
- **Tariq Rahman**
Language and Politics in Pakistan

RESEARCH FORUM
GOVERNMENT ISLAMIA GRADUATE COLLEGE, CIVIL LINES,
LAHORE

Volume: 2

Number: 1

January-June 2021

**FARAN
JOURNAL OF
HISTORICAL STUDIES**



**RESEARCH FORUM
GOVERNMENT ISLAMIA GRADUATE
COLLEGE, CIVIL LINES,
LAHORE (PAKISTAN)**

Volume: 2

Number: 1

January-June 2021

FARAN JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Articles	Page No.
▶ Social Impacts of Epidemics and Pandemic in New Zealand, Pakistan and India Kerin Freeman, Dr. Mudassar Shafique, & Akhtar Hussain Sandhu	7
▶ US President Andrew Jackson: Political Assessment..... Nhora E. Gomez	17
▶ Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Lahore (1886-1947) and the Making of ‘Arya Samaj’ Adnan Tariq	27
▶ Brief Description of Mastani, Bajirao and their Descendants Dr. Purushottam Singh	42
▶ Temporal and Spatial Ideological Goals of Blasphemy, Contemporary Trends Afsheen Hassan, Saba Nasir, M. Imran Malik	50
▶ Indo-US Relations and its Implications on Pakistan..... Zainab Mohsin	59
BOOK REVIEWS:	
Inderjeet Singh Afghan Hindus and Sikhs: History of a Thousand Years.....	73
Aziz Ahmad Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857–1964.....	76
Tariq Rahman Language and Politics in Pakistan	82

RESEARCH FORUM

GOVERNMENT ISLAMIA GRADUATE COLLEGE
CIVIL LINES, LAHORE.

ADVISORY BOARD

Dr. Pargat Singh	Chairman Sikh Educational Council, UK
Dr. Taj Afroz	University of California, USA.
Cosmin Tudor	Copernicus University, Torun, Poland
Dr. Gurinder Singh Mann	USA
Dr. Mahboob Hussain	University of the Punjab, Lahore.
Dr. Faraz Anjum	University of the Punjab, Lahore
Dr. Husain Ahmad Khan	G.C.U., Lahore.
Dr. Rizwan Ullah Kokab	G.C.U., Faisalabad.
Dr. Shafique Bhatti	Bahaudin Zakariya University, Multan.
Dr. Salman Bangash	University of Peshawar
Dr. Ejaz But	Government College Township, Lahore.
Dr. Rana Ejaz	University of Peshawar, Peshawar.
Dr. Ilyas Chatha	S.O.A.S. UK

FARAN JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES**Volume: 2 Number: 1 Spring: 2021****Patron:****Prof. Muhammad Aslam Pervaiz****Editor-in-Chief:****Dr. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu****Editor:****Dr. Adnan Tariq****Language Editor:****Asad Awan**

FARAN JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES is published by Research Forum, Government Islamia Graduate College, Civil Lines, Lahore, Pakistan.

No part of this journal may be reproduced by any mechanical photographic or electronic process, or in the form of a photographic recording nor may it be stored in a retrieval system transmitted or otherwise copied for public or private use without written permission from the Editor and the contributors.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHOR:

1. Scholars are requested to send their research papers exclusively to the *Faran Journal of Historical Studies*. Articles published or accepted by other journal for publication will not be accepted.
2. The length of the article is not restricted as the F.J.H.S. seeks full academic debate on any topic. Usually, journals require 3500 to 4000 words but the F.J.H.S. invites the scholars to submit their work without such restriction as such restriction will be suffocating to an intellectual debate and academic argumentation.
3. The contributor's name, telephone, and e-mail address must be given on the cover page of the article. Point of view of the authors does not reflect/translate the opinion of the Editorial Board of the F.J.H.S.
4. Articles having derogatory or nonacademic language will not be accepted.
5. The journal management intends to promote national narrative and new avenues of the subjects.
6. Articles should be composed in MSWord.
7. The paper should include an abstract of the article of 100-150 words along with keywords. It should be written in simple language manifesting introduction, research gaps, and major findings.
8. Work should be based on basic and secondary sources while references should be given as prescribed by K. L. Turabian (*Guide Manual for Researchers*).
9. Each paper is evaluated by the experts. Based on their recommendations, the Editor decides the acceptance, rejection, or reviewing of the paper.

DR. ADNAN TARIQ

Editor

Faran Journal of Historical Studies (F.J.H.S.)Email: adnantariq@giccl.edu.pk

SOCIAL IMPACTS OF EPIDEMICS AND PANDEMIC IN NEW ZEALAND, PAKISTAN AND INDIA

Kerin Freeman

Novelist and Author

New Zealand

Dr. Mudassar Shafque

Poole, UK

&

Akhtar Hussain Sandhu

Professor/Chairman

Government Islamia Graduate College,

Civil Lines, Lahore

ABSTRACT:

An epidemic is a disease outbreak restricted to a certain region. The reported disease affects a large number of people within the respective region or community.¹ Whereas, the epidemic that becomes global is what we call a pandemic. When a disease spreads from one region, country, or continent to the other, it is called a pandemic.² The best example is the present COVID-19. With its first case emerging in China, the disease has now spread all across the world and reported millions of death worldwide. The world has witnessed many pandemics and epidemics in the past. Whenever a pandemic or an epidemic was reported, the situation and the consequences were even worse. The disease outbreaks didn't only affect the health of the general population but also had a lot of negative impacts on the political, social, and economical sectors of the region. The most affected were the developing countries. Due to a limited number of resources, they were always hit hard by the outbreaks. Although, the developed countries suffered a lot too but the developing ones had the toughest time. For instance, if you observe and take a deep look at the present pandemic and its consequences, you will observe major disasters running through third

¹Overdose, O. (2018). Understanding the epidemic. *Atlanta, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.*

²Morens, D. M., Folkers, G. K., & Fauci, A. S. (2009). What is pandemic?

world countries. Their government is unable to meet the demands of the time and provide enough resources to the people. They are running out of necessities of life and acquiring help from the ones above them. This article highlights the effects of pandemics and epidemics on two developing countries i.e. Pakistan and India. It mainly enumerates how the past and present pandemics and epidemics have affected the political and social sector of the countries and how have the two managed to deal with the situation.

KEYWORDS: Corona, virus, epidemic, pandemic, hospital, New Zealand, disease, outbreak, isolation, social distancing, Pakistan, India, vaccination.

NEW ZEALAND UNDER COVID-19:

Being a small country, New Zealand relies entirely on many aspects to sustain the country's aviation, tourism, retail, accommodation, transportation, agriculture, education, maritime, the building industry, sports, and import and export of goods. When New Zealand entered into a recession in September 2020, officials feared, with good reason, almost every sector would be seriously hit by the international travel ban and strict nationwide lockdowns.³ From February 2020 to May 2020, 1503 cases of Covid were detected in NZ, 1153 were confirmed, and 350 probable, in a country of nearly 4,822,233. 95% of the people with Covid were admitted to the hospitals, 10 to intensive care, and 22 died. The estimated infection rate per million people per day peaked in phase 2 at 8.5, followed by a 62% decrease in phase 3 (the first half of lockdown). The main source of infection came from overseas. Till March 2021, people who died of Covid were more than 60 years old. Care homes accounted for almost a third of the disease clusters, as once the virus invaded the homes it spread like wildfire among the residents, caregivers and nurses.

Horticulture and viticulture suffered badly due to the ban on overseas workers entering the country. Even though farmers and orchardists advertised in national newspapers for national workers, only few people responded due to the long hours, hard outdoor work, and lower wages, lacking specialised picking and plant care skills that foreign workers have. Migrant workers in New Zealand were left unemployed with no money for food or rent, 6,000 migrants requested welfare assistance (1,4).⁴

TOURISM IS VITAL TO THE NEW ZEALAND

It enriches the country and vitally contributes to the economy, human and

³Economic Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic in New Zealand, Last edited, 26th April 2021 at 14:03 (UTC).

⁴ Alarming Impact of COVID-19 on Tourism Industry Revealed [_Uploads/43935be153/Alarming-impact-of-COVID-19-on-tourism-industry-revealed-v2.pdf](#). Tourism Industry Aotearoa, Media release 5th May 2020. Wellington, New Zealand.

natural well-being, and social recovery, while providing exceptional experiences to domestic and international visitors. Around one in ten New Zealanders are employed by the tourism sector, supporting large and small businesses including shops, cafes and restaurants, camping grounds, in cities, towns and rural areas, it also boosts Kiwi exports. No other sector can replace the revenue, regional jobs or social and cultural impacts of tourism for the economy and communities. Border restrictions made a major impact on international tourism in NZ. In February 2020, international visitors arriving in NZ fell by 11%, compared to February the previous year, mostly driven by a 90% drop in visitors from mainland China. March 2020 saw arrivals fall again by 54%.

Building companies laid off over 1,000 people, amounting to 10% of their workforce. One company expected a loss of NZ\$196 million for the year June 2020. Increased demand for masks and hand sanitizers led to shortages nationwide, people in droves loaded their supermarket trolleys with toilet rolls, bread, milk, anything they could get their hands on, during panic buying in the first lockdown in March/April 2020. People queued for miles to buy food, anxious shelves would soon be bare. Shops, department stores, hardware stores, clothing stores, restaurants and cafes, laid off workers, some closed down permanently (1,5).

Many national and international aviation carriers reduced flights in response to declining demands, some smaller companies suspended their NZ operations, Virgin Australia shut down its NZ operation permanently, resulting in 600 jobs lost. Air NZ laid off 387 pilots and 3,500 personnel. In August 2020, masks and social distancing was reintroduced at airports, and access limited to only those with valid tickets and travel itineraries. Quarantine in hotels was introduced, costing each person NZ\$3,000 to stay for two weeks, only allowed to leave once they tested negative.⁵

In April 2021, New Zealand opened its doors for the first time in a year to Australia, admitting only some of the states where Covid is under control. People must prove they are Covid free before entering the country. There are no quarantine restrictions at the moment for Australians but anyone feeling unwell, no matter where they are from, must report to a doctor and self-isolate. If either country has an outbreak, all flights will be cancelled.⁶

In 2020, people with families in NZ, or Kiwis returning from working in

⁵ Tourism New Zealand - Briefing for the Incoming Minister, <https://www.tourismnewzealand.com/media/4280/briefing-to-the-incoming-minister-november-2020.pdf>. New Zealand Tourism, 3rd November, 2020.

⁶Restrictions on Travel to New Zealand from Very High Risk Countries. <https://covid19.govt.nz/travel-and-the-border/travel-to-new-zealand/restrictions-on-travel-to-new-zealand-from-very-high-risk-countries/>. New Zealand Government. Last updated 25th April, 2021.

another country, arrived from India, UK, US, Europe, Africa etc., many bringing the virus. Hotels were under immense pressure, and people were escaping into the community, resulting in the Army being called in to make sure people didn't leave, the borders were closed.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF QUARANTINE

Self-isolation, unemployment, lockdown, not able to hug a family member, not seeing grandchildren or elderly relatives, not able to attend a funeral, crowded housing, no housing, living in cars or rundown caravans and garages - affected people in various ways. Low self-confidence, no social cohesion or connectors played a big part in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, PTSD, in NZ, leading to depression, anxiety, and stress. There was a feeling of loneliness in young and old, with increased morbidity and mortality, suicide, and cognitive performance. Family conflict and violence increased in NZ. Some left their partners or spouse. When a family member died in a rest home they died alone. Indigenous Maori were advised they could not accompany their family member during any stage of the process. The Tangihanga (commonly known as a Tangi, a traditional funeral rite) is held on a marae (a communal or sacred place serving religious and social purposes) – each tribe (iwi) differing on how they honoured those who had passed on. Their tangi can stretch several days at the Marae and, in Maori culture, Whanua (family) stay with the deceased at all times. Unable to say goodbye in their tradition, it took Maori and Pacific Islanders longer to heal (6,9).⁷

Maori and Pacific Islanders in NZ are more likely to die from Covid, the risk being 50% higher than New Zealanders from European backgrounds, and likely to have heart disease, diabetes, asthma, and lower life expectancy – immunity against Covid 19 is very low. Loss of income meant more people living at home, and there were perhaps some indigenous people who viewed restrictions on Covid as victimisation. Coupled with loss of money, no food, unable to see and pay for a doctor, stress levels rose, resulting in more drinking or taking drugs, leading to a greater risk of violence in the home, especially against women and children. Gambling online became more prevalent and food banks were at breaking point.

Loss of income caused some people to lose their homes, experience greater housing instability, foreclosures, or evictions, which heavily impacted on their health. Some experienced declining mental health, were subjected to or took up cyberbullying, felt a heavy burden, bereavement, and long term mental health problems like fatigue and depression (6,9).⁸

⁷Impact on New Zealand Businesses – Coronavirus (COVID-19), <https://www.bdo.nz/en-nz/covid-19>, BDO New Zealand.

⁸Diane Anderson, Clare Dominick, Emma Langley, Kecia Painuthara & Stephanie Palmer, Rapid Evidence Review - The Immediate and Medium-term Social and Psychosocial Impacts of COVID-19 in New

Children's and young people's fears of not seeing their friends, trying, not always successfully, to study lessons at home, along with parents who were working from home, wondered if they would ever go to school again, some experienced home abuse, and no social interaction with other children or their extended family. Their world became a much smaller and frightening place. Young children could not understand what had happened and why, they couldn't sleep or concentrate. Now returning to school, they are nervous and reluctant, having to learn to wash their hands, and keep a safe distance from the children they were close to.

So far, New Zealand has experienced low levels of community transmission, enabled by quickly shutting down the borders in the beginning, using the government's Covid tracer app or leaving your name and phone number in a place you have frequented, and the use of sanitizers. Health care workers now have less at risk of longer term mental health problems in hospitals, medical practices and retirement homes. To date, late April 2021, there are no new, reported cases in the community but 4 new positive cases of Covid in managed isolation from people returning home from India.⁹ NZ's borders are now closed to India, Brazil, Pakistan and Papa New Guinea. Negative Covid-19 test results are required for most travellers entering NZ. Managed isolation Allocation system vouchers are also required to confirm a place in a managed isolation facility before boarding a flight. Border rules can change very quickly so travellers should be prepared for disruption to their plans. The government has secured 10 million doses of the vaccine and begun its national Covid Pfizer vaccinations, enough to vaccinate 5 million people (9,11).¹⁰

Group 1: February- March

Consisted of 50,000 border and managed isolation and quarantine workers, their household contacts and the people they live with

Group 2: March- May

480,000 frontline workers and people living in high-risk settings. Vaccinations started with 57,000 healthcare workers on community frontlines, progressing to

Zealand. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-esources/statistics/covid-19/social-impacts-of-covid-19.pdf>. Ministry of Social Development, New Zealand, May 2020, pages 4-19,24-28,32,42,58.

⁹Covid-19 Funeral Restrictions Leave Families Grieving In Isolation, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manukorihi/412705/covid-19-funeral-restrictions-leave-families-grieving-in-isolation>, RNZ, 26th March 2020.

¹⁰Prof. Nick Wilson, Dr. Lucy Telfar Barnard, Dr. Amanda Kvalsvig, Prof. Michael Baker - Potential Health Impacts from the COVID-19 Pandemic for New Zealand if Eradication Fails: Report to the NZ Ministry of Health, https://www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/report_for_moh_-_covid-19_pandemic_nz_final.pdf. Health, Environment & Infection Research Unit (HEIRU) Burden of Disease Epidemiology, Equity and Cost-Effectiveness Programme (BODE³) University of Otago, Wellington, NZ, 23rd March 2020.

other healthcare workers including older Māori and Pacific people cared for by whānau, their careers, and people they live with. Anyone who is 65 and older or has an underlying health condition

Group 3: Starts May

Approximately 1.7 million higher-risk people, including 65+, people with relevant underlying health conditions, disabled people and adults in custodial settings

Group 4: Starts July

The remainder of general population 16 and over

PANDEMICS AND EPIDEMICS IN INDIA

Before we dive into the impacts of the outbreaks, let's have a quick overview of the history. In the past, India had reported many diseases like dengue, cholera, plague, etc. Here are few highlights of the past outbreaks in India.

- From 1910-1911, India reported the sixth cholera outbreak which subsequently spread to the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Russia. Around 8, 00,000 people were killed by the disease.
- From 1918-1920, a deadly strain of avian influenza virus spread throughout the country. It killed almost 17-18 million people. It was one of the deadliest pandemic reported in those times.
- In 1974, the smallpox epidemic was reported which almost ended in 1977.
- The 1944 plague was reported in Surat, India. Mass migration from the city to other parts of the country caused a major spread overall. Open drains, poor sewage was accredited to the disease outbreak.
- A SARS pandemic was reported in 2002-2004. It was a contagious viral outbreak that caused the severe acute respiratory syndrome.
- Later in 2006, Dengue and Chikungunya outbreak appeared to the Indians. Both the diseases were mosquito-borne and impacted major parts of the country with the highest case count in Delhi.
- In 2014-2015 swine flu diseases broke out in Gujarat, Delhi, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Telangana, etc. 2000 people lost their lives to the disease, and 33,000 were infected in total.
- 2018 was the year of the Nipah Virus outbreak. Major cases were reported in Kerala and the outbreak was curbed within.
- Last but not the least, 2020 reported the present COVID-19 pandemic. To date, the disease has caused 144,000 deaths with 9.93 million infections in total. Note, the case count is still increasing every day (WHO).

PANDEMICS AND EPIDEMICS REPORTED IN PAKISTAN

Like India, Pakistan too reported many epidemics and pandemics in the past. The major ones are as follow;

- In 2006 dengue fever outbreak as a lethal disease in different areas of Pakistan. Around 50+ cases/deaths were reported. Later in 2011, the disease broke out even more severely with 350+ casualties. Further, the disease reemerged in 2017 and around 69 people lost their lives to it.
- In 2018, chickenpox disease became viral and affected around 3500 people. No death was reported thankfully.
- In the same year, the chikungunya virus spread throughout the country and affected 97 people altogether. Furthermore, in 2018 reported Crimean-Congo hemorrhagic fever with 63 cases reported. Lastly, 2018 came with extensively drug-resistant typhoid fever, and 467 people suffer from it.
- And now, 2020 has been reported with the COVID-19 pandemic. Almost 446,000 cases have been reported yet with almost 9000 deaths (WHO).

IMPACTS OF PANDEMICS AND EPIDEMICS IN PAKISTAN AND INDIA

Pandemics and epidemics wreak health havoc, every time they are observed. Pakistan and India are two developing countries. They not only have limited resources but a lower literacy rate as well. First of all, a significant effort is required by the healthcare researchers and providers to make their people understand the pandemic and threats associated with it. The general population of the two countries doesn't easily believe and ignore the situation until it becomes worst. If you look at the 2020 pandemic, people believed that the Coronavirus was some foreign intrigue or plot against them. They didn't follow the SOPs and celebrated their religious events and sermons enthusiastically. As a result, the government of both countries had to impose a strict lockdown which significantly affected their economy and country-wide earnings. People make up stories regarding the outbreaks which create greater confusion and chaos. For instance, during the 1918 pandemic, the Indian newspaper published that a poisonous gas had escaped France during World War I and reached Mumbai and is causing deaths and it was the outbreak of Influenza virus. During the present pandemic, rumors spread that a biological weapon broke out of a Chinese medical lab in Wuhan and spread around the world. It was one of the top trending Twitter hashtags. People have also said that the global pandemic is due to animals in India who are crying for help. Many old religious people come forward to guarantee the treatment using some herbs spelled with religious verses. People who blindly follow them fall prey to their techniques and end up consuming nothing but trash. In short, an invisible enemy is very hard to explain to the Indians and Pakistanis because people don't

believe any public or scientific evidence.¹¹

After the health sector, pandemics and epidemics had always affected the socio-economic sector the most. The pandemics and epidemics cause an immediate shutdown of social interactions and activities. The normal rhythms of life are disturbed as schools, colleges, and workplaces are closed. In the past when technology wasn't this advanced, a complete lockdown would destroy the economy but now the effects are a little reasonable because almost all the infrastructures have been shifted to an online system. The only service available during such uncertain times is the "healthcare facility." Since vaccines have always been designed after a notable time, social-distancing serves as the best way out. Pandemics never affect physical safety only. They hamper the economic security and trust among the institutions. Society or people suffer from many cognitive, psychological, and behavioral issues.¹² Furthermore, apparent threats to the health, economy, and social grouping have often resulted in elevated egocentric or self-protective thoughts. During the present pandemic, the economic output of India had fallen more than it did in the 2008-09 Great Recession. Political parties from both countries passed many incentive bills. However, they were all insufficient and millions of families were still struggling to make both ends and meet. The most vulnerable were the elder people, low-wage workers, people with some chronic illness, migrants, and those living in jails and prisons. Considering the present pandemic, the economic and social disruption caused by it is even more disturbing. Experts are estimating tens of millions of people to fall into extreme poverty and malnourishment. Many enterprises are also suffering from existential threats, the majority lack social protection and are unable to service and make money during the lockdown.

The food system is also affected as borders are closed and trade is restricted. The farmers cannot access the markets, buy inputs, and sell their produces. Agricultural workers are unable to harvest crops and thus international and national food supplies are messed up. Food security and nutrition are under serious threat, hitting the small-scale workers and native people the most. People, in such distressful conditions, switch to negative coping strategies like anguish sale of assets, child labor, and predacious loans.¹³

Pandemics and epidemics put governments under immense pressure, not only in Pakistan and India but all over the world. However, the policy responses substantially vary across the countries. Some governments are quick and decisive

¹¹Jamil, S., & Appiah-Adjei, G. (2020). Battling with infodemic and disinfodemic: the quandary of journalists to report on COVID-19 Pandemic in Pakistan. *Media Asia*, 1-25.

¹²Madhav, N., Oppenheim, B., Gallivan, M., Mulembakani, P., Rubin, E., & Wolfe, N. (2017). Pandemics: risks, impacts, and mitigation.

¹³Fan, V. Y., Jamison, D. T., & Summers, L. H. (2018). Pandemic risk: how large are the expected losses?. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 96 (2), 129.

whereas others presented loose policies for a little economic loss. Considering India and Pakistan, there has been a great debate over the trade-off between health versus economy during the Corona pandemic. At first, both the governments failed to impose stringent countermeasures and the rate of infection accelerated. Also, the governments were more focused on economic outcomes rather than the health of the population. They were keen to re-open the economy at the cost of public health. The governments of both countries look forward to the British and American policies to cope with the situation. For instance, during the plague, the British government introduced the Epidemic Diseases Act in 1897. It involved sanitary measures at a massive scale e.g. festivals and pilgrimages were stopped, male and female passengers were physically inspected for the symptoms, the dead were not buried until the reason for their death was certified. The Indian government intervened the measures into the lives of people forcefully. They aimed at limiting the disease to spread however, faced a severe backlash. The Indian population was outraged by the physical inspections and invasions of their places. Anti-colonial movements started which was a great turning point in Indian political history. Slum clearance schemes were regulated through big cities like Mumbai to make the outdoor and environment clean. However, the British intervention was very limited during the 1918 pandemic. The government was reluctant to enforce the essential measures on the Indian public as they found them counterproductive. Instead, they relied on measures like home seclusion and herbal practitioners. During the present pandemic, the Indian government is facing backlash from the people against the forceful isolation.¹⁴

A similar scenario can be seen in Pakistan as well. The government always takes some extraordinary measures to cater to the effects of pandemics and epidemics. Sometimes they are good enough to meet the challenges and sometimes they lack the required potential. At present, Pakistan, with 180+ other countries, is clearly at a risk of economic recession. Workers are continuously falling ill, factories are shutting down, and healthcare systems have fallen short of resources. Already going through a macroeconomic stabilization, it has been very difficult for the government to mitigate the health emergency and economic loss.¹⁵ Pandemics and epidemics challenge the government with a backlash from public and religious institutions. Also, they have cooperation obstacles to overcome. For example, during the Coronavirus pandemic, the federal and provincial governments lack coordination and are making decisions on their own. Both the sectors have defined sections to look over and they don't coordinate like provinces are making decisions for the health and social protection and border and aviation is controlled by the

¹⁴Barrett, R., & Brown, P. J. (2008). Stigma in the time of influenza: social and institutional responses to pandemic emergencies. *The Journal of infectious diseases*, 197(Supplement_1), S34-S37.

¹⁵Shafi, M., Liu, J., & Ren, W. (2020). Impact of COVID-19 pandemic on micro, small, and medium-sized Enterprises operating in Pakistan. *Research in Globalization*, 2, 100018.

federal government. Local governments are trying their best to reduce the transmission of diseases by leveraging local networks. The government had imposed a strict lockdown at the start which significantly stabilized the case count. Later lockdown was opened step-by-step. The government is continuously revising its strategies to keep the case count minimum. The biggest unrest caused among the government is due to the failing economy and growing elementary needs of the people. The government officials are under great pressure but still working a way out.

CONCLUSION:

New Zealand, India and Pakistan were severely hit by the pandemic but the level or degree of severity varied under the specific circumstances. India faced the most disastrous effects of the Coronavirus while New Zealand remained comparatively safe. All the countries took stern actions against the violations of the SOPs recommended by the World Health Organization but people in the west tried to defy on the basis of basic rights while in Pakistan and India people seemed reluctant to believe either this virus was a reality or myth. Pakistan and India never spent much on health and education sectors which prove havoc for the people as well as the governments as they experienced many problems to deal with the emergency situation. There was a scarcity of oxygen cylinders, protective kits for medical and paramedical staff, space in the hospitals therefore they had to make frequent requests to other countries to rescue them in the sensitive situation. This pandemic has so many lessons for developed and developing countries if they could sensitise regarding careless interference with the nature, budget allocation for education and health as UN requirement and joint laboratories at international and regional levels. Pandemic does not see the peoples of big and small powers rather it hit human beings regardless of the colour, race, religion, culture and economic status therefore the world ought to endeavour for peace and harmony instead of shrewd politics.

US PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON: POLITICAL ASSESSMENT

Nhora E. Gomez

American History and Psychology Instructor.
Daniel Hale Williams Preparatory School of Medicine Chicago. I.L.
Member National Council for History Education
Member National Council for the Social Studies
negomez@cps.edu

ABSTRACT:

Andrew Jackson is one of the most controversial politicians in U.S. history not only was the first non-aristocratic President, but he was the first man from Tennessee to occupy the executive office. During his tenure he changed the role of the President and used the veto numerous times exerting his power over the other two branches of government. He founded the Democratic Party and expanded the nation by appropriating Indian lands. Known for his temper Jackson was involved in multiple duels and suffered an assassination attempt during his presidency. After two successful terms he retired and died of lead poisoning. His legacy has been debated to this day as historians praise his struggles and repudiate some of his policies. This is a relation of some of his most notable life events. Many consider Andrew Jackson as an unfit person in the White House while common Americans think him a popular personality. This article is an effort to give an assessment about the President in the perspective of his political achievements.

KEYWORDS: USA, history, President, democracy, Civil War, native Americans, election, presidency, governor.

INTRODUCTION

From a humble beginning, his father, Andrew Jackson Sr., and his wife Elizabeth Hutchinson Jackson migrated from Ireland to America in 1765. They settled in the Carolinas, where Hugh and Robert were born. Elizabeth became pregnant with her third child, and one stormy night Andrew Sr. died suddenly. Mrs. Jackson was forced to move in with the relatives. On March 15, 1767, she gave birth to Andrew Jackson. She decided to name her youngest child in honor of her

late husband. Jackson grew up in poverty and was known for his strong character. At age thirteen, he witnessed the struggles of the patriots against the British army and, along with his brothers, joined the patriot forces. His oldest brother Hugh died of heatstroke in 1779. In 1781, when he and his brother Robert were running from the redcoats, someone reported them. They were surrounded and captured. While in captivity, an officer demanded that Jackson polish his boots that he refused, and the officer slashed him on the head, leaving a permanent scar on his head. Robert refused as well and was also severely punished. The brothers were transferred to a prison in Camden, where the mistreatment continued, and both Andrew and Robert contracted smallpox¹

Elizabeth could get her sons freed, but Robert was terminally ill and did not survive after she was called to Charleston to care for the injured and sick soldiers. Andrew was only 14 years old when she left him in the care of relatives. He never saw his mother again. Elizabeth contracted cholera and died, leaving Andrew entirely alone. As an orphan at such a young age, he lived with relatives that were not kind to him; he felt abandoned and hated the British for taking his family away. After receiving a small inheritance from his grandfather, Jackson finished school and worked for a short time as a schoolteacher. Soon after, he moved to Charleston in search of adventure and fortune.

Once more, he became restless and moved to North Carolina, where he apprenticed with prestigious lawyers, and after three years, he obtained a license to practice law. Later he moved to Nashville and resided at the home of the notable Mrs. John Donelson, the widow of the founder of the settlement Colonel John Donelson. Jackson was twenty-one years old; Rachel Donelson, the daughter of his hostess and wife of Lewis Robards, was a beautiful woman with an immense sense of humor and a spark that immediately attracted Jackson. Her marriage was not a happy one. Rachel and Lewis married in 1785 when Rachel was seventeen years old, and he was twenty-seven. The newlyweds moved to Kentucky, but her husband's jealousy made Rachel's life unbearable until her brother went to bring her back home. Later Lewis wanted to reconcile and moved to Nashville to be with his wife, and once more, the marriage failed. Soon Jackson and Rachel started their life together under the assumption that Rachel's divorce was finalized. They visited friends in Natchez, and it is rumored that they married. However, once they moved to New Orleans, they found out that Robards had charged Rachel with bigamy causing a scandal that would follow Jackson's presidential candidacy. There is no record of Natchez's marriage, so it is unknown if it ever occurred, but living with a married woman would cost Jackson much publicity and questions about his moral character and Rachel's virtue. There were no children from them, but they

¹Jon Meacham, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House* (New York; Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2008)

adopted Rachel's nephews Andrew Jackson Jr. and sponsored others. After a battle against the Creeks, his assistant found a small boy whose family had been killed in the battle, and Jackson decided to take him to the Hermitage as a play companion for Andrew Jr, later he adopted and raised the child his own. Rachel was devoted to her husband and served as his support through his campaigns and political endeavors. Once Jackson was elected President, Rachel became ill and died a few days before his inauguration as 7th President, and thus she did not live to occupy the seat of the first lady. Upon her death, Jackson was devastated and never recovered from her loss, and never remarried.²

In 1829 Andrew Jackson was elected as the seventh President of the United States and became the ordinary people spokesman. Despite being a controversial man with a strong personality and a belief that the power of the government should come from the people, Jackson restructured the office of the executive branch and asserted the authority of the President. During his term, Jackson strengthened the President's power and became the voice of the American People. His policies debilitated the power and preeminence of the legislative branch and the judicial branch. He initiated a more democratic governing where the commoner had a voice in the way he was governed. In all his speeches, he demonstrated his desire to work with and for the masses. He was the first president that did not come from aristocracy and wealth and the first Westerner to lead the nation; he was also the founder of the Democratic Party.³

Jackson's interest was in law, so in his spare time, he studied, and in 1787 he was admitted to the North Carolina Bar, and soon he moved to the territory that later would become the state of Tennessee. There he became a public prosecutor Jackson's political experience, and effectiveness as a member of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention of 1796 elevated him as the state's first representative in Congress. Being anti-British, he opposed President George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, who favored a friendly relationship with Britain. He became a Senate member in 1797, but his financial problems compelled him to resign from that post in April 1798. His appointment to the superior court of Tennessee in September 1798 brought his financial crisis to an end, and he earned tremendous respect as a jurist. His judicial career lasted until 1804. His financial situation significantly improved, and he was able to purchase slaves and purchase a plantation at Hunter's Hill and then the Hermitage a mansion near Nashville.⁴

Andrew Jackson was known for his fiery temper, and he was involved in

²The Hermitage <https://thehermitage.com/learn/andrew-jackson/orphan/> e

³Feller Daniel, Andrew Jackson: Life in brief. The Miller Center <https://millercenter.org/president/jackson/life-in-brief>

⁴ Richard B Latner. Andrew Jackson <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/us-history-biographies/andrew-jackson>

multiple duels, out of which he was wounded twice and killed a man who had spoken ill about his wife, Rachel.⁵ He was well respected, and his fame as the military man came from his performance in the War of 1812 when he defeated the English in the Battle of New Orleans, and he emerged as a national hero. The battle of New Orleans was fought after the signing of the Peace of Ghent on December 24, 1814. January 8, 1815, the battle's anniversary, is usually celebrated by the Democratic Party with a dinner and an official holiday in Louisiana. The very victory cleared his way to the White House. Andrew Jackson became provisional Governor of Florida but resigned in December 1821 and soon joined the presidential campaign of 1824.⁶

It was the post-industrial revolution era, which gave rise to a social class that enjoyed a very privileged life. At the same time, it gave rise to extreme poverty and the need for the lower classes. Americans sought a leader who could admit all men equally and, they turned to the hero of New Orleans. The western farmers and the eastern working-class both favored Jackson because the people affected by the Economic Depression of 1819 considered Jackson the emancipator. During the election of 1824, the Republican Party could not agree on a single candidate for presidential candidature. The result of the election is represented in the table below.

No.	Candidate	Popular Vote	Electoral College Vote
1	Andrew Jackson	153,544	99
2	John Quincy Adams	108,740	84
3	William H Crawford	46,618	41
4	Henry Clay	47,136	37

Source: <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1824>

The results of 1824's election created a problem because no candidate received the required Electoral College majority. The decision had, therefore, to be made by the House of Representatives. Jackson's followers insisted that his plurality was a mandate to the White House in the Electoral College and the popular vote. Still, it could not convince Henry Clay, the House speaker, to settle the crisis. John Adams was declared the winner as he won the required votes of 13 states against 7 for

⁵ Frank Freidel and Hugh Sidey. The presidents of the United States of America <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/andrew-jackson/>

⁶ Ibid.

Jackson and 4 for Crawford. At first, Jackson accepted the result with good grace. Still, the appointment of Clay as Adams' Secretary of State convinced him and his followers that bargaining and corruption had produced his defeat. Jacksonians, across the country, cried "thievery" and voiced that the hero, chosen by the commoners, had been blocked by an aristocracy of professional politicians, whose corrupt control must be wiped out.⁷ Exploiting all these issues, a highly organized party emerged and recruited from all segments of American society, and Andrew Jackson won the next election in 1828. The results were as follows.

No.	Candidate	Popular Vote	Electoral College Vote
1	Andrew Jackson (D)	647,286	178
2	John Quincy Adams (R)	508,064	83

Source: <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1828>

The people were proud of this victory, but the opponents expressed their grievances and regrets very openly. "I never saw such a mixture," records Judge Story; "the reign of King Mob seemed triumphant. I was glad to escape from the scene as soon as possible." The President, too, after being jostled for an hour, very willingly made his way by a side entrance to the street and thence to his hotel.⁸ Andrew Jackson was in office in 1829, and the cabinet had been appointed. However, the list of candidates caused consternation none of the names listed was well known or experienced in government.⁹

SPOILS SYSTEM

The distribution of offices on political grounds during the Jackson era is termed as a spoils system. Soon after gaining power, Jackson started removing many officeholders either because they were old and incompetent or were regarded as former president John Q. Adams' men or aristocrats to make room for Jackson supporters. Thus, out of 10,000 federal officials who were custom collectors, postmasters, clerks, and other office bearers, Jackson removed about 900 officials and replaced them with his men. Most of them were inexperienced, not educated, and a few were corrupt. The spoils system, "to the victors belong the spoils,"¹⁰ was much criticized and ultimately replaced by the design of civil service recruitment when President James A. Garfield was shot and mortally wounded by an

⁷23d. The 1824 Election and the "Corrupt Bargain" <https://www.ushistory.org/us/23d.asp>

⁸Frederick Austin Ogg. *The Reign of Andrew Jackson* <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/13009/13009-h/13009-h.htm>

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰*Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andrew-Jackson/Jacksonian-Democracy>

unsuccessful job applicant in 1881.

Jackson was against Congressional preeminence, and he tried to assert the independent position of the Executive in the political issues. When the state constitutions had first been formed, overwhelming predominance was given to the legislative department. Congress had occupied the most critical place. Congressmen's law-making power had seldom met with an executive check. They had the central place in the direction of the national affairs. During Jackson's years, the White House made full use of the powers given by the Constitution. The veto power was brought out and used in a way that had never been done before. Jackson vetoed the legislation 12 times in his two consecutive terms, while from George Washington to Jackson, only nine times the veto power was used. He was also the first President who used the "pocket veto."¹¹ He rules like a king, on the one hand, the veto on the other the scepter.¹²

Many people called him 'King Andrew.' And cartoons populated the papers denouncing him as an absolute ruler." Jackson undoubtedly believed that he was the actual representative of the ordinary people as Congress represented the aristocracy. The people regarded him as their champion in the conflict and were willing to trust him with extraordinary powers to ensure victory.

THE NULLIFICATION CRISIS

The nullification crisis, also known as the secession crisis, was one of the major conflicts during the Jackson era. By the late 1820' the northern states had increasingly become industrialized, and the South mainly remained agricultural. In 1928 Congress passed a protective tariff to reduce foreign competition with American-made products, but it harmed the southern states because it raised British imports. Since the initial protective tariff of 1816, the rates had twice been introduced in 1824 and 1828. The tax was so unwelcomed in the South that it generated threats of secession. South Carolina responded to the "tariff of Abominations" with protest, written secretly by the Vice-President and southern intellectual John C. Calhoun. It stated that if Congress enacted legislation that exceeded its powers delegated to it by the estates, the states had the right to declare Congress's legislation unconstitutional and nullify it. The South's strict policy to implement the federal orders appealed to the southern states, particularly South Carolina, to abide by the federal law. Intending to coerce the state, he got the Force Bill to pass in January 1833. By this, the President had the naval and defense forces at his disposal to collect taxes. However, Jackson simultaneously removed the tariff and settled the crises successfully. It enabled him to bridle the secessionist threats. He said to the people that nullification meant disunion and disunion meant treason.

¹¹ Andrew Jackson. <https://www.historycentral.com/Bio/presidents/jackson.html>

¹² Library of Congress <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3g12983/>

He was so furious on this sensitive issue that he warned Senator Hayne that he would hang the first nullificationists if there would be bloodshed.¹³

OPPOSITION TO BANKING

Another of Jackson's challenges was the banking crisis. The United States bank provided deposits for the federal fund, financial business, and national currency. Jackson's opponents initiated a bill in Congress to recharter the bank. Still, Jackson firmly held that the national bank had failed to protect the ordinary people's interests and establish a uniform and sound currency in the country. When Congress passed the bill extending its life for a further ten years, Jackson vetoed the bill, arguing that the bank was a monopoly enjoying the favor of the government at the cost of the people and that most of its holdings belonged to the wealthy aristocracy and foreign countries. Nicholas Biddle, the bank's President, considered the veto "a manifesto of anarchy," and Daniel Webster charged in the Senate the very next day, July 4, 1832, that the veto usurped the congressional powers given by the Constitution. On the other hand, the Jacksonians claimed that: "The Bank carried the bad seed of Hamilton's Monster, matured all the evils, and created some new ones. Social inequality, impersonal and intangible business relations, economic instability, perpetual debt, and taxes are all issued from the same source."¹⁴

THE TRAIL OF TEARS

Jackson had advocated Indian removal to secure the fertile lands east of the Mississippi River. Instead, he fought the natives and led bloody campaigns against the Creek and the Seminoles, gaining thousands of acres. Now, as President, he signed the Indian Removal Act in 1830. This act gave the federal government the right to "Exchange" native land in the cotton belt for land in the less fertile areas of the west. Jackson designated the area of today's Oklahoma as "Indian territory" and ordered the army to forcibly remove all men, women, and children living east of the Mississippi River. The Supreme Court was determined that no one could take away land or force the Native Nations. Nevertheless, Jackson used his executive powers to order the evacuation of the Choctaw and later the Cherokee nation. The elderly, women, and children were forced to walk 1,200 miles to the Indian Territory. It is calculated that about 3,500 of the 15,000 Creeks survived the trip. However, by 1838 most of the Cherokee Nation had refused to relocate, and Jackson sent 7,000 troops to "escort" them out; more than 5,000 natives died. Jackson was a man of contrasts while an advocate for freedom and political participation for the poor whites; he was the same as a slave owner; he rescued an Indian boy from a battlefield, took him home, and raised him while persecuting all of the child's tribe. He was passionate about his beliefs and fought against the

¹³*Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/nullification-crisis>

¹⁴ Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion politics, and belief* (Stanford University Press, 1960)11

legislative and judicial power to strengthen the Executive: "Like us and our America, Jackson and his America achieved great things while committing grievous sins."¹⁵ Jackson did not speak on the issue of slavery, but he owned over 100 slaves some of which he moved for the Hermitage to work in the White House, during his two terms he purchased more slaves. He viewed abolitionists negatively and supported the "gag rule" and the suppression of abolitionist literature.¹⁶

Andrew Jackson left the White House in March 1817 and moved back to his home. He found refuge in religion and attended the services regularly at the Hermitage Church. He was moved by the sermons of Reverend Dr. John Todd Edgar, and soon he professed his renewed faith. Jackson's health was faltering; he wrote, "My health is very low. I am compelled to employ an amanuensis, not being able today to sit up much"¹⁷ Finally, in May of 1845, he became too ill to attend services, called the family into his chamber, and told his relative that he did not have much longer to live. A few days later, he called to make his final funeral arrangements. He requested a very modest service without pomp and glory then went to sleep. His glory and conquest left behind, and his impact on the government would follow him to this day.¹⁸

REVISIONIST HISTORY

Lately, history has not been kind to Jackson's legacy. The persecution of the Natives and his support for slavery have tainted his memory. With the advent of the civil rights movement, he has increasingly received criticism as a genocidal president. During President Obama's administration, it was announced that Harriet Tubman would take his place. Jackson's portrait is printed in the U.S. twenty-dollar bill, but with the growing concern and protests of minority leaders, it was decided to replace him. This decision was postponed under the Trump administration only to be revived with the election of Joe Biden as the 46th president of the U.S. Regardless of his being on the bill, he will be remembered for centuries to come.¹⁹

ANDREW JACKSON FIRSTS, LASTS & ONLY'S

- First president to be a resident of a state other than Massachusetts or Virginia.
- First Tennessee representative to the U.S. House

¹⁵Jon Meacham, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House* (New York; Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2008), XIX.

¹⁶The White House Historical Association <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/andrew-jackson>

¹⁷Jon Meacham, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House*, 343

¹⁹ *Harriet Tubman Ousts Andrew Jackson in Change for a \$20.* <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/21/us/women-currency-treasury-harriet-tubman.html>.

- First president to ride a train.
- First president to be assaulted while in office.
- First president to be the target of an assassination attempt.
- The first president born to immigrant parents.
- Last President to serve in the Revolutionary War (he participated at age 13!)
- The only President to have been held as a prisoner of war.
- The only President to raise a Native American child—Lyncoya, who was found orphaned after the Battle of Tallahatchie (1813)
- The only President to serve in both the American Revolution and the War of 1812
- The only President to pay off the national debt.²⁰

AT THE WHITE HOUSE

- First president to add running water to the White House.
- First president to install indoor toilets at the White House.²¹

JACKSON EXTRAS

- Jackson was largely self-taught. He read widely from the Bible and the classics to dozens of daily and weekly newspapers.
- Jackson did not free any of his slaves.
- Jackson was only the second president to be photographed.
- While he was in office, some farmers gave Jackson a 1,400-pound wheel of cheese. He invited all comers to help themselves and, for weeks after, the White House reeked of cheese.
- Poll, Jackson's pet parrot, attended his funeral service but had to be removed after he started cursing at the mourners.²²

CONCLUSION

The recent Presidential election crisis in the United States was not a new political phenomenon of U.S. politics as such incidents occurred many times in U.S. political history. Radical changes in the interpretation of the Constitution have changed each President had contributed to these changes. Andrew Jackson was one of the first to change how the rights given to each branch by the Constitution can be interpreted and adapted to fit their personal beliefs. From humble beginnings to the White House, Jackson's rise to power opened the door to others to work and

²⁰*General Andrew Jackson: Military Career*. The Hermitage. (2014, December 1).

²¹Ibid.

²² Ibid.

realize the "American Dream." His policies changed the face of the nation, the expansion at the cost of thousands of lives of minorities and the legacy of the Trail of tears is one of the shameful chapters that our generation must grapple and negotiate. Now as the Native American Nations rise to demand their rights and recognition of the genocide. Nevertheless, Jackson is one of the most influential men in U.S. history, and his story speaks to everyone.

DAYANAND ANGLO-VEDIC COLLEGE LAHORE (1886-1947) AND THE MAKING OF ARYA SAMAJ

ADNAN TARIQ

Government Islamia Graduate College

Civil Lines, Lahore.

adnantariq@giccl.edu.pk

ABSTRACT:

D.A.V. College had played very crucial and detrimental role in many ways. From defining and perpetuating Arya Samaj to the indoctrinating a whole generation, to the political activism in the subsequent decades of earlier twentieth century, it had a phenomenal presence in Lahore. This article is about substantiating its historical requirement to get into being. Then it would study its major objective to indoctrinating the younger generation of Arya followers in British Punjab. Finally its role in the circulation of political activism in the atmosphere of challenging British Raj. But with the start of third decade of previous century D.A.V. got diminished and lost its vitality on various pretexts. Present study would involve all these trajectories while historicizing its role with transformations. It would tell us that D.A.V. had played its role of indoctrinating a generation, but after getting completed its work it had least to offer in the domain of national politics. Here lies the pretext of its getting shadowed in the political domain. The land wherein D.A.V College was founded witnessed important history. Sometime, this patch of land was a jagir of Rani Nakain Kaur and produced a place of Samadhis of Nakain Kaur, Chand Kaur and Sahib Kaur. It became a camp in the Partition days and nowadays it is Government Islamia Graduate College, Civil Lines, Lahore.

KEYWORDS: Lahore, Arya Samaj, Dayanad Saraswati, Colonial Punjab, Swadeshi Movement, Proselytizing, Communalism.

EVOLUTION OF ARYA SAMAJ IN POST DAYANAND SITUATION

A great deal had been written about Arya Samaj in Punjab, little attention

is paid on the role of the D.A.V College Lahore. This institute was established earlier as a school, in 1889 transformed into college. The genesis of that educational institute was product of multifaceted challenges and requirement. In the lifetime of Dayanand, Arya Samajists were not considered as a completely different sect from the mainstream Hinduism.¹ It was just considered as a deviated reformative body in the mainstream Hindus.² However, after the death of Swami Dayanand, his immediate successors amended the constitution of the Arya Samaj. They made it compulsory to accept the religious tenets spelled out by Swami Dayanand.³ During Dayanand lifetime, it was not registered as a sect different from Hindus in the census returns of 1881. Aryas had realized that if they had not taken identical step they would not sustain their different status and perpetuation of their particular agenda as well. Thus, they had adopted a course, which had set their traits much stricter and shaped into a completely new order of a sect. Thus, a new confinement had rendered their status in the 1891 census as a new religion with new category.⁴ This article would include D.A.V. College earlier struggle for its contribution towards Arya Samaj with ultimate response received from the Arya Samajist. Next important foci would study that to what extent D.A.V. College had played its role in perpetuating or defining the Aryas as an exclusive body in the Punjabi Hindu community. Moreover, what was the doctrinal purpose to get that exclusive status in the specific settings of the late nineteenth century Punjab. The socio-political demand of the Punjabi Hindus middle class while perpetuating their exclusivity. Thus, we find the infusion of socio-politics at the very behest of that movement in the shape of D.A.V. College networks. D.A.V. College had given a direction for the systematic expansion, and provided a base for the spread of Arya Samaj.⁵

FOUNDATION STONE OF D.A.V. College

A memorial meeting was held on 8 November 1883.⁶ In that meeting, it was decided that the best way to commemorate Dayanand is to establish an educational institute on his name. Thus, an Anglo-Vedic College Committee was constituted to collect funds. That committee was composed mostly of middle class men. Lala Lal Chand, Bhai Jawahir Singh, Lala Madan Singh, Lala Jiwan Das and Pandit Guru Dutt Vidyarthi were the members of that committee.⁷ The collection of funds for the proposed institution underwent many difficulties. In 1886, the funds of the

¹*Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), 5 December, 1890, Selections, PNNR.

² He is not required to believe in the articles in the philosophical tenets, theories and doctrines propounded by Dayanand in his works. Nor is he asked to acknowledge the Bhashya (commentary) of Swami Dayanand on the Vedas as true and free from mistakes, and to accept him as an infallible guide. They were bound to act according to the ten Niyams only. Shiv 20

³*Akhbar-i-Am*, (Lahore), 5 December, 1890, Selections, PNNR.

⁴Shiv, 98.

⁵Kumar, Shiv Gupta, *Arya Samaj and the Raj. (1875-1920)*(Delhi:Gitanjali Publishing House, 1991),15.

⁶Ibid. 31, 32.

⁷Ibid.

Society stood at Rs. 32,000. This was obviously not enough money to encourage the promoters of the scheme. But the efforts of Pt. Guru Datt, Lajpat Rai, and Lala Chand had brought the collections to Rs. 1,32,000 by the end of 1886.⁸ That amount was to build a huge building for the proper placement of the college.⁹ Ultimately, on June 1, 1886, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic High school was opened. L. Hans Raj became its first Honorary Headmaster.

In the initial phase that school got much criticism by its own brethren, who thought the attempt was impractical and would lead to its ultimate failure.¹⁰ Some controversies were erupted not only among the Hindus and Sikhs but also among Arya Samajists themselves. A detailed study of the contemporary newspapers would reveal that there were many scuffling points among many Arya Samajist and non-Arya Samajist Hindus and Sikhs. Many non-Arya Samajist Hindu sects had shown their reservations regarding the proposed establishment of such an educational institute on various pretexts. One opinion maintains that Dayanand was not the founder of any dogma; rather he had preached many methods to attain the classics of Vedic civilizations. Thus, it is important to maintain his teachings in far more concerted way, by establishing strong manifestation such as D.A.V. College. Lala Lajpat Rai had favored the case who wanted to establish D.A.V. College for the strength of Arya Samaj.¹¹ On the other hand, many of the Arya Samajists were of the opposite view.¹² Many of the Hindus from the city of Lahore were strictly against establishing such institute. As they were of the opinion that “such kind of institute would lead to the exclusiveness within the Hindus community, which is already fragile and fragmented.” A Sikh Joginder Singh granted the land of that college. That donation caused a stir among the local Sikh notables as they were quite critical of the teaching of the Dayanand Saraswati about the Sikh Gurus. They criticized Sikhs for granting the land piece.¹³ The Muslims of Lahore also showed resentment about the proposed establishment of such educational institute. *Daily Koh-i-Noor* had appreciated the inception of that college but had made it clear that the teachings of Dayanand Saraswati should not be included in its syllabus.¹⁴

THE ROLE OF DIFFERENT ARYA PERSONALITIES.

The people who made Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College belonged to middle class.¹⁵ Late Lala Sain Das had dedicated his whole life for the establishment of the

⁸ The resources of the Arya Samajists were taxed to the utmost for the needs of the proposed institution. *Daily Milap*, (Lahore), 24th October 1939 D.A.V. College Golden Jubilee Issue.

⁹ *Daily Milap*, (Lahore), 24th October 1939 D.A.V. College Golden Jubilee Issue.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Shiv. 107.

¹² *The Dharam Jiwan* (Lahore), of 11 November 1890,

¹³ *The Aflah-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 11th December 1888.

¹⁴ *The Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 19th February 1889.

¹⁵ *Daily Milap*, (Lahore), 24th October 1939 D.A.V. College Golden Jubilee Issue.

college. He had fixed a large amount of fund out of his monthly salary for the purpose of this college.¹⁶ Establishment of that college owed primarily to the efforts of Lala Lal Chand,¹⁷ who was a successful lawyer of Lahore high court, and dedicated towards the cause of college. Lala Lajpat Rai had convinced many of the educated Hindus of Lahore about the purpose behind the establishment of the college.¹⁸ Once on visiting the D.A.V. College Lahore, Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, founder of the M.A.O. College Aligarh, said, “The building, science block and library of my college are better than yours. But I have no Hans Raj.” Lala Hans Raj, offered to serve the institution as a teacher free of any remuneration. His elder brother agreed to share his salary of rupees 80 per month with him. For the first two years, Lala Hans Raj served as a honorary Headmaster and for twenty-four years as honorary Principal.¹⁹

The framers of the constitution of the Dayanand Anglo Vedic Trust and Management Society, under the guidance of Lal Chand,²⁰ decided that no fund would be requested as it could corrupt the real purpose behind the very idea. Only one medium of fund was to be encouraged and that was from the local and common people sincere with the cause of Arya Samaj.²¹ Thus, the college authorities started voluntarily collecting money by going house to house.²² Gokal Chand Narang was of the opinion that it would be the only scheme, which could result in the emergence of the universal spread of Arya and Hinduism as well. Famous Bengali Historian Jadu Nath Sarkar was also very enthusiastic about the role of D.A.V in the future prospects of Arya ideology.²³ He was of the opinion that only through the Reinvigoration of the Vedic teachings, Hinduism could gain its universal status.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷ R. B. Lal Chand was born in 1852. He was educated at Government College, Lahore, and received his Master's degree in 1876. As a student, R. B. Lal Chand won rare distinction and secured the coveted honor of being a Fuller's Exhibitioner of the Punjab University. In 1877 he joined the legal profession. He started practice at Allahabad but returned to Lahore a few years later. He became one of the first members of the Arya Samaj and until Swami Dayananda's death in 1884, when he formulated, a scheme for. Founding the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, he was little known. He became its first President and remained in that capacity for twenty years. *Self-Abnegation In Politics* by Chand Lal R.B., Publication 1938 Lahore Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha

¹⁸*Daily Milap*, (Lahore), 24th October 1939 DAV College Golden Jubilee Issue

¹⁹Shiv Gupta Kumar, *Arya Samaj and the Raj*. (1875-1920)(Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House) 1991, 34

²⁰Ibid.

²¹The framers of the constitution of the Dayanand Anglo Vedic Trust and Management Society—R. B. L. Lal Chand, M. A. L.L.B., Advocate, Lahore, and Lala Sain Dass, President, Arya Samaj, Lahore, primarily decided that any Arya Samajist paying Rs. 100 was to be entitled to become the member of the D. A. V. College Society, any Arya Samaj collecting Rs 1,000 can select its representative on the Managing Committee, the 4 executive council of the Society. Under the guidance and with the untiring industry of R. B. Lal Chand, the D. A. V. College grew up into an unrivalled national educational center for the Hindus. Shiv Gupta Kumar, *Arya Samaj and the Raj* (1875-1920) (Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 1991.

²²*Daily Milap*, Lahore, 24th October 1939 D.A.V. College Golden Jubilee Issue.

²³What I owe to D.A.V. College by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, *Daily Milap*, Lahore, 24th October 1939 D.A.V. College Golden Jubilee Issue.

This statement is indicative of the universal approach Arya Samaj was going to reach. That role was initiated by the establishment of the D.A.V College and needed a further impetus in the form of its horizontal spread towards all across the India.

FUNCTION AND SYSTEMS AT D.A.V. COLLEGE

D.A.V. College had manifested the strength of administration and organizations. Lala Lajpat Rai, a devoted Arya Samajist, stated in his book on Arya Samaj, 'This institution was an emblem not only of the devotion of the Aryas, but also of the organizing and administrative capacity of the Hindu race.'²⁴ That college had advocated the revival of ancient learning and the perfection of the vernaculars of the country. It was decided that no non-Hindu was to be appointed at any post within this institute. Only Arya Samajist should teach at the institute. The third principle imposed was not to seek monetary assistance from the British authorities. All these principals were elaborated in the first Annual Report of the College.²⁵

The School department was opened in June, 1886 in a small rented house outside the Mori Gate Lahore. Later on, it was shifted to the Wachowali Mandir. When the school started, Mahatama Hans Raj enrolled only twenty-two students in a single room college. By the end of the first year, 505 students were on its rolls. In the Matriculation Examination of 1888, the school obtained the distinction of passing the largest number of students in the province. It was decided to add the Intermediate classes in 1889. In 1892, the College obtained the distinction of passing the largest number of students in the intermediate Examination of the Punjab University. This encouraged the Committee to open the degree classes in 1893. In 1913, the school had on its rolls as many as 1737 students and the college 903 students besides a sizable number studying in the purely Vedic department in the faculty of Hindu Medicine and in the Engineering and Tailoring Classes. In D.A.V. College, there were a large number of resident students 1697 in the college and an equally considerable number in the school department.

The college had various departments including Elementary Physics, Chemistry, Elementary Botany, Elementary Biology and Higher Mathematics Sanskrit, Hindi, English, Persian, Philosophy, History, Political Economy, Logic etc. The staff consisted of 41 professors; of these 9 were life members. The D.A.V. College at Lahore alone had turned out 2589 graduates during the past forty-two years. From the Dayanand High School, Lahore alone, 4809 students had matriculated.²⁶ The Dayanand Industrial School, Lahore trained scores of Hindu young men in the art crafts of tailoring, bookbinding and carpentry, teachers of

²⁴ Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj* (London: Longmans. 1912), xi.

²⁵ Shiv Gupta Kumar, *Arya Samaj and the Raj* (1875-1920) (Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 1991),33.

²⁶ Ibid.

religious preachers, and journalists.²⁷

In the boarding house of the D.A.V. High School, Lahore, an attempt was made to encourage the students to lead a well-regulated life. The College Hostel was capable for the boarding of more than 550 students. The Hostel was run as a big family affair.²⁸ Daily prayers were offered in the morning and evening and every week the students met in the Young Men's Arya Samaj to attend the discourse of Arya teachings on religious and social topics. On Sundays, they attended the weekly gathering of the Arya Samajists in the local meeting place. According to one version the first boarding school started in Northern India was the Dayanand Brahmchari Ashram. However, that boarding school was to be closed very soon. An endowment fund of over Rs. 2,00,000 enabled the College to offer 57 stipends every year to its students.²⁹ On its jubilee commemoration, it launched forth another experiment in the Dayanand College Golden Jubilee Institute to impart instruction under factory conditions in selected industries. One of the objects of the institution was the provision of technical education. In 1895, the first step in this direction was taken by opening the engineering class.³⁰

In 1899, the Medical College, Lahore, proposed to discontinue the Ayurveda class. Authorities at D.A.V. College had found it an opportunity to revive their classical medication system of Ayurved with modern improvement to compete the contemporary demands. Very efficient arrangements were made for the teaching of the Indian system of treatment coupled with instruction in such subjects such as Anatomy, Pathology and elements of Bacteriology. In the building of Beli Ram Dissecting Block the study of these modern subjects were started on a very sound footing. A well run Pharmacy had come up with providing its students with practical experience in the preparation of Ayurvedic medicines.

PROMOTING SANSKRIT STUDIES.

The D. A.V. Colleges and schools contributed remarkably in popularizing Anglo-Sanskrit studies. By the end of nineteenth century, Sanskrit in Punjab was at its lowest ebb due to various factors. One factor was that Punjab had never been the hub of orthodox Hinduism throughout its medieval history. On the other hand, in United Provinces, Sanskrit had been in the strongest position due to the extensive presence of Hindu orthodoxy. The greatest blow to the study of classics in the Punjab University was dealt by the deplorable change of making the classics elective in the Matriculation scheme. Arrangements for a more systematic teaching

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Out of the funded capital of Rs. 10 lakhs, only Rs 546,622 are available for the use of the different departments. The rest represents endowments for giving prizes and scholarships to the students in various institutions. Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

of Sanskrit were also made. In 1896, a special scheme of studies was adopted for the purpose of placing the study of Sanskrit.³¹ Thus in that particular perspective, it was the credit of D.A.V College to impart special attention towards Sanskrit studies by formulating detailed courses in Sanskrit language. The founders of the college had stated that the distinctive features of the proposed Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College would encourage and improve the study of Devanagri excluding Persian. As a result, a larger number of Sanskrit students turned out by D.A.V. than even all other institutions put together. The D.A.V. College at Lahore opened M.A. classes in Sanskrit in 1895. The next year, fellowship for higher Sanskrit and Vedic studies was founded. Thus within ten years of its foundation the tiny school had developed into a full-fledged College providing instruction up to the M.A., and even beyond by imparting English education and encouraging the studies of Hindi, classical Sanskrit and the Vedas. While attempts were thus being made to popularize English education and the study of Hindi was also made a compulsory subject. Every student who joined the D. A.V. High School, Lahore, was expected to learn Hindi. The efforts of the College to popularize the study of Sanskrit however bore fruit and in 1902, the College passed as many students in Sanskrit in the Intermediate and the degree examinations as all institutions of the province had passed collectively.³²

In the earlier years, Arabic or Persian was popular among Hindus too. In 1870-71 as many as 6,684 Hindus were learning Arabic or Persian against 2,974 Hindus learning Sanskrit. But the influence of the Arya Samaj brought about a change, and in 1885-86 the number of Hindus reading Arabic or Persian came down to 1,390 (Sanskrit 1,787). In the following fifteen years most active period of the D.A.V. College. Arabic or Persian languages lost all Hindu scholars. Arabic and Persian suffered heavy loss in Punjab. In Lahore, only Lahore Oriental College was imparting Sanskrit Education on small scale. Their method and syllabus about Sanskrit were also very limited and of initial level. Thus, it was realized by the authorities at D.A.V. College to pay exclusive attention to the study of the degenerated period of Sanskrit. There is another strong reason to pay special attention on the earlier works of Sanskrit that was the major source for the spread of classical text to infuse the Arya ideological teachings as a support from the classical text. Thus it was not only limited to the learning of Sanskrit. However, it was also to bring back the classical literature, which was in Sanskrit.³³ Then Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, in his report on the progress of education in the Punjab for 1895-96, attributes this phenomenon to the regeneration of Hindu thought in the Punjab. However, in 1926, a fatal blow was observed to the classics

³¹ Lajpat Rai, 182.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

by making them elective at the Matriculation and its repercussions were visible in the gradual fall in the number of Sanskrit students at the Intermediate and degree examinations.

LIBRARY, RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION WING

That educational institution had carried on research work of a very high order in the field of Indian history, Sanskrit literature, and Vedic religion. The level of research quality established by D.A.V. College was of such immense that its Industrial Chemistry Department successfully placed its products in the market with the trademark of 'Bharat' throughout British India. It established a fellowship for higher studies in 1895 at a time, when such a thing was rare in most of the Indian Universities. In order to give an impetus to the higher study and research in, Sanskrit and Indian history, the Lal Chand Library was established in 1917 in the memory of the first president of the D.A.V. College Managing Committee, R. B. L. Lal Chand. This led to the opening of a Research and Publication Department. Even earlier, the College had been attempting to prepare and publish a series of textbooks of its own in various subjects. It is interesting to note that two of the earliest publications were a translation of James Mill's *Liberty* by Raja Narendra Nath, M, A., and a translation of Bacon's *Essays* by the late L. Sain Dass. The splendid collection of manuscripts and books on religion, Sanskrit literature, and Indian history in the Lal Chand Library made research in these subjects possible. Two new types of publications were started, original Vedic works hitherto unpublished, in the D. A.V. College Oriental Series and D.A.V. College Historical Series. Two popular works, one on the history of Sanskrit literature were arranged. All these publications have been well received in India and outside and great intellectuals often congratulated the College on this useful branch of its activities.³⁴

In 1923, however, the Dayanand Industrial High School was open to provide a better-organized teaching of tailoring, bookbinding carpentry, smithy, and cycle repairing.³⁵ A well thought out scheme of studies was prepared combining instruction in theory with practical training. A workshop was attached to the institution. It has also been decided to establish an iron foundry and provide instruction in allied subjects. With a view to encourage the starting of small industries, an Industrial Chemistry Department was opened to provide correct formulae for the preparation of such household necessities i.e. fountain-pen and writing ink, boot polish, shaving cream, and tooth paste and various products have

³⁴Kumar, Shiv Gupta, *Arya Samaj and the Raj*. (1875-1920) (Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 1991).

³⁵ In 1921 it started an independent High School completely free from the Education Department and unhindered by the requirements of the University. However that scheme could not meet with expected successes and was converted into an Industrial School. It was then decided to prepare its students for various University examinations in Sanskrit, turning out scholars of Sanskrit breed in an Arya Samajic atmosphere.

been placed in the market.³⁶

ARYA PREACHER–LAYMEN, NO PRIEST PREPARATION

Arya ideology was not a religious sect similar to the other sect in mainstream Hinduism. Other Hindu sects had different sort of preachers to fulfill the formal rituals and ceremonies. On the other hand, Aryas were different from them, as it abhorred formal preachers for the circulation of its ideologies and other services in that particular regard. In 1896, a Theological Department was started in DAV College. It attracted many students but as theology provided no regular career to these young men. It was intended to train Arya Samajic missionaries, but as lay preachers mostly the Arya Samajic work and there was no regularly ordained priests, nor a priestly order, the attempt was not very successful. It was then decided to prepare its students for various University examinations in Sanskrit, and performed a useful task in turning out scholars of Sanskrit bred in an Arya Samajic atmosphere. Later on, because of the expansion of the work of the Arya Samaj in Punjab, the need for an institution to train missionary and priests arose. In 1921, therefore, the Dayanand Brahma Mahavidyalaya was founded to meet this growing need. That institution had attracted students from all parts of India. Malabar, Mysore, Hyderabad, Orissa, Garhwal and Mauritius were represented in it. No fees were charged, and stipends were given to the board and lodging expenses of the poor students. All the students resided in the Ashrama attached to the Vidyalyaya. The full course extended over 4 years, the end of every two year examinations were held and diploma conferred on the basis of vocational training. The founders of that college had thought that this college would become the vanguard of Vedic nationalism in the northern Hindustan. That Vedic indoctrination would enable them to perform better in the socio-politics of the county. An original work is yet to be done. We have to spread a while network of such colleges on the whole of north Hindustan.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND D.A.V. COLLEGE

In the initial period, college was not supposed to propagate any of the political activities, however, with the turning of the century, the trend got paradigm transformation and many of its old students had started to spearhead political infusing in many of the national activities. It started with the parallel impact on the student body of D.A.V. College.³⁷ It popularized Swadeshism when the word had not yet become a current coin. The Arya Samaj opened first Swadeshi shop. A detailed introduction of Swadeshi was included in the official scheme of the Arya Samaj. That introduction of Swadeshi concept was also included in the original prospectus of the D.A.V. College, Lahore. In fact this institution came to be the

³⁶ Ibid, 11

³⁷ Ibid, 114.

nucleus of the Swadeshi activities.³⁸ A controversy also erupted in the college about the cloth of the student blazer. It was debated that what cloth should be used for the making of the college blazer. Whether it is to be from the local manufactures or from the imported lot. Lala Lajpat Rai was the spearhead of that movement. He gave detailed lecture on this theme in the premise of college and got imminent popularity. D.A.V. College Union Magazine also advocated Swadeshi boycott. Thus, Swadeshi was soon turned into a powerful war against the British and D.A.V. College, Lahore had become the central attention of the high authorities as it was spearheading the activities of Swadeshi movement not only in Lahore but across the Punjab.³⁹ It had become the most active and dangerous center for all such activities. Government had put it into strongest suspicions and C.I.D was watching its activities very closely. Lala Hans Raj, Principal D.A.V. College was not in favour of student's participation in the noncooperation movement. His warning was of no use as despite all of his warning, students took part in noncooperation movement.⁴⁰ That situation had caused a temporary split among the Aryas of Lahore. One segment of Arya was propagating that D.A.V College should not be a part of the Swadeshi movement as it was their nationalistic maneuvering, on the other hand, second segment was of the opinion that Arya Samaj was preparing to infuse an nationalist zeal not only in Punjab level but also at all India level. That controversy led debate brought the D.A.V. College into prominent notice, and the question was much debated whether it was just an educational institute or harbinger of the revolutionary zeal. Barrier in his paper "The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894-1908" according to him, "during this period the Samaj was probably the most important factor in determining the character and direction of the Punjab Congress." "The Samaj," according to him "served as a training-ground."⁴¹ That situation became so tense that by the mid of Swadeshi movement, it was rumored that the government was planning to disaffiliate Arya Schools and the D.A.V. College. On that rumor, the college authorities decided to disconnect their ties with Lala Lajpat Rai.⁴²

On 24 October 1920, a meeting of the students of all the colleges of Lahore was held in the Gol Bagh under the chairmanship of Chaudhrani Sarla Devi. Dr Kitchlew made a speech on the desirability of the non-cooperation movement. Because of these speeches, the majority of the students present there pledged to go

³⁸*Daily Milap*, Lahore, 24th October 1939 D.A.V. College Golden Jubilee Issue.

³⁹ That in outline is the Punjab disturbances of 1907. The most interesting and controversial question had always been the government conspiracy thesis, which centered on the Lahore based branch of Arya Samaj. John Whitson Cell, *Study in British Imperialism, 1872-1969*(Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987),34.

⁴⁰Shiv, 92.

⁴¹Barrier in his paper, "*The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894-1908*," stated that "during this period the Samaj was probably the most important factor in determining the character and direction of the Punjab Congress." "The Samaj," according to him "served as a training-ground."

⁴² Shiv, 104.

"in favor of a general strike." About thirty students of the D.A.V. College asked the Principal and Managing Committee to disaffiliate the college from the government university. They went on strike to meet their demand.⁴³ The Deputy Commissioner issued warning Lala Hans Raj, Principal of the D.A.V. College. That was a crucial time for the College authorities because college was not prepared to meet the challenges posed by the authorities. Swadeshi movement with student participation was causing high damage to the functioning of college and its repute was under dire threat. During martial law of 1919, Arya Samaj in Lahore had faced multiple challenges. On one side, it had to secure maximum of its strength from being executed from the martial law authorities, and second was to secure its preceded ideology from being interrupted or corrupted from the radical Arya who were doing politics either from the platform of the D.A.V. college or involving young Arya to perpetuate their radical agitation. Authorities at D.A.V. College had become aware of the fact that if they want to continue their original scheme to evolve wide spread Samaj not only in the Punjab but all across the India, they had to divert their attention from the ideological breaches on the name of political agitation. Aryashad seriously started thinking of passing a resolution to the effect that all students attending political meetings will be struck off the roll.⁴⁴ Arya was a socio-religious body and did not want to offend British authorities by getting politically conspicuous. In the result authorities would have obstruct their work.⁴⁵ Under the Martial Law orders, the attendance of all students of the D.A.V. College at a roll call was ordered for three times a day at the Bradlaugh Hall.

SPLIT BETWEEN POLITICS AND ORTHODOX IDEOLOGUES

During and after Swadeshi movement, D.A.V. College and Arya Samaj got huge losses in terms of both reputation and their continued progress. Government had cast a serious concern over its activities on broader level. Strict surveillance by the officials had delimited its earlier pace of progress. It had caused another problem in the form of split among D.A.V authorities. An internecine feud erupted between different sections of the Arya Samaj over the role the College was supposed to play abiding by the original rules of the Arya Samaj. A pro-Arya newspaper Parkash propagating Arya Political activism, had lamented on the authorities of D.A.V. College on their retreating role in the political domain. It had criticized Lala Hans Raj on not allowing Lala Lajpat Rai to use college platform for political activism.⁴⁶

Local authorities had reserved stringent punishments for the D.A.V. College

⁴³ Ibid., 150.

⁴⁴ Daily *Milap*, Lahore, 24th October 1939 D.A.V. College Golden Jubilee Issue.

⁴⁵ Shiv, 92.

⁴⁶ John Whitson Cell, *Study in British Imperialism, 1872-1969* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 34.

students. The students of the D.A.V. College were the worst sufferer of martial law situation. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, while analyzing the results of Punjab University for 1919, in its issue of 25 July 1919, it pointed out that, "The cause of the poor results of the D.A.V. College in the intermediate and for the Bachelor's Degree examination was that its students notoriously took part in the Lahore disturbances." The result was that rigorous punishments were reserved for D.A.V. College students. Whereas, in the case of students of other colleges, the punishment inflicted by their principals was accepted, in case of D.A.V. College, the martial law authorities were not satisfied with the punishment awarded by the principal of the D.A.V. College. Thus, martial law authorities had ordered the principal of D.A.V. College to award more strict punishments to his students.⁴⁷ In that crucial situation the college authorities had started to devise new policies to compensate the earlier damages caused by the Swadeshi movement and perpetual boycotts and Hartals by its old and present student's body. Its organ newspapers had started their movement while forcing on the theme to revert to the earlier educational and ideological programs.⁴⁸ Their main newspaper *Arya Gazette* published a series of articles renouncing the controversial political posture adopted during Swadeshi Movement. It also made clear that college should revert to its religious indoctrinating services which was the main motive of that movement. It also tried to reject the allegation of being disloyal to the government.⁴⁹

In that backdrop, the college adopted another strategy to infuse new spirit in its activities. On one hand, the college authorities had adopted the earlier course of religious and educational services condemning the course of political action. As that course of action had diminished its pace and progress which was going on very smoothly before the advent of Swadeshi movement. In order to reinvigorate the education qualities, college authorities decided to incorporate many educational reforms on the patterns of American and many western universities. It was being realized that this was the only way to capitalize the long drawn out objectives of the Arya mindset behind establishing the college in the previous century.⁵⁰ Second part of its strategy brought change in previous policy towards mainstream Hinduism and other political parties. For instance, in the initial phase of its activity, the college

⁴⁷ Shiv, 216.

⁴⁸*The Arya Gazette*, (Lahore), 07th January 1910,

⁴⁹ *The Arya Gazette*, (Lahore), of 8th January, 1910, publishes from Lala Ram Parshad, B.A., headed "Is the Arya Samaj a disloyal body?" The writer says that it is often alleged, and a few Aryas also join in preferring the charge, that the Arya Samaj is weak on its religious side. This is, however, an allegation the truth of which it is desirable to investigate very thoroughly.

⁵⁰*Daily Milap*, (Lahore), on its special issue on D.A.V. College had editorial piece, "In an anonymous writers opinion that the modern American universities are working preferentially on the technical education as that is the only way a civilization can progress in the modern crucial times. Thus, our own college should focus on the same way as the modern American universities are preparing their student bodies. Our college should priorities its policy and planning to infuse in our students not only the modern education, technical understanding but also los make enabled them to cope with the complications of modern civilizations."

preached the concept of Arya as a new religion, abhorring Hinduism as the nomenclature for their identity. But in new circumstances they started to use the term Hindu for all the sects including themselves. In its golden jubilee number of D.A.V. College, *Daily Milap* published a special issue on D.A.V. College in which the word Hindu was used for all the other mainstream Hindu parties.⁵¹ Now they did not have much hesitance to call themselves as Hindus by others. Gokal Chand also used the word Hindus for their own community all across India. In addition, the word Arya was started to be used as an organization not as a different sect.⁵² In order to compensate and reinvigorate, the college authorities decided not to take part actively in politics. However, at the same time, they also decided to make relationship with many of the political parties to abolish their self-indifference towards mainstream Hindus community. In that very perspective, Arya had developed closeness only with those parties, which were communal in politics. Arya Samaj considered that only communal parties could safeguard the interest of mainstream Hindu community in Punjab. They abhorred the policies and politics of Indian National Congress in Punjab. They were of the opinion that policies adopted by congress in the name of secularism would harm the cause of the Hindus of Punjab. That was the perspective in which we see the close intimacy between Arya Samajists and Sikhs on the pretext of being communal in political approach.⁵³

D.A.V. COLLEGE AT THE END OF COLONIAL PERIOD

The post Swadeshi situation affected the activities of the D.A.V. College. Its authorities had adopted the earlier object set by its founders in the late nineteenth century. However, socio-politics of Punjab had altered a lot and it needed to have much modification in its policies towards its religious brethren including Sikhs. It has to be borne in mind that the Dayanand College has never received the usual grants in aid distributed by the Department of Education every year. It had to depend on the support of the public alone and the falling rate of interest had made this financial support even more necessary. The budget for the year 1936-37, for example, anticipated a deficit of Rs 10,732 in the College department alone. It is true that every year collections are made at the time of the anniversary of the Arya Samaj, Lahore. But the money collected at the time is mostly spent either on the capital program of the Society and providing permanent amenities of various sorts or distributed among the five non university departments, the Brahma Maha Vidyalaya, the Ayurvedic College, the Industrial School, the Research Department

⁵¹ It was a fact that in the initial phase of their rise, Arya Samaj had shown categorical abhorrence in the nomenclature of the word Hindus. They tend to say that they are not Hindus. Rather they were real vanguard of Vedic civilization, Arya Samaj. Moreover, Orthodox Hindus and mother Hindus sect were not going to accept them as Hindu.

⁵² Hindu itne kamzoor kyun hain, in *Daily Milap*, (Lahore), Special issue on the golden Jubilee Number on D.A.V. College in 1935.

⁵³ *Daily Milap*, (Lahore), Special issue on the golden Jubilee Number on D.A.V. College in 1935.

and the Updesh Fund.⁵⁴

The role of D.A.V. College had got diminished outlook by the coming of partition. However, its students were active in many of the activities. Those activities were about the political agitations to the violent acts aiming at threatening the rival community in the city. Many of its former students had left the Arya Samaj and joined the other nationalist parties such as Hindu Mahasabha and Indian National Congress. During the civil disobedience movement in the city of Lahore in the month of January 1947, many students of D.A.V. College were actively involved in waging political agitation against the rival communities. Many students had taken part in the relief activities for the affected persons of their own community. Moreover, during the partition days, the college was converted into the Hindu camp. That Hindu Camp was a safe place for Hindu and Sikh families who were transferred from the inner localities of the walled city of Lahore and adjoining areas, and were shifted in the premises of that the college for the further migration escorted by the military evacuation authorities.⁵⁵

CONCLUSION

The establishment of D.A.V. College was to provide exclusive identity to the nascent community of Dayanand followers in Punjab. Arya followers were in dire need of having a concrete body, which was not developed in the lifetime of Dayanand Saraswati. The larger than life figure of Dayanand Saraswati was in itself powerful enough that it did not feel the need of having an exclusive body for the perpetuation of Arya Samajist in Punjab. In the post-Dayanand phase, however, requirements changed. Subsequently Arya followers, with the back of moneyed classes had decided to establish such institute, which could provide the comprehensive Arya indoctrinating education to its young generations. The historical purpose of that institute was bringing up a complete generation of Arya followers. Thus, it intended to produce a compact body out of the doctrinal paradigms set by Dayanand Saraswati. However, it is observed that the first breed of Arya generation produced by this educational institute participated in active politics in close association with many of the national movement, i.e. Swadeshi. Involvement of Arya Samajist into that spell of political vigilantism resulted into the strict limitations on the smooth working of D.A.V. College. Those limitations had compromised the actual and intentional purpose behind the establishment of the college, which was to produce a comprehensive generation for Arya Samajist with far wide a purpose to spread all over the north India. Thus, that pre-mature

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ The college had retained the status of Hindu camp up to few years after partition as many of the non-Muslims; families were still residing in those camps awaiting their final migration. After their complete exodus, that Hindu cam was converted into the temporary camp for the Muslims migrants from eastern Punjab and other parts of India. Majority of those refuges were from Anbala and UP. *Daily Milap*, Special issue on the golden Jubilee Number on D.A.V. College in 1935.

participation of D.A.V activists resulted into the outburst of its potential with miscalculations. In the immediate after situation, authorities of the D.A.V College had decided to alter their whole program by reverting to the previous scheme of indoctrination. That reversion was with some modification and the ground changes had forced them to provide space for the mainstream Hindu community, earlier denied as their co-brethren. Now the college authorities had widen their scope of ideology by encompassing 'other' Hindus and Sikhs with liberal communal biases. However, those broader and liberal policies were not to serve the purpose of college authorities as college had to face a lot hardship in terms of capital accumulations for their annual budget.

The earlier pace of rise was owed to the factor of communitarian biases with doctrinal enthusiasm while accumulating the funds. In the post Swadeshi reforms based policies that enthusiasm was difficult to regain. Moreover, it was the policy of college authorities not to lend financial assistance from government or any other princely state. Thus, the situation was becoming compromised for the college to run smoothly, as shortage of funds was taking a toll. In the last decade before partition, D.A.V. College was losing its value as a big provider of freedom workers, as it was doing in the Swadeshi movement or during martial law rule in Punjab in 1920. It had seen its peak performance when Hindu community of Punjab was in search of developing some strong and unified body. However, that Arya 'body' involved in political vigilantism with subsequent arresting of the very purpose behind the establishment of the College. Thus, it went into low profile in the followed years to come.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF MASTANI, BAJIRAO AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

Dr. Purushottam Singh

Associate Professor of History

V.S.S.D. College Kanpur U.P. 208002

Affiliated to C.S.J.M. University Kanpur India

+91-941-555-7103 ,dadajhansi@gmail.com

ABSTRACT:

Bundelkhand is a cultural region of northern India which was popular with the same name since the reign of Mughal emperor Akbar the great. This region was named after Bundela warriors, while in ancient times it was also known as Jejjakbhukti and Chedi etc. Many famous Bundela monarchs granted their devotion to Bundelkhand region. Raja Madhukar Shah Bundela was ruler of Bundelkhand during the reign of Akbar. In the same way, the name of Raja Veer Singh Dev Bundela is mentioned during the reign of Jahangir and also with Jujhar Singh during Shah Jahan's reign. Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela made Bundelkhand an independent region which was not under Mughal control. Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela ruled from AD 1680 to 1731 and he made Panna city the capital of Bundelkhand. Mastani was a court dancer, whose palace is built in a place called Dhubela in Panna district, while Shaniwarwada palace situated in Pabal in modern Maharashtra is in the memory of Mastani. The concept is popular that Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela gifted Mastani to Bajirao first, supreme leader of Marathas termed as Peshwa and the incident took place in 1729. This paper focuses on the direct descendants of Mastani and Bajirao who established their Nawabi in Banda district of Uttar Pradesh which lasted till 1858.

KEYWORDS: Bundelkhand, Nawab of Banda, Kalinjer fort, Nawab, Muslim

Mastani was undoubtedly related to Bundelkhand¹, An old account of the history of Bundelkhand in this regard, "History of Boondelkhund" by Captain W.

¹ Gupta, B.D., 'Life and Times of Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela,' Radiant Publishers, Delhi, 1980, page-123

R. Powgson published in Calcutta in 1828 provides accounts on Mastani. Captain Pagsan associates Mastani with Bundelkhand.² Mastani went to Poona with Bajirao first and Mastani's personality made a big impact on Bajirao. Mastani was not only a skilled dancer but also a good horse rider. Maratha historian Govind Sakharam Sardesai³ and British historian William Irwin⁴ wrote that Mastani was skilled in military arts, and this is certified as Mastani's presence in the famous Delhi campaign of March 1731 makes it authentic stance. Mastani and Bajirao's mutual attachment became a point of dispute in Poona. Mastani gave birth to a son in Poona in 1734 and this son was named Shamsheer Bahadur. Bajirao expanded the palace named Shaniwarwada in 1736 for Mastani's residence in Poona and named its main door Mastani Darwaza, Mastani's tomb is still located in Pabal, some distance away from this palace. Mastani's fascination with the Peshwa continued to grow and in Poona's palace, Bajirao's first wife Kashibai caused controversy due to Mastani.⁵ Prof. B. D. Gupta while evaluating Baburao Phadnis's letter of 27th November 1737, has determined that Mastani's position was equivalent to that of married wife Kashibai.⁶ This letter was published by Pratibha Printing Press Pune in 1940 in Marathi language as "Panwar Gharanyacha Itihasathi Saghane." Published from Baburao Phadavis, the father of Nana Phadavis, had a clear reference in this letter, "Saubhagyavati Kashibai and Mastani Vankade Naati Naahi." There is no status discrimination between Saubhagyavati Kashibai and Mastani. Not tolerated, in 1739 on the occasion of Raghunath Rao's Yajnopavit ceremony and the marriage of Sadashiv Rao, the high-ranking Brahmins refused to participate in these festivities due to the presence of a non-Hindu Maharani Mastani. Other high-ranking people of Satara also asked Bajirao to sever ties with Mastani. Bajirao got no effect of all these and his relationship with Mastani remained ideally cordial and exemplary. In November 1739, Nana Saheb and Chinnaji Appa detained Mastani in the Shaniwarwada palace. Mastani informs his prayer in a letter to Nana Saheb. Bajirao, after hearing the news of Mastani being imprisoned, immediately left for Poona. Again Mastani was separated from Bajirao who was shocked and started consuming liquor and other intoxicants in Mastani's disconnection. It led him to a sharp decline in health. Bajirao's mother

²Pagson, WR, 'A History of Bundelaj', First published Calcutta 1828, republished BR Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1974, page-108

³Sardesai, Govind Sakharam, 'New History of Marathas' Part-2 Phoenix Publications Bombay, 1948, page-109

⁴ Irwin, William, 'Bangash Nawabs of Farukhabad', Research paper published in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1878, pages -268 to 304

⁵Dighe, VG, 'Peshwa Bajirao First and Maratha Expansion', Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay, 1944, pages-106 to 108

⁶ Gupta, B.D., 'Mastani Bajirao and his descendants Nawabs of Banda', Vidyamandir Publications, Gwalior, 1983, page 8

Radhabai, wife Kashibai, Brother Chimna Ji Appa and son Nana Saheb were worried. They all planned to kill Mastani in captivity but the plan could not be implemented due to Chhatrapati Sahu's disagreeing position. On 26th January 1740, Mastani's detention was shifted to Parvati Bagh in Poona. At the same time, the Nizam's forces from Hyderabad crossed the Godavari River under the leadership of Prince Nasir Jung and attacked the Maratha territories. Bajirao had to concentrate on the war against the Nizam. In the end of February, Nasir Jung defeated and signed the treaty. After returning from the battle, he was anxious to meet Mastani but his efforts proved unsuccessful. Finally, in a letter to Nana Saheb on 29th March 1740, Chimna Ji Appa requested to hand over Mastani Bajirao but this request was declined and Bajirao gave his life on 28th April 1740 on the bank of river Narmada at the place called Ravarkhedi in the absence of Mastani.⁷ At the time of his death, his wife Kashibai was with him. Beyond social restrictions, Bajirao's union with Mastani was possible only after death because Mastani passed away as she got the news of Bajirao's death. It is possible that Mastani might have died in mourning or committed suicide. Even today in Maharashtra, Mastani is considered a suhagin though Mastani was neither a Hindu nor was married under the religious tradition.⁸ Her tomb at Pabal, 20 miles from Poona, is her last memory. Mastani's son Shamsheer Bahadur was associated with the Maratha royal family.

HISTORICITY OF MASTANI:

The historicity of Mastani is a little researched subject because of the unavailability of authenticated sources. According to Marathi historian Dattatreya Balwant Parasnis, Maharaj Chhatrasal concluded that Mastani was 'Kanchini'⁹ of Bajirao originally. Parasnis formed the basis of an old lineage of the Nawabs of Banda. According to an article published in the Nagari Pracharini Patrika (volume-9) Mastani was a girl born to a Muslim mistress of Chhatrasal but this fact was not accepted. Chhatrasal had unquestionably declared Peshwa Bajirao as his adopted son and heir of one of his dynamic state, so even a daughter born to a concubine could not dedicate to his adopted son. The Marathi source 'Bakhar' provides detail that Chhatrasal presented a beautiful dancer to Bajirao, which was daughter of a prostitute. Many folklores related to Mastani are prevalent in the

⁷ Gupta, B.D., foreseen, page-9

Comment- Prof. B. B. D. Gupta has concluded this on the basis of the article '*Mastani ichi Haqiqat and Ti Panyantil Wada*', author-S.M. Diwakard, published in Marathi quarterly *Bhartiya Itihas Sanshodhak mandal* Volume-6, 1979

⁸Apte, Dattopant, 'Maharashtra History Manjari' Chitrasala Publication Pune, 1948, page -216

⁹Royal Dancer and so called wife without any religious or cultural contract. Parasnis, Dattatreya Balwant, *Jhansi Ki Rani* (SahityaBhavan Limited, Prayag, Samvat 1997), 83-84

society. According to folklore in Maharashtra, Mastani Bajirao was received in 1728 during the war with the Nizam. Mastani is described as the daughter of the Nizam. Captain W.R. Powgsan has described Mastani from Bundelkhand only on the basis of public figures.¹⁰ If these folklores are examined rationally, then the fact arises that Chhatrasal had presented a dancer to Bajirao. Mastani's descendants got a jagir in Bundelkhand as they considered Bundelkhand as their original place. Shamsheer Bahadur, the only child of Peshwa Bajirao and Mastani, was a 6-year-old boy at the time of his parents' death. He was born in 1734, Bajirao wanted to raise him like a Brahmin child, but it could not be possible due to the family opposition. He was considered a Muslim son and discriminated against on the basis of religious affiliation of his mother. After the death of Bajirao-Mastani, Shamsheer Bahadur was allowed to live in the Mastani Mahal in Shaniwarwada and was treated and respected in the same manner as a normal member of the Peshwa family. He was married to a Muslim girl Meherbai. Meherbai gave birth to Ali Bahadur in 1758.¹¹ Shamsheer Bahadur was the youngest and the first mention of his participation in a military campaign towards North as commander of Poona in 1733. Peshwa Balaji Bajirao sent an army to northern India under the command of his cousin Raghunath Rao. At that time Raghunath Rao and Shamsheer Bahadur were young men of 19 years. Raghunath and Shamsheer Bahadur crossed the river Narmada on 5th October 1753 and seized the fort of Kumbher. After this, they reached Delhi and received the decree from the Mughal emperor to recover the travel tax of Kurukshetra and Gaya. They then, via Pushkar, Marwar, Gwalior, returned to Poona on the orders of the Peshwa in 1755. In 1755 AD, Peshwa Balaji turned against Bajirao due to the instigation of Tula Ji Angre. This area was the southern part of the western sea under the Maratha Empire and the fort of Ratnagiri was also under the authority of Tula Ji, which became necessary for the Peshwa to take the fort. For this, Peshwa planted Shamsheer Bahadur and Dinkar Madhav in May 1755. Shamsheer Bahadur tried his best but could not succeed because it was impossible to win without naval assistance. After some time Vijay Durg was conquered with the help of British and the war ended after Tula ji surrendered to. When the expedition was going on against Tula ji in the south, the succession war of Marwar in Rajputana took place.¹²

After Chhatrasal's death in December 4th 1731, his kingdom was mainly divided between his two sons, Hirdeshah and Jagatraj. Hirdeshah's throne remained in Panna and Jagatraj made Jaitpur the capital of his part. Peshwai Bhag was under

¹⁰Srinivasan, CK, 'Bajirao first the Great Peshwa', Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1949, page-80

¹¹Sardesai, op. cit., pages- 364-376

¹²Gupta, B.D., "Life and Times of Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela" retrospective, pages 89 to 92

the authority of Govind Pant Kher or Govind Pant Bundela appointed by the Peshwa, taking care of him by making Sagar his center. After Hirdeshah's death, his son Sabha Singh became the king of Panna after 6th February 1739 but a struggle ensued between his three sons Aman Singh, Hindupat and Khet Singh over the throne of Panna in 1758. Peshwa Balaji Bajirao sent Shamsheer Bahadur to Panna in 1758 to determine the conditions of recognition according to the situation. Hindupat considered Shamsheer Bahadur as his brother which resolved the matter. Hindupat paid the dues of the state tax payable to the Marathas and he agreed to pay five lakh rupees in three installments to Poona for his recognition as the king of Panna. Shamsheer Bahadur and Govind Pant signed as witnesses. Similarly Shamsheer Bahadur decided the throne of Jaitpur in favour of Pahar Singh. Shamsheer Bahadur made his sacrifice in the battle of Panipat in 1761.¹³ His grave is near Victoria Hospital Bharatpur.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NAWABI AT BANDA BY ALI BAHADUR

Shamsheer Bahadur died in Bharatpur in 1761 and his only son Ali Bahadur was only 3 years old. He lived in the Mastani Mahal of Shaniwarwada with his widowed mother Meherbai until 1787. No significant mention is received of him. The first mention is obtained when he was appointed to assist Mahadji Scindia in 1787. Nana Phadnavis sent Ali Bahadur along with Tukoji Holkar to help Mahadji.¹⁴ On 25th November 1788, Ali Bahadur reached Bharatpur and paid homage to his father's tomb. He then met Mahadji Scindia in Mathura. Scindia honoured Ali Bahadur and bestowed upon him an elephant and jewels. Ali Bahadur's most significant success in North India was achieved on 19 December 1788 when he captured Ghulam Qadir.¹⁵ Nana Fadnavis ordered Ali Bahadur to intervene in Bundelkhand. The situation in Bundelkhand was very critical in 1790. The Bundela dynasty heirs were fighting for succession among themselves. Hindupat, son of Hirdeshah of Panna state of Chhatrasal, died on 4th December 1776. There was a fight between Rajdhar Hazuri, son of Beni Hujuri, nine Arjun Singh, Bakht Singh and Gaj Singh etc. and all the great chaos located in Bundelkhand became controllable. Ali Bahadur came to Bundelkhand in 1791¹⁶ and first met Himmat Bahadur, a famous Gusain Leader. Himmat Bahadur knew all about Bundelkhand and Ali Bahadur wanted to be friend of Himmat Bahadur but Himmat Bahadur was a diplomatic personality. He quitted Scindia's

¹³Shejwalkar, T.S., "Panipat", Deccan College Poona, 1959, pages-86, 87

Comment: In the third war of Panipat, Shamsheer Bahadur was involved in the right side of the Maratha army.

¹⁴Sarkar, Jadunath, "Fall of the Mughal Empire" Part-4, Calcutta, 1950, page-37

¹⁵Duff, Grand, "History of the Marathas", Part-2, Associated Publishing House New Delhi-1978, page-147

¹⁶Sardesai, GS, "New History of Marathas", Volume 3, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1948 pp. 150-151

job and pledged to help Ali Bahadur who in return pledged to give him some of Bundelkhand area. Himmat Bahadur pledged to make Ali Bahadur the Nawab of Banda therefore both attacked Ajaygarh fort. Ali Bahadur died on 28th August 1802 in the Kalinjar expedition but Himmat Bahadur did not stop the Kalinjar campaign. Although Himmat continued the struggle yet he did not succeed. Ali Bahadur had two sons including Shamsher Bahadur and Zulfikar Ali.¹⁷ Ali Bahadur's brother-in-law and Zulfikar Ali's maternal uncle Gani Bahadur declared Zulfikar Ali as a Nawab and Gani Bahadur became the patron. This news came to Shamsher Bahadur in Poona. On receiving the news, Shamsher reached Kalinjar with the help of Peshwa. The Peshwa was also angry with Gani Bahadur who became independent ruler by making Zulfikar the Nawab. Shamsher Bahadur captured Ali Bahadur's kingdom with the help of the Maratha army, went to Kalinjar, captured Gani Bahadur and imprisoned him in the fort of Ajaygarh and a few days later Gani Bahadur was poisoned and killed. Shamsher Bahadur ruled over the conquered territories of his father and took command of the army which helped him to become the Nawab of Banda. The property of Gani Bahadur was confiscated and imprisoned in the fort of Ajaygarh, where after some time he was poisoned and killed. Nana Fadandavis died on 13th March 1800. British Governor-General commanded Lord Lake campaigned in northern India and gave clear instructions that he should occupy the territories of Scindia between the Ganges and the Yamuna. Lord Lake immediately undertook a military campaign in Bundelkhand with the aim to regain the territories of Ali Bahadur which his son Shamsher Bahadur was ruling. The fate of the British supported that they found leader like Himmat Bahadur. There was a treaty between Himmat Bahadur and the British on 4th September 1803. Colonel Powell entered Bundelkhand with his army on 6th December 1803.¹⁸ In Basin's treaty, two points were added with the following intention.

1. That in return for the taluka Bankapur from Savanur, Karnataka and the Pargana Alpah of Gujarat, which had an income of Rs 19,16,000, provided the East India Company for the state of Rs 36,16,000, won by Ali Bahadur in Bundelkhand.
2. That the above states be transferred from those parts of Bundelkhand which are fully engaged in the jurisdiction of the British and in all respects convenient for the English Government.¹⁹

The supplementary treaty of Basin recognized the rule of the East India

¹⁷Gupta, B.D., predefined pages-60-61

¹⁸Brockman, D. L. Grenk, "District Gazetteers of United Breweries of Agar and Awadh-Banda a Gazetteer" Allahabad, 1909, page-210

¹⁹Aitchison, C.U., Retrospective, Supplemental Treaty of Basin, page-59

Company on the territories of Bundelkhand. Captain Bailey was appointed as the agent of the British Governor-General in Bundelkhand. The position of Shamsheer Bahadur II had become very fragile. Bailey, through one of his letters on 12th January 1804,²⁰ sent a proposal to Shamsheer Bahadur-II to give up the territory with an annual income of four lakh rupees, after leaving the struggle and accepting the subjugation of the British. Shamsheer Bahadur accepted the offer and went to the British on 18th January 1804. Bailey's proposals were converted into a formal agreement and thus this settlement ended the Nawabi at Banda. In fact, he was now a pensioner of the British. Shamsheer Bahadur gave up all his claims in exchange for an annual pension of four lakhs. He was allowed to live in his palaces in Banda and was allowed to hold the title of Nawab in Banda. In 1805, Shamsheer Bahadur was given a large area to live in old Banda. This area was south of the present-day Kotwali route of Banda. This part of the Banda was then called Lashkar. Shamsheer Bahadur built his palace here in the European style to keep his Nawabi on board and kept a small army of defenders consisting of two cavalry, one shelling. The company was half a company, gun and three foot companies. All these were decorated on the pattern of the soldiers of the British Company. He had given command of this entire army to Captain Burrell, who was appointed in his service. It was used mainly to demonstrate the Nawab's rage or sometimes to suppress the rebels at the behest of the British officers.

Shamsheer Bahadur spent the rest of his life happily and died in 1823 AD. He was the second Nawab of Banda. He and his successors Nawab Zulfiqar Ali (1823–49 AD) and Ali Bahadur II²¹ (1849–73 AD) remained nominal Nawabs after the British took control of the district in 1804. Despite this, Zulfiqar Ali Bahadur arranged maximum construction and gardens planted in Banda. Jama Masjid was built in 1823, the renovation of Maheshwari Devi Temple and Sarai took place in 1826, many gardens planted such as Aish Bagh, Gulab Bagh, Poda Bagh, Beri Bagh etc. Nawab Zulfiqar Ali, the successor of Shamsheer Bahadur II (1823 to 1849) ruled as symbolic Nawab as the British had become the de facto rulers of Banda from 1804 and the right to recover Malguzari had passed to the British hence, the power of Shamsheer Bahadur from 1804 to 1823, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali's power from 1823 to 1849 and Nawab Ali Bahadur II from 1849 to 1857 were

²⁰Narrative of Events Attending the Outbreak of Distinction and the Restoration of Authority, 1857-58 Part-I; Particulars of 'Gadar of Banda, Jalaun, Jhansi and Hamirpur', Foreign Department Press Calcutta, 1881, page-520

²¹according to Syed Ilyas Magaribi, the author of the Tawarikh I Bundelkhand, Ali Bahadur was born in 1835 and was 22 years old in 1857

not sovereign.²² This period of the Nawabi in Banda is known for the richness of the Nawabs and their symbolic sovereignty. The British continued to preach Christianity through the Christian missionaries. The power of Nawab Ali Bahadur II became important only because of the 1857 uprising. The Nawab initially rescued the British officers and supported the inter-rebel soldiers. Therefore, it would be expedient to evaluate the political achievements of Nawab Ali Bahadur II in the perspective of 1857. The famous war of 1857 started from Barrackpore Cantonment near Calcutta. Mangal Pandey of the 34th Native Infrastructure on 29th March 1857 gave the first spark to this uprising. In this struggle, four leaders from Bundelkhand, Rani Laxmi Bai, Nawab Ali Bahadur Raja Mardan Singh; Raja Bakhtabali added a golden page to history.²³ Decedents of Ali Bahadur-II are living in Indore.

²²Rizvi, S.A.A., "Freedom Struggle in U.P.", Part-3, Information Department, U.P. Lucknow, 1959, pages-161 to 165

²³Forest, GW, "The Indian Cuisine", Volume-3 Superintendent Government Press, Calcutta, 1912, Appendix G, H.

TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL IDEOLOGICAL GOALS OF BLASPHEMY, CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

Afsheen Hassan

Saba Nasir

M. Imran Malik

Department of English

Riphah International University, Lahore

ABSTRACT

The conflict between the laws prohibiting religious defamation causing agitation from religious communities especially devout Muslims and the fundamental human right to speech is one of the crucial debates. The blasphemy laws enforced in Muslim countries are criticized as being detrimental to freedom of expression. This paper aims at finding the various interpretations of blasphemy, the need for the laws to check this religious crime and uncovering the ideological bases of the current issues of religious incitement; establishing the Muslim identity as Terrorists. The role of western media in developing and maintaining the myth of the innocence of white as well as the narrative of all Muslims as terrorists has also been explored.

KEYWORDS: Blasphemy, Law, Constitution, Islamophobia, Ideology.

INTRODUCTION

‘Blasphemy’ is a topic under active discussion at present albeit the very concept of blasphemy law is archaic¹. Though the laws prohibiting irreverence of Deity or using any media of discourse hurting religious beliefs are not restricted to Muslim countries²; however, they are considered derogatory for the modern

¹Clive Unsworth, "Blasphemy, Cultural Divergence and Legal Relativism", *The Modern Law Review* 58, no. 5 (1995): 658-677, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2230.1995.tb02040.x.

²Rebecca Ross, "BLASPHEMY AND THE MODERN, "SECULAR" STATE", *Appeal: Review Of Current Law and Law Reform* 17, no. 1 (2012): 3-20.

concept of a human right to freedom of expression³. On closer analysis, the Muslims are the victims of hate speech as well as severe irreverence of their Prophet in the recent past.⁴ Muslim community which was harshly enough labelled to be extremist or even terrorist especially after the sad incident of 9/11, struggled very hard⁵ to prove their identity as a peaceful, progressive and civil nation. The link between ideology and social action has always been established through research and analysis. The ideology is linked with the groups as well as the relationship between them while its enactment is usually 'dramaturgical and interactional'⁶. This paper aims at finding answers to a list of interrelated questions dealing with the western ideological goals for their propaganda against Muslims. Ideology is directly related to power⁷ and blasphemy can also be used by the religious activists to gain power by using the outrageous mob to show their strength⁸. The three major controversial points of conflict involving Salman Rushdie's derogatory novel, *The Satanic Verses*; the publication of Prophet's caricatures in Denmark's Jyllands Posten newspaper, and the broadcast of a film entitled *Innocence of Muslims* on YouTube⁹ and their repercussions are also to be discussed.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Prohibitions against blasphemy have been developed with the passage of time and thoroughly in non-identical conditions¹⁰. The purpose of the crime of blasphemy is to protect religious believers from resentment over these feelings of offensive material in circulation, in the concentration of the social value of upholding reverence for the sacred, so it influences the social value of religion.¹¹ Blasphemy laws exist in some Latin American countries, including Brazil, they are also found in Europe and Africa, and especially widespread in South Asia and the Middle East. According to a study in the whole world, only 47% of the countries have laws of blasphemy.¹² Blasphemy laws differ greatly in their content and

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid, 18.

⁵ Orla Lynch, "Suspicion, Exclusion And Othering Since 9/11: The Victimization Of Muslim Youth," *International Perspectives On Terrorist Victimization*, 2015, 173-200, doi:10.1057/9781137347114_8.

⁶ Gary Alan Fine and Kent Sandstorm, "Ideology In Action: A Pragmatic Approach To A Contested Concept", *Sociological Theory* 11, no. 1 (1993): 21, doi:10.2307/201978.

⁷ Kevin Harrison and Tony Boyd, "The Role of Ideology in Politics and Society", in *Understanding Political Ideas and Movements* Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2018.

⁸ The Brookings Institution, "Anti-Blasphemy In The Digital Age: When Hardliners Take Over" Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2016.

⁹ Neville Cox, "Blasphemy, Holocaust Denial, And the Control of Profoundly Unacceptable Speech", *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 62, no. 3 (2014): 739-774, doi:10.5131/ajcl.2014.0023.

¹⁰ Jeroen Temperman, "Blasphemy, Defamation Of Religions And Human Rights Law", *Netherlands Quarterly Of Human Rights* 26, no. 4 (2008): 517-545, doi:10.1177/016934410802600403.

¹¹ Clive Unsworth, "Blasphemy, Cultural Divergence and Legal Relativism", *The Modern Law Review* 58, no. 5 (1995): 658-677, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2230.1995.tb02040.x.

¹² Ibid.

originality. It can be found in countries that have an official religion and are not found in those countries, and in countries where followers of multiple religions make up the majority of the population¹³. A distinction must be made between anti-blasphemy laws, which are primarily designed to maintain people order by forbidding actions that may offend the sensitivity of religious beliefs of a specific group, and laws against profanity should protect a religion, its signs, and its holy objects from blasphemy.¹⁴

The commencement of a modern citation of religious defamation laws rooted in the administrative influences of mainstream countries, which have used religion for merely political objectives comprising religious receptivity, criticize the government (or opposition), quietly promote patriotism, promote national unity, and social harmony.¹⁵ A bad image of Islam is fetching a "norm" in Western culture due to misinformation via media. Westerners often encounter misinformation about Muslims on television, movie screens, magazines, radios, and newspapers with images from comic strips, sending a solid message to their audiences. It develops a communal image for the common man that all Muslims are terrorists.¹⁶ Edward Said¹⁷ talks about how the media and experts determine the ways to view the world. "Today Islam in the West is particularly painful news", he said. The events of the 21st century indicate that the issue of religious extremism is playing vital role. United States multiplies its efforts to address the threat posed by violent extremism; it remains to underline the need to counter the ideology that makes it dynamic and capable. In the incident of violent Islamist extremism, it comprises a few radical Muslims who have perpetrated or supported terrorist violence, and far more who have prejudice and hostile non-Muslims.¹⁸ Islamist administration not only demonizes others, they also claim that the reappearance of a more refined version of Islam is a response to the plight of Muslims around the world. These organizations cannot demand violent means to change the state of affairs. European Muslims who adopt an Islamist religious identity are not only surpassing it when it comes to joining other groups, but also teaching that the position of Islam is not

¹³Neil Hicks, "The Public Disorder of Blasphemy Laws: A Comparative Perspective," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 13, no. 1 (2015): 51-58, doi:10.1080/15570274.2015.1005917.

¹⁴Asma T. Uddin, "Blasphemy Laws in Muslim-Majority Countries," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 9, no. 2 (2011): 47-55, doi:10.1080/15570274.2011.571423.

¹⁵Ron E. Hassner, "Blasphemy AndViolence1", *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2011): 23-45, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2478.2010.00634.x.

¹⁶Caroline Mala Corbin, "Terrorists Are Always Muslim but Never White: At the Intersection of Critical Race Theory and Propaganda." *Fordham Law Review* 86 (2017): 455-485.

¹⁷Edward W Said, *Covering Islam* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997).

¹⁸"Blasphemy Laws Fuel the Ideology of Violent Extremism", Blog, *Human Rights First*, 2016, <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/blog/blasphemy-laws-fuel-ideology-violent-extremism>.

legitimate.¹⁹

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Though the term blasphemy is not new or vague, its implications are vast especially when it comes to exploring the role of blasphemy laws and their various interpretations. The researches related to the topic reveal that these laws are not only prevalent in the Muslim community but in a number of states including Canada, one of the modern secular states. Going deep into the researches, one can realize that the European religious provocation such as the publication of blasphemous caricatures of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAWW) and the defamation of the social practices in Muslim countries to ensure the reverence or the Prophet is related to some ideologies. The purpose is to label the Muslims as extremists on the basis of their reaction to blasphemy. This paper explores the ideological goals behind such propaganda against the Muslim community and the presence as well as the implementation of blasphemy laws in various parts of the present world as well as the precedents from the past.

METHODOLOGY

The present paper aims at elucidating a wide range of issues related to the very concept of Blasphemy, laws encompassing religious incitement, defamation and the role of state in maintaining a balance between freedom of expression as well as the restrictions against religious provocation. The purpose of this paper; therefore, demands a huge data to be explored qualitatively. The researchers have employed the documentary technique for data collection and analysis. Documentary technique, as suggested by Nita Bonita Samosir and Zainuddin²⁰ involves reading, studying, and analyzing data by identification and classification. The technique for analyzing data for the present study consisted of (1) identifying the researches related to blasphemy in various contexts, (2) classifying them into categories related to various aspects of blasphemy, (3) finding the cross-cultural religious values and norms as well as the presence and enforcement of blasphemy laws, and (4) finding the ideological basis of religious incitement and European propaganda against Muslims. This extensive reading and in-depth study is called 'content analysis' method by Babbie²¹ and Fanny Mazna.²²

¹⁹Dina Al Raffie, "Social Identity Theory for Investigating Islamic Extremism in the Diaspora", *Journal of Strategic Security* 6, no. 4 (2013): 67-91, doi:10.5038/1944-0472.6.4.4.

²⁰Nita Bonita Samosir and Zainuddin Zainuddin, "an analysis of deities in the article of the Jakarta post. Genre", *GENRE Journal of Applied Linguistics of FBS Unimed 2*, no. 02 (2013): 312-324, doi:https://doi.org/10.24114/jalu.v2i2.928.

²¹Earl R. Babbie, *The Practice Of Social Research*, 9th ed. (Belmont, CA : Wadsworth Thomson Learning, 2001).

²²Fanny Mazna, "Blasphemy Laws In the 21st Century: A Violation of Human Rights in Pakistan", *Opensiuc*, 2017.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are its various interpretations and which neighboring terms are incorporated in the wider scope of 'blasphemy'?
2. What are blasphemy laws? Are they exclusively prevalent in Muslim countries or practiced elsewhere?
3. What are some of the current issues related to blasphemy and how do they provide a rationale for establishing a close connection with their ideological goals?

To answer the questions mentioned in the previous section of this paper the data analysis have been divided into following sub-sections: Pinkerton²³ exclaims that the term blasphemy and the laws related to it, though have very different meanings in Muslim as compared to rest of the countries, have one thing in common and that is the notion wrapped in it of 'injury'. According to Saba Mahmood, a cultural anthropologist, the Muslims consider blasphemy equal to physical injury²⁴ or even more disastrous. The term blasphemy is deeply rooted in the crime of religious incitement, defamation and irreverence of God, ecclesiastically divine figures or beliefs. The phenomenon is considered to be surrounded by the impact of uncertainties related to secularization and cultural pluralism which impart peculiar symbolic significance to the conceptual understanding of the laws dealing with religious incitement. The offence is closely related to its neighboring laws of 'sedition, obscenity, outrage to public decency and offences against public order'²⁵.

Rabeca Ross²⁶, in the introduction to her famous article about Blasphemy laws argues that the existence of such laws in so many countries around the world including Canada is enough evidence in favor of the existence of the very issue of blasphemy and the role of state in establishing peaceful environment in the country by securing religious rights as well as inhibiting proselytization or religious incitement cannot be denied. Pinkerton²⁷ calls it 'religious offence' and the very word of 'offence' calls for legal action. Section 296 of the Canadian Criminal Code suggests a penalty of imprisonment up to two years for publishing blasphemous content except 'in good faith' or 'conveyed in decent language'.

Rabeca²⁸ further discusses the reasons for the abolition of blasphemy law

²³Steve Pinkerton, "The Conversation", Blog, *Blasphemy Is not Just a Problem in The Muslim World*, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/blasphemy-isnt-just-a-problem-in-the-muslim-world-75026>.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵Clive Unsworth, "Blasphemy, Cultural Divergence and Legal Relativism", *The Modern Law Review* 58, no. 5 (1995): 658-677, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2230.1995.tb02040.x.

²⁶Rebecca Ross, "Blasphemy and The Modern, "Secular" State", *Appeal: Review Of Current Law And Law Reform* 17, no. 1 (2012): 3-20.

²⁷Steve Pinkerton, "THE CONVERSATION", Blog, *Blasphemy Isn't Just a Problem in the Muslim World*, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/blasphemy-isnt-just-a-problem-in-the-muslim-world-75026>.

²⁸ Ibid.

in England: England's blasphemy laws were already under criticism for protecting the Anglican Christianity while the issue of the publication of Salman Rushdi²⁹ 'The Satanic Verses', a novel that caused great resentment in the Muslim community of the world aggravated the situation. At that time the court clearly denied any action and declared that the blasphemy law of England is only to protect Christianity and has nothing to do with the publication of blasphemous novel that was defaming Islam. Muslim community around the world was agitated and the issue led to further chaos; it caused the death of the translator and two attempted murders. British Muslims attempted private prosecution of Salman Rushdi as a result of a 'Fatwa' of a Muslim religious leader pronouncing the death of the writer of blasphemous novel. Thus, the need for blasphemy law and the role of the state in maintaining order in society should not be sacrificed for showing allegiance to the human right to speech.

SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL CONTEXT OF BLASPHEMY LAWS

Blasphemy laws are not only practiced in the Muslim countries in the present time rather they have a wider contextual roots in human history and beyond contemporary geographical boundaries³⁰. Historians like Leonard Levy and David Nash³¹ have found the roots of such laws dating back to 1200s to the early 1800s. They were meant to protect Christian beliefs and practices from 'hurt' and 'ridicule' in the similar fashion as present blasphemy laws enforced in Muslim countries albeit with progressive secularization these laws gradually became less effective and eventually died. Stephen Fry, a comedian in Ireland prosecuted for being accused of blasphemy in recent years though the court could not find an evidence of sufficient public injury due his contempt of God³². The Irish people might not give that much importance to God as Muslims attach with Allah the Almighty and His Prophet PBUH. According to Global Legal Research Centre³³ the laws prohibiting proselytization and religious violence provoked by incitement are the issues closely related to blasphemy. They state that these blasphemy laws are prevalent across the world though their enforcement is more forceful in Muslim countries.

In most of Eastern European and Central Asian countries the laws against religious incitement are quite common and prosecutions have been reported in Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, in recent past. In most of the states in Middle East and North Africa the blasphemy laws do exist and

²⁹Salman Rushdie, *Satanic Verses, the*, 1st ed. New York: Random House US, 2011.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹David Nash, "Blasphemy and Censorship. The Historical Importance of Passive and Active Models", *Revue LISA / LISA E-Journal*, no. 1 (2013), doi:10.4000/lisa.5173.

³² Ibid.

³³ "Legal Research Institute", Library of Congress, Last modified 2021, <https://www.loc.gov/law/learning/index.php>.

in practice as well. Sub-Saharan African countries practicing such laws include Comoros, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, Somalia, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. In South Asian countries like Pakistan, India and Afghanistan not only have but actively practice the laws against religious incitement or proselytization. Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Myanmar, are some among The East Asian and the Pacific countries to have actively enforced blasphemy laws. Other East Asian and Pacific countries to practice such laws include Japan, Laos, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and New Zealand. Few countries from Latin America and the Caribbean, while Canada from North America, have partially or slightly enforced laws against religious irreverence.

Neville Cox³⁴ points out the publication of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*, and of blasphemous cartoons in Denmark's Jyllands Posten newspaper, along with the broadcast of a film entitled *Innocence of Muslims* on YouTube. Cox asserts that in prosecution against the publication of blasphemous material, what is at stake is not only the right to speech but the right to speak against religious sensitivities. He also mentions that the extent of 'injury' caused by such proselytizing acts to devout believers can never be realized by those devoid of religious framework of sociocultural norms. Lagoutte³⁵ explores the controversy of Danish blasphemous cartoons in an extensive critique concluding in a remark that 'freedom of expression of the majority outranked the freedom of religion of the minority.'

Sociologists believe ideology to be a vague and loosely defined term³⁶. They argue that ideologies depend upon emotional responses of public and serve to build and intensify public impression. They discuss the conflicting ideologies by stating that the ideological reality of one group sometimes considered as falsehood by the other. Ideologies serve as a window glass which, on one hand, limits the view of the society while, on the other hand, distorts the images of reality³⁷. They also mention two definitions of ideology which are helpful in understanding the modern ideological goals of blasphemy:

We are now again in an epoch of wars of religion, but a religion is now called an ideology.³⁸

Soviet Philosophical Dictionary³⁹ defines ideology as 'a system of definite views,

³⁴Neville Cox, "Blasphemy, Holocaust Denial, And The Control Of Profoundly Unacceptable Speech", *The American Journal Of Comparative Law* 62, no. 3 (2014): 739-774, doi:10.5131/ajcl.2014.0023

³⁵Stephanie Lagoutte, "The Cartoon Controversy In Context: Analyzing The Decision Not To Prosecute Under Danish Law," *Brooklyn Journal Of International Law* 33, no. 02 (2008).

³⁶Gary Alan Fine and Kent Sandstrom, "Ideology In Action: A Pragmatic Approach To A Contested Concept", *Sociological Theory* 11, no. 1 (1993): 21, doi:10.2307/201978.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸Bertrand Arthur William Russell Russell, *Unpopular Essays*, 2nd ed. (George Allen & Unwin, 1950).

³⁹*Soviet Philosophical Dictionary* (Cambridge University Press, 1954).

ideas, conceptions and notions adhered to by some class or political party. ‘Bertrand Russell’s⁴⁰ definition of ideology further confirms the idea of using religion or religious defamation and incitement to achieve socio-political goals. Muslims were presented as terrorists or ‘stock villains’ only in 900 Hollywood movies.⁴¹

West has very cleverly and consciously developed the ideology of Muslims as terrorists while the western media and political leaders consciously avoid the term to be used in case of violent attacks by individuals other than Muslims. The two coexisting narratives in United States that all terrorists are Muslims and ‘white people are never terrorists’, have gradually been transformed into a more prejudiced narrative: ‘all Muslims are terrorists.’⁴² Corbin explains that even before 9/11 ‘Arabs’ were considered to be uncivilized and dangerous ‘others’ by western community especially Americans but this sad incident whose responsibility upon a Muslim fundamentalist group has now become a debatable issue, led to believing that the whole Muslim community comes in the broader view of that ‘exotic dangerous other’. The Global Terrorist Database listed thirty-nine terrorists’ attacks in the United States in 2015, out of which only four gained attention of Mr. Trump. This attitude of president is based on the ideological ground of the narratives regarding Muslims being terrorists and the one about innocence of White people. Corbin⁴³ describes this racist ideology as the myth of white innocence and white supremacy.

An example of biased media portrayal of terrorist attacks in west is the massacre at a mosque in Quebec City where a shooter killed six people and injured nineteen more. The media presented the news of two persons in custody of police, one of whom was a Moroccan-born named Mohammed Bilkhadir. Later it was proved that Mohammed Bilkhadir was the one who called police while the shooter was a French Canadian. A Congressman answering a question about presidents’ reluctance to talk about terrorist attack on Muslims praying at their mosque, clearly proclaimed that white violence is just different.⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

In light of this discussion, one cannot deny the importance of blasphemy laws and the gravity of the crime. Michael Herzfeld⁴⁵ criticizes those who consider

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹Susan Musarrat Akram and Kevin R. Johnson, "Race, Civil Rights, And Immigration Law After September 11, 2001: The Targeting Of Arabs And Muslims", *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2003, 295-309, doi:10.2139/ssrn.365261

⁴²Caroline Mala Corbin, "Terrorists Are Always Muslim but Never White: At the Intersection of Critical Race Theory and Propaganda." *Fordham Law Review* 86 (2017): 455-485.

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵Michael Herzfeld, "The Significance Of The Insignificant: Blasphemy As Ideology," *Man* 19, no. 4 (1984): 653, doi:10.2307/2802331.

blasphemy ‘nothing more’ than a ‘bad custom’ by putting an important question for consideration: why do people indulge in such a practice which is regarded as a ‘bad custom’ and call for the wrath of God, Deities and/ or religious communities. the law and order situation threatened as a result of Governments’ inaction in cases of blasphemous crimes mentioned in the ‘current issues’ section, explicitly demand a positive intervention from the authorities to check religious incitement. Stephen Fry’s escape from a penalty in the case of ‘criminal blasphemy’ on the pretext that there was not any evidence that a considerable number of people were affected by his actions, raises a significant question about the gravity of the three major controversies mentioned by Neville Cox⁴⁶ and the legal action these controversies demanded but denied by the liberal Western community. The western ideology of ascribing the dehumanized stature of Muslims has been enacted by their media and political discourse, even the entertainment channels. It is a paradigmatic example of a flawed ideological belief system, which has created an identity of all Muslims to be a stereotype of potential terrorist or stock villain. No unbiased and liberal analysis can find any ‘good faith’ or ‘decent language’ to justify the publication of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* and of blasphemous cartoons in Denmark's Jyllands Posten newspaper or the broadcast of a film entitled *Innocence of Muslims* on YouTube. These provocations only helped western media to justify their flawed ideology of believing all ‘Muslims’ to be the ‘terrorists’. Beyond the question whether blasphemy counts as a crime or is there any need for blasphemy laws in modern global context of the world, further research can be done about who, or what is the real issue – God or the state, religion or pluralism – is the injured party. Another important aspect to be further studied is the modern interpretation of blasphemy laws in the multicultural global communities to foster religious tolerance and ensure harmony in society.

⁴⁶Neville Cox, "Blasphemy, Holocaust Denial, And The Control Of Profoundly Unacceptable Speech", *The American Journal Of Comparative Law* 62, no. 3 (2014): 739-774, doi:10.5131/ajcl.2014.0023

INDO-US RELATIONS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON PAKISTAN

Zainab Mohsin

Department of Pakistan Studies
Lahore College for Women University, Lahore

ABSTRACT

India and United States has initiated many deals, agreement, and steps for strengthening their ties but there were some moments when both showed cold behavior. In the five wars of India, the US played the role of supporter, pressurizer, and mediator. But sometimes it kept silent on the dispute. Many times their relations were disturbed when the US took the side of Pakistan. This article will explain two sections, one section is related to the India-US relationship background and the other section is based on how India-US ties effect Pakistan. Pakistan and India share the borders and any happening in India have a direct impact on Pakistan. This article will demonstrate that what were the deals, agreements, or steps of the US for India. The article will also highlight US favoritism towards India and how Pakistan was left alone at the time of need. The article will deal with the immediate concerns of Pakistan. The disturbance of their relations happened because of supporting Pakistan in Kashmir, delivering Pakistan any security arsenals, diplomatic issues, and subsequent sanctions. The strengthening of ties was based on defense contracts, trade partnerships, taking their side on wars, mediation, and nuclear deals. Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (N.P.T) was one of the notable deals that healed their ties. The concern of the US for supporting India was also to compete with China in the economic field. The US played the role of pressurizes for the resolution of issues. There were many ups and downs in their relations and both have also patched up again. Any collaboration between India and the US had always impacted Pakistan either positively or negatively.

KEYWORDS: India-US ties, Democracy, Socialist, Pakistan, Nuclear Energy, Kashmir.

INTRODUCTION:

India is an emerging financial giant of South Asia at the present time. India is an eminent country of South Asia with nuclear power status. India was under British rule before the year of 1947. After the independence, India was recognized as a free state on 15 August 1947. Pakistan and India both are neighbors and any incident in one state can influence the other one. After the freedom, India moves to develop diplomatic relations with the world states. For that time, the US and the USSR were two prominent powers on the world map. So India connected herself with both countries but there was a problem. One was democratic and the other was communist. India decided to be on democratic side and developed diplomatic relations with the US.

In 1948, a war between Pakistan and India started for handling the disputed territory of Kashmir. The war continues to spread at a massive scale when powerful countries like Britain and the US jumped into the situation. India was sure regarding the help of the US. But when the matter came under the consideration of United Nations, the US showed the opposite side from Indian beliefs. British and USSR joined the cause of India and the US opposed her cause. This was disturbing for India and the relation between both countries was discontinued. US supported Pakistan because India had the support of the USSR. The United States analyzed that India has joined hands with communists. However, in 1949, United Nation arranged the ceasefire between two countries.¹

On October 13th 1949, US President Harry Truman visited India and met with Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. US president discussed the Non-Alignment Movement to patch the relations between both states. But the cold response of India pointed that now she is welcoming communism instead of democracy. In 1959, the relation between India and the US flourished as two notable personalities of the United States paid a visit. Martin Luther King Jr. and President Eisenhower were two officials who paid a historic visit to India. President Eisenhower also became first US President who addressed with Indian Parliament. This year was pivotal in connecting both countries' relation.² In 1962, the US and India started many projects of educational and technological development. The US started the project of the Kanpur-Indo American Program for developing India in the technological field. Research laboratories were also established for assistance in future progress. This year, the war between India and China also erupted. It was the dispute on the McMahon Line. Both countries fight to capture the area beyond the line. USSR at that time reacted as a neutralized country. But the US planned to jump into the dispute to help India. This was the moment of relation strengthening

¹H. W. Brands, "India And Pakistan In American Strategic Planning 1947-54: The Commonwealth As Collaborator," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 01. (July 2008): ISSN: 0308-6534

²<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-india-relations> Retrieved on 19 December 2020 at 12:18am

between both states. US intelligence also shared the facts with their government officials to manage the dispute. On the other side, Pakistan was on the Chinese side. US also pushed Pakistan to settle the issue by becoming the Chinese negotiator.³

In 1963, the food shortage hits the land of Pakistan and India. At that time, US Agronomist Norman Borlaug traveled to India for giving the solution of the shortage. US Agronomist with the collaboration of Indian Dr. M.S. Swaminathan introduced the Green Revolution. This revolution covered the food shortage in Pakistan and India. This was a crucial year for India and US relations as United States helped her in the hour of need.⁴ This initiative of the US creates a strong bond of relations between both countries. In 1965, the war between Pakistan and India started again. Both fought to capture the territory of each other. This war influenced the other powerful states to indulge in the dispute. This dispute was alarming for the instability of the South Asian region. The USA and the USSR became the mediator between both countries. As the result of two superpowers mediation, a Tashkent agreement was released by the collaboration of both disputing states for a ceasefire. In this scenario, US developed the good relations with both the important countries of South Asia. In this way, the second war between India and Pakistan was ended.⁵

In 1971, India and Pakistan started the 3rd war on East Pakistan front. India helped Bengali separatist movement to curve out Bangladesh out of East Pakistan. In the response, the war was started and the world countries showed a cold reaction. On December 16th, 1971, East Pakistan came as a free state named Bangladesh on the map of the world.⁶ The US kept silence on the issue and don't indulge in the dispute. In 1972, both countries, without any mediation, signed on Simla Agreement to settle all the disputes peacefully. This was the first time when India and Pakistan countries initiated an agreement without any external help. It was also a milestone in the history of both states.⁷ In 1974, India took a bold step and conducted the nuclear test. It was an alarming situation for Pakistan and China. The USA was also surprised by Indian nuclear test. The US intelligence reported that USSR was helping India in acquiring the nuclear technology. The US observed the time of crisis and conducted the session of government officials. US also changed the mode of their relations with India. This move of India tightens the diplomatic relations with the United States and remained discontinued for the year of 1978.⁸

³<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v19/d181#fn2> Retrieved on 19 December 2020 at 12:58am

⁴ Gregg Easterbrook, "Forgotten Benefactor of Humanity," *The Atlantic*, January 1997.

⁵<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/india-pakistan-war> Retrieved on 19 December 2020 at 1:25am

⁶Asad Hashim, Timeline: India-Pakistan relations, *Al Jazeera*, 1 Mar 2019.

⁷<https://www.efsas.org/topics/indo-pak-relations.html> Retrieved on 19 December 2020 at 1:52am

⁸<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-105shrg48627/html/CHRG-105shrg48627.htm> Retrieved on 19 December 2020 at 2:44am

In 1978, US President Carter met with the Indian Prime Minister and President to knot the ties back. He also introduced the Non-Proliferation Act for India to legalize their nuclear technology use. It was the suggestion from United States to India that allow International Atomic Energy Agency to examine their nuclear technology. This examination was the surety that nuclear energy was only used for peaceful purposes. But India was not in the favor of IAEA examination because India had some doubts on IAEA clauses.⁹ India refused to agree on the IAEA examination and in reaction of this move US showed the cold behavior towards the diplomatic relations between both countries.

On 28th July 1982, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi visited US and met with President Reagan. It was the visit to join the hands and to resolve the issues. The Indian Prime Minister also talked about the nuclear issue and the Non-Proliferation Act. In the speech at the White House also ensured that India will seriously consider the suggestion of the US for the IAEA examination for mending the broken ties between both states. It was a clever move from the Indian Prime Minister to normalize the tensions between US and India.¹⁰ After the visit and surety of Indira Gandhi, the Vice President of US Bush paid a high official visit to India. In 1984, a horrible incident of chemical leakage happened in the city of Bhopal, India. This leakage occurred from the American company plant. As a result of lethal chemicals, thousands of Indians lost their lives. This creates a massive outrage in the people and the government of India.¹¹ India took a serious note of this careless imitative and the ties between both countries estranged. It was a painful moment for India and its response was according to the situation.

In 1990, the tensions between India and Pakistan raised at an extreme level in the Kashmir region. This situation triggered the concern of the US that the dispute may be changed into nuclear warfare. Both states were using the nuclear deterrence policy on minimizing the tensions. The US Security Advisor Robert Oklay visited India to neutralize the situation. On the other hand, Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited Kashmir and announced the support of Kashmir fighters. This unleashed the anger of the US and President Bush imposed sanctions on Pakistan. This step of US went in the favor of India and their ties were also strengthening back.¹² In 1991, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was the Finance Minister of India and he introduced economic liberalization to attract the other states. This move of India took the attention of the United States as well. After

⁹<https://www.gao.gov/assets/140/133280.pdf> Retrieved on 19 December 2020 at 2:31am

¹⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QHk9zoG6PXw&ab_channel=ReaganLibrary Retrieved on 20 December 2020 at 9:25am

¹¹Elana Schor, Bhopal Disaster Casts Indirect Shadow Over Obama's Visit to India, *The New York Times*, (October 29, 2010).

¹²<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/indo-pak-1990.htm> Retrieved on 20 December 2020 at 11:04am

the Soviet Union disintegrated into many small states, the US became the sole superpower of the world. The ties between the US and India were patched up again because the US policy was to curb the superiority of China in South Asian region. The United States helped India in becoming the economic giant of South Asia. But this initiative was not in the favor of Pakistan because the economic superiority can control the neighbors for destabilizing Pakistan. In 1994, the Prime Minister of India Narsimha Rao visited the United States for strengthening the ties.¹³

NUCLEAR DETONATIONS OF 1998 AND KARGIL DEBACLE

In May 1998, both India and Pakistan conducted a nuclear test. India conducted nuclear tests on 11 May 1998 while Pakistan conducted the test on 28 May 1998. The launching of Indian nuclear test surprised the United States and President Bill Clinton took a bold step to condemn the nuclear arms race. Bill Clinton was in fear of the arms race initiation in South Asia. The US imposed the economic sanctions on both states. The United Nation also stepped into the critical situation and forced both countries to follow the standards of the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency). The UN also suggested of following NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) to India and Pakistan. After the successful efforts, United Nation moved both countries to the table of discussion to minimize the tensions of nuclear arms race for starting peace in the region.¹⁴ In 1999, another war between Pakistan and India was started for the Kargil valley. Bill Clinton was the President of the United States at that time and he forced Pakistan to withdraw the troops from the war side. Clinton suggested that Pakistan should respect the Line of Control. The US President also alarmed Pakistan that in case if Pakistan will not depart from the war zone then he will announce Pakistan as an aggressor in the conflict. This was surprising reaction from the US side because for the first time the US was supporting India and warning Pakistan. This move of Clinton initiated positive effect and in 2000, he visited India to normalize their ties. India appreciated Bill Clinton step of supporting India and arranged a warm welcome for the US President.¹⁵

POST 911 SCENARIO AND WAR ON TERROR

In 22 September 2001, US President George W. Bush lifted all the economic sanctions which were imposed because of nuclear test conducted by India and Pakistan. This step was taken by the American president for overcoming the damages which were caused the 9/11 attacks. The sanctions were related to trade, loans, and developmental pacts. The US Congress ordered to waive all the imposed sanctions on India and Pakistan. As both states assured the peaceful use of nuclear

¹³Dheeraj Kumar, Indo-U.S. Relations: Historical Perspectives, *Center for Contemporary Conflict, Strategic Insights*, Volume VIII, Issue 3 (August 2009).

¹⁴<https://www.un.org/press/en/1998/sc6528.doc.htm> Retrieved on 21 December 2020 at 5:22am

¹⁵ Bruce Riedel, How The 1999 Kargil Conflict Redefined US-India Ties, *Brookings*, (July 24, 2019).

technology and no aggressive moves in the future. This initiative of the United States patched up the relations of India to US. Also, it was in the favor of Pakistan.¹⁶

The year 2005 was significant because of many deals finalization between US, Pakistan, and India. The three most important deals of the US and India was the Energy Sector collaboration, Defense Framework, and Civil Nuclear deal. On the other side, the US promised to deliver fighter jets to Pakistan. India protested against the US act but the US mentioned that both countries are purchasing jets so there is no threat of conflict eruption. The US official Condoleezza Rice visited India and talked about the energy deal with the Indian Minister of External Affairs Natwar Singh. The energy deal was mainly consisted of oil and gas, coal, power and energy efficiency, renewable energy development, and civil nuclear energy.¹⁷ It was the marvelous pact between both states to tie back their discontinued relations note.

The sale of fighter jets to Pakistan by US was a hot debate between India and the US. In 2005, the US announced to provide F-16 jets to Pakistan for strengthening their defense power in the region. Bush cleared that this deal was given in response of Pakistan support the 9/11 scenario. India showed concern on that deal but the US officials stated that both countries are purchasing jets and there will be no issue of conflict arising. But the concern of India was lame because both states were the purchaser of fighter jets. The US did not announce the number of purchase but the news was on estimation base that India has submitted 125 jets purchase request while Pakistan was waiting for 25 jets approval.¹⁸ In June 2005, the USA and India arranged a deal of 'New Defense Framework' to further modify their relations. This deal was signed in the presence of the US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and the Indian Defense Minister Pranab Mukherjee. The framework was consisted of some important parts which were the bilateral defense trade mechanism, military collaboration, state security authentication. This deal was the step to initiate a new strong friendship era between the US and India. On the other hand, Pakistan showed concern on this deal because tilting of the US on one side of Asian countries can be problematic.¹⁹ In 2005, the USA and India finalized the Civil Nuclear deal. It was the deal to convince India for using nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes. US President Bush and the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh drafted the deal. The deal consisted of many significant clauses which were that IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) will monitor Indian nuclear workstations, India will allow IAEA to determine the purpose of

¹⁶<https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2001/5101.htm> Retrieved on 23 December 2020 at 8:48am

¹⁷ Charles Ebinger & Vikram Mehta, *Time to Act on U.S.-India Energy Cooperation, The Second Modi-Obama Summit: Building the India-U.S. Partnership*, (New York: Brookings, 2019),

¹⁸ Elise Labott, U.S. to sell F-16s to Pakistan, CNN Washington Bureau, March 28, 2005

¹⁹ <https://www.csis.org/programs/wadhvani-chair-us-india-policy-studies/past-india-chair-projects/us-india-security-and> Retrieved on 29 December 2020 at 4:00pm

nuclear energy production, nuclear energy will be used for peaceful purpose, temporary restriction on weapon testing for India and the US will build nuclear plants in India. This was an advantage for India to strengthen their relations with US by accepting the Civil Nuclear deal. Pakistan was also an ally of the United State but there was no such deal for Pakistan. Some analysts judged that this deal will force Pakistan to divert from the US and then Pakistan will find another ally for achieving the same deal.²⁰

In March 2006, US President Bush visited India for the finalization of the civil nuclear deal. He met with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to initiate the deal. It was a landmark in the history of the United State and India relations.²¹ President Bush also addressed in New Delhi and greeted the gathered people. The whole visit was to amend the relations between India and the US which were discontinued after the nuclear test from Indian side. President Bush also visited Pakistan but got the warm welcome because many issues were raised after 9/11 between Pakistan and the US. In 2007, the trade partnership between India and United States was finalized through the transferring of motorcycles against the Indian mangoes. The United States in this response of Bush statement in 2006 of lifting the ban of trade on India approved the trade of Harley-Davidson motorcycles against Alphonso and Kesari mangoes. India was the biggest exporter of mangoes to Europe and the US so this deal was beneficial for India. India was exporting 40% of mangoes to the US and Europe. Also an allowance of Harley-Davidson motorcycles on the roads of India was a strong sign of Foreign Direct Investment. The lift of ban after many years was also indicating that now Indian economy will grow in the future.²² In 2008, India achieved a milestone in developing the relations with the United States. Energy Regulatory Agency allowed India to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and also India can trade the nuclear energy with NSG (Nuclear Supplier Group). This initiative of US for lifting the ban from India after three decades was totally in the favor of India. Analysts observed that this deal will make India an economic giant and also India will cover a deficit of energy within the country. The United States was also looking towards producing new jobs in India through this nuclear trade deal. This deal was moved step forward when External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee on 6th September, 2008 and met with Secretary of State Rice in Washington DC.²³

In 2008, two main events were happened which were a launching of lunar mission and Mumbai terror attacks on Taj Hotel. India launched Moon mission with

²⁰Jayshree Bajoria and Esther Pan, The U.S.-India Nuclear Deal, *Council on Foreign Relations*, November 5, 2010

²¹ Ahmad Faruqui, Tough Issues Facing Bush in India and Pakistan, *Global Beat Syndicate*, March 1, 2006.

²² Ruth David, "Mangoes For Motorcycles," *Forbes*, May 3, 2007.

²³Prashant Hosur, "The Indo-US Civilian Nuclear Agreement," *International Journal*, Spring 2010.

the help of NASA and successfully landed on moon. It was a milestone for India and also a signal of strong relationship between both countries. The Indian voyage took two devices of NASA which were Moon Mineralogy for searching the minerals and Mini-SAR for finding the ice deposits on moon.²⁴ In November 2008, militants attacked on the Taj Hotel in Mumbai. It was a massive attack which shocked India. India straightly put blame on Pakistan for backing the attack but Pakistan denied the allegation. The United States jumped into the situation for neutralizing the tension between both nuclear states. Pakistan offered an intelligence sharing for analyzing the culprit of attacks. The US appreciated an initiative of Pakistan and also stated India to cooperate with Pakistan for stabilizing the situation. United States also offered its intelligence team for further investigation of the Mumbai attacks.²⁵ In November 2009, Indian Prime Minister Singh paid a visit to the USA. US President Barack Obama warmly welcomed Singh and talked about bilateral relationship between both countries. As the nuclear deal was signed between both states in 2005 but it was yet to be matured. So, this visit of Singh was of great importance as India was the biggest contributor in aiding Afghanistan. On the other side, Pakistan showed many concerns about Indian aid in Afghanistan but United States was in the favor of India because of the United States military intervention in Afghanistan. This visit of the Indian Prime Minister was a signal of strengthening of relations between New Delhi and Washington.²⁶

In 2010, Timothy F. Geithner Treasury Secretary of US visited India and met with the Indian Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee to inaugurate an economic partnership between both countries. It was in the benefit of India that the US was helping to boost their economy. This partnership was to boost up the bilateral relations between both states in financial sector.²⁷ In a same year both countries hold the first strategic dialogue and the officials were Hillary Clinton of United States and S. M. Krishna of India. This strategic dialogue was started to explore the new directions of co-operations between the United States and India. The most important areas which were covered in this strategic dialogue were Health, Science, Economy, Trade, Agriculture, strategic partnership, and technology. This strategic dialogue was a real bond of strength between both states.²⁸ In November 2010, US President Barack Obama visited India and initiated major deals between India and the United States. The \$10 bn trade deal was the marvelous one and it was beneficial for Indian economy. The United States also bid for a seat of India in Security

²⁴Somini Sengupta, "India Launches Unmanned Orbiter to Moon," *The New York Times*, (Oct. 21, 2008).

²⁵ Polly Nayak and Michael Krepon, *The Unfinished Crisis: US Crisis Management after the 2008 Mumbai Attacks* (Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2019) ISBN: 978-0-9836674-1-4

²⁶ Elise Labott, Analysis: Why India Is At The Top Of U.S. State Visit List, *CNN Politics*, November 24, 2009.

²⁷ Heather Timmons and Vikas Bajaj, "Strong Ties With India Goal of Trip by Geithner," *The New York Times*, (April 5, 2010).

²⁸ Jesse Sedler and Persis Khambatta, "Update: U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue: Progress, Problems, and Prospects," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, June 11, 2012

Council of the United Nations. Pakistan Foreign Secretary Abdul Basit shared the concern of Pakistan on bidding of UN Security Council seat for India that: "Mr. Obama's move adds to the complexity of the process of reforms of the council".²⁹

In 2011, India and the United States stepped into another important deal of global cyber security sharing. Jane Holl Lute, United States Homeland Security Deputy Secretary and R. Chandra Shekhar, Indian Secretary of Information Technology finalized a memorandum of global security sharing. This pact was included to share the intelligence information for eradicating the evil of terrorism, militancy, and other dangers.³⁰ In 2012, Defense Secretary of United States Leon Panetta delivered a message to New Delhi that the US will deliver the advanced weapons to India in future. It was also stated that trade of technology between both countries will be increased because India was a biggest importer of weapons for the United States. It was included that military exercises will be conducted to further strengthen the relations between both states.³¹ In September, 2013, Indian Prime Minister Singh visited Washington to meet with the United States President Barack Obama for a discussion on terrorism, disarmament, UN reforms, and development. It was an important meeting of Singh because there he decided to meet with Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to put the relations between both countries back on track. The peace between both countries was slowed down because of conflicts in Kashmir but in Washington both heads were hoping for a good dialogue.³²

In March, 2014, Indian government ordered to shut down the American Embassy in India. This step of shutting down embassy was taken to pressurize US regarding the case of Deputy Counsel of India. Khobragade was accused of manipulating the visa and unpaying of her nanny. The case was under the trail when India took an initiative to change the accusation on the Indian diplomat. The US also ensured that plea-bargaining will be done to sort out the accusation because US and India was in the mid of strategic dialogue finalization.³³ In May, 2014, United States also lifted the ban on visa of Indian Prime Minister Modi. It was implemented because Modi's alleged involvement in Gujarat riots of 2002. In 2005, US officials also ignored the meeting with Modi due to human rights violation in 2002 riots. But after Modi victory in the elections of 2014, US President Barack Obama lifted the ban and welcomed him as a head of state. This step of US

²⁹<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-Asia-11711007> Retrieved on 15 Jan 2021 at 8:00am

³⁰ Gregory Hale, "U.S., India Ink Cyber Security Cooperation Pact," *Plant Engineering*, (September 8, 2011).

³¹ David Alexander, "Panetta Calls For Deep U.S.-India Defense Ties, More Arms Trade," *Reuters*, (June 6, 2012).

³² Karl F. Inderfurth and Persis Khambatta, "Manmohan Singh's U.S. Visit," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, (September 24, 2013).

³³ Frank Jack Daniel, David Brunnstrom, "India Tells U.S. To Close Embassy Club; Anger Exposes Flaws in Ties," *Reuters*, (January 8, 2014).

President also strengthened the relations between both countries.³⁴ In September, 2014, Indian Prime Minister Modi visited the US to meet with US President Barack Obama for discussing the future bilateral relation between both countries. This meeting was important because of discussion on security, health, technology, energy, environment, infrastructure, and development. Modi and Obama also agreed on increasing the bilateral trade in future for modifying their interrupted relations.³⁵

CURRENT SITUATION AND FUTURE OF DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL

In 2015, Barrack Obama paid second visit to India for moving their ties a step forward. This was important visit because Obama was invited as a Chief Guest on the Republic Day of India. Obama also shared the views with the Indian Prime Minister Modi to finalize the strategic partnership and co-operation between both countries.³⁶ In 2016, while in the White House Meeting of US President Barrack Obama and Indian Prime Minister Modi, White House released a joint statement that “India is the Major defense partner of United States”. This was good for India and Modi agreed with Obama on marine security, relaxation by United Nation Convention on Sea Law, intelligence sharing and solution of dispute by peaceful means.³⁷ In 2017, hate crimes erupted in the United States against the people of India. An American man killed two Indians in the club at Kansas. Another incident was happened when an Indian man was attacked by hater and commented by him “Go Back to India.” Although the US court gave life-time imprisonment to Kansas culprit but gossips raised in India that US is now not secure for Indian people.³⁸ In June, 2017, Indian Prime Minister Modi first meeting with US president Trump was arranged at the White House. Both leaders warmly welcomed each other and started the dialogue. Modi and Trump talked about the relations, security, development, economy, trade, terrorism, and the future of Afghanistan. Trump also agreed to trade the marine technology to India which was in a queue for many years.³⁹

On 6 September, 2018, US President Donald Trump and Indian Prime Minister Modi met at Washington to inaugurate the bilateral defense partnership. The both leaders finalized the Communications Compatibility and Security

³⁴ Anwar Iqbal, “US Lifts Visa Ban on Modi, Obama Invites Him To Washington,” *Dawn*, (May 18, 2014).

³⁵ <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/pm-modis-us-visit-modi-visit-offers-golden-opportunity-to-repair-india-us-ties/articleshow/43308752.cms?from=mdr> Retrieved on 17 Jan 2021 at 6:12pm

³⁶ Lalit K Jha, “Barack Obama's Visit To 'Elevate' India-US Relationship, Says White House,” *Business Today*, (January 24, 2015).

³⁷ Joe Gould, ‘US Names India 'Major Defense Partner,'’, *Defense News*, (June 7, 2016).

³⁸ Faith Karimi, ‘Kansas Man Who Killed An Indian Engineer At A Bar Gets Life In Prison,’ *CNN*, (May 5, 2018).

³⁹ <https://www.livemint.com/Politics/CXdFtfJhGfHzYccpwVGzJ/Modi-Trump-meeting-Live-Melania-to-join-US-President-in-wel.html> Retrieved on 18 Jan 2021 at 11:45am

Agreement (COMCASA) in their “two and two” meeting. It was a pact which was pending for last two decades. But now India agreed to communicate with the US for using the US weapon technology. This pact bonded their defense bilateral relations for future.⁴⁰ On June 5th, 2019, a statement from the White House criticized the trade of India. US President Trump stated to put out India from Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) for diminishing India special trade status. The special trade was given to developing countries for stabilizing their economies and Trump announced that due to this special trade status India is ruining the American business. This was hard for India to accept this US initiative and the tensions between both countries emerged again.⁴¹

In February, 2020, US President Donald Trump paid his first official visit to India. It was a time when due to abolishment of Indian special trade status, the tensions between both countries were at the peak. Trump met Modi and talked of Harley Davidson Motorcycle import, US dairy products, defense, and bilateral relations. The US also warned India to stop the Iranian oil import but Indian main concern was to discuss the abolishment of special trade status. But Trump talked about other partnership points rather than the trade issue.⁴² On 28th October 2020, India and United States signed a notable defense pact of geospatial intelligence sharing between both countries. This pact was of great important in which an U.S. National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency signed it with Indian Ministry of Defense for future intelligence sharing between both countries. In result, India got an edge to further refine their automated weapons by using the US technology. This pact alarmed China and Pakistan and both countries showed their concerns regarding this pact.⁴³ India-US nuclear deal is a turning point in establishing strong future relations between two big democracies of the world. This deal was initiated in 2005, when the Indian Prime Minister Singh met with the US President George Bush. The two leaders agreed to move forward with exchange of nuclear technology deal. It was a milestone for India to develop in future because decades of ban was lifted by the inauguration of this deal. India was facing the ban when nuclear experiments was performed officially. In this deal, Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) states were agreed to transfer nuclear technology to India for fulfilling her developmental needs. Also, India was in the queue of Non- Proliferation Treaty to assure the US

⁴⁰ Richard Weitz, “The Indian-US Defense Partnership: New Steps Forward,” *Second Line of Defense*, (November 9th, 2018).

⁴¹ Veronica Stracqualursi and Donna Borak, “Trump Removes India from Special Trade Status,” *CNN Politics*, (June 2, 2019).

⁴² <https://www.france24.com/en/20200224-massive-rally-to-kick-off-trump-s-first-official-visit-to-india> Retrieved on 20 Jan 2021 at 3:03pm

⁴³ Vivek Raghuvanshi, India, “US Sign Intel-Sharing Agreement amid Tension with Neighboring China,” *Defense News*, (October 28, 2020).

that in future nuclear technology will be used for only peaceful purposes.⁴⁴In 2006, US President George Bush paid first official visit to India and met with Indian Prime Singh to talk about bilateral co-operation, strategic partnership, and civil nuclear deal. In this meeting, both states heads discussed the important points to finalize the nuclear deal in which main point was the exemption of India from Non-Proliferation Treaty. Exemption from NPT was beneficial for India to strengthen the security of country without any hesitation from check and balance. In past, India rejected to sign NPT and faced a ban from the US side. But it was surprising that the United States was giving India exemption happily. In 2007, both countries government released their points of agreement to lock this deal.⁴⁵ The points were check of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to Indian nuclear plants, transfer of nuclear technology by NSG, exemption from NPT, use of nuclear technology for peaceful and development purposes, and building of nuclear plants with collaboration of US.

The terms of the deal were further elaborated after the agreement between both countries. The terms were that International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) will be free to inspect the civilian nuclear facilities of India, the agency inspector will get cooperation from Indian agencies for fair checking of the nuclear plants, India will sign an additional clauses to assure that nuclear technology will be used only for peaceful and developmental purposes, India will get the material and technology from Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) without accepting the Non-Proliferation Treaty, India can continue the weapons testing for the security of homeland, India will strengthen the security of nuclear arsenal for protecting them from non-states actors, the US will supply required amount of nuclear material to India for using this for their developmental and security purposes, and US will also support India in building nuclear plants for processing nuclear technology. India received the dual technology because of this civil nuclear deal and also a guidance to use the technology for strengthening their security in future. But India also assured that nuclear technology will be used for only peaceful purposes and will also honored the proliferation clauses.⁴⁶

FITTING PAKISTAN INTO THE DIPLOMATIC EQUATION

India was given a chance to avail the civil nuclear deal which was implemented on 2008 but Pakistan was not offered the same deal. There were many reasons behind this ignorance but main one was economic factor. As India was a

⁴⁴ Mehmood Hussain, "Impact of India-United States Civil Nuclear Deal On China-Pakistan Strategic Partnership," School of International & Public Affairs, Jilin University, Changchun City, Jilin Province, China, *J. S. Asian Stud.* 05 (01) 2017. 13-25

⁴⁵ <https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/timeline-india-us-nuclear-agreement-22957> Retrieved on 25 Jan 2021 at 6:45pm

⁴⁶ Jayshree Bajoria and Esther Pan, "The U.S.-India Nuclear Deal," *Council on Foreign Relations*, (November 5, 2010).

fast growing economy and market of India was biggest for trade. Thus many nuclear suppliers attracted towards India. Once Russia traded nuclear technology to India in the ban period many countries raised the issue. But Russia forced them by giving a statement of leaving the Non- Proliferation Treaty. It was not only Russia but the countries like England, France, Canada and Australia also supported India for exemption from NPT. These countries were aiming to grab a biggest market of India to trade nuclear technology. On the other hand, Pakistan was struggling to stabilize its economy and the market of Pakistan has low strength to bear the huge trade from these developed countries.⁴⁷

Another reason for not offering civil nuclear deal to Pakistan was an illegal transfer of nuclear technology by the Pakistani scientist AQ Khan. When this information was leaked that a notable Pakistani scientist delivered nuclear technology illegally to many aggressive security of Indian nuclear arsenals. Also, Pakistan was developing country but Pakistan's nuclear weapons were growing at face pace than India. The superpower states argued that the developing country with such a high ratio of nuclear technology can be fatal for future. So these countries ignored Pakistan's existence in the civil nuclear deal.⁴⁸ US-India civil nuclear deal impacted on Pakistan to change future policies. Pakistan showed the concerns on the agreed clauses of India-US nuclear deal. The clauses summarized that out of 22 Indian nuclear plant only 14 will be inspected. This was a loophole because remaining 8 nuclear plants can produce the weapons without any check and balance. India was also given a freedom of testing weapons for security but these weapons testing were pointing out the danger for Pakistan security. India was freed from Non- Proliferation Treaty and will be able to trade nuclear technology for any purpose. The US was also supporting India in building nuclear plants for strengthening nuclear technology use. Pakistan argued on the balance of security strength in South Asia because such transfer of one sided nuclear technology can ruin the peace of other country.⁴⁹ Not only Pakistan but China also showed concerns regarding the civil nuclear deal between US and India. China was doubted that this deal was to overcome the impact of China on South Asia and their markets. The weakening of Pakistan was never in the favor of China so to balance the situation China signed the nuclear trade pacts with Pakistan. China implemented the same clauses of transferring the nuclear material, building of nuclear plants, and supporting to test the weapons for security.⁵⁰ This China-Pakistan nuclear deal balances the situation and also targets the plans of India for using the civil nuclear

⁴⁷Saira Bano, Pakistan: "Lessons from the India-US Nuclear Deal," *The Diplomat*, (June 22, 2015).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹Sitara Noor, "Ten Years Of The Indo-U.S. Civilian Nuclear Agreement: Implications For Pakistan," *South Asian Voices*, (October 31, 2018).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

deal against Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

The above discussion summarized that there were many ups and downs in the relations of the United States and India. But the same nature of democracy patched their relations at many moments. The main reasons of bitter relations between US-India were ban on India because of nuclear test, Pakistan support from US on many issues including Kashmir, hated crimes against India, snatching of Indian special trade status and judgment against Indian diplomat. On other hand there were many joyful moments between India-US relations which were US technology for increasing crop yield, US support India in lunar mission, US support India against terrorist attacks, US stance to grow bilateral co-operation, US trust of India in Afghanistan matter, US aid in educational and developmental sectors, and civil nuclear deal. The deals between US-India did not impact at all instead of some notable ones. The civil nuclear deal was most concerning for Pakistan and the defense pacts between the US and India was also alarming for Pakistan. The concerns of Pakistan against US-India deals were fair because both India and Pakistan were nuclear states. The relations between India and Pakistan were also tightened so in this situation these deals were fatal for Pakistan. These deals can also disturbed the balance of power in South Asia.

BOOK REVIEWS:

Book	<i>Afghan Hindus and Sikhs: History of A Thousands Years.</i>
Author	Inderjeet Singh
Language	English
ISBN	9789385854385
Year of Publication	2019
Pages	270
Publisher	Readomania
Reviewed by	Akhtar Husain Sandhu & Adnan Tariq

Although Inderjeet Singh is a UK-based banker but he has dedicated his life to the scholarly activities regarding Sikh studies. Book under review is indeed an innovative addition in the Sikh studies. It is innovative in a sense as we come across no such work in the wider scholarship on the history of Sikh and Hindus settled beyond main land India. This books also sheds light on the Transoxiana links of the Sikhs and Hindus since the start of second millennium. Writer has tried his best to use the primary sources of contemporary nature. Almost all the sources are written in Persian and Arabic which obviously shows the granted objectivity as all those sources were produced by the Muslims. *Siyasat namah, Hudud Al Alam, Tarikh e Sabuktigin, Tabakat-e-Akbarai, Tarikh-e-Guzida, Risalat ul Ghufran, Malfuzat-e-Timuri, Zafarnama, Baburnama*, are works of Muslims in contemporary historians, travelers and court recorder.

The starting part of this book is about the current status of Sikhs and Hindus reside in modern day Afghanistan. Then in an amazing manner writer tries to explore what happened to their community who had a long rooted relationship with the Afghanistan and also counted in far more numerical strength then they are having at this current juncture of history. Main narrative of the book starts by constructing their histories from as early as the times of Shahi Dynasty, the first of the centralized state making forces across Indus valley. From that time period the author evolved through all the invasions, conquests and different dynasties by keeping in special attention the existence of Hindus and Sikhs community with all the possible historical background and backdrops. The book is meticulously researched and simply written, facts being presented with absolutely no bias. The author offers some of his own perspective, telling a tale of Hindus and Sikhs who have lived in the area for generations and who belong there, but he is careful to not mar history with his personal perspectives.

By producing this work writer has indeed extended a great service for

Afghan Sikh and Hindu community. This book records all the history (ies) of a Hindus and Sikhs with the help of contemporary sources of Arabic and Persian writers. According to writer the Hindus and Sikhs were indigenous to this area of afghans thus they should not be considered as migrants or alien settlers. Rather their existence in those lands was same like other communities living in those areas at those times. This is a new claim which definitely need further academic research inquiry. But as far as the scope and method of this book is concerned writer has substantiated his claim with maximum available primary sources. This usage of primary sources made this book a noteworthy claim for the professional academic researcher. By saying this it could be asserted that upcoming generations of the historians would find it suffice to construct this substance into far more mature academic pursuits. This is going open new avenue into investigating Sikhs and Hindus histories apart from the main land of India.

This book is a great read filled with amazing historical facts, stories, plural traditions in medieval times and a general overview about the lives and experiences of Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan. This is a much needed addition to the array of works that over the years have come out on Afghanistan. The author has highlighted the dwindling numbers of Sikhs who formed a visible part of Afghanistan where the founder of the sect too had traveled and the author has compiled a list of Gurdwaras that once existed there. It is a landmark book which has also documented and analyzed the atrocities committed during the Taliban period of Afghanistan which damaged Hindus and Sikhs to the utmost limit. All in all a great work for readers of histories of the region and those seeking their roots severed by their ancestors in this volatile region from where they emanated and evolved in the medieval period of this region with all of turmoil. .

In this book author has deployed a systematic method of a wide range of information and sources about the origin of Hindus and Sikhs in this particular region. A clearly structured and written in simple language, this book provides amazing insights into the glorious past of this distinct community in afghan lands. This research is aimed at locating maximum details of the origin and historical evolution of the Afghan Hindus and Sikhs. It also bring into fore another novel dimension which tells us that these Afghan Hindus and Sikhs are an indigenous people and not recent settlers. Before this book, a superficial and prejudiced historiography had marginalized and denies native origin to Afghan Sikhs and Hindus. According to this version of history afghan Hindus and Sikhs were brought to Afghanistan as slaves by Mahmud Ghaznavi in the 11th century, or later when they fled Babur's territory in the 13th century. Inderjeet Singh has successfully challenges this historical construction and dismantled it with expertise. According to this new constructed history it emerges that Hindus worked in responsible positions under the Ghaznavi rulers in the 11th and 12th centuries, serving as

physicians, important court officials, and even army generals. Author also tries to search the status of Sikhs in 16th century. During this century the Sikh religion emerged and spread as Guru Nanak travelled and preached in Afghan Area.

By doing complete justice to its title, this book explains about existence of Afghan Hindu and Sikh community into lands of Afghanistan from Shahi times to current history. Highlighting the culture, traditions and many more things. The authors traced the histories with the ample usages of references from multiple historical accounts. This quality made this book a worthy read for students of history and general reader alike. The book has filled an essential gap in my knowledge for the broader audience of those who don't know about the erstwhile existence of Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan for many years. This book brings in to light the historical fact that Hindus and Sikhs had played an important role in the history of Afghanistan for many centuries.

Book	<i>Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857–1964.</i>
Author	Aziz Ahmad
Language	English
ISBN	9789385854385
Year of Publication	1967
Pages	294
Publisher	New York: Oxford University Press
Reviewed by	Adnan Tariq

Professor Aziz Ahmad (1913-1978) was a prolific novelist, translator, short story writer, researcher and historian. He produced master pieces for Urdu fiction literature such as *Aisi Balandi Aisi Pasti* (1948), translated by Ralph Russel as *The Shore and the Wave* (1972). He had command over eight languages including Urdu, English, French, German Arabic, Persian, Italian, Turkish, so he started his writing career as fiction writer and translator in Urdu language. After writing two Urdu novels such as *Hawas* and *Mar Mar Aur Khoon*, he translated three works as Absen's drama *Great Builder* (Mahmar e Azam), Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Tarbia e Khudawandi) and Aristotle's *Poetica* (Botica). He left Urdu fiction writing in 1957 and started to study civilization and thought of Muslim deeply. He wrote many essays and books about Muslim history and civilization in English language regularly. His notable books were in that context such as, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, *Muslim Self Statement in India and Pakistan*, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India and History of Islamic Sicily*. Aziz Ahmad's book, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan* is consisted of sixteen chapters including introduction and conclusion which cover the era of 107 years during 1857-1964 about Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan.

This book named *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan* was written in order to introduce the western students the milestones of religious and political thought in Muslim India from 1857 to 1964. It deals with individual thinkers and their works. It discusses the problem of Islamic Law which shapes political institutions by rejecting external influence and only confines itself to the four traditional sources including *Quran*, *Hadis*, *Ijima*, and *Qiyas*. Main chapters throw light on the long struggle between modernism and orthodoxy during above mentioned period. The real challenge came to face by the traditionalist after the devastating consequences of the Mutiny of 1857-58. It is of more value in term of its untraditional approach towards the Post-Mutiny era. In that era we would see the emergence of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as person of broader vision aimed at bringing a rapprochement about the incoming influx British System of epistemology. This book comprehensively provided information about his

biographical details, Occidentalism, education and culture, books, history, theological speculation, and comparative religion. Three personalities were discussed in this chapter such as Chiragh Ali who was radical, anti – traditionalist modern Muhsin Al-Mulk, and Mumtaz Ali who was supporter of feminist movement in sub-continent.

Historiography is one such domain which had tried to clarify and confuse at the same time, many contours of the Muslims responses to the modernity in British India. In order to map those contours, Aziz Ahmad had presented the study in the selection of three prominent personalities of letters, which were also a kind of ideologue to the respected sphere of influence. Three main figures including Shibli Numani, Syed Amir Ali, and Altaf Hussain Hali were also discussed in it. All three were very important for constructing approaches to Islamic history in South Asia. This book deals with three principal centers of theological education in 19th century Muslim India such as Shah Wali Allah in Delhi, Farangi Mahal at Lucknow, and seminary of Khayrabad. First focused on the teaching of Quranic Tafsir and Ahadis, second emphasized on rationalism and jurisprudence, which is counter balanced by a proclivity for mysticism. Khayrabad School had specialized in the studies of medieval Islamic philosophy and logic. It expressed the journey of glory and decline of Ottoman Empire during 54 years, how historically developed relation between Ottoman Empire and sub-continent and penetrated Ottoman influenced Islam into India.

With the start of twentieth century, British India also entered into a new realm of broader political change. In that changed scenario, Muslim political thoughts showed different tilts for the mainstream Muslims. In that very peculiar perspective Aziz Ahmad has made study of Muhammad Iqbal as a poet, philosopher, and political thinker who dominated Islamic religious and political thought in the 20th century as did Sir Syed Ahmad in the nineteenth century. Iqbal's main contribution was the enlargement of the scope and authority of *Ijma*. Iqbal dissociated politics from nationalism and tried to correlate it with religion and culture. It also highlighted Iqbal's views about socialism. He also criticized Karl Marx's philosophy especially regarding God and religion. He stressed to establish Islamic (Quranic) state which could not be established yet. Iqbal adopted or influenced of Renan theory into his political thought which leading towards ideology of Pakistan. He saw a dream of Pakistan at his Allahabad's address and finally molded Jinnah from secular to religious approach through correspondence.

Aziz Ahmad also praised Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the two nation theory. Jinnah showed his qualities as a political leader in Lucknow Pact in 1916. He emerged as a national leader after it. He played a vital role in 14 points, round table conferences, Congress Ministries, and two Nation Theory or Lahore resolution etc. and reached his destination on 14 August 1947. It elaborated Abul Kalam Azad's

philosophy about one nation (nationalism), religion, and comparison with Iqbal's philosophy in details. He complemented certain aspects of Iqbal's religious thought but differed with Iqbal's approach to exegesis of the Quran and understanding of the relationship between God and man. Iqbal mainly focused with last two sources such as *Ijtihad* and *Ijma*. He regarded as the principal human as distinguished from revelation or Ahadis, instruments of legal evolution. Both in the interpretation of Iqbal bear the stamp of 20th century. On other hand, Abul Kalam Azad replaced *Ijtihad* with *Tasis*(reconsolidation) and used a classical term *Sawad-e-Azam* for *Ijma*. He presented a comparison between Quran and Bible and constructed the idea of one Nation. Unlike Iqbal, his intellectual training was basically traditionalist. AbulKalam Azad's philosophy about Muslim Indian politics was apart from Iqbal. He was conversely champion composite nationalism as the political counterpart of religious universalism and as a political substitute of the older universal pan-Islamism. He believed in humanism than partition. In 1910s he was staunch believer of independent of united India but after 1920 he changed his stance about Hindu –Muslim unity. He stressed that Muslim cooperated with Hindus but on conditional basis. Moulana Hussain Ahmad Madni repeated his philosophy but Iqbal strongly condemned it.

This book also deals with the theories of three Islamic socialist scholars including Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi, Moulana Hifz ul Rahman Sewharwi, and Khalifa Abd al-Hakim. All these theories have created a make-believe mythology of communism as well as of Islam, which is unscientific and contrary to the sequence and logic of history. They have read into Islam affinities with Marxism that have never been there. Mawdudi's religio-political organization, the Jamaat-I Islami was the big challenge in the way of modernizing Pakistan which is based on his revivalist writings and well-knit monolithic preaching. His philosophy was totally against Iqbal's philosophy. He also opposed first stance of Madni and of the Deoband Ulama and later the Pakistan movement denouncing its secular –minded leadership. His philosophy or ideology completely derived from Quran's teaching and he also established a code of life on it. According to his philosophy, Islam is the name of God's will which creates laws of nature. He condemned women freedom, source of entertainment such as cinema, music etc. He finally entered into politics by establishing his own political organization Jamaat-I Islami. He opposed both Jinnah and Azad's political stances. Later he rejected the Pakistan movement and Jinnah's model of Pakistan.

This writer tells the readers about Parwiz's life, philosophy, neo-modernism and other liberal trends. According to author Ghulam Ahmad Pervaiz was the exact antithesis of Maulana Mawdudi. Both were fundamentalists regarding the foundation religious, political, and economic systems they proposed for Islamic society in Pakistan was based on their understanding of the Quran. He built up a

new exegetic technique to explain Quranic chapter and verse in modernist terms. His philosophy was based on rational approach than religion. He opposed Islam by establishing his own philosophy influenced by the West. He created line between *mazhab* and *din*. He became very popular among all anti-Muslim scholars. He used Azad's view in his emphasis on aesthetics. He supported liberalism and opposed Mawdudi's orthodoxy regarding women and sources of entertainment. He criticized Iqbal's concept of *khudi* with *rububiyyat*. He created a role model society on the basis of *wahi*. He rejected the philosophy of socialism. He supported Locke's a good government model which can be based on divine law to some extent. He also rejected Iqbal's identification of *Ijma* with the popular will. He told the living style of a common man in his model. Ghulam Jilani Barq was philosophically very close to Parwaiz. His work was for middle classes and possibly rural gentry in West Pakistan. He believed that there are two Qurans, the one revealed to Muhammad (PBUH) in word, the other created as nature.

Aziz Ahmad deals with the dilemma of modernism and orthodoxy in Pakistan. Interestingly most of the Muslim ulama from Deoband were against the idea of Pakistan but on other side the secular –minded leaders including Jinnah fought for the achievement of Pakistan. They did not merely struggle for political and economic self-determination of the Muslims majority provinces but for an indeterminate concept of an Islamic state. It threw light on Lahore resolution, two basic principles committee reports , issue of Ahmadis, constitutions of 1956 and 1962, Family law ordinance of 1961, martial law regime and its reforms, presidential election of 1965. It also highlighted that how politicians created space for religious leaders for gaining their political gain? How religious influence increased in the state affairs? Aziz Ahmad gave answers these questions and highlighted the role of religious scholars such as Shabeer Ahmad Usmani and Mawdudi in this context.

The last phase of the book starts with evolution of ulama of Deoband and liberal modernists including Azad, Mohammad Tufayl, after partition this trend was intensified in the work of Husain Ahmad Madni, Muhammad Mian, Ubaid Ullah Sindhi and Tipu Sultan. It mainly explained the philosophy of three scholars including Said Ahmad Akbarabadi, A.A.A. Fayzee and Dr Abid Husain. Said Ahmad Akbarabadi presented a synthesis of Deoband and Aligarh as Mahmud al-Hassan had envisaged in 1912. He described nationalism as distinct and different term as defined in western political science. He strongly believed that Islamic scholars interpret Quranic teaching according to new trends. His main focus was to raise the status of slaves by rejecting much of modernist apologetics on such questions as slavery. A.A.A. Fayzee emphasized on the rudiments of religious pluralism in Azad's thought which constituted the basis of his own modernism. He believed that the central message of the Quran will last longer than its language. He

recommended to study of modern western and Indian religious humanists, like Barth, Tillich, Kierkegaard, and Radha Krishnan as well as the western disciplines of sociological and linguistic research to assess the phenomena of growth and interaction of religious and historical process. He rejected the apologetics of Aligarh school and recommended the formulation of exegetical criteria that would differentiate between the literal and the poetic truth of the Quran's cosmological verses. Dr Abid Husayan discussed cultural aspect of Indian Muslims in this context. He tells that Muslim did not participate in the cultural growth of India that will assume the shape of an absolute pessimism leading to apathy and stagnation so that in the end they would become an economic and cultural dead weight hanging around India's neck. He also talked about the importance of Urdu language for Muslim community.

Aziz Ahmad started to conclude his debate with remarks of Wilfred Cantwell smith as is a sense that something has gone wrong with Islamic history. The fundamental problem of modern Muslim is how to rehabilitate that history. This feeling dominated the religious and political thought of Muslim India for over a century. As interaction increased between India and West, Sir Syed Ahmad played a significant role in editing the tradition of Western scholarship into medieval chronicles but he missed the opportunity by defending Islam against Sir William Muir as lost his balance of historical objectivity and turned to imaginative apologetics equally unacceptable to orientalist abroad and traditionalist at home. Sir Syed Ahmad was not an historian but both Shibli Naumani and Syed Ameer Ali arrived at distinct and different conclusions on the crucial problem of the situation of Islam in history. The interpretation of Islamic history remained relatively simpler in theological terms. The entire process of Islamic history was a continuous decline from the perfection of the golden age of the Prophet. Author summarized all the chapters with the help of debating on different theologian and modern Muslim scholars' theories by highlighting their similarities and dissimilarities including Shah Wali Allah, Sir Syed Ahmad, Shibli Naumani, Syed Ameer Ali, Chiragh Ali, Allama Iqbal, Azad, Mawdudi, and Ghulam Ahmad Parwaiz etc. Aziz concluded his conclusion on Gibb's optimistic note: Islam cannot deny its foundations and in its foundations. Islam belongs to and is an integral part of the large western society. It is the complement and counterbalance to European civilization nourished at the same springs, breathing the same air. In the broadest aspect of history, what is now happening between Europe and Islam is the reintegration of western civilization, artificially, sundered at the renaissance and now reasserting its unity with overwhelming force.

Aziz Ahmad's seminal work offered upcoming writers to write or research in that stream of knowledge. He opened up a new vista of scholarship in that context. I. H. Qureshi wrote a book *Ullema in Pakistan* (1985) that was greatly

impressed by Dr Ayub Qadri's work. Both nationally and internationally scholars who increased a lot in it by giving their inputs such as David Gilmartin's *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (1988), Mujib Ahmad's *Jamiyyat Ulama-i- Pakistan: 1948-1979*, Sara Ansari's *Sufi Saints and State Power* (1992). The author mostly relied on first-hand information that maintained the novelty and authentication of the book. He also consulted sources of other languages than Urdu and English for instance Fazl al-Haqq Khayrabadi's memoirs which were written in Arabic. His views were influenced by medieval rationalist trends. In that way this book provides understanding about evolution of Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan and such figures that played vital role in it.

Book	<i>Language and Politics in Pakistan</i>
Author	Tariq Rahman
Language	English
ISBN	978-0195776928
Year of Publication	1996
Pages	344
Publisher	Oxford University Press, Karachi
Reviewed by	Hasan Rai

Dr. Tariq Rahman is widely published scholar on linguistic history, language politics, educational and sociolinguistics. He has written five books and more than ninety research articles to his credit. He was the first incumbent of the Pakistan Chair at the University of California, Berkeley and also a Fulbright fellow at the University of Texas, Austin. He also writes book reviews and contributes columns to the English press in Pakistan. His under reviewed book entitled *Language and Politics in Pakistan* describes a link between language and politics in Pakistan. It deals with issues of identity, language planning, and English-language hegemony. It examines the history of British language policies, the Urdu-Hindi controversy, and the role in identity formation of the Bengali, Pashto, Balochi, Sindhi, Punjabi, and Siraiki language movements in this well researched book. The author argued that political dominance is the integral factor regarding conflict about language. He constructed two major opposing camps for supporting his argument such as the Pakistani nationalists and the ethno-nationalists that differ so much, so communication is impossible between them. There is no understanding of each other's position. They evoke conspiracy theories against each other. Pakistani nationalists assert that the ethno-nationalists who support the multi-nationality thesis of which the language movements are an expression, are the enemies of Pakistan that they want to break up the country on foreign agenda countries like as India, Afghanistan, and the former Soviet Union etc.

On the other hand, the ethno-nationalists argues that the Punjabi ruling elite in collaboration with the *mohajir* elite and co-opted members from other ethnic groups, have deliberately conspired to practice internal colonialism. They rule the periphery, the provinces with non-Punjabi majorities in the name of Islam and Pakistani country. They supported Urdu for imposing on the whole country. The consequence of this policy they argue that the exploitation of their sources to increase the wealth of the Punjab; the perpetual subordination of their people to the dominance of the Punjab and the disappearance of their indigenous cultures and languages. Non Punjabi provinces exchange the British colonialism for Punjabi and in the cultural sphere Mohajir-colonialism. Here brief summaries of the chapters are under below as the second chapter defines key concepts and theories such as

language planning, its connection with power and politics, identity construction and ethnicity and language. The next two chapters deal with the British language policies and linguistic imperialism. He presented the data of such events of conflict between supporter of classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian and Anglicizes who supported English for elite and contemporary vernacular languages. Rahman argues that imperialism regarding imposing the British culture as part of moral duty- the white men's burden. The fifth chapter provides detail account on Urdu-Hindi controversy that it was wrong, Sir Syed Ahmad wanted separate homeland for the Muslim only on language but the other factors such as ethnicity, power and domination over its culture and social and political perspectives in this context. The chapter six is crucial for understanding identity construction. It outlines how linguistic identity replaced religious identity in East Bengal and how this relates to an anti- hegemonic movement against perceived internal colonialism.

Next six chapters from seven to twelve are about vernacular language movements such as Sindhi, Pashto, Siraiki, Punjabi, and Balochi languages. Rahman says that the only language movement which appears to be solely about these extra –rational in tangible is the Punjabi language movement. It reacts to the subordination of the Punjabi identity to the national Pakistan identity by the powerful Punjabi ruling elite. In supporting English and Urdu, this elite has marginalized Punjabi. This helps the elite to consolidate its rule over the provinces, but at the cost of keeping the Punjabis ashamed of their language. The elite ignores the Punjabi language movement more than any other language movements in the country. The last chapter of the book explains that English is also the vehicle of western culture, this dominance of English is described as linguistic and cultural imperialism. Rahman concedes that English is necessary for advancement in the modern world, but is frustrated that English remains the preserve of the elite and helps it to maintain its hegemony over the less privileged. In the past it was Persian that was the language of the elite, of power, of courts of governments and now it is English language.

Rahman's book is an authoritative account of languages in Pakistan. It is full of sources within the text and has an impressive bibliography and index that are truly helpful to anyone wanting to uncover the truth. The book's organization makes for readability, with its summaries and conclusions at strategic points. He attempts to cover a vast span of time and space within one volume, used mostly published evidence and also some new materials from each of major linguistic units and meticulous research.
