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**Centre for Research and Development
Faculty of Social Sciences**



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JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht

Editor In-Chief

It is a matter of great honor and dignity for me and my team that by your (National and International) fabulous and continuous cooperation we are able to present our Research Journal, "Journal of Professional Research in Social Sciences, Vol. 2, No.2, Winter 2015, is in your hands. The Center has made every effort to improve the quality and standard of the paper, printing and of the matter. I feel honored to acknowledge your generous appreciation input and response for the improvement of the Journal. I offer my special thanks to

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JPRSS has the following precious treasury in its safer and most respected place. We take it as a Jewel of honor in the Crown of JPRSS.

Prof. Dr. Rukhsana David

Thank You very much for sharing the journal of Professional Research of your University. I must congratulate you for the efforts made by all who made it possible to produce this. I am sure your journal will be an added resource for our students.

Prof. Dr. Parveen Shah

I intend to record my cordial thanks for sending Journal of Professional Research in Social Sciences: Blind Peer Reviewed Journal, Published by Center for Research and Development, Faculty of Social Sciences, Minhaj University Lahore.

It is worth mentioning that this journal covers the multidimensional aspects of research in social sciences. The Advisory Board both national and international level are well reputed. I am optimistic that the research contribution of Minhaj University will be highly appreciated in future in various fields for professional development.

The layout/title page, reference and research material is also up to the mark.

Rear Admiral (Retd)

Engr. Prof. Dr. Sarfraz Hussain, TI(M), SI(M)

It was indeed a pleasure to receive the third issue of the “Journal of Professional Research in Social Sciences”. It has been placed in the Central Library of the University. Being an excellent publication. This shall be a valuable addition in our library. Thank you very much for remembering us. I pray for the Minhaj University Lahore to continue excelling.

Prof. Dr. M. Aslam Khan

This is to Acknowledge the receipt of the Journal entitled “Journal of Professional Research in Social Science Vol. 02 No. 01, Summer 2015” The journal has been entered into library record vide CN. No. 4822 and placed in the periodical Section. I appreciate your efforts in this regard and hope that students and faculty members will get maximum benefit from this valuable journal.

Mr. Tariq Hashmi

On behalf of SZABIST, I would like to thank you for your generous and valuable donation of Journal of Professional Research in Social Sciences Vol. 02 No. 01, 2015 for our library and HOD's. I think it will be a great and valuable addition in our library and will be beneficial for our students and faculty.

Please keep our institute on your mailing list in future for further assistance in this regard.

Dr. Abdul Salam

I am directed to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of copy of third issue of the “Journal of Professional Research in Social Sciences” Vol. 02, 01, received under letter No.MUL/CRD/03-45 dated: 08-08-2017 addressed to the Vice Chancellor, Gandhara University, Peshawar.

The efforts of Minhj University Lahore is playing very important role in the Development of Research Culture in students and staff of the national and international University which is highly appreciated, hope to achieve success in promoting Professional Research in the emerging field of Academic & Practical nature to contribute for strengthening of Education and Technology based Pakistan.

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A VISIONARY OF PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

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SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**Vol. 02, No.02
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Manuscript Preparation

Manuscript must be typed in English language. The text format has to be in Times New Roman with 12 font and 1.5 line spacing. Papers may be organized in the following order: **Abstract, Introduction, Materials and Methods/ Methodology, Discussion, Conclusion and References in APA Format--6th Edition.** Headings should also be in Times New Roman with 12font (bold). The abstract should be in between 150 to 200 words and the length of the paper should be around 5000 to 6000 words. The references should be written only in the shape of footnotes. However, the font size of the footnotes is 10 in Times New Roman

**JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL RESEARCH IN
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Volume 02, No. 02 Winter, 2015

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Written By: Prof. Dr. Tahir-Ul-Qadri

Reviewed By: Miss Ammara Tabassum

The Editor's Note

The Centre for Research and Development feels immensely elated in bringing out Vol. 02, No. 02 issue of “Journal of Professional Research in Social Sciences”, winter 2015. Editorial Board owes a lot to the reputed researchers, practitioners and academicians who have exerted their utmost in contributing their wisdom-packed and soul-inspiring articles. These writings encompass a rich diversity of debatable issues confronting Pakistan as well as other South Asian Countries. Their holistic analytical approach would widen the mental horizon and cognitive insight into the grave challenges of horrible dimensions.

Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht's article “Pakistan's External Strategic Interest” vividly focuses on the serious issue of a comprehensive peace plan in Middle East and the role of Gulf States. He unveils the bitter hard core of truth that Israel is the only state that does not want to restore and stabilize peace in the Middle East. He concludes that peace cannot be maintained until and unless respectable terms are granted to the Arab States. Stronger Gulf States can ensure the enduring peace in the Middle East.

Prof. Muhammad Yousaf Malik's article highlights the attrition of the indigenous classical Pehari Language in Soon Skesar Valley under the adverse impact of Linguistic imperialism. The

study ascertains that the prevalent linguistic plight of the Pehari Classical Language may lead to its extinction in the years ahead.

Mrs. Sajida's article entitled "Pak-Afghan Relations in the Perspective of War on Terrorism" brings to light the inescapable dilemma of strained bilateral links between the two Muslim neighbours. The increasing role of India in Afghanistan has transformed the Afghan transition process into a complex one.

Dr. Zahoor Ahmed and Mr. Munib Khalid's article is an interesting case study of socio-political culture of the Punjab. It uncovers the characteristics of various castes which deeply impacted the life style of the local people and the cultural perspective.

Fida Hussain's article is a pithy discourse on ethnic cleansing, especially of the Hazaras in 19th Century. The Hazaras are Turko-Mongol by their origin and predominantly reside in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. These people are considered the most persecuted ethnic groups on the global earth.

PAKISTAN'S EXTERNAL STRATEGIC INTEREST (Focus on Gulf States)

(Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht)*

Abstract

Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht's Article captioned "Pakistan External Strategic Interest (Focus on Global States)" sheds light on the deep impact of black gold of the Middle East on the world scenario. Horrible fire storm of the oil has started hitting even the strongest economy of the rich countries. America's gold dream of oil flow from Iraq has shattered. In the prevalent crucial set-up in the Middle East the U.S.A will have to be cautious in finding a way out to settle the Palestinian issue amicably. Israel would have to come to respectable terms with the Arab states. It poses a constant threat to these states. She prefers to stage the police role especially in the area of 'Black Gold'. Degrading attitude of Israel is the major cause of retaliation and conflict in the region. Moreover, Iran has strained relationship with the U.S.A The nuclear Iran is a constant threat to the Americans as far as Pakistan's external strategic policy is concerned, it aims to promote enduring peace in the Middle East.

INTRODUCTION

* Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht, serving as Chairman Department of Political Science and IR, Minhaj University Lahore

Middle East has become heap of fire or a live volcano burning and throwing fire constantly. This fire storm is not only burning the lands and people of Middle East rather it is spreading rapidly to the entire globe. The missile of BLACK GOLD is hitting the international economy to a larger scale. The strongest economies and currencies are in the direct target of the oil. Not only the larger economies rather even the life of common men in the states like the USA is largely affected. The media in US is raising the voice that the rise in oil prices is directly reaching the lives of the common men. Their daily life is changing, their calculations for the daily routine matters and the vacation are this much affected that they are holding the head and saying what has happened. Actually Bush and company had given them a dream that the possession on the oil resources of Iraq would bring **Ease** and **Comfort** for them but the situation has swung to the other side. The oil prices not only crossed the psychological barrier of 100\$ rather it is strolling on 140\$ and looking at the figure of 200\$. Hence the golden dreams where oil was flowing from Iraq are altogether changed. Iran is also not tamed by the threats of attack and the limitations by the International organizations, rather Ahmedi has shown firmness in reply, even in the near future there are no signs of any kind

of flexibility in the Iranian attitudes. Afghanistan and Taliban are also not giving the pleasing signals to Bush administration. The Taliban concentrations are also posing potent threats for the occupant forces in Afghanistan. Obama is critical about the Bush administration policies in Afghanistan and Middle East. Many changes are likely if Obama finds a way to the **White House**. Ahmedi has very clearly announced that he is not ready to step back from the Iranian stand on Nuclear Program, and, further, if Israel ventures to attack the nuclear installations of Iran, very unpleasant taste will be given to US and Israel.

In this situation what can be the solution of the intricate problem of Middle East, or what can be the policy options for US to handle the fire storm of Middle East? US will have to move to a point, where the Palestinian problem, to the mass satisfaction of Arab states, has to be resolved. In the first instance, Israel will have to waive the white flag of peace for the Arabs by vacating their lands and handing over the possession to their real owners, then the response of the Arab states will be also friendly, and, the situation will gradually ease down. The use of power against Iran will further worsen the situation. The Arab states are already thinking in terms of strengthening their defense, as, they have seen the case of Iraq.

FOCUS

The focus of this paper will remain on the problem of Middle East especially with reference to the Prospects of a Comprehensive Peace in Middle East and the Role of Gulf States. The comprehensive peace in the Middle East can only be restored with grant of respectable terms to the Arab States, as, they are feeling humiliated at the hands of Israel on many occasions. It is very much understandable even for an average student of Politics and International Relations that Israel is the only state in the Gulf having potent potentials of war. That, Israel can wage war against any of the Gulf states and no Gulf state has the capacity of defense against Israeli attack. Comprehensive peace in Middle East cannot be maintained unless the confidence is restored to Gulf States.

WORRIES OF THE GULF STATES

The worries of the Gulf States may be observed as under:

➤ Israel is the only power holder in the Middle East, it has the capacity of doing anything to any state, the military power of Israel threatens all the gulf states and they have sufficient reasons to apprehend that their very sovereignty is at the mercy of US and Israel.

- Israel has posed serious threats to the sovereignty and existence of the Gulf States on many occasions, Israel, whenever desires has the capacity to march over the Gulf States.
- Israel has the military potentials backed by the US power. US has always supported Israel even at the cost of the Gulf States. It has created a sense of insecurity in the Gulf.
- Gulf States have no reliable defense system as Israel has. Israeli defense is US backed, Europe also provides large scale military support to the Israeli forces. This element creates a sense of insecurity and non confidence in the Gulf.
- Gulf States though have very friendly relations with the European States and US but still, Israel is the watch dog of the US and European interests in the region. Israel plays the Police Role in the area of Black Gold. Practically she is the guardian of the interests of the west.
- The Gulf States are rich in the oil resources, but, the management of these resources is in the hands of the Western Powers, thus, they take themselves as alien with reference to their own resources.
- The deposits of the Gulf States are chiefly in the hands of the Western managed banks, and, nothing is in their own hands. Therefore, they rely upon them even for their financial

needs, It is absolutely in the hands of the West, whenever, they wish, they can confiscate everything. It creates a sense of insecurity in the Gulf States.

➤ The Gulf States are backward in terms of Education and Technology, they have spent the resources on the non – developmental projects and given no adequate attention to the sectors of education, science and technology. Consequently, they are lagging behind in every aspect of life. Practically speaking they are living at the mercy of the West. Their own local people are not in the front line, rather in the top five lines they are missing. This is the chief reason that Israel is in the stronger position.

➤ Israel speaks the language of power, humiliating the Arabs, and thus causes frustration in them. Israel never takes the Arabs on the equal footing. This attitude causes retaliation and conflict in the region.

CASE OF IRAN

** Case of Iran is altogether different, wherein, not only the education rate is high, rather in the fields of science and technology they are far ahead of the Gulf States. Up till Shah they were close ally of US and the West but after the **Islamic Revolution**, the situation is absolutely changed, US and West take Iran as a potent threat to their security.

** Israel who always dances on the US tunes has the clash of interests with Iran, so, both Iran and Israel remain at daggers drawn with each other. “Analyst at the US Defense Department, citing major military exercises carried out by Tel Aviv said that Israel is getting ready to attack Iran’s nuclear facilities.” (Dawn June 21, 2008)

** The New York Times as cited by Dawn on 21-06-08, quoted some experts as saying that the Israeli exercise appeared to be an effort to develop the military capacity to carry out long range strikes and to demonstrate the alarm with which the Jewish state sees Iran’s nuclear program.

***“More than 100 Israeli F - 16 and F -15 fighters participated in the maneuvers, which were carried out over the Eastern Mediterranean and over Greece during the first week of this month. The exercise also included helicopters that could be used to rescue downed pilots, the helicopters and refueling tankers flew more than 1500 KMS almost the same distance as between Israel and Iran’s uranium enrichment plant at Natanz.”

IRAN’S STRONG REPLY

➤ Iran is being reported as “Iran warns of **Strong Blow**, if any such attack is against Iran. “If enemies especially Israelis and their supporters in the US would want to use a language of force, they should rest assured that they will receive a strong blow in the mouth” (Dawn, June 21, 2008)

these words are very clear in the meaning and language. It can be easily understood what will happen if any adventure is being made by US backed Israel.

WHY A STRONG REPLY

If we analyze the language of the Iranian reply evidently it is due to the strength that Iran possesses and also that there is a long series of rift and tension between US and Iran on the **Nuclear Issue**. US after the Islamic Revolution in Iran has changed its stance on Iran, as, previously Iran was the closer ally of US but US never liked the Islamic developments in Iran. This is why US out rightly opposed Islamic Revolution at all the levels. It seems to be quite appropriate to have look at the brief history of US-Iran nuclear tension

Us Iran- Nuclear Tension-Historical Perspective

*** It will not be out of place here to give a view of the US-Iran nuclear tension from the window of history, because, the US- Iran nuclear tension is directly affecting the world at large and the high prices of oil are hitting the global economy, Pakistan being the closest neighbor and the Islamic ideological brother is the natural party of the situation and is receiving the impact politically financially and economically.

*** This situation has become a natural point of attraction for all the students of strategic studies in general and the decision makers in Pakistan in particular. To have a better understanding of the situation it will be more appropriate to

discuss the US tentative interests in the region as it will facilitate the understanding of the causes of the US involvement in this issue. However such list cannot be very comprehensive because the interests are always likely to be changed with the change of administration and change in administration in USA. The shuffling of interests and in the list of priorities may also change the interests. A brief list of the US interests can be prepared like this.

US INTERESTS IN THE REGION

The chief US interests in the region as I have repeatedly mentioned are:

**** Obviously the anti-American hostile elements are taken as a threat to US interests.**

**** Iran is the second largest oil producing and fourth largest oil export state, thus in US oil interests Iran occupies a very strategic position.**

**** Iran enjoys a geo-strategic significance in Middle East and can be more important being the direct neighbor of Iraq.**

**** The presence of strategic resources even increases the significance of Iran.**

**** Iran is alleged to be patronizing the anti -Israel and anti - American elements.**

** US believes that Iran is involved in the insurgencies in Iraq, thus the headache of Iraq is largely due to Iran.

**A nuclear Iran cannot be acceptable for US as Iran can be a potent threat to the security of Israel.

**A nuclear Iran can pose a potential threat to US lead forces in Afghanistan.

**A nuclear Iran can be substantial support for nuclear Pakistan, and these two forces may go against the US policies in the region.

**A nuclear Iran may be supportive to China against the US interests.

**A nuclear Iran can pose potential threat to the safe trafficking of Oil.

**The Islamic elements in Iran may function as a feeder to the international Islamic militant organizations.

**The power elements in Lebanon and Afghanistan are alleged to be supported by Iran.

**Iran a next-door neighbor to Pakistan can further fortify the extremist religious factors in Pakistan.

**The nuclear Iran may encourage the nuclearization in Syria or even in Indonesia or Malaysia.

**The economy of Iran may not be let growing as she has already a heap of foreign currency reservoirs, this is why the gas-pipe line with Pakistan and India is heavily opposed.

**The democratization of Iran and support to the secular elements is also considered in the US interest.

**Restoration of old strategic cooperative relations with Iran.

**The marine spots of Iran also invite US interests.

ANALYSIS

- After the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 the US perception about Iran is very unfriendly or even hostile and it is generally apprehended in US that an addition into the number of anti-American states in the region would be a serious threat to the US strategic interests as mini US Israel has unfriendly policies towards the neighboring states in general and Palestine in particular. Hence, US does not like to have the unfriendly fundamentalist and nuclear Iran at all.
- The analysis of these short listed US interests very clearly indicate the points of European interests in Iran as well because on these points US is seeking the cooperation from UK and other European states although China, Germany, France and Russia are not extending the required support to US and UK. But still US is chasing a policy of non-nuclear Iran.

- The political interests of the United States include a preference for supporting governments both democratic and undemocratic but sympathetic to the US global strategic interests, while instability of any kind is seen as bad and unacceptable for the United States. Stability according to the US standards is all the time desirable as it is presumed to be necessary for the protection of US interests as it can be conducive for the US presence in Afghanistan and Iraq where she has the intentions of longer stay. The seeking of constant stability for its own sake may be the common denominator in understanding the US interests in Iran
- The analysis of the US economic interests includes continued access to strategically significant raw materials which include Gas, Oil and other mineral resources. These vital interests involve the activities of US investors and traders, essentially the national interests and private interest. The US government takes the position that it is in their national interest to promote the size and volume of the private sector. Thus US economic interests are always accorded the priority of security and political interests. In an influence balance sheet on the US-Iran relations over 50 years, the US looks quite good in the early days of relationship as the US oil companies got a foot hold in the Iranian oil fields. Even US oil compulsions forced the US government to play a major role to finish the

Dr Mussadiq's government, and to put an end to the democratization in Iran by supporting Shah's undemocratic government Hence we may say that

The economic stakes of US in any state are of vital significance and the control of strategic materials by anti-American elements is always considered to be a threat to US existence. We can observe that the religious government in Iran is taken as the anti-US by the US policy makers thus it becomes a unit of concern from economic and strategic view point, and US is responding quite sharply to it.

US POLICY TARGETS

- We further observe that the US objectives in Iran remain revolving around firstly that the government of Iran should not gain sufficient strength by the political mobilization and external relations with other Muslim states and they should not come in good terms with her. Secondly, Iran should be permitted to use its strategic location to injure the US interests in the region and the global politics. Therefore, the policy targets remain the following,
- Iran should be prevented from developing capability to launch strategic weapons against US.

- Iran should not become capable of posing a nuclear threat to Israel or US.
- Iran should be stopped in the development of strategic resources.
- US should maintain safe access to oil rich Persian gulf.
- US threat in this region should be maintained, as it is essential for the protection of US interests.

IRAN-THE ONLY THREAT IN THE REGION

From the US view point Iran can be the only threat in the region, simply because there is no other state having the potential, capability and the courage to show eyes to US, therefore, Nuclear Iran can never be acceptable to the US.

US POLICY OPTIONS

US may go for the following policy options for the realization of the objectives discussed earlier

- * US may develop closer cooperation with the anti-Iranian elements and these units may be useful in weakening the Iranian strengths
- *US may adopt the direct approach and use the military and economic assistance to develop instability through Iranian dissidents and anti-Iranian revolutionary regimes, powers and groups, here the KHALQ's and pro-shah elements may be helpful.

- *The states which are receiving the direct threats from Iran may be provided assistance and military training along with defense hardware and software to enhance their defense capabilities.
- *The democratic elements may be encouraged inside Iran and they may be strengthened.
- *The Iranian government may be pushed in a corner of isolation, her cooperation with rest of the world in general and with neighboring states in particular may be checked
- *The propaganda against Iran may also be useful. The print and electronic media may be frequently used in this direction.

THE DETERIORATION OF US-IRAN RELEATION

** If we pass through the history of the last ten years of US Iran relations we observe that Iran had been much eager in the development of relations with US and the western world. President Khatimi's call for a positive and productive dialogue with the western world and the US was an aspect of the same desire.

** Clinton gave the response that, "I was quite encouraged by Mr. Khatimi's statement that it would like nothing better than to have a dialogue with Iran, as long as we can have an honest discussion of all the relevant issues." It came as a pleasant surprise to the US administration and the congress wished to modify the existing policy.

** It signaled a new willingness to end almost two decades of mutual animosity. Moreover, Khatimi's historic address to the American people on the CNN stirred a mixed feeling both in Tehran and Washington, but with an optimistic overtone, despite cautious reactions, both sides were almost agreeable to initiate the peace process, which could be the dawn of a new era in US-IRAN relations.

** But it could not be matured due to the change of government in US which caused a new controversy between the two. This was transformed into cold war after the incident of 9/11 when President Bush declared Iran a part of the "Axis of Evil" and started talking in terms of the use of military against Iran. Such US statements increased the tension and the Iranian leadership also changed the tone. In this situation Iran considered the nuclear program vital for her security on the other hand US and her allied forces started mounting pressure against Iran to stop the nuclear program.

** US further declared Iranian nuclear program as a threat to the global peace. US is receiving failures in Iraq and Afghanistan which is bringing humiliations for her, here US took it appropriate to open new fronts against Iran to divert the attention of her masses.

** In this scenario US kept on pressurizing Iran for her alleged involvement in international terrorism and its program for acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. However it is pertinent to note that unlike its neighbors, Israel, India and Pakistan, which have neither signed the NPT, Iran has signed the chemical weapons convention and the biological weapons convention.

** The language of the Article IV of the NPT recognized Iran's inalienable right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in this regard to acquire equipment, materials and scientific or technological information. The Iranian government has maintained time and again that it is only committed to nuclear technology and not to weapons.

** But herein, the US and the allies are of the opinion that the ability to develop nuclear energy would ultimately bring Iran to the point of the development of nuclear bomb.

** More than two years back in Oct. 2003 Iran agreed to cooperate with the EU and to commit itself to the additional protocols of the NPT, which allow more intrusive inspections of the nuclear installations, but American hostile attitude annoyed the Iranian leadership and the people. The insulting statements of the Condoleza Rice provoked the Iranian

leadership and the situation was further deteriorated where in Iranian leadership clearly announced to build a heavy water reactor in Arak.

** The situation was further worsened with the victory in elections by Mahmood Ahmadinejad in the presidential elections, he appeared as an iron man against all the anti-Iranian pressures. He made it clear that he would continue both the assembling of the centrifuges which can separate enriched uranium not only to fuel a nuclear reactor but also to build a nuke and the production of converted uranium.

** Further that Iran's references against Israel's nuclear capability were essentially negated by IAEA, EU and US, thus increasing further pressure on Iran. Meanwhile, Russia signed a deal to assist the Iranians in building their nuclear power plants and two additional reactors operations within the limits of IAEA, this contract furthered the US problems.

** US tried to pressurize the Russians which they did not accept as this deal was worth 1000 million \$ and they stood firm to their commitment to Iran. This firm stand increased the firmness of Iran. The US reaction was very sharp and they declared Iran a rogue state as it was already the Axis of Evil.

** The US has further increased the struggle to stop Iranian nuclear program otherwise be ready to face the UN sanctions and possibly the military attack by the US. But in the UN the cooperation by China and Russia is not in the hands of US, and Germany is not very much cooperative to the intentions of US Iran has continued her nuclear program.

** In this tension where the wiser counsel could open the path to a diplomatic and peaceful solution on the basis of the Russian settlement proposals, Germany introduced a draft resolution on February 02, 2006 in an emergency session of the board of governors of IAEA in Vienna to report to the UN Security Council in which majority of the members went against Iran. This motion strengthened the US desire for the imposition of UN sanctions against Iran. Iran responded that if such legal sanctions were processed it would further aggravate the problem and that any US military action against Iran would put the question mark on the safe supply of petrol from this region to the West or US. This declaration has brought more thoughts to the US.

** EU has also moved forward with a solution proposals carrying direct US-Iran dialogue and also a new development is the EU offers for Iran containing concessions for Iran but Iran is continuously repeating that she will not cap her nuclear

program however Iranian leadership is processing the proposals

MILITARILY STRONGER GULF BLOCK

* Militarily stronger Gulf States if form a Block on the basis of Collective Security, it can begin a new phase of peace in the Middle East. Because only a stronger Block of Gulf States can force Israeli decision makers to change their language.

* Such Block will create an equilibrium in power in Middle East, as, presently, Only Israel has the potent military power, thus only it speaks and all others are to hear.

* Israel understands that there is no power on the back of the Gulf States and that they are on the mercy of Israel. If this proposed block is formed, Israel may think before speak.

* Iran's role can be much significant in the development of the power of balance in the region, Because Iran is the only power in the region which can provide defense to the Gulf States.

* Iran has shown the capacity to face Israel in the case of Lebanon, where Israel and US also accepted that the military hegemony of Israel could not play the decisive role in the Israel war against Lebanon. Though, Israel destroyed almost all the considerable developments of Lebanon get could not defeat Hizbullah.

* It enhanced the confidence in Hizbullah and Iran, further that Israel is also defeatable. If proper and adequate power is used, a reliable defense can be created against Israel.

HOW ENDURING PEACE

* The enduring peace in the Gulf can only be maintained when there is a strong opposition to mighty Israel, otherwise there cannot be any other solution.

* Iran can play the decisive role in the emergence of the proposed Gulf Block, on the basis of common enemy.

* China and North Korea may also provide some assistance in the military developments in the region, but Iran may be the most appropriate Big Player.

* Israel can understand only the language of power and it can be given by the Gulf Block.

* The Gulf States should allocate a reasonable amount every year for the development of a trustworthy defense. Only a stronger defense means peace.

* The Gulf State should initiate compulsory military training program at the college level, both for the boys and the girls.

* Defense does not only mean a war rather the preparation for war means the establishment for peace. No peace is possible without the stronger defense. Gulf States should activate a defense college system to strengthen their defense mechanism.

* The oil resources are becoming their worst enemies .West and US are greedy for oil and can go up to an extent for oil, thus they should make a shift of the defense mechanism from the **White Hands** to the **Brown Hands**. Simply because the brown hands are dependable. Pakistan and Iran can provide such services to educate and train the local people.

* The Gulf States should adopt the “Buy, Borrow or Steel” formula to strengthen their shield of defense, otherwise their very existence is in danger in the days to come.

* As a last word only the stronger Gulf States if not the Stronger Gulf States Block can ensure the **Enduring Peace in Middle East**.

Attrition of the Indigenous Classical Pahari Language under the Snare of Linguistic Imperialism

Prof. Muhammad Yousaf Malik*

Abstract

At present, more than 6000 languages are operative in the world. Some of them have become extinct with the lapse of time because of multi-pronged grounds. Several of these stand on the verge of death since no apt measures have been taken to revive them to their original form. In Pakistan, there are more than 70 languages, but a few of them are in danger zone of being inanimate in the years looming ahead. Some of the languages spoken in the northern frontiers have already ceased to exist.

The present study is meant to unearth whether or not the classical Pahari language of Soon Skesar Valley is heading towards extinction. It is a case study entailing a mixed research. It entangled population of 30 students non-randomly selected from different colleges of district Khushab. The research bears singularity since no linguist has virtually probed the level of sustainability regarding this specific language as yet.

Keywords: L₁, L₂, indigenous, extinct, survival

Introduction:

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Language is the organized system of speech used by human beings as a means of communication among themselves¹. It is a rare benediction bestowed upon Homosapiens' from the above to distinguish themselves from the other species inhabiting the world. It stands out for its arbitrariness and dynamic perspective.

At present, there exist round about 7000 Languages, some are sick and about to go extinct. In Pakistan, there are more than 70 Languages spoken in the different parts of the country².

According to UNESCO report (2003), there are 104,000,000 Urdu speakers in addition to these who speak a rich diversity of Language in the length and breadth of the Country³. Urdu enjoys the status of a de facto national language, used even by those who speak indigenous language, with the prime motive of mutual communication, better job opportunities and educational aspect.

According to Bernard (1992) about 97% of the world people speak about 4% of the world's languages; and about

¹ Longman English Dictionary by Owen Watson Published by Hazell Watson & Vinay Ltd, England (1976)

² Census (2001): 1998 Census Report of Pakistan Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division. Government of Pakistan.

³ UNESCO (2003): Language Vitality and Endangerment. Document adopted by the National Expert Meeting on UNESCO Program U.S.A.

96% of the world's languages are spoken by about 3% of the world's languages⁴.

Most of these languages are indigenous and heterogeneous in Paradigm. It is odd to know that 50% of the World's total languages are losing speakers. It is estimated that round about 90% of the languages may be replaced by the dominant language by the end of 21st Century.

Loss of Language is caused by multifarious factors like the decline in the number of speakers who may suffer from the sense of inferiority complex about their ethno-linguistic identification, absence of importance in educational curriculum designing minimum literature in the respective local language, ease in social mobility, access to the global market places etc etc.

Linguistic death means an irreparable impairment or loss of unique cultural historical and social knowledge. The moment a language ceases to exist, people have less testimony for comprehending structural, semantic, pragmatic and stylistic functions of human language.

According to Bernard (1996), Language may bear the linguistic loss as virtually a loss of their Cultural and ethnic identity⁵.

⁴ Bernard, H. Russell (1992): Preserving Language Diversity: Human Organization (PP 82-89) Berlin: Mouton Grillyter.

In consequence, People assessing their language and socio-cultural values as an impediment in their avenue to social-uplift, often abandon their own language and exert their utmost to link themselves to the target language.

This factor becomes accountable for their local language shift to a mainstream language prospective of diverse social benefits in the future years ahead.

Significance of the Study

The current research is to explore how the indigenous languages like the classical Pahari language of Soon Skesar Valley are badly impacted by the mainstream language.

The study has to ascertain how much linguistic attrition has occurred in the language of People belonging to the Soon Skesar belt. Linguistic proficiency deteriorates because of inferior sense of ethnographic vitality. Linguistic attrition often accrues from the language shift when the speakers have to reside for a long time period with the ethnic group whose language is powerful and influential enough to mould the minority language speakers to adopt the target language⁶.

⁵Bernard, H. R. (1996) Language Preservation and Publishing (P.P. 139-156), Berlin: Mouton de Grayter.

⁶Schmid, M.S. (2002) First Language Attrition, Use and maintenance Amsterdam: Benjamins, Netherlands⁷.

Research Questions

1. How do the speakers of classical Pahari Language residing in a big city like Lahore realize their linguistic attrition?
2. What are the domains of linguistic options of the speakers of classical Pahari language?
3. Do the linguistic options of the speakers indicate language shift from their native language to the second language?
4. How far do the language options in certain domains adversity affect their competence and performance in their own language?

Delimitation

There are several minor languages spoken in different provinces of Pakistan. The present study is confined to the classical Pahari language spoken by the people of Soon Skesar Valley residing in District Khushab. The bulk of the population speaks their age-old specific Punjabi language which is at certain variance with the other forms of Punjabi like Hindko, Saraiki, Lahori Punjabi etc.

Literature Review

Scientific study of language endorses the view that language always remains on the move. It never stands still,

otherwise it would become sick and be extinct at a later stage if proper and prompt measures are not initiated for its animation. That is why, so many languages in the world are substituting the deceased ones. There are multi-pronged factors accountable for it.

First, the speakers of a native language may give up using it in their informal communication. A language is likely to become weak if the speakers are growing small in number. Language declines into sickness and may lose its existence with the lapse of years.

Secondly, the speakers may fall into dismay because of the deep sense of inferiority complex. They begin to prefer the target language of the powerful linguistic community that may assist them in getting ahead in the future years. They send their children to the institutions of good repute to learn L₂ that might ensure the quality of education. The parents earnestly desire to make their children acquire the target language so that they may succeed in attaining lucrative jobs in their practical life.

Thirdly, lack of amenities in villages and small cities induces the people to migrate to the big cities where their families may live a cosy and comfortable life and their children may not encounter any constraint in seeking higher education.

Fourthly, wars and natural adversities like earthquakes, floods etc may compel the residents of the rural area to shift to big cities.

Fifthly, the native speakers of the rural area may develop a sort of distrust in their own native language because of their awareness of ethno linguistic vitality.

The term ethno linguistic, as explained by Grimes (2000) shows the odd tendency of an ethnic group to behave as a collective entity in a certain multilingual setting founded on demographic status⁷.

People migrating to big cities and residing in the vicinity of those who are proficient in the target language, are naturally drawn to L₂ acquisition. This particular set-up impairs the speakers' linguistic proficiency in their own language. Especially the students who come from far and wide and reside in a big city for a certain span of time prefer to learn the mainstream language so that their well off colleagues may not mock at their being backward and less cultured. Their sense of socio-cultural status weighs heavy on their nerves forcing them to fortify their ties with Urdu or English so that they may be able to flow smoothly with the current. In consequence, their

⁷Grimes, B.F. (2000) *Ethnologue: Language of the World*. Dallas Tx: SIL International.

grip on different domains of their own language becomes weak.

Indigenous languages may be spoken by a majority of the native landers, but these languages often get reduced to the minimum in the presence of mainstream languages. It engenders environs of linguistic imperialism entrapping the minority language speakers to be directly or indirectly inclined to learning and adopting the Lingua Franca for social ascendancy.

The UNESCO report on Language vitality and Endangerment (2003) describes six factors of linguistic vitality⁸. There are intergenerational transmission, absolute number of speakers within the total population, shift in domains of language use, response to new domains and media and availability of new materials for language education and literacy.

Linguists assert that the remotest and smallest of the languages spoken in the northern part of Pakistan have curtailed in size and stature. These languages are facing language sickness and there is an apprehension that these may become extinct with the time. If no steps are taken, these languages will die at last.

⁸UNESCO (2003) Language Vitality and Endangerment. New York, U.S.A.

Research on minority languages has arrested the attention of so many writers, scholars and practitioners during the last ten years. These researchers are trying to unearth how far globalization and language homogenization are the underlying grounds of language decline. They are strongly motivated towards conducting the probe so that they may apprise the concerned quarters how to preserve the local minority languages since their endangered decrease is the loss of socio-cultural and religious values of communities in particular⁹.

It is not possible to describe the entire bulk of researches conducted so far on the attrition and extinction of various languages in different countries because of the limited space in this small scale, however some of them are mentioned as follows.

Muller (2010) conducted his research on the minority language of Badakhshan in Tajikistan, called Ishkashimi¹⁰. He found small number of speakers who could communicate in this language. He wanted to investigate the grounds behind the

⁹Twin, M. (2007) Linguistic Diversity and the Preservation of Endangered Languages: International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development, Khatmandu, Nepal.

¹⁰Muller, K. Abbess, E. Paul, D. Tiessen (2010) Ishkashimi: A Father's Language SIL Electronic Survey Report, 1-22., Badakhshan, Tajikistan.

high ethno linguistic vitality. He employed four orally administered questionnaires. His main focus was a social network, language use, language functions, linguistic behaviours and ethnic identity.

Bashir (2010) conducted his research on traces of mirativity in Shina¹¹. Anthonissen (2009) explored the process of language shift from Afrikaans to English in Western Cape Communities¹². Three generations of families were interviewed in order to find out their linguistic patterns. His findings indicate the domains they use their language in. His study showed that there existed typical patterns in the young generation who failed to retain their proficiency in their own Afrikaans language.

Van Aswejen (2008) probed into Maale, a minority language in Ethiopia¹³. It was meant to explore the factors accountable for the language shift. It was based on Paulston's theory of social mobilization to find out whether the mother-tongue literacy programme would accommodate language maintenance or move to language shift. He employed

¹¹He did research on the tonal traits of the languages spoken in the north of Pakistan.

¹²Anthonissen, C. (2009), Bilingualism and Language Shift. Stellenbosch papers in Linguistics PWS 61-76.

¹³Van Aswejen, G. J. (2008) Language Maintenance and Shift in Ethiopia: The Case of Malle. University of South Africa, South Africa.

field notes and interviews to gather data on the mother tongue. Statistical data were also taken on the use of the mother tongue.

Sheffield's (2007) study was focused on a comparative analysis of the language loss in Hispanic students enrolled for ESL¹⁴. The sample was based on twenty students. He used mixed method in order to find out the changes in the Participants linguistic proficiency in Spanish and English. The research showed a signified increase in students' oral reading fluency in English, but there was a decline in students' oral reading fluency in both the programmes. There was a decline in the proficiency of ESL students on oral reading proficiency in Spanish. The research brought to light the significance of providing mother tongue education to children in the early stage of their schooling, goading them on to long term learning. This factor reduces the chances of language attrition.

Lenk (2007) conducted his research on ethno linguistic vitality of the two Quichua speaking communities in Ecuador¹⁵. It was to reveal a situation to discern whether language of maintenance or language shift would prevail. The researcher took a sample of 100 indigenous speakers between 18 to 25 years of age. This specific research showed the impact

¹⁴ Sheffield, M. M. (2007) Possible Eritage Language Loss in Hispanic Students. Graduate Studies of Texas, U.S.A.

¹⁵ Lenk, S. (2007) Can Minority Languages Survive in a Situation of Substained Bilingualism? University of Pittsburgh, U.S.A.

of the dominant language and culture, which meant a menace to the maintenance of the ethnic language.

It is pertinent to point out that a lot of research work on the endangered languages in the different parts of the world exists. Although many research articles on attrition and language shift have been brought out, yet there is scarcity of research on the extinct or sick languages in Pakistan. Only a few researchers have ventured to probe the indigenous languages in Pakistan.

Baart (2003) did his research on a few non-dominant indigenous Languages in Pakistan¹⁶. *Himalyan Linguistics*, 9 (2). 1 – 56. His work concentrates on the grammar of these languages.

According to Barbara (2000), some of Pakistani languages are already imperilled and stand on the verge of death¹⁷.

Tariq Rehman (1996) subscribes to the view that some of the Pakistani languages are about to die¹⁸. His research

¹⁶Baart, Joan, L.G. (2003) *Tonal Features of Northern Pakistan* PP 132-144. National Institutes of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics, Islamabad, Pakistan

¹⁷Grimes, Barbara (2000) *Pakistan in Ethnologue: Language of the World* Dallas, Texas, PP 588 – 598: Summer Institute of Linguistics

¹⁸Rahman, Tariq, (1992) *Language and Politics in Pakistan*: Karachi, Oxford University Press

shows the following languages that are about to become inanimate:-

1. Badeshi is spoken in the Chail valley of Swat. It is a variety of the Persian language.
2. Chilliso: It is spoken by a small number of people residing at the east bank of the Indus in District Kohistan. This language is under great pressure of Shina. Hallberg (1992) observes that language shift is taking place in this community. He refers to his conversation with 13 persons who told him that they spoke Chillissoin at their home when they were children, but now they spoke Shina in their homes today¹⁹.
3. Domanki: This language is spoken by the Doma people settled in Mominabad (Hunza). Backstrom commented that only 500 speakers lived in this area in 1992²⁰. Tariq Rahman visited the village in 2002 and found only 300 speakers there.
4. Gowro: It is spoken by People residing on the east bank of the Indus in the village Mohrin. Gowro was under strong pressure of Shina. Baart (2003) affirms that only

¹⁹Hallberg in SSNP Vol. 1, 1992: 122 – 123

²⁰Backstrom in SSNP Vol. 2. 1992: 82.

1000 speakers are left now and there is a fear that it may become extinct.

5. Ushojo: It is spoken in Chail valley of Swat. Decjer (1992) is of the view that it was spoken by 2000 people only in 1990²¹.
6. The smaller languages of Chitral are also about to become extinct. For example Yidgha, Phalura and Gowar-bati are about to die in a short span of time.
7. Ormuri: This language is spoken in the village of Kunigaran in the South Waziristan. However, Hallberg visited this area in 1992 and observed that this language was strong then.
8. Kundal Shahi: This language was found out by Khawaja Abdur Rehman. It is spoken in the Neelam Valley in Azad Kashmir, about 75 miles away from Muzaffarabad.

Thus it accrues from the fore-going that the smallest of languages in Pakistan are under the fear of death. Tremendous pressure of Urdu and English has decreased the significance of these languages.

Methodology

Target population for the current research comprised 30 students non-randomly selected from the different colleges of

²¹Deckar in SSNP Vol. 1, 1992:66

District Khushab. These students were studying in undergraduate classes in Naushehra, Khushab and Joharabad. It was convenient sampling. Some of them were day scholars and some resided in hostels. For the purpose of data collection, sociolinguistic survey, designed by Khan (2014)²² was used as tool to collect data for the research from these speakers of classical Pahari language. The domains as selected by Khan were included in the questionnaire.

Another tool of data collection was an informal interview with the target population. It was to unfold ethno linguistic vitality and to uncover the grounds for their preference of the tongue other than their L₁. It was to know why people opt for certain languages and if there is any sort of monetary benefit behind it. Various answers of the participants have been closely analyzed with a view to getting cognizance of the reasons why they are drawn to such language choices.

Data Analysis

Data in the form of responses were collected from the participants via sociolinguistic proforma and the interviews of the 30 students. The research obtained insightful data about

²² Khan, R. K. (2014) A sociolinguistics Analysis of CR Discourse with Special Reference to Code-Switching: As observed at the university of Karachi, Karachi: Pakistan.

the use of the indigenous language and the reason why they preferred to use the mainstream language. Most of them preferred Urdu to their local minority language especially when they are studying at their respective educational institutions. They feel reluctance while using their language and interacting with their class fellows and the teaching staff. They realize their grim situation since the other students belonging to the elite class may mock at them and assess them as backward “Pandus”. They suffer from a strong sense of inferiority complex. That is why, they opt for Urdu and sometimes English because they know linguistic vitality of these languages. They admitted that they preferred to use their own local language only when they are at home or in each other’s association. They do confirm that they are not so expert in the use of appropriate lexis in Urdu, but it does not detract from their interest in learning and speaking their languages. They remarked that they would like to use English vocabulary but not often. Following are the details of data collect via Sociolinguistic proforma:-

Table I

Percentage of speakers interacting in their indigenous language and L₂.

Use of Classical Pahari Language at home or at the institution / hostel	30%
Use of Urdu at home or at the institution / hostel	60%
Use of English at home or at the institution / hostel	10%

Table II

Proficiency Percentage in L₁ and L₂

Language	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Classical Pahari Language	-	10%	35%	25%	2%
Urdu	10%	30%	35%	40%	20%
English	60%	25%	15%	5%	2%

Table I shows that 60% of indigenous language speakers use Urdu, whereas 30% use their L₁. It is quite evident that the use of the indigenous language is at the low ebb. During the interview these students admitted that they often code switch from their own local language to Urdu. It drops the broad hint that confidence and interest of the local educated lot are dwindling to a great extent.

In the similar strain, Table II shows that only 2% showed their being excellent whereas 10% were average. They

used 2% English in their classes or private life. It implies that they are not much interested in the knowledge of this language. Nevertheless, they stated that they like to code-mix and code-switch from one language to the other for better comprehension. It confirms that these people have greater tendency towards using L_2 than L_1 .

In order to authenticate the answers to the research questions, informal interviews were conducted. As regards the first question, most of the interviewers affirmed that the frequent use of Urdu cast negative impact upon their proficiency in their own indigenous language. They also expressed the apprehension that their interest in their own language was becoming less because they thought that it was very old and backward language, lending them to no benefit in gaining social status in their Practical life. They were aware of their linguistic attrition.

The answer to the second research question was quite obvious. Domains of the linguistic options were their fluent discussion in Urdu. They were quite vocal in asserting that they did not feel any sort of hindrance while conversing in Urdu with others.

The answer to the third question lay in their statements during the interview when they were asked whether or not they realized that their scant language use might mean language

death, they admitted that their local language being of no prestige might go out of use with the lapse of time.

Final question was aptly responded in mutual discussion between the researcher and the interviewers. They felt no shy in admitting that certain domains of their L₁ were adversely affected by their language shift. Their proficiency in local verbal expressions was losing grip. It was not only because of their frequent use of L₂ at their institutions and hostel but their rural set-up was rapidly undergoing language shift. Most of the parents were keenly interested in sending their children to the well-established institutions, and they also preferred to use Urdu and sometimes English lexicon to get their children accustomed to the academic environment easily. They revealed that there were only a few families in their rural background who liked to use their own language. Even those parents, who are not much educated, prefer to speak Urdu with their children. It is mostly because they are convinced that their new generation would lag behind in the rat race of modern era if they did not ascend to the latest trends.

Conclusion

Data analysis brings the bare fact to light that linguistic attrition in Pakistan is the immediate consequence of the rural population's realization that their minority language will not yield any substantial benefit to their new generation. They would not attain any social ascendancy without a prestigious

language. Moreover, the people living in urban area would underrate their competence and performance without adaptation of a mainstream language. The analysis reveals that the students hailing from the undeveloped rural areas are considered uncultured and uncivilized. This ethnographic sensitivity has sensitized even the parents constraining them to speak Urdu even with their tender-aged kids.

Recommendation

It is recommended that peculiar attention be given to protect the local languages from attrition. When a language dies, its peculiar socio-cultural perspective becomes extinct. Concerning authorities, practitioners, syllabus designers and stake holders should sincerely ponder over the deplorable situation and initiate prompt measures for the survival of those languages in the general interest of the native landers.

It is also recommended that the future researchers should delve deep into linguistic attrition of other languages taking place in different parts of the global world.

Pak-Afghan Relations in the Perspective of War on Terror

Mrs. Sajida Begum*

Abstract

Pakistan Afghanistan relations have always remained troublesome due to distrust and suspicion since the 19th century over the border division of Durand Line. In the existing situation the presence of US led NATO forces and Taliban have backed insurrection, that created unrest not only in Afghanistan but in rest of the region also. Pakistan is supporting as the non NATO ally and front line state against the ongoing war on terror. Pakistan has paid an enormous price of it in terms of Economics and human lives loss. Pakistan tolerated the biggest supporter of Talibans before the 9/11 terrorist attacks on twin towers in the New York. The increasing role of India in Afghanistan in the name of reconstruction and US involvement has made the Afghan transition process more complex. It is a vibrant fact that peace and prosperity of Afghanistan cannot be ensured without the involvement of Pakistan as a major stake holder. Pakistan and Afghanistan both can address the inescapable dilemma of reconciliation and balanced bilateral relations to attain the

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regional objectives. Both countries should avoid the past uncertainties, ignore the notation of various lobbies and deconstruct the myths woven by decades of hostility and suspicion for the cause of peace.

Introduction

The post 9/11 international and domestic compulsions forced Pakistan into withdrawing its support from the Taliban, who were hitherto supported by Pakistan but Pakistan supported temporary Government established by Karzai and Bonn agreement although Pakistan was highly criticized by Taliban, Afghan Government and its own people also. Despite negative approach of Afghanistan's ministers, Pakistan continued to establish a healthy political relation with Afghanistan.

The Morning of September 11, 2001, changed the world when American Airlines flight 11, hijacked Boeing 767 crashed into the tower of the World Trade Center. It occurred at 8.45 and American Television broadcasted News at 9.03 when another Boeing crashed into South Tower. After forty minutes another plane attack crashed into the Pentagon. It was recorded that 2,800 people lost their lives in WTC. American President visited the place and on 20th September he addressed the joint session of the Congress and said, "Today we are a nation stirred to risk and called to protect flexibility". Our

agony has transformed into ferocity, and outrage to determination. If we transmit our challenges to impartiality or impartiality to our foes, it will be carried out. On 13 September 2002 Colin Powell gave to the Musharraf a rundown of seven requests.

Someone has rightly said that, future of the nations is based on the geographical lines which define the nations from one another

¹ (Ziring, 1990). In its support Dr. Filmer Josph says that socio-political and financial prosperity of the state deeply depends upon the socio-political and financial circumstances of the neighboring states² (Abdul Quddus, 1982). It means the internal conditions of any state reflect on its neighbors which ultimately draw a way for their future advices. Historically, the neighbors are also very important because the perimeters of a nation's interest are confined to one region because of lack of progression in every viewpoint of life. So generally speaking the diverse nations of the same region have been competing with each other on one side but on the other side their interest forced them to cooperate with each other since the distant past.

¹Burke, S. M. & Ziring, L. (1990). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Historical Analysis*. Karachi:

Oxford University Press

²Abdul Quddus, S.(1982). *Afghanistan and Pakistan: a Geopolitical Study*. Lahore: Ferozsons

Likewise, Pakistan and Afghanistan are located in the same region having same geographical location having multipurpose resources. Pakistan is stable with agricultural land, mines, natural water resources, and specially, the Coastal area which relate Pakistan with rest of the world, but on the other hand Afghanistan is also stable with a lot of natural resource like mines, gas, oil and particularly, gold that is the main interest of two regional giants like China and India. The geostrategic locations of both the states are very important for both of them because both of the states have a very long border which is known as Durand Line³ (Amin, 2005). The circumstances of the states are affecting the socio-political, economic and religious features of each other. Economically, both are having equal important role for each other as Pakistan allows Afghanistan to connect herself with the rest of the world through Pakistan sea ports on side but on the other side connect Afghanistan with India through Lahore Wagha border.

It is a major fact that states suffered from security issue when they feel uncomfortable with each other especially in building up their relations to a specific state. Similar situation exists between Pakistan and Afghanistan since the very

³Amin, S.M. (2005). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*. Karachi: Oxford University Press

beginning. The relations between both states are also very important as USA and India are enduring in developing their socio-cultural, political and economic relations with each other. With this situation, the famous scholar of international politics Han J. Morgenthau argued that “the most important manifestation of the balance of power is found not in the equilibrium of two isolated nations but in the relations between one nation or alliance of nations”⁴(Morgenthau, 1948).

In past Karzai period the policies and priorities of Afghanistan and America have been changed. The Americans have realized that Pakistan could not be ignored in this region because of its geo-strategic location. The new elected President of Afghanistan Ashrif Ghani said that “Karzai is my President” on the one hand but on the other hand he has changed everything and there are no such things of Karzai’s policies. He is trying to develop strategic partnership with China, trying to limit the role of India, extending hand toward Pakistan. The President of Afghanistan is struggling to bring Saudi Arabia, Gulf, China, US and Pakistan for decisive breakthrough in dialogues and peace with Talibans. Further, if he succeeded to achieve peace with Talibans then the relations with Pakistan

⁴Morgenthau, H. J.(2005).*Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: McGraw Hill

will be friendly but if he failed then the relations with Pakistan would not be different from that of Karzai's period.

Historical Background

Pak-Afghan relations have been lasting complicated since the inauguration of Pakistan. Factually, it was clear that the British Raj had stern threats from the northern side of subcontinent which lastly resulted in the formation of boundary between Afghanistan and India. That line of demarcation settled political conditions provisionally between Afghanistan and British Raj but later after the inception of Pakistan it created a lot of problems between Afghanistan and Pakistan. If a researcher inspects both states historically then he will reach a point that both remained a prey of foreign attack and throughout history both continued unsettled. The invaders of India followed the path through Afghanistan, so Afghanistan faced trouble even before India.

In 1947, when India was divided into two ideological states India (Hinduism) and Pakistan (Islam), the geopolitical importance of this region increased on one hand but on the other hand it became more complicated India was the largest state of this region in every perspective and arch enemy of Pakistan, therefore, to make Pakistan isolated and sandwiched between two states, she joined hands with Afghanistan. Leadership of Pakistan was fully aware of the regional politics

so, they joined hands with China to counter India and Afghanistan's leg pulling. It created chaotic situation in this region which resulted in socio-political and economic uncertainty in Pakistan, Afghanistan and India. Therefore, this region has remained victim of geo-political situation and; therefore, unstable but after 54 years it became a threat for the whole world in the shape of terrorism.

After this the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan further played its role to disturb the socio-political and economic situation of this region and allowed them to become threat for the whole world. The United Nations and Pakistan supported Afghanistan to counter Soviet which historically was a good and justified decision on the one hand but on the other hand later in became a serious threat even for the creator. According to the researcher to create militant group to fight Soviet was justified in every perspective but to let them free after the departure of Soviet made serious problems not only for Afghanistan society locally but for whole world as well. Extremism became the driving force for Afghanistan's society which disturbed not only Afghanistan but the whole world suffered from this disease.

Under this situation major political changes took place in Pakistan, the democratic government of Nawaz Sharif abolished by Military coup and General Pervez Musharraf

appeared as a new leader on one side but on the other side in Afghanistan the 90% of Afghanistan was under the control of Taliban⁵ (Devetak, 2012). That time the situations were completely under the control of the Taliban locally; therefore, Taliban government was transforming Afghanistan's society with extremist religious thoughts but internationally they were not capable of threatening the people outside the border of Afghanistan. In South-West Asia the atmosphere was very peaceful externally but in Middle East the political circumstances were taking new shape because of Saddam Hussain's hegemony. In this atmosphere the world politics was going to take new shape because Soviet Union was collapsed, America became super power, Afghanistan became platform for militants and terrorist activities which reflected its effects on the similar ethnic groups across the border especially in Pakistan. When Taliban joined hand with Al-Qaeda it appeared a serious threat for whole world and to counter them America stood against them to nullify their activities. In response to that the situation reached peak and finally the incident of 9/11 took place in America which allowed the West to invade Afghanistan and thus crushed both the militant groups like Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Therefore, in South-West Asia the new

⁵Devetak, R. ,Burke,A.& George, J.(2012).*An Introduction to International Relations*. London

political situation developed which made Pakistan a focal point of world politics. The US extended its friendly relationship with Pakistan because they were fully aware of geographical, socio-political and religious hard realities of this region; therefore, they joined hands with Pakistan to eliminate them. Thus, Pakistan became momentous state for the US on its 'war on terrorism'.

Hence, the political situation of this region became more complicated for Pakistan, the United States and Afghanistan. The United States have realized that, she cloud not fight Afghanistan without Pakistan's support of one side but on the other side it is a fact that Afghanistan has never been friendly with Pakistan since its inception. But still both countries have been flourishing under the same ideology of Islam. Although they have similar ideological beliefs and socio-religious pattern of society yet they have been contenting each other since the very beginning. The 'war on terrorism' not only disturbed the northern part of Pakistan but whole Pakistan suffered with terrorist activities like suicide bombing and target killing. From 2001 to onward Pakistan has sacrificed eight thousands people in suicide attack and target killing because of terrorism and 'war on terrorism'. During the last year of Musharraf regime Pakistan faced political instability but after his departure a decorative government took charge under the

leadership of President Zardari. The government of Asif Ali Zardari also remained focused on Afghanistan and with the support of America they tried to strengthen their socio-political and economic relations with Afghanistan.

The President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari, the President of Afghanistan Ashrif Ghani and the President of US Bark Obama met in White House and tried to understand the geo-strategic and political importance of both states and convinced both state leadership to cooperate and collaborate with each other in every perspective; so that, they make this region peaceful not only for themselves but also to make this region attractive for foreign investors for its economic progress⁶(Dawn News, 21st November, 2010).

Geo-Strategic Importance of Both States

Pakistan and Afghanistan are located in South West Asia. Both states are sharing their borders with multiple states like Pakistan is attached with India from East, From North with China, from North West with Afghanistan and from west with Iran and from East-West with Arabian Sea. Similarly Afghanistan is sharing its border with six states like China, Pakistan, Iran and after USSR fall with Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Both states have significant differences between each other like Afghanistan is a land lock

⁶(Dawn News, 21st November, 2010)

country but Pakistan is opened with Arabian Sea which increased its geo-strategic importance ⁷(Kearns, 2009). The geographical location of both states make them dependent on each other because of trade perspective Afghanistan needs Pakistan's Sea port and Pakistan needs Afghanistan's Highway to connect herself with Central Asian States. Broadly speaking, Pakistan and Afghanistan jointly are very important for the whole world because the future interests of the world revolve around both states ⁸(Hassain, 2009). Therefore, the geo-strategic location of both state made them prominent and attractive in the eyes of whole international community. On the one hand because of their geo-strategic location they also suffered a lot but on the other hand both got a lot of economic benefits.

Pakistan and Afghanistan's Political Relations during President Hamid Karzai's Period

The tragic incident of 9/11 changed the socio-cultural, political, economic and religious circumstances of the whole international world generally and Afghanistan particularly. The United States of America used its influence in United Nation's

⁷ Kearns G.(2009). *Geopolitics and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁸Hassan, T. (2009). *Afghanistan Complex Situation and Its Implications on Pakistan*, Kuala

Lumpur: Kuala Lumpur Press

and passed 1386 resolution from United Nation Security Council to secure Afghanistan from militant activities. In result an interim government was established in Afghanistan under the leadership of Hamid Karzai who later in 2004 was elected as the President of Afghanistan. During the President Hamid Karzai's period, relations of both states Pakistan and Afghanistan remained unsettled and inconsistent. The trust deficit increased from both sides. The leaderships of both nations were speaking on electronic media with solid evidence against each other ⁹(Hussain, 2005). That situation created more complexities between the relations of both states.

President Karzai once considered being a Pro-Pakistan, he started blaming Pakistan that it was Pakistan which was supporting cross border terrorism. The Bonn Conference wrongly neglected actually dominant tribes while giving them political role in the future set up of Afghanistan. This was a mistake turned into misfortune as it reinforced the Afghan insurgency. Other Bonn conspiracy which turned into the blunder was keeping Pakistan out of all the process and from any kind of reconstruction work. Whereas on the contrary a distant Afghanistan's neighbor like India that was provided

⁹Hussain, R.(2005).*Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan*, New.York: McGraw Hill

opportunity to enhance further its strategic interests and activities against Pakistan. Since that time India has finally found a vast platform in the Muslim State Afghanistan to conduct its under hand activities in Baluchistan through dissidents, FATA through members of TTP in order to destabilize Pakistan. Waziristan agreement was signed on 5 September 2006 according to that agreement the tribesmen were bound not to accept foreigners and not to cross borders to support militancy and insurgency in Afghanistan. It completed soon after the state visit of President Bush; Karzai's movements were expected to augment impact on Pakistan during a period when expanding Taliban movement in Afghanistan had drawn American concern. The point when President Bush went by Pakistan in March, 2006, the security of Islamabad was given over to Americans, approximately ten thousand troops and police were sent on security calling and hostile to flying machine weapons were commissioned on the encompassing mounts. The unprecedented efforts to ensure safety were essential as the shadow of Al-Qaeda pressed on to hang overwhelming over Pakistan. While commending Musharraf for his "boldness," Bush called upon his "amigo" to accomplish more to check Islamic militancy and stop cross-outskirt invasion of Taliban radicals into Afghanistan.

Allegation from Hamid Karzai on Pakistan

The President Hamid Karzai clearly thought that Pakistan was backing Taliban and forcing them fight against Afghanistan. The different statements of allegation from Hamid Karzai are mentioned below:-

1. On October 2001 the Chairman interim government Hamid Karzai says that Pakistan will not get success until we lose our cooperation within the society. We are seeing different facts of Pakistan involvement inside Afghanistan insurgencies activities
2. On 13th December 2006 President Hamid Karzai said that Pakistan has been continuing constantly supporting 'state element' against Afghanistan since the very beginning. Further he says that Pak-Aghan is becoming safe haven for militant groups
3. The President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai blamed Pakistan on 1st December 2007 that Pakistan was trying to make afghan nation its slave and wave of extremism and violence coming from Islamabad.
4. In same month he wrote a letter to Taliban leader that if you are fighting on signals of ISI and do not think about Afghanistan then Allah will teach you a lesson.
5. In 2008 he said that "the people of Afghanistan were killed by militants and non-state actors on the bases of

pre-planned ground which was settled by Pakistan's leadership and especially Pakistan's establishment.

Allegation on Afghanistan from Pakistan:

1. In June 2006 the President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf told the visiting German Defense Minister Franz Josef Jung on Tuesday 6th June 2006 That Pakistan would continue to fence its borders with Afghanistan to restrict cross border movement of Taliban and other criminals. The Afghan government is opposed to the fencing.
2. On the response of another allegation from Afghanistan's leadership the President of Asif Ali Zardari said "History has taught us that whenever Afghanistan is in trouble, it's only a matter of time before trouble spills over to our side," further he gave his recommendation that G-8 should follow our policies and we will ensure them to restrict cross border movement of Pakistan militants and criminal but they should also stop their support to non-state elements inside Pakistan.

Role of India to Increase Trust Deficit between Both States

Someone rightly says that "enemy of my enemy is my friend". Similar situation has been going on in Pak-Indo relations with Afghanistan since very beginning because if one

gains other loss and if other gains the first one loss. So it is considered the 'zero-sum' game between Pakistan and India ¹⁰(Rabani, 2009). Historically, it has been proven that both states continually used Afghanistan territory against each other. Indian has been continually funding militants groups inside Afghanistan from the very beginning, who are doing terrorist activities inside Pakistan which proved very costly for Pakistan because from 2008 to onward we have lost almost 50 thousand innocent citizens in suicide bombing and target killing¹¹(Rizvi, 1993). This is one side of the picture but on the other side some afghan militant groups were supported by Pakistan before the incident of 9/11 to fight against India inside conflicting territory of Jammu and Kashmir. This developed mistrust not only between Pakistan and Afghanistan but India also has similar concern with Afghanistan.

Thus, the government of Pakistan was quietly uncomfortable with Afghanistan because of their involvement inside Pakistan and especially in Baluchistan. In 2011 Dr. Mashhad Hussain former Pakistan Senate Chairman in senate debate declared that India was training 600 Baluchies with the help of Afghanistan and some local 'Anti-Pakistani'

¹⁰Rabani, I.(2009).*Pakistan Affairs*. Lahore: Carvan Book House

¹¹ Rizvi, G.(1993).*South Asia in a Changing Order*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

landlords of the Province of Baluchistan ¹² (Grare, 2006). Further he says that Afghanistan intelligence services agency is connected with RAW which is very alarming for Pakistan. The leadership of Pakistan thought that the involvement of India in Pakistan with the help of Afghanistan was shaking the confidence of the Pakistan is in Afghanistan. If this continues in future the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan will emerge faint.

New Beginning of Afghanistan

With change in political setup and leadership of Afghanistan, the maturity has come back in international politics which will bring positive signs and new healthy directions to Afghanistan foreign policy. The President Ashraf Ghani appeared a sensible leader who actually understands the local, national and international political scenario which he can easily chose the right thing for his nation. He took four major steps which made him popular and respectable among international community which are mentioned below one by one:-

1. He tried to unite Afghanistan and make national government instead of one party government.

¹² Grare, F. (2006). Pakistan Afghanistan Relations in the Post-9/11 Era. *Carnegie Papers*, 72, p.1-19

2. He gave representation to the Taliban in his government which showed his caliber and leadership qualities.
3. He understood the regional geo-political and geo-strategic realities of this region which helped him to make positive cooperation among neighboring states especially with Pakistan.
4. He declared our land will not be used against any state.
5. He tried to make balance between the West and the East.
6. He encouraged the international community to invest in Afghanistan and their investment will be in secure and safe hands.

The Positive Trajectory of Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations

Although the people of both states have similar faith, ideology, socio-cultural and religious patterns yet both states Pakistan and Afghanistan have been continuing opposing each other because both belong to two different camps since the inception of Pakistan and later especially during ‘Cold War’. But continuous process of dialogues between both states took time but finally developed understanding and now the leaderships of Pakistan and Afghanistan are better

understanding with each other which will be new beginning of Pak-afghan relations.

Political Relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan

In November 2014 the new elected President of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani visited Pakistan with positive hope and sign to forget past unhappy memories and start with robust ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan which appeared a sensible and thoughtful decision to move forward in a positive way.

Pakistan and Afghanistan Want to Encourage Bilateral Relations

The government of Afghanistan wants bilateral relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan which ensures them stable and peaceful and progress in both the countries. The President of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani along with Afghan Chief Executive Abdullah Abdullah and others high official met the President of Pakistan Mamnoon Hussain and discussed their socio-economic and political concerns.

After that their meeting was scheduled with Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Nawaz Sharif in PM House where they again discussed their concerns. They were warmly welcomed by Prime Minister of Pakistan. The leadership of both sides agreed to mutually cooperate in every sector to make

each other strong, progressive and safe from terrorism and extremist element; so that, it becomes a secure haven for foreign tourists and investors for its socio-culture, political and economic progress of both the states.

Cricket Diplomacy between Afghanistan and Pakistan

The concept of cricket diplomacy has become very popular in this region especially between India and Pakistan but currently it opened a new era of cricket diplomacy between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The cricket series between Pakistan and Afghanistan in Pakistan before ICC Cricket World Cup gave opportunity to both sides leadership to spend some time together and share their concerns with each other which may bring positive sign in Pakistan and Afghanistan relations.

Security Ties

The President of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani mutually understands the importance of Pakistan's military in peace making process, therefore, for the first time in the history of both states Afghan President visited GHQ along with his high officials and met Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif and DG-ISI to discuss the regional security. He acknowledged Pakistan's sacrifices and effort to eradicate terrorism from this region. He came with desire to make Pakistan establishment agree to facilitate them while training their army, with this

regard he said that “bolstering security and defense ties with Pakistan, including cooperation in training and border management”.

Pakistan played an essential part after 9/11 particularly to uproot terrorism and Talibans. It broadened gamut for reconstructing security, peace and new political set-up in Afghanistan. Various political and security activities were taken by Pakistani government. In spite of the fact that numerous touchy Issues, for example the Durand Line and Pushtunistan inquiries, the war on terrorism, the antagonistic association of India and Iran against Pakistan may be questionable and posture troubles between Pakistan and Afghanistan throughout this time However Pakistan remained exceptionally cautious to supervise all the scenarios. Yet, exchange with the Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan, vigor pipelines, and the United State vicinity in Afghanistan are certain components that are harbingers of a new era of peace and amicability in the area.

The President of Afghanistan Ashrif Ghani met DG-ISI Lt-General Rizwan Akhtar and ensured him that Afghanistan soil would not be used against Pakistan and in response they needed similar kind of response from Pakistan. Further, he says that Pakistan will continue aggression against militant without separating them. He also made DG-ISI agree to share both

states intelligence to counter terrorism. Before this visit of Ashrif Ghani, Pakistan Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif went to Afghanistan very next day of Peshawar massacre and gave evidence to President Ashrif Ghani against Mullah Fazlullah direct involvement in that tragic incident of Peshawar APS attack. After this serious and threatening incident the President Ashrif Ghanide clared full support to Pakistan and in response to General Raheel Sharif's proof evidence he launched an operation in Kunar and killed 44 militants who were directly or indirectly involved in Peshawar massacre. ISAF Chief General John Campbell and Afghanistan Army Chief General Sher Muhammad visited Pakistan and gave a briefing to Pakistan establishment about their operation which went quite successfully. This opened a new era of cooperation between Pakistan and Afghanistan in political and security ties.

Economic Ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan

With the arrival of new government in both sides many avenues were opened in economic ties of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif has always preferred strong economic relations with Afghanistan. This time both sides have, understood the significance of strong economic ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Table No. 1. The Economic Performance of Afghanistan

	2007/8	2008/9	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13
Nominal GDP (\$ Billions)	9.8	10.2	12.5	15.9	18.0	19.8
Population (Million)	29.1	29.8	30.6	31.4	32.4	33.4
GDP per Capita (\$)	338	342	408	507	557	595
Export (\$ Billions)	1.85	2.46	2.52	2.64	2.75	2.61
Import (\$ Billions)	7.39	8.95	9.47	9.95	10.62	11.17
Current account balance (excluding grants)	-60.6	-66.0	-58.6	-48.5	-45.9	-44.9
Current account balance (Including grants)	5.2	5.3	1.6	2.8	2.2	3.9
Trade balance	-56.3	-63.6	-55.6	-45.9	-43.6	-43.1
Trade balance (\$ Billions)	-5.54	-6.49	-6.95	-7.31	-7.78	-8.56

Source: The World Bank, *Afghanistan Economic Update*, April 2013, p. 24

The above table shows the quantitative analyses of Afghanistan economy which is not encouraging at all but with political change the newly elected President of Afghanistan Ashrif Ghani met Finance Minister of Pakistan Ishaq Dar and discussed and settled economic ties between both states. For economic reasons the president of Afghanistan met the president of US Bark Obama to make him agree to slow down their departure from Afghanistan until we settled ourselves. He also asked President Obama that Afghanistan should strengthen economic relations with Pakistan because without their support the evil of terrorism cannot be removed from Afghanistan. But the leadership of Ashrif Ghani perceives that the Americans will support Afghanistan until their interest remains in Afghanistan. This led to develop thinking and seriousness to work for economy of Afghanistan. The economy, political stability and security depend on each other. The serious concerns of Afghanistan are to maintain peace and make Afghanistan politically stable which would not be possible without the support of Pakistan. It pushed India back foot in Afghanistan and this era belongs to Pakistan. The previous decade trade between Pakistan and Afghanistan is below mentioned in table:-

Table No 2: Pak-Afghan trade in (US\$ Million)				
	Pakistani exports	Pakistani imports	Total trade	Balance
2000-01	140	29.5	170	110.9
2001-02	169.2	22.9	192.1	146.4
2002-03	315.7	34.8	350.5	280.8
2003-04	492.9	47.4	540.3	445.4
2004-05	747.7	38.9	786.7	708.7
2005-06	1063.4	47.5	1110.9	1015.9
2006-07	753.9	76.2	830.2	677.6
2007-08	1143.6	91.3	1235	1052.3
2008-09	1398	93	1491	1305
2009-10	1572	139	1711	1433
2010-11	2336.7	172	2508.7	2164.7

Source: Pildat, Pak-Afghan trade, Islamabad, December 2011

With the arrival of the Americans in Afghanistan the exports of Pakistan have increased and reached 17-fold, which now have been decided to push that up to 25 fold a year Business forum. The government of Afghanistan wants to equalize the export and import from Pakistan which will be positive sign for both states economy. The president of Afghanistan announced his economic policy which was interestingly molded towards Pakistan, China, US and Saudi

Arabia. The main points of his economic turning are mentioned below:-

1. 'Afghanistan by Afghans'
2. Afghanistan's first priority is to maintain good economic relations with Pakistan.
3. Second to increase trade 17 fold to 25 fold in 2015 with Pakistan.
4. To develop economic relations with china to improve their infrastructure.
5. Afghanistan wants friendly relations with Saudi Arabia and to promote economic relations with her.
6. Afghanistan will encourage India to play its sensible and responsible role inside Afghanistan.
7. Most importantly they want economic favor from US to improve then governmental machinery which will easily manage the affair of the people after US departure from Afghanistan.

Thus it shows that the economic relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are going in positive ways which will cast positive impact on economy of both sides.

US Role in Pak-Afghan Relations

In Pak-Afghan relations the US has always been playing significant role since the very beginning. In past Karzai period the US realized that without the support of Pakistan the

mess of terrorism inside Afghanistan could not be eliminated; therefore, they pressurized Pakistan's leadership to eradicate terrorist without any discrimination on one hand but on the other hand they encouraged Afghan's leadership to promote their relations with Pakistan; so that, in future this region will get peace, progress and calmness and most importantly the US would quit Afghanistan comfortably.

Conclusion

Consequently, the worth of geo-politics of this region has been playing an imperative role in supporting the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The people of both states have the same religion, customs, and socio-cultural values but they have always sustained different national interests. Although Pakistan and Afghanistan wanted to preserve their friendly relations with each other yet participation of India inside Pakistan from Afghanistan created doubt between Pakistan and Afghanistan. This progression of doubt continued till the new elected government under the leadership of Ashrif Ghani. With the new elected government in Pakistan under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif and new elected government in Afghanistan under the leadership of Ashrif Ghani brought political development in this region. Thus policies of Afghanistan have been changed. The new elected President of Afghanistan Ashrif Ghani said that "Karzai is my President" on one hand

but on the other hand he has changed everything and there are no such things of Karzai's policies. He is trying to grow strategic business with China, trying to bound the role of India, spreading hand toward Pakistan. The President of Afghanistan is trying to bring Saudi Arabia, Gulf, China, US and Pakistan for decisive breakthrough in dialogues and peace with Taliban. Further, if he succeeds to achieve peace with Taliban then the relations with Pakistan will be friendly.

After 9/11 despite the political insecurities in both nations, with respect to the Afghanistan Pakistan Transit Trade Treaty, both nations remained critical accomplices. Joint Economic Commission played exceptionally significant and critical role to support their monetary relations between two nations particularly Pakistan assumed extremely paramount part in making of Afghanistan bring about and framework improvement for Afghanistan. Restoration of the Torkham-Jalalabad way by Pakistan to expedite trade exchange between two nations was built. Broadening of the chamman-Spinboldak rail connection was financed by Pakistan. \$330 billion was given by Pakistan in remaking and improvement of framework in this time. Establishment of the joint Chamber of Commerce swayed private specialists to positively contribute to one another. Transit Trade understanding 2010 is an alternate accomplishment of Both Countries. Pakistan stayed far ahead

of the extent that fare to Afghanistan are concerned, twelve-month figure touches \$4 billion dollar. The activity of Gas pipeline Turkmenistan-Afghanistan and Pakistan was taken throughout this time which assessed both of the check US\$ 2.9 billion. It might not just carry both of the nations closer yet bring flourishing to the locale. Pakistan, as at present constituted is poor in minerals yet rich in sustenance and filaments while Afghanistan has enormous untapped mineral and labor assets. Furthermore, Afghans might have the ability to get steer access to Pakistan's ports of Arabian ocean, while Pakistanis can get coordinate access to Central Asian markets. A combination of the two might be huge conceivable outcomes not just for the individuals of the two nations however for the whole Muslim planet.

Pakistan has an unusual stake in the development of a stable Afghanistan. Enduring unsteadiness in Afghanistan could put incredible strain on Pakistan's economy and social order, and convey suggestions for its national security. Afghanistan needs to depend on Pakistan for its enormous unexplored assets and for its investment needs that open up chances for both the nations to work together where Pakistan can furnish mastery in the budgetary area, and give specialized underpin in the area.

Socio-Political Culture of Punjab: A Case Study of Caste System

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&
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Abstract

Caste played pivotal role in the social setup and political manipulations in the Punjab. This tradition dates back to pre-British history. Most of the scholars produced valuable works attributing the caste prejudice and division among the local communities under the principle of the divide and rule theory¹ but as a matter of fact the history of Punjab witnessed a tangible economic, Muslim-non-Muslim, cultural, and so on. Therefore, the standpoint expressed by the writers that the divide already existed in the Punjab before the advent of the British is tremendously supported² and this division evidently affected every aspect of political as well as social life of the region. This article highlights the characteristics of different castes and projects as how much the caste system influenced the local people and the culture.

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¹Smith, R. A. (1947). *Divided India*. New York: Whittlesey House

²Sandhu, A. H. (2009). Reality of Divide and Rule in British Punjab. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* XXX, No.1, 61 – 62.

The Punjabis as compared to the other Pakistanis/nationalities are more industrious and politically energetic. Copiousness of their fertile lands has been creating a sense of liberty and success in them through ages. This sense datum can be imagined by a minority of other provinces. The Punjabis are adhered to their customs and traditions and their social structure is co-related with agriculture. This province is more caste-conscious than other provinces. So the division of Rajput, jat and Arain is an outstanding feature as compared to Punjabi, Pathan and Sindhi.³

Right from the beginning of the Mughal period, Indian Muslims like Hindus were divided in four prominent castes, i.e., Syed, Mughal, Pathan and Sheikh. Among them Syed and Mughals considered themselves superior to others.⁴ Tradition of *zaat/biradri* (caste system) was very strong among all the nations of India. Roots of this tradition can be traced back to the beginning of the Delhi Sultanate, when the Ghauri Empire extended in Northern India and the rule of Slave Dynasty started. The aforesaid rulers were almost Turk slaves, suffering from a remarkable inferiority complex. Sultan Balban (remained ruler of India from 1266 to 1287) tried to claim his genealogy as superior and aristocratic but failed. The Turk

³Awan, Y. (1983). *Pakistan kasiyasibuhran*. Lahore: Vanguard, 176

⁴Hussain, Kausar. (2010). Effects of modernism on behavior of new and old generation about Biradri System (Master's thesis). PU, Department of Sociology, Lahore, Pakistan. p.1-2

nobles belonged to a tribal background therefore, each one of them wanted to maintain his liberty and autonomy. After sometime, the Sultanate was divided among Turk and Afghan nobles as an estate. These lords usually raised up mutiny against each other and even Babur was invited to invade India by these nobles.⁵ Since the foundations of Sultanate were established on racial discrimination, the government was not popular among the masses. The locals were refused amenities; it is a fact that during his period Balban did not bestow any office (superior or inferior) to any Indian Muslim.⁶ However, Rajput elites were widely appointed to prominent and executive positions during Mughal period. In Akbar's regime, 70% office bearers belonged to the migrated families, rest of 30% were local Muslims and Hindus at par.⁷ These office bearers, had themselves adopted the manners of king, following the culture of Mughal court. In this way such a social and cultural structure established, where king and nobles came of ruler class, thus the strongest of all the other classes.⁸ The society was divided into *Ashraafs* (most distinguished) and *Ajlaafs* (ignoble). Most of the castes included in *Ashraafs* were

⁵Robert L. Canfield, Robert L. (1991). *Turko-Persia in historical perspective*, Cambridge University Press, p.20.

⁶ Dr. Ali, M. (1997). *Barr e Sagheer main MusalmanmuashrykaAlmeyas*. Lahore Fiction House, p23

⁷ Moorland, W. H. (1920). *India at the death of Akbar*. London, pp69-70

⁸ Dr. Ali, M. (1997). *Barr e Sagheer main MusalmanmuashrykaAlmeyas*. Lahore Fiction House, p40

usually migrated therefore Mughals by virtue of their sovereignty and Syeds for their religious relation were included in this category, so the latter were respected by the rulers. Such expected honor urged a large number of Syed families to move to India from Iran and Central Asia.⁹

Due to the bindings of profound caste system nobody could quit one's *zaat* (caste), as no other biradri accepted outsiders. Caste system was gravity as compared to religion. Since majority of the local Muslims were artisans and peasants who practiced their inherited professions. Therefore, a vivid difference occurred between two classes. The Latter were considered Ajlaaf for their professions. Notables preferred death to becoming a professional as it brought defamation to their honor and dignity. It is also a fact that the downtrodden local Muslims could not follow the Ashraafs in eating or social etiquette. They were discouraged to prepare dishes as the nobles did. Ashraafs could not be invited to common families. Babies were not to be named after the privileged class persons, so the poor got their names like Kaloo, Khairati, KhudaBux or Allah Rakha etc.¹⁰

Referring to the caste system of medieval India, prominent historians like Fakhr-e-Mudabber, Zia-ud-din Berni and AbulFazl have expressed contempt for common people.

⁹ Ibid. p55-56

¹⁰ Ibid. P57-58

For example, Fakhr-e-Mudabber is of the view that “Menials should not be given authority over the superiors, as they offend the latter, drag empire towards decline, they are not thanksgiving, rather would be traitors.”¹¹ Berni’s philosophy and classification resemble the Indian caste system. He says that at the time of human creation, some brains were affected by knowledge and intellect whereas others included grooms, weavers, carpenters, barbers and cobblers. The latter should incline towards the professions they adopt or have adopted.¹² Even if a menial possesses one hundred qualities, he cannot be a good administrator according to the expectations or not to be trusted for guidance or leadership. So it is necessary that only independent, genteel and notables from honorable families, whether less in number should be appointed.¹³ AbulFazl, the famous courtier of Akbar, classifies the human kind into four categories, 1- warriors, 2- traders, 3- scholars and 4- working class or common people.¹⁴

Division by virtue of caste system was not an innovation in Punjab. In the writings of the same era, Heer Waris Shah (1766 AD) is a most celebrated narrative. This book is a marvelous account of the social conditions, history

¹¹Chandra, Steesh. (2002).Fakher-e-Mudabber: *Adabul Herb welShuja’t. Lahore 13(4), pp 147-148*

¹²Berni, Zia Uddin. (1955). *Fataw-e-Jahandari*(PhD Thesis). University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, UK. pp 117

¹³Ibid pp175

¹⁴Chandra, Steesh., opcitpp 177

culture, traditions and political situation of the period. Waris Shah described a large number of castes living in 18th century Punjab and depicts merits and demerits of Ranjha, the hero of the story as well as Heer who belonged to Sial family. Both Ranjha and Sial are sub-castes of Jatbiradri. Waris Shah himself was a Syed, well aware of the supremacy of Sadat as the society had accepted due to the piety of their ancestors who entered Subcontinent in a miserable condition, he repeatedly boasts of being a member of Syed family:

“I push away Dooks, beggars and spongers like dogs, even do not allow the saints’ progeny i.e. Waris Shah to board the boat”¹⁵

Shah originally did believe in equality of human beings and the holy Prophet never humiliated people on the basis of caste, economic or social factor but Waris Shah seems victim of the local culture and traditions when he divides people on the basis of caste. Interestingly, in Arab society none of the Syeds used the words of ‘Syed’ or ‘Shah’ with the name but Waris along with other Punjabi Syeds used the same under the influence of the Punjabi culture. Though Syeds preferred to be pious rather than *Sardar* but after gaining proper influence they posed to be *Chaudhry* and *Sardar* as the locals. This changed the whole scenario as they had started political as well as commercial

¹⁵Sabir, Sharif. (1985). *HeerWaris Shah*, Lahore, Deptt of Information and Culture, pp 22

activities which ultimately deprived many of their past influence.

“Waris Shah is an evident saint, ----lo, watch, how the boat man is beaten now”¹⁶

“Waris Shah is so wise and chief of sanes”¹⁷

Waris Shah is very sensitive about menial castes. Since he got personal observations and centuries old traditions in his subconsciousness, he says: “Son of a scavenger cannot be a Syed. As the lambs are unable to be horses, in the same way the offshoots of Jatts, Cobblers and oilmen cannot become saints.”¹⁸

It is commonly perceived (no strong evidence is there to testify it) that Waris Shah had illicit relations with a woman of a Kami family and for is reason, a few Jatt young men beat him which made him revengeful towards Jatts. He made the fullest use of his pen to penalize the Jatts.

“O Waris Shah, Jatts are always dishonest, think to fix here another trap of fraud and cheating.”¹⁹

¹⁶Ibid pp 25

¹⁷Ibid pp 167

¹⁸Ibid pp 45

¹⁹Ibid pp 54

Obviously, all Jatts were not dishonest but he included all good and bad Jatts in one category. It would have been fair if he had divided Jattson character.

“As Ranghers got no Saint and Liddhers have no king among them, so in the same way O’ Waris Shah Qazi (judge) has nothing to do with mysticism.”²⁰

“O’ Waris Shah, Jatts, goldsmiths and butchers should never be trusted.”²¹

“If anybody speaks truth, he is ousted from the council of village elders, because the Punches (judges) themselves are thugs and thieves. Nobles are not accommodated here as the chiefs are thieves and vagabonds.”²²

“O Waris Shah, all of these Jatts are thugs rather great thugs”²³

“O Waris Shah, this Jat has become a saint but can a donkey be a saint?”²⁴

“A Syed should not be miser, coward, adulterer and tyrant.”²⁵

It shows he observed some Syeds behaved as he mentioned in this verse, therefore, he condemned and disowned such miserly

²⁰Ibid pp 117

²¹Ibid pp 127

²²Ibid pp 127

²³Ibid pp 128

²⁴Ibid pp 163

²⁵Ibid pp 224

people. In this way, he divided Syeds into two groups on the basis of qualities but avoided the same in the case of Jatts.

“Sheesh s/o Adam is a spiritual leader of weavers and the devil is of Mirasis.”²⁶

“How can a scavenger tell about Ka’aba? He only knows about cow dung.”²⁷

In Heer Waris Shah, the author has widely narrated different castes in a contemptuous and diminutive manner like:

Jat=Jattaitra,	Jatti=Jattaitri,
Choohra (Scavenger)=Choohraitra	Choohri=Choohraitri,
Ranghreti=Ranghret-ri	Mochen=Mochetimughlani= Mughlaiti
Jogi=Jogirraetc ²⁸	

A famous mystic and rebel poet Baba Bulleh Shah was a contemporary of Waris Shah. He was also a Syed by caste but his spiritual guide Shah Inayat Qadri belonged to Arian (an Arab origin tribe) family who are relatively considered inferior to Syeds.

Bulleh Shah’s family was not pleased with the idea to be a disciple to an Arain. They were of the view that a Syed a son of Hazrat Mohammad, Ali and Imam Husain was supposed to

²⁶Ibid pp 21

²⁷Ibid pp 215

²⁸Ibid pp 193-194

guide human beings. Bulleh Shah depicts the feelings of his family:

“The sisters and sisters-in-law came to advise Bulla, submit and leave Arain why do you bring a name to the descendants of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and Ali.”

But Bully Shah who loved his mentor very much, replied:

“Let he be to hell who says me Syed, and I pray for him paradise who declares me Arian. If you want pleasure and gaiety, then become a servant to Arain.”²⁹ Although, Bulleh Shah picked up an Arab origin man for guidance but unlike Waris Shah he did project the human respect. In this connection a reference to another writing of the 19th century “Yaadgar-e-Chishti” will be relevant and interesting. Noor Ahmad Chishti, the author has presented a detailed account of customs and traditions, practiced by different biradris living in Lahore. A critical study of the book shows that by the mid-19th century, Lahore was suffering acute discrimination regarding caste system. Chishti, like others, condemns the downtrodden and menial subjects and pays tributes to the nobles and privileged classes:

“Rituals of the despicable---Arain, Butchers, Oilmen, Cobblers, Washer men, Weavrs etc. ---They are distinguished from others

²⁹Puri, J.R. & ShINGARI, T. R. (2004). *Saen Bullay Shah*, Lahore. Fiction House, pp 254-255

as they do not conceal pregnancies because they do not observe *pardah*.³⁰

He says about barbers:

“They are also a menial tribe and meanness is their fame.”³¹

His opinion for Kakkyzais:

“They are very harsh, clever, cunning, and famous for feuds and riots.”³²

Writes about Mirasi:

“It is also a caste---very despicable and mean”³³

Writes for scavengers:

“They are called *Choohras*, no Muslim likes to make them sit on the same ground.

They lift garbage of every house”³⁴

But look at the remarks about Syeds:

“This is the most noble and superior tribe of all, as they are descendants of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).”³⁵ Amazingly, he bypassed the teachings of Holy Prophet (PBUH) i.e No color, caste and social status but piety matters. Although he reflected

³⁰Chishti, Noor Ahmad. (2004). *Yaadgar-e-Chishti*, Lahore. Book Home, pp 72

³¹Ibid pp 74

³²Ibid pp 75

³³Ibid pp 81

³⁴Ibid pp 116

³⁵Ibid pp 97

what was going on in the Punjabi society, yet his observations about Syed are based on prejudice under the cultural stress.

“It is also, very superior caste and often they are nobles.”³⁶

In British period, three notorious dacoits named Jabroo, Nizam and Malangi were talk of the town for their rebellion against the upper classes. Jabroo was a barber and lived in a village Jamin (district Lahore). Nizam, a blacksmith by profession or caste, came of the village soolan (police station Ganda Singh Wala) while Malangi belonged to the caste of *Faqeer* (beggars). In this way, three of them belonged to menial and downtrodden castes. They started slaughtering and plundering as the local feudal had tried to molest their family women. On this they adopted dacoity as a profession in vengeance. Afterwards all of them were killed on treachery.³⁷ It shows that *izzat/gherat* (modesty of female) was equally observed in the Punjabi society.

Apart from Muslim community, racial superiority complex was in vogue in Hindu castes also. We have an interesting example from British Punjab. In 1904, a Hindu scavenger Gheeloo wished his grandson to be admitted in a Government school in Hafizabad city. The headmaster refused to admit the boy because he belonged to a scheduled caste. Gheeloo approached

³⁶Ibid pp 103

³⁷Ali, Mubarak. (1997). *Tareekh Thug or Daku*, Lahore. Fiction House, pp 239

the highups and got orders to get his grandson admitted. Though admission was allowed, yet a scam rose in city to accommodate the boy with other students at the same place. Several bigoted Hindu families forbade their children to go to school. Pressure was built on the British Government to strike the boy off the rolls but the English officers of the Punjab Education Department were of the view that to them, a scavenger's son was equal to the sons of Khattris, Jatts and Aroras (the superior castes). On this exemplary stand, the protest was cooled down and the boy carried on his studies along with other students.³⁸

This centuries old classification of castes and their contempt continued in British period also. Sir Denzel Ibtson and E. D. Maclegan/ H. A. Rose have treated most of the backward castes contemptuously in their writings.³⁹ They did a laudable task by classifying Punjab castes according to their professions. In this way they became successful to consolidate the scattered caste system of this region. According to Sir Ibston, profession is the first factor on the extended ground of caste. A common profession involves a partial organization of political difference and social status that is specified in Indian caste system. So the social status and caste are co-related and act reciprocally. Up-gradation in social status is related to

³⁸ Sheikh, Aziz Ali. (1997). *Tareekh Hafizabad*, Lahore: Fiction House, pp 137

³⁹ Ibiston, Danzel. (1998). *Punjab keZaatain*, Lahore: Fiction House. pp 23

increase in political importance, after that a caste is upgraded or its decline also becomes responsible for damage to social status.⁴⁰

Although the British performed a commendable job in consolidating the scattered Punjab castes subtracting faith and religion of the people, yet this classification provided a legal ground to bifurcate Punjabis in two different factions. First several races and castes of the region were declared as “criminal” and on the other hand some tribes and castes were bestowed the title of “Martial Races”.⁴¹ So millions were destined to be “criminals” according to the provisions of the “Criminal Tribes Act 1871”.⁴² They lived in organized tribes, enjoying different cultures and values. Odes, Chagerrs, Gujjars and Sansees are some examples. These tribes were mainly pastors by profession and reared cattle in the pastures and follow lands along the river sides. Being declared “criminals” they were deprived of their lands and resources like Aborigines of America, Australia and New Zealand. So the lands of these natives were allotted to newcomers and settlers from other districts of the province who with the help of local administration ejected them. The lands in question comprised

⁴⁰Maclegean, E. D. & Rose, H. A. (2005). *Punjab kayRasm-o-Riwajka Encyclopedia*, Lahore: Book Home

⁴¹Ibston, Danzel.,Opcit. pp 24

⁴²Metcalf, Thomas, R. (1995). *Ideologies of Raj*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, pp 122-123

those Canal Colonies where 5086587 acres of lands were allotted to the settlers. Thus British Punjab obliged by the colonization produced a faithful class of feudals and large estate owners, completely allied to the British rulers. Later these areas became remarkable recruitment centers and produced a large number of soldiers to fight in the World War I & II.⁴³

Ethnicity and discrimination became sharper in the Punjabi society, when the land became a valuable commodity and the rulers enacted the Punjab Alienation Land Act in 1900. This act brought acute racial discrimination as Government of the Punjab was empowered to declare any caste or tribe as “agrarian or no agrarian”. So under this act, a large number of native cultivators were declared “non-agrarian.” Ridiculously, some castes were agrarian in one district and non-agrarian in the other.⁴⁴ The foreign rulers successfully created here such an effective rural aristocracy that strengthened their imperialistic intentions.⁴⁵ They not only watched the Indian society through the mirror of caste and racial system but also considered allegiance of an individual to his tribe and genealogical connection. Kinship and blood relations were the basic factors

⁴³ Vandal, Pervaiz. (2004). *Punjab ka Ibtidai Bertanvi Daur*. Lahore, Quarterly Tareekh, Issue 20, pp 93, 97

⁴⁴ Grewal, I, S. (2003). *Punjab Mein Zarai Paidawar or Nauabadyati Policy*. Lahore, Quarterly Tareekh, Issue 20 pp 153-157

⁴⁵ Gimartin, Ddavid. (1988). *Empire and Isalm*. Berkeley: Cambridge University Press, pp 5

to them. British settlement officers and courts took into account this factor while deciding inheritance issues. Regular study of the organization of Punjabi society started in the decade of 1860-70 and the factor of caste and tribe dominated this perusal. Interpreting the said basic factor, C. L. Tupper declared it a patriarchal connection of genealogy, encircling the offspring of common ancestors. After this the British toiled themselves to the caste and tribe system of the area because it suited their imperial designs.⁴⁶ Census of 1881 paved the way to produce gigantic work of Ibston, Maclegan and Sir Richard Temple. The theme of this commendable piece of task tells about a social structure of different factions based on caste and tribe system. Caste is the basic hurdle of Punjabi society as it has clutched the action of evolutionary change. It was also supposed that Punjabi races by virtue of civilization coincided with the old Europe society but bear imperfect knowledge, so their social and evolutionary transfer is indebted to European political system of government.⁴⁷

Being declared “castaways” socially, the downtrodden and menial classes of Punjabi society soon realized the importance of superior castes, so a trend of changing biradris and conversion started and is in practice to date. Aspiration to

⁴⁶Thomas, Metcalf., opcit. pp 129

⁴⁷Umer, Nadeem. (2004). *Jadeed Punjab ke Tashkeel aur Mustashriqeenka Qirdar*. Lahore: Quarterly Tareekh, issue 20.2004 pp 102-106

upgrade their socially low castes, the butchers became Qureshi, weavers (Ansari) Rehmat Elahi, Potter Rehmani, and the Hindu converts became Muslim Sheikh. The low caste non-Muslims called themselves *Deendar or Musalli*. Taheems proved themselves as the descendants of AAL-Tameem; Penhores declared themselves the kin of Hazrat Haris (brief intro), Sammas linked them with Ikrma Bin AbiJahl while Somros declared themselves as from the historical city of Samra.⁴⁸ A prominent caste of Lahore, Kakkyzais (as all Pathans or Pashtoons do) claim that they belong to the famous lost tribe of Jews and they were different from the arian castes and tribes of Pakistan and Afghanistan.⁴⁹ Arian another important *biradrisay* that they belong to Arabi race and are descendants of Sheikh Saleem Rai, from Areha (Syria) along with the forces of Mohammad Bin Qasim in 712 A.D.⁵⁰

Keeping in view the importance of birdri or tribe factor the English rulers established a new system (though inherited from the old Mughal feudal system) in which effective and strong superior tribes and families were bestowed large estates for their loyalty and military services. These feudal and *peers*

⁴⁸Ali, Mubarak. (1997). *Barr-e-Sagheer Mein MusalmanMuasharyKaAlmeya*. Lahore: Fiction House, pp 23

⁴⁹Furrukh, Malik. (2006). *MusalmanonKeKirdarKushi*. Lahore: DrFurrukh Malik Trust, PP187-188

⁵⁰Ghalib, Mian Abbas. (2007). *TerjmanAlraee*, Lahore: The Mall PP 01

(spiritual leaders) had the best relations with the rulers. The latter deliberately deprived the masses of amenities but favored their faithful and partisans.⁵¹ In 1911, King George V celebrated his accession ceremony in Delhi and the courtiers attended this *darbar* were the feudal and Nawabs of Karnal, Ambala, Rhtak, Ludhiana, Gurgaon Maleerkotla, Delhi, Hissar, Kangra, Khanpur and Shahpur.⁵² Not to talk of foreign rulers, even Sir Fazl-i-Husain depended on these feudals and large estate owners when he established Punjab Unionist Party in 1923. Nawab Muzaffar Ali Qazalbash, Nawab Shahnawaz Mamdot, Malik Umar Hayat Tiwana and his son Khizer Hayat Tiwana for Shahpur, Sikandar Hayat Khan (Khattarr) from Campbellpur, Nawab Malik Ata Mohammad Khan of Kalabagh, Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani of Muzaffergharh, Mian Ahmad Yar Daultana of Ludden (Vehari), Qureshis and Gilanis of Multan, Sials of Jhang, Kharals of Kamalya and several Ghakkers, Mazaris and Lagharis were included.⁵³

Realizing extraordinary favor to the Punjab feudal and privileged families, the low castes also stood for their rights. Almost every biradri established its association. Objectives of

⁵¹ Mahmood, Safdar. (1982). *Muslim League Ka Daur-e-Hakoomat*. Lahore: Ghalib Publisher, pp 146

⁵² Shibli, A.R. (1994). *Pakistan kay Daih Khuda*. Lahore, Pk: Aatish Fishan Publication pp 18

⁵³ Chaudhary, Zahid. (1990). *Muslim Punjab Ka Seyasi Irteqa (1849-1947)*. Lahore, Pk: Idara Mutala Tareekh, pp 106-113

these associations did not aim at welfare of society or eradication of unnecessary customs or improvement of economic conditions of the community but to share the political rights. In April 1944, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah visited Lahore and stayed with prominent Muslim League leader Malik Barkat Ali. People from different walks of life came to see him. Malik Allah Din Barrster also met him who was an Awan by caste. During the meeting, he asked Jinnah, "How much share Awans will get from the proposed Pakistan?" Jinnah asked surprisingly, "Who are Awans?" At this MALIK Baarkat Ali explained that Awans were a biradri of Punjab. This annoyed Jinnah who retaliated, "Pakistan is not going to be established for one Biradri."⁵⁴

Conclusion

Biradri and caste present the same meaning although biradri can establish its recognition on professional basis. British did not introduce a new policy in the Punjab rather such a culture existed already in this region. They picked up the strategy and utilized it to strengthen their position in the Punjab. The main caste particularly landowner elites and Syeds remained faithful to British rule. The character of Sadat as projected by Waris Shah was not demonstrated in the political domain and instead they enjoyed every position displaying loyal character. After the creation of Pakistan, division of caste system deepened than before. A remarkable number of *Peers* (spiritual leaders), Syed families and other superior castes or

⁵⁴Batalvi, A, Hussain. (1961).

biradris established their monopoly in the local and national politics by virtue of spiritualism and feudalism. They grabbed power and society, supported by their large estates and racial superiority.⁵⁵ Post-partition Pakistan Punjab was a bearer of “authoritative culture” and it has maintained its traditional political role to this day.⁵⁶ In this inherited system of united India, castes and *biradris* have strengthened the feudal and large estate owners and these classes are always interlinked. When a member of certain feudal community comes to power, he takes care of the other ‘class fellows’ and render help in case of job, promotion, grants and influence in getting large contacts.⁵⁷ To sum, all odds come from so-called *biradrism* and as ‘social solidarity’ as propounded by Ibn-i-Khaldun it could be utilized in a positive sense but the history of the Punjab hardly provides an appreciable turning point pushed by this phenomenon.

⁵⁵Jabeen, Robina. (1990). *Punjab Main Qaumi Assembly Kay Intikhabat* (Thesis MA, University of the Punjab) pp 70

⁵⁶Ibid pp 08

⁵⁷Dunkin, Emma. (1990). *Pakistan Ka Syasi Safar Nama*: Lahore, Pk: Maqbool Academy pp 76-77

Ethnic Cleansing: Survival of the Hazaras in 19th Century

Fida Hussain*

Abstract

The Hazaras are regarded as the aboriginals of Afghanistan. They are Turko-Mongol by their origin and predominantly live in central Afghanistan, known as Hazarajat. They are considered one of the most persecuted ethnic groups on the surface of the earth. The history of their persecution goes so long, but during the 19th century the Amir of Afghanistan, Abdur Rahman Khan, with the support of the British Indian Government, massacred 63% of the Hazaras' population. Almost all of the Afghan tribes participated in the ethnic cleansing of the Hazaras, as a result of which a large number of them fled to Central Asia, Iran and present-day Pakistan to save their life. Though the British authorities in London expressed their concerns over the mass killings of the Hazaras, yet they hesitated to stop Abdur Rahman Khan from the crimes against humanity. Even today the Hazaras face discrimination

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and persecution from both the secular and religious factions of Afghanistan.

Introduction:

Given the strong connotation linked to ‘ethnic cleansing’ this paper will begin by highlighting the emergence and definition of the term. It will review the origin and ethnographic history of the Hazara people living in Afghanistan. Next the paper will discuss the Great Game, illustrating the tug of war between the British Empire and the Tsarist Russia over the control of Afghanistan, as well as the enforcement of Abdur Rahman Khan on Afghanistan by the British Government. As a result of an agreement between the British Government and Abdur Rahman Khan, the Hazaras of Hazarajat underwent a dramatic political blow: mass murders and starvation, enslavement of women and children, heavy taxation, large-scale migration, persecution, and an almost complete destruction of the social, political and economic system. There is a vast amount of academic literature on the genocides of Armenians, Jews, Cambodians, Bosnians, and Rwandans. However, there is a scarcity of academic work pertaining to the ethnic cleansing of the Hazaras occurred

between the years 1880-1893. The tremendous costs of political mass killings in terms of human life warrant a full investigation of the historical atrocities. This research work will utilize social scientific literature, news sources and other relevant documents to evaluate the role of Britain and Afghans in the ethnic cleansing of the Hazaras. As the literature review will show the scholars have looked into each of these different perspectives in detail. However, there remains a need for the overview produced in this research work.

Emergence and definition of the term ethnic cleansing

The term ethnic cleansing is the literal translation of the Serbo-Croatian expression *etničko ciscenje* (Petrovic, 1994). It was first coined during the internal clashes in the former Yugoslavia amid 1990 and 1995, explained as a series of human rights and humanitarian law violations in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Initially, the journalists and politicians began using the term, who applied it later to other crisis situations, which progressively imbued the official vocabulary of UN Security Council documents and other UN institutions and governmental and non-governmental international organizations (Blum et al, 2008).

The Special UN Rapporteur Mazowiecki of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia defined ethnic cleansing in his report of 17 November 1992 in the following terms:

The term ethnic cleansing refers to the elimination by the ethnic group exerting control over a given territory of members of other ethnic groups (UN Doc. 1992).

According to Pegorier (2010) the term is by no means a new one; it is rather '*a new name for an old crime*' (p.38). About its origins, Bell-Fialkoff (1999) suggests that the first apparent example dates from 883-859 B.C. when the Assyrians dislodged 4.5 million people in order to bring more areas under their authority. The Babylonian Empire, Ancient Greece, and the Roman Empire were also responsible for acts of ethnic cleansing likewise ambitious by economic gain through the occupation of new territories (Pegorier, 2010). In the Middle Ages also, the religious minorities faced the similar atrocities, while in early modern times the crime developed a largely ethnic character (Bell-Fialkoff, 1999). Obviously, ethnic cleansing has a long chronological tradition, the major

objective and focus of which—political, religious, ethnic—has varied to a large extent over the centuries. Similarly, the Hazaras of Afghanistan also went through ethnic cleansing during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Who are the Hazaras?

It has been 130 years since Afghanistan has transformed into a state. The country is composed of diverse ethnic groups not yet formed into a formidable national society. The Hazaras constitute as one of the largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan, next to the Pashtuns, Tajiks and Uzbeks. They inhabit predominantly in the central regions of the country, where they have lived for more than 2000 years (Ferrier, 1857; Bellew, 1891; Diljo, 2013). The historical evidences of the country reveal that the country's authority is controlled by a specific ethnic group, essentially antagonistic to the Hazara people. The study of the Hazaras had been consciously restrained to the extent that they have remained mysterious as a people to many of their own countrymen and to the rest of the world. The little information written about the history and origin of the Hazaras by foreign academics, diplomats or travelers represent the policy of the government of Afghanistan. In the past few years, some latest information about the origination of Hazaras has begun to appear, which give reasons that Hazaras are the aboriginals of the country.

Ferrier (1857) has been the first who proposed the theory of the native origin of the Hazaras, and he believed that they had inhabited this region since the time of Alexander the Great. Bellew (1891) has also discussed the expedition of Alexander the Great and his contact with the Hazaras in modern-day Afghanistan. Likewise, Diljo (2013) relates the Hazaras with Aghuz Khanids, Kushanids, Hephthalites, Zaolids, Western Turks, Gharjistanids, Ghorids, Ghaznavids and Mongols. He argues that they all contributed to form the nation of Hazara.

In terms of religion majority of the Hazaras are the follower of Shia Islam, particularly from the Twelver sect. Nevertheless, there are some Ismailis and Sunni Hazaras. Scholars believe that the Hazaras adopted Shia Islam in the time of the Safavid Dynasty in Persia, probably in the early stages of the 16th century. Unfortunately, since the majority of the population in Afghanistan are Sunni Muslims, the Hazaras have faced discrimination and persecution for centuries.

History of persecution against the Hazaras

Since the Hazaras' formation as an ethnic group, they established themselves as an independent nation surrounded by hostile nations. These nations often occupied the villages on the periphery of Hazarajat and forced the Hazaras to pay taxes (Poladi, 1989). The Mongol rulers Timurlane, Shah Rukh and Babar used to send forces to Kabul and Ghazni

to collect taxes from the Hazaras. For over two hundred years, the Persian Safavid and the Indian Mughal Dynasties fought for the control of the Hazara inhabited areas in Khurasan (Poladi, 1989). Similarly, the Abdali and Ghilzai Afghans¹ spread from their mountain homes in Sulaiman range over the more fertile lands of Hazaras in Kandahar, Zamindawar and Arghandab valleys (Poladi, 1989). In 1747, Nadir Shah appointed Ahmed Shah Abdali the governor of Kandahar, who forced the Hazaras to escape to the north towards the mountains (Poladi, 1989).

The historical sources explain that Hazarajat² had been a completely autonomous region throughout the history. It was without any central authority and ruled through political elites known as Mir, Syed, Shaikh and Ulema, who had established their own petty governments within their areas of influence (Poladi, 1992). Apart from their foreign enemies, these leaders had constant disputes among themselves. Likewise, the Shia and Sunni Hazaras were engaged in sectarian clashes (Maitland, 1891). Given the Hazaras' weak political

¹ The name 'Afghan' was used in reference to a member of the ethnic Pashtuns. Therefore, Afghanistan translates to land of the Afghans or, more specifically land of the Pashtuns. However, in this article, the word Afghans mean the Pashtuns only. Later, the Constitution of Afghanistan applied the word Afghan to every citizen of Afghanistan.

² The Hazara inhabited areas are called Hazarajat.

configuration and internal problems, every Afghan ruler attempted to capture Hazarajat. The Afghans wanted to subjugate Hazarajat for its location which provided an essential trade route that linked northeastern Afghanistan with the west (Khanov, 1992). To that effect, Dost Muhammad Khan treacherously murdered Mir Yazdan Bakhsh of Behsud tribe, who he thought might challenge his authority and control over Hazarajat (Khanov, 1992).

The Hazaras of Ghazni were particularly under the rough treatment of the Afghans. They were forced to pay heavy taxes to Dost Muhammad Khan, his son Sher Ali Khan, his grandson Abdur Rahman Khan and to other Afghan warlords. These taxes were received in proportion to the size and income of each tribe (Burnes, 1841). The Afghan forces treated Hazaras brutally while collecting these taxes. If any of the tribe was unable to pay tax during famine or other reasons, each family was bound to submit a son as a slave (Burnes, 1841).

Apart from the heavy taxes, the Shaikh Ali Hazaras were also responsible for providing food and fodder to the Afghan forces when they passed through their lands. In 1882, due to extreme suppressive policies, the Turkman, Parsa, Mansur, Bacha Ghulam and Mian Nashin Hazaras rebelled

against the Afghan forces. A British agent reported from Hazarajat that *'Afghan forces burnt the fortresses in Mian Nashin and Morghab, and killed eighty men including several children. They siezed forty women and children, brought them to Haz and sold them one by one'* (British Diaries, 1885).

The southern Hazaras were under constant attacks from the Ghilzai Afghans. They would burn the dead bodies of the Hazaras killed in battles. During the conflict between Ghilzais and Amir Abdur Rahman, Hazaras supported the later but they rescued and provided shelter to the Ghilzai women and children (Kakar, 1971).

The rise of Abdur Rahman Khan

For centuries, Afghanistan has been an object of contentions and conspiracies by the different regional and international powers. During the early nineteenth century, the British Government began to realize the mounting threat to the security of British India. They feared that political uncertainty in Persia, Central Asia and Afghanistan would stir up problems in India. This concern intensified in 1829 over Russian intentions in Central Asia, Turkey and Persia (Rashidvash, 2012). Britain believed that Russia will attempt military campaign either across the Khanates of Central Asia to the Oxus, the Hindu Kush and Kabul, and finally to the Indus, or through Persia, Herat and Balochistan (Mohmand, 2014). They

were concerned if the Russian influence increased in Persia and Afghanistan, it will cause unrest in India. Increased military expenditure, for maintaining the law and order in India, would have been disastrous to the finances of British India. For that reason, the British Government started to play the 'Great Game' in Asia in 1829, bearing in mind, the prevention of invasion of India was a better option than bankruptcy and rebellion (Anick, 1970).

However, aroused by the fears caused by the Russian advancement, Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control of East India Company in 1828, began to realize that detailed knowledge of Central Asia and Afghanistan was lacking. There was also a deficiency of maps. Ellenborough wrote to the Duke of Wellington and the Governor of Bombay to set about obtaining reliable military, political, commercial and geographical intelligence on the countries between the Caspian and the Indus (Whittridge, 1989). On 12 January 1830, Ellenborough's suggestions were forwarded by the Secret Committee of the Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General. For the purpose of gathering intelligence information, a prudent British officer, Lieutenant Alexander

Burnes³ was called from England to implement Ellenborough's strategic policy. In early 1832, Alexander Burnes started the first officially sponsored British journey into Afghanistan and Central Asia and the first practical manifestation of the Great Game, making him famous (Whittridge, 1989).

In order to get control of Afghanistan, Britain fought the two Anglo-Afghan wars of 1839-1842 and 1878-1880, the two most significant battles of the Great Game. British Government wanted to establish a regime in Afghanistan favorable to its political interests. On July 22, 1880, Abdur Rahman Khan was acknowledged as a ruler of Afghanistan by the British Government. He was promised with assistance of arms and money, and help in case of foreign aggression. A distinguished member of the political department of the Indian Civil Service, Lepel Griffin, reached Kabul, his mission being to further the selection and acceptance of a capable ruler to be left in possession (Bosin, 2009; Payne, 2012).

³Alexander Burnes was a Scottish traveler and explorer. At the age of sixteen, he joined the army of the East India Company. He surveyed the route through Kabul to Bukhara and produced the first detailed account of Afghan politics. His memoir 'Travels into Bukhara' was a best seller when it was first published in 1835.

When Abdur Rahman Khan received the offer of being the next Amir of Afghanistan, many English newspapers in India and England wrote: *'We granted the throne to Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, and he is our paid servant'* (Khan, 1900: 124). In his memoir Abdur Rahman Khan wrote:

I am thankful to the Marquis of Ripon, who greatly encouraged me by every assurance of friendship during his Viceroyalty. The Marquis of Ripon fixed 12 lakhs of rupees (1.2 million) as the annual subsidy for my government, for fortification of border line and for strengthening of my army (Khan, 1900: 116). The Viceroy also gave me heavy batteries and rifles, and promised to give further assistance when required (Khan, 1900: 129).

After a period of time when Abdur Rahman Khan proved his loyalty to the British Government, the British officials left Afghanistan and handed over the country to the new Amir. The subjugation of Hazarajat was already in the plan, it, however, gained pace after 1985 when the Afghan Boundary Commission completed the topographic and demographic survey of Hazarajat. With British support Abdur

Rahman Khan not only subjugated the independent Hazarajat but also helped Afghanistan to be a buffer zone between the Indian sub-continent and the Tsarist Russia.

The subjugation plan of Hazarajat

Abdur Rahman Khan when ascended to the seat of Kabul, the Mirs of almost all the large Hazara tribes: Jaghuri, Dai Zangi, Behsud, Malistan and Shaikh Ali, supported him and even stood firm on his side against his Afghan rivals (Khanov, 1992). These Hazaras thought they would build good relations with the Afghans but were unaware of the conspiracies brewing against them in India and Kabul. The outcomes of the survey conducted by the Afghan Boundary Commission revealed the shaky political structure of Hazarajat, which was advantageous for the Anglo-Afghan agenda. Abdur Rahman Khan enticed the smaller groups from the Hazaras of Jaghori and Behsud to join his forces, and those who paid no heed to his orders, faced harassments (Poladi, 1989).

In 1883, British and Afghan forces stationed at Panjdeh made hostage the family of Yalantush Khan. He and Nizam-ud-Dawla, the Hazara chiefs, were suspected to have links with the Russians. Maitland (1891), the incharge of Afghan Boundary Commission, repudiated the claim and remarked that their inclinations were towards the British in preference to the Russians. He adds that on the request of

Afghan authorities, General Lumsden and Colonel Ridgeway wrote to Nizam-ud-Daolaand warned him against Russian intrigue and pressurized him to remain loyal to Amir Abdur Rahman. When the Hazara Chiefs wanted to talk to General Lumsden, the Afghan did not allow them. In May 1886, Yalantush Khan, his sons and several other influential Hazara leaders were arrested on orders from Abdur Rahman Khan and sent to Kabul. In October 1886, they were put to death and the administration of Kush and Kala Nao was handed over to Afghans (Maitland, 1891). The Boundary Commission when completed the fortification process, all the Afghan chiefs and officers were duly presented rifles, guns, pistols and watches as gifts, and hoped that Herat would be a very strong place of defense, and long may it remain the bulwark of the British Indian Empire (Yate, 1888).

On September 3, 1889, Abdur Rahman Khan ordered the Governors of Ghazni, Kandahar, Pusht-e Rud, Saighan and Kahmard, which surrounded the Hazara country from the north, south, east and west, to get ready for the occupation of Hazarajat. Two of the Qizilbashids, Syed Shah Najaf and Muhammad Khan, were ordered to collect the intelligence data from Hazarajat and report to Amir in Mazar-e-Sharif (Poladi, 1989). During the whole theater of operations, Amir Abdul Rahman, kept the entire population: the Hazaras,

Pashtuns, Tajiks and the Uzbeks in dark about the “Great Game” and covertly advanced the British policies in the country. On 7th June 1889, eight Qizilbashids were hired to survey the routes between Kandahar and Turkistan through Hazarajat. They were ordered to collect the particulars about the character of different tribes and the routes whether they were fit for transportation of troops and baggage (British Diaries, 1889).

Sardar Abdul Qudus was appointed Governor of Bamiyan, who arrived there with his forces equipped with batteries of cannons. He had the task of building a cantonment for the forces and further to be used for the subjugation of Hazarajat. The cantonment was built at Tamazan district which was close to Kandahar; supplies and provisions could easily be sent there from Gizu, Chura and Tarin. Arrangements were also made for the construction of roads up to Tamazan (British Diareis, 1890).

The Hazaras who had not yet surrendered to Amir Abdur Rahman were sent letters to surrender or be ready for the punishment. Some of the Hazara tribes left the idea of war but were unhappy with the imposition of heavy taxes levied upon them. These tribes sent their elders to Kabul to convince the Amir for relaxation in taxes. Hamilton (1900) demonstrates that the Amir considered the Hazaras remnants of

the army of Changez Khan, who had occupied the country of Afghans and required them to pay the rent in the form of taxes. The Hazara envoys when failed to persuade the Amir, they returned to their country. About three dozen of the Hazara Mirs sent a letter to the Amir:

“If the Afghans are proud of their temporal Amir, we are proud of our spiritual Amir (Ali), the Master of the sword, Zulfiqar. Hazarajat is a sovereign state, not the dominion of the Afghans. We advise you, for your own good and safety, that you keep away from us (Khan, 1900: 279)”

Faiz Muhammad Katib⁴ (1955) recounts that in May 1891, on receipt of this letter Abdur Rahman Khan ordered the arrest of these leaders. They were arrested and sent to Kabul under the custody of Mir of Dai Zangi, Sardar Azim Baig. For his loyal services, Sardar Azim Baig was given 1,666 rupees from the royal treasury (Katib, 1955). The agents, who were sent to collect the intelligence data returned with important information. They were ordered to report to Sardar Qudus and

⁴ Faiz Muhammad Katib is known as the Father of the History of Afghanistan. He belonged to the Muhammad Khwaja tribe of the Hazaras. He was the court historian of Amir Abdur Rahman, and bulk of the history of Afghanistan is written by him.

inform him of every detail and serve him as guides (Katib, 1900).

Invasion of Hazarajat

On April 2, 1891, Abdur Rahman Khan ordered his forces stationed at Moqur, the Afghan tribes of Wardak, Andari, Tarakai, Ali Khail, Hotaki and the Hazara tribes of Muhammad Khwaja, Jaghatu, Chahar Dasta, Jaghuri, Malistan, Behsud and the Tajiks of Ghazni to march towards Uruzgan via Sar-e-Ab and Malistan, and crush the uprising. Panjsheri infantry positioned at Moqur was also ordered to join Colonel Farhad at Sang-e-Masha and together march towards Uruzgan. He sent messages to his commander-in-chief Ghulam Haider, stationed at Mazar-e Sharif to march towards Uruzgan via Yakawlang. Mirs of Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, Lal and Sar-e-Jangalwere sent messages to provide their armed men along with fodder and other supplies for government forces (Katib, 1955). He also offered the Durrani and Achakzai Afghans to raise an army and eradicate the Hazaras from the soil of Afghanistan (Katib, 1955). In the meantime, twelve modern cannons brought from England had reached the seaport of Karachi (Kabit, 1955).

Following the circulation of these messages, the Hazara tribes got together to defend their country. The Afghan officials stationed in different parts of Hazarajat when observed the

changing attitude of Hazaras, escaped to Kabul. The angry Hazara mobs killed everyone that had links with Amir Abdur Rahman (Khanov, 1992). When Amir received the news of Hazaras' large-scale rebellion, he issued a decree and directed his officials to make the following public announcement in every town and village:

The infidel Hazaras have declared the Muslims (Afghans) infidels. The Amir of Afghanistan has decided to eradicate them so that their sign should not be left in those mountains. The Amir has also decided to distribute their lands and properties among the Afghans. The Amir ordered all the royal and tribal forces from all sides, to attack the rebels' land and not spare a single life. Moreover, those who remain alive should be made slaves and given out to Pashtun tribes (Frantzell, 2011: 28).

Awtadolajam (2005) discusses that on pronouncement of the decree the Mulla of Shor Bazar, a Pashtun cleric, officially issued a 'Fatwa' (religious judgement) to the effect that the Hazaras were infidels and a religious war against them was a religious-bound duty. About thirty thousand men marched to Hazarajat from the different parts of the Pashtun

areas, including Fort Sandeman (Pashin) and Loralai (Districts in present-day Pakistan).

Australian newspaper *The Argus* (1892) reported in 1892 that the situation in Afghanistan caused grave anxiety to both Amir of Afghanistan and British Government in India. In consequence of the serious aspect of affairs, caused by the rising of Hazaras, a body of British troops was dispatched to Jamrood, at the entrance of the Khyber Pass. British Government feared if Abdur Rahman Khan was defeated a general revolt throughout the country was expected. Abdur Rahman Khan, however, refused the interference of the Viceroy of India, Lord Lansdowne (*The West Australian*, 1892). For saving his prestige and throne, Abdur Rahman Khan put into effect the use of enormous power. Along with the regular forces a large number of Afghan nomads (Kochis) also actively participated in the war that was looking forward to capturing the pasture lands in Hazarajat. To meet the expenses of war, the Amir, forced the Afghan families and the traders to defray 85% of their yearly income to the government (Khanov, 1992).

On September 19, 1892, Afghan forces entered Uruzgan. Sardar Abdullah, Governor of Kandahar, summoned the Hazara Chiefs to make terms and sent a sealed Quran to assure that their lives and property would be saved. Mir

Hussain Baig and other Hazara chiefs accordingly came up with about 600 men. No sooner had the Hazaras appeared a signal for slaughter was made. With the exception of the chiefs and their families, all the Hazaras were put to the swords (Poladi, 1989). After the victory, the Afghan forces massacred the people; the houses were looted and then set on fire. Along with their men the children and women were also beheaded. A large number of women and children were sent to Kabul to be sold in the slave markets (Khanov, 1992).

When Amir Abdur Rahman received the message of victory against Uruzgani Hazaras, he ordered celebrations throughout the country including 21-gun salute in every town and village. The Afghan officials distributed the news of this victory to every corner of the country (Katib, 1955). From the spring to summer of 1893, the Hazaras faced great troubles at the hand of Afghan forces. To frighten the Hazaras, Afghan commanders would daily send hundreds of Hazaras' heads to Bamiyan and other areas of Hazarajat (Khanov, 1992). The war correspondents, who were travelling with the Afghan forces, reported the following accounts of Afghan brutalities:

A. Sexual violence against Hazara women

The Afghan soldiers were contemptuous toward Hazaras; they would snatch wives from their husbands and children from their parents. Officers under the command of

Abdul Qudus Khan would take the daughters of Hazara elders by force and spend their time in debauchery (Khanov, 1992). Faiz Muhammad Katib (1955) gives details of the Afghan atrocities that the Afghan forces would raid the villages and take the Hazara women with them. Sardar Qudus when saw the uncontrolled situation, he informed the Amir about the excessiveness of the forces, and released those who were found innocent. The Amir admonished him and ordered not to release them, and further ordered to send all the beautiful Hazara women to Kabul for Amir's harem.

B. Tortures and method of execution

In order to press down the resistance movement of the Hazaras, the Afghan soldiers would employ the cruelest forms of tortures. Katib (1955) mentions that by the Amir's order, his forces used horrendous methods of killings so that the Hazaras ceased to think of rebellion. The Hazaras were tied to the mouths of cannons and blown them into pieces; the same method of punishment the British forces used against Indians during the war of independence in 1857 (USAD Social Science Research Guide 2015-2016). Mosavi (1999) narrates that the Afghan soldiers exercised a number of punishments. Men were tied and dragged by the horses until their flesh begun to fall off their bodies. Cats were placed in the trousers and beaten until they scratched the man's legs and genitals. People were thrown

before the hungry dogs alive and the dead bodies were hanged from the trees. John Alfred Gray (1895), the English Surgeon to Amir Abdur Rahman, describes the terrible punishments the Amir's forces inflicted upon the rebel's followers and their families. Men were tied naked to the post in the bitter winter, water was thrown on them, and they were left to freeze: a strong man would last for two days. Girls had been fastened to the earth and tortured; women and children sold as slaves.

After the Hazaras defeat in the 1890s, the Afghan forces massacred thousands of people in Hazarajat and sent their heads to Kandhar. These heads were put on the points of spears, marched through the streets of Kandahar, and were made a minaret outside the main city gate for memorial (Katib, 1955). The massacres of the same kind, as mentions Poladi (1989), took place in Jaghatu, Muhammad Khwaja, Kurkaba, Qaq, Bobash, Qalandar, Behsud, Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, Gizab, Uruzgan, and Zoi; the Afghan forces cut their heads off and sent them to Kabul.

Resistance movements of the Hazaras

In 1881, the Hazaras of Shaikh Ali were the first to raise arms against the unjust treatment of the Afghan forces. They drove off the Afghan forces from their area and looted the trade caravans that belonged to the Afghan authorities. Abdur Rahman Khan took a punitive action against them and

killed hundreds of the Shaikh Alis (Poladi, 1989). During 1880s, the similar minor resistances were reported from the different parts of Hazarajat but the most important events took place in 1890s. In 1891, Sardar Azeem Baig left the Afghan camp and joined the Hazara rebels. His joining marked a new dimension to Hazaras resistance movement, and the tribes of Polada, Daya, Mir Adina, Chura, Sultan Ahmed and Zaoli, fought under his command. Mir Azeem Baig wanted to turn this uprising into a national movement. He called for a Jirga (Jirga-e Ao Qol) in which a significant number of the Hazara tribes pledged to fight against Amir Abdur Rahman (Khan, 1900).

In July 1892, the uprising movement gained more pace (The Sydney Morning Herald, 1892). It was so appealing that the Hazaras working in Amir's palace in Kabul and the Hazara soldiers in Afghan forces rushed towards Hazarajat to join their national movement. The Uzbeks and the Afghan Governor of Maimana, Muhammad Sharif Khan, the people of Kabul and Kohistan, who were unhappy with the unjust policies of Amir Abdur Rahman, also rendered their services to Hazaras; they would send Kabul's military secrets to the Hazaras (Khanov, 1992).

At the peak of summer in 1892, after the great losses of lives and strong resistance by the Hazaras, Amir Abdur

Rahman withdrew his forces (Riverine Herald, 1892), and decreed the autonomy of Hazarajat (Khanov, 1992). The losses of Afghans were so great that each day piles of dead bodies were transported to Kandahar and the other Afghan neighborhoods. This caused confusion and demoralization among the general masses and the Afghan forces. In the same way, expenses of war were mounting up to unbearable heights for Kabul. The British agents reported to the higher authorities:

It appears from the statements of the tribal levies, who have returned to Kandahar from Hazarajat, the Hazaras are in an excellent state of discipline and the troops under the Kandahar Governor are rapidly getting demoralized (British Diaries, 1892).

On the other hand, after the damages of war, shortages of food and widespread diseases, the Hazaras were unable to continue their resistance. Many of the families migrated towards Sistan, Iran and Bukhara. The remaining was divided in different groupings. The first group decided to send their envoys to Kabul for dialogues; to make sure the safety of their envoys, they made hostage some of the Afghan notables (Khanov, 1992). They planned, had the dialogue failed, they would leave for Iran. The second group had no trust in Amir

and neither had enough resources to continue their war, they decided to migrate towards British India (present-day Pakistan) and Iraq. The last group was determined to fight against Amir Abdur Rahman till the last drop of their blood (Khanov, 1992).

Although, the Hazaras forced Abdur Rahman Khan to withdraw his forces from Hazarajat yet they lacked the strategies of war. The agents when carried out the messages of Hazaras' downtrodden state of organization to Abdur Rahman Khan, he deserted the idea of withdrawal. In May 1893, he ordered a grand operation to arrest the Hazara leadership. Thousands of families, unable to resist further, migrated towards the north, south and west (Poladi, 1989).

The northern region of Hazarajat was peaceful while the central and southern Hazaras were fighting their war of independence. They turned violent when Abdur Rahman Khan ordered the arrest of Hazara leadership. They had supported the Amir in crushing the Hazaras of central and southern Hazarajat therefore, when they started their war rest of the Hazaras remained silent. The Hazaras of Yakawlang, Waras, Tamazan and Gizab arrested the Afghan Governors and officials stationed in their areas. The Hazaras of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi consolidated a joint force against the Afghan forces stationed at Kotal-e Gharak (Poladi, 1989). Behsudi Hazaras also proclaimed their armed struggle and attacked the Afghan

Governor Kahindal Khan, camped at Diwal Qol Village; he was arrested and detained (Katib, 1955).

On May 5, 1893, Abdur Rahman Khan wrote to the general Hazara masses with the purpose to keep them away from supporting the Mirs of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi. In response to the Hazara Mirs made public all the letters which they confiscated from the Afghan Governors sent by the Amir. These letters contained the orders of Amir for the arrest of all Mirs, Sayeds, Karbalais and Zawars (Poladi, 1989).

A London based newspaper Newcastle Morning Herald (1893) circulated the intelligence report on May 9, 1893 that rebel Hazaras were making raids and Amir Abdur Rahman had asked for British reinforcements from Kandahar. It was the last major uprising by the Hazaras. They were defeated at Kotal-e Tamazan and Spikh Sang village. After the victory, the Afghan forces massacred the entire population and burned villages, stretching from Band-e Amir to the region of Sar-e Jangal.

Overall impacts on Hazaras

Until 4th July 1893, except some small skirmishes, the Afghan forces almost succeeded to end Hazara rebellion throughout Hazarajat. It was a costly war for the Hazaras, both materially and in terms of human lives. Their country was desolated. Their villages and forts were destroyed. Their crops and other vegetation were set afire. Their animals were driven

to the Afghan camps. The pillars of the heads of the slaughtered Hazaras were made at points on the highways as a warning to others who might contemplate a trial of strength with the Afghans (Frantzell, 2011). Merchants coming from Hazarajat reported that food grains were so scarce in the vicinity of Uruzgan and Dai Zangi that merchants and travellers dared not visit (Poladi, 1989). Minority Rights Group International (2017) estimates that Hazaras were once the largest Afghan ethnic group constituted nearly 67% of the total population of the state before the 20th century, more than half of the Hazaras population was massacred when they lost their autonomy as a result of political action. The impacts of ethnic cleansing on Hazaras was disastrous, it ravaged every aspect of Hazara society as given below:

A. Mass-scale killings

Due to Afghan atrocities, the Hazara population reduced to a large extent. For example, out of seventeen thousand families in Yakawlang only seven hundred were left in the district. Prior to uprising of 1892-93, Behsud tribe consisted of twenty thousand families, but after defeat of Hazaras the number of families reduced to six thousand four hundred families, almost 68% of the Behsud tribe was eliminated (Mosavi, 1999). This is also worth mentioning that Behsud tribe had less participation in wars than other Hazara

tribes. Here it can be fairly envisaged that those Hazara tribes who resisted Afghan forces throughout the period of war should have suffered far greater losses.

B. Arrest and murder of the Hazara leadership

After the victory, Amir Abdur Rahman set up a high authority committee under the patronage of Gul Khan and Sultan Ali Khan Jaghori for the arrest of absconding Hazara notables. From January to March 1894, the committee arrested 806 people and sent them to Kabul. These Hazara elders were charged with instigating hatred among the Afghans and the Hazaras therefore, their presence in Hazarajat was considered a great risk. They were brought to Kabul and majority of them were shot to death, while others were either sent to prisons or deported to Jalalabad, Bagram or in the outskirt of Kabul, leaving the masses without any leadership (Khanov, 1992).

C. Confiscation of lands and properties

On April 17, 1894, Abdur Rahman Khan ordered confiscation of all the significant properties and pastoral lands in Hazarajat and were distributed among the Afghans. No Hazara was allowed to use those pastures for grazing (Khanov, 1992). Afghan nomads would destroy standing crops of Hazaras or would send their cattle to ruin their fields. Upon saving their crops, nomads would not hesitate to kill the Hazaras. The Afghan Governors, instead of serving justice to

Hazaras, would let the nomads use these lands as pastures. The Afghan nomads gradually changed the Hazaras agricultural lands into pastures for their cattle. Farming and cattle breeding were main sources of living in Hazarajat but due to Afghan brutalities the region fell into serious economic crisis (Poladi, 1989).

The whole Afghan nation seemed to be rushing towards Hazarajat for the booty. Especially in Dai Chopan and Uruzgan people were forced to leave their lands. These lands were either nationalized or distributed to the different Afghan tribes such as Durrani, Ghilzai and Mulla Khail, who would come to Pakistan during winter and returned to Hazara owned lands (now possessed by these tribes) in summer (Poladi, 1989).

D. Slave trade

In March 1894, by the Amir's order, slavery of Hazaras was legalized. The Hazara prisoners were sold in the open markets and the royal treasury received its share from the slave trade. The same news is corroborated by The Express and Telegraph (1893) that Amir of Afghanistan had sold 10,000 prisoners as slaves with a view to obtaining means to defray the expenses of war with the Hazaras. Only Kandahar Government earned yearly income of sixty to seventy thousand rupees. This lucrative business in Afghanistan, which only included Kandahar and the surrounding areas, earned the

government six to seven hundred thousand of rupees. Each slave was sold between sixty to one hundred and twenty rupees. Only in Kandahar each year seventy-two thousand slaves were traded in the markets (Khanov, 1992).

E. Religious persecution

The Hazaras were religiously persecuted and were forced to follow the Hanafi Sunni faith. Sunni religious leaders were stationed all over Hazarajat, and Takyakhana. Shia places of worship were converted into mosques. Abdur Rahman Khan ordered to build one mosque for each fifty and 100 Hazara families and Sunni scholars were appointed to teach them Islamic principles according to Hanafi Sunni belief. On the night of June 22, 1896, at the village of Bolmarah, Turkistan, the Shias were celebrating their religious mourning, the Afghan officials attacked the village and forced them to disperse, Abdur Rahman Khan congratulated his officials for their action (Poladi, 1989).

F. Mass migration

After losing war and the fall out of suppressive policies of the Aghan Governors, life in Hazarajat was unbearable. Because of the destruction of their houses and crops, and because of the fear of enslavement, thousands of Hazara families took refuge in the neighboring countries. They flooded towards frontiers without fear of death from the Afghan

officials (Poladi, 1989). In 1897, Russian Government allowed Hazaras to seek refuge in Russia; a large number of Hazaras migrated towards the north (Khanov, 1992).

The Hazaras also carried out resistances against the government in the years 1900, 1901, 1903, 1908, 1909 and 1914, but were easily dominated as they lacked the strength which they previously exhibited in the years 1892-93. During the thirty-four years of war of independence and resistance against the ferocious attacks of the Afghans the Hazara sources say that they lost 63% of their population, estimating around 2.4 million lives. On the other hand, due to frequent failures of movements the Hazaras lost hope, consequently, their mass migration from their country gained pace.

Ethnic cleansing of the Hazaras and the British negligence

According to Lieutenant General George Macmunn, the British Governor General was extremely displeased upon news of many leaders being sent to Kabul for public execution, and the story of these punishments gave rise to questions in the House of Commons. Abdur Rahman Khan responded, '*Neither do the English like the rebellions. And it is not so long ago since English and Scottish gentlemen who rebelled, were publically executed with appalling savagery*' (Macunn, 1929:

239). The Hazara servicemen of Broadfoot's Sappers⁵ also tried to get the British authorities to intervene, but they were refused that it would be unlawful act to support them against their lawful overlord (Macunn, 1929).

Conclusions

- The sociopolitical nature of Afghanistan forced the British Government to conclude an agreement with Abdur Rahman Khan. This agreement allowed the later to rule the country in exchange for endorsing British political interests in the region. The major concern of the British establishment was to take control of the local population and stop the Russian manipulation of them. In pursuit of the British concern, Abdur Rahman Khan crushed the independent but disintegrated Hazara tribal formations.
- Apart from the British interest, the subjugation of Hazarajat benefited the Afghans from different perspectives:
 - a) It helped Abdur Rahman Khan to divert the rebellious Afghan tribes in the direction of Hazaras;

⁵Broadfoot's Sappers were British Scouts. The Hazaras joined Sappers in 1830s.

- b) Unlike his predecessors, Abdur Rahman Khan also coveted Hazarajat as a trade route that linked northeast of the country with the west and also as a source of revenue generation in the form of taxes;
- c) Afghan nomadic tribes confiscated vast areas of agricultural and pastoral lands in Hazarajat. Moreover, the Afghan forces earned good amount of money through selling the Hazara women and children as slaves.
- Several of the Hazara tribes helped the Afghan forces to subdue the independent Hazaras, it was one of the main reasons they lost their war against the Afghans.
- The conflict between the Afghans and the Hazaras was a political one but portrayed as an ethnic and religious conflict by Abdur Rahman Khan, and fuelled by superpower politics. British knew it is supporting a regime in Afghanistan involved in the ethnic cleansing of the Hazaras, but it deliberately kept a criminal silence against the systematic racial extermination of the Hazaras committed by its paid servant, Abdur Rahman Khan.

Quranic Basis of Constitutional Theory

Author: Dr Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri

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Reviewer: Miss Ammara Tabassum

The main purpose of this procedural reorientation is to sift fact from fantasy and to acquaint the readers with the essentials of the most glorious divine creed. Sentimental muzzling of facts in the past or an uncritical appraisal of reality has done a great disservice to the saner and more enduring aspects of Islam and has resulted in an unnecessary twisting of its basic tenets. This book can be divided into five broad divisions. Introductory pages relate to the conception of state. A state is a defined territory of human society. It is politically organized and possesses a sovereign government which is absolutely capable of entering into relations with other states. Each state formulates its policies in the light of its ideology or national interest. State policies are a measured reflection of its priorities and determine the nature of its relationship with other states. He also throws light upon the real nature of state. He maintains that states are independent to choose the set of principles by

which they would like to be governed and which acquire the halo and sanctity of an inviolate trust. Anyone who tries to flirt and philander with the operative values of a state, calls on himself the furious viols of wrath that Nature cares to pour down on its intractable rebels. Thus state must possess a system that should serve to regulate not only its internal policies and its national character, but also to adjust its external relations with other states. The beautiful wording demonstrates the core analysis of the first division of this book is that the definition reduces it to the following functioning ingredients: (i) permanent population (ii) specific territory (iii) political organization (iv) sovereign power – its complete immunity from accountability by virtue of its self-galvanizing structure. The state must follow an order or a system to make itself indispensable in the eye of the people. Without such an organizing principle, it degenerates into a series of in coordinate and improvised out-bursts and loses the very purpose for which it comes into existence.

In second division of this book, author gives detailed analysis of Islamic state and its determining factors. It explains that an Islamic state is a Muslim state, ruled by tis chosen representatives, who function in a purely consultative manner and work for the enforcement and advancement of the politico-legal and socio-economic order of Islam. Its government is not

sovereign in the absolute sense. Its status is a trust and vicegerency to the manifestative sovereignty of the prophet hood of Hazarat Muhammad (peace be upon him), who is the direct recipient of imperishable and inviolable divine authority and who is the last apostle of God Almighty, the sole ultimate sovereign of the unimaginable and inconceivable universe.(4). An Islamic state is a human society which is politically organized and inhabits a defined territory. But it does not operate only within specific territorial, linguistic, tribal, racial, sectional and sectarian loyalties. These loyalties are only accidental and accretional features which should be extinguished and eliminated by determining factors of Islamic state, i.e Islamic state is an ideological state, and its nature of rule is positively a representative state, neither dictatorial nor despotic. It is structured on the voluntary consent of the people not being totalitarian or authoritarian and lastly its functioning is completely congruent with the objectives and laws of Shariah.

The third portion of the book signifies the constitution and is also concerned with its nature and scope. It is a set of legal rules which define the powers of different organs of the government of a country. It is the supreme, fundamental law of the land from which all public authorities derive their powers, all laws their validity and all subjects their rights.

“A constitution is a body of rules or laws, written or unwritten which determine the organization of government and the general principles on which these powers are to be exercised” or which prescribes the structure and main functions of different organs of the state. Thus a constitution is a fundamental document of state which contains the principles by which that state is to be governed. The constitution may be written or unwritten but in both conditions its validity remains same and every organ of the state has to follow and obey.

The fourth portion of this book has been the most inspiring contemplation of Tahir-ul-Qadari as he tries to explain comprehensively about the Islamic constitution. The author answers the questions which frequently rose not only by a group of ignoramuses but also by a number of educated people, the question relates to the configuration of an Islamic constitution. Constitution is actually the headache or the heartache of a state and not of a system or a philosophy of life. It is a fundamental document which is prepared specifically for the resolution of the vital structural problems of a government and other organs of the state. But Islam is a code of life, a complete order of rules and regulations which are framed for their instant and universal application to the problems of human existence. It requires a state for the actualization of its objectives but it is not a state in itself. Constitutions are the

subject-matter of states and countries and not the subjects of system and isms. The constitutional principles of Islam are to be derived from the teaching of the Quran and Sunnah and practices of the guided Caliphs of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). If the state is based on these principles, if its formation and its functioning is positively in accord with these principle, then in spite of its high sounding claims and its tub-thumping rhetoric, it is not worthy of the designation of Islamic state. What really and quintessentially matters is its ungrudging allegiance to the basic tenets of Islam as formulated in the Quran and Sunnah and as demonstrated by the Caliphs of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

In last section author has been an exclusive analysis of offering reverence to constitutional law and Islam and unfold problems regarding it comprehensively. The Quranic references have given to stand as testimony. Islam is a complete legal system of its own, it must also have a constitutional law which helps in the smooth implementation of its principles. The fact is that Islamic constitution in its strict technical sense was not given fourteen hundred years back in the form of Quran and Sunnah. Only the constitutional law and the constitutional principles were laid down in the Quran and Sunnah. The first Islamic constitution is framed, drafted and implemented under the

Political Headship of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) himself in the city state of Madina. It is known as Meethaq-i-Madina.

The author counters all the arguments with Quranic verses, who denied the relevance of Holy Quran to the constitution theory. These verses prescribe a set of regulations for the reconstitution of the political system. “God commands you to render back trusts to those who deserve them. And when you judge or rule the people you should judge or rule with justice. Verily how excellent is the teaching which He has given to you, for God is He Who Hears and sees all things. O! You who believe, obey God and obey the Prophet and those charged with authority among you, if you differ in anything (if any dispute arises among you on any matter) refer it to God and His Prophet. If you believe in God and the Last Day, that is the best and the most suitable for final reckoning (20)”. These words categorically express the fact that only this constitutional and political system can create the best results and lead to the general improvement of Muslims all over the world. The Muslims are especially warned by God and His Holy Prophet (PBUH) that if they desire victory and prosperity even in the worldly life they should sincerely follow the Islamic political system.

To conclude, the author has put forth exceptionally rational discussion & analysis on Qur'anic Basis of Constitutional Theory. His thesis has been very much supported. Being religious outright the author has intensely exhibited Islamic perspective in persuading way. This book is admirable for its being a master-piece in its reality and form. It is very discernable on basis of authentic, well sighted and in-depth documentation. Very few religious scholars & researchers have dared to pen down such touchy subject in their works, because it was given to us fourteen hundred years ago in the form of the Quran and Sunnah. Many religious scholars consider it a closed issue and regard any debate on the matter as a sacrilegious act. This is another manifestation of the groovy approach with some of scholars have tried to dispose off the fundamental issues of Islam and to which they still cling to unprecedented dogmatism or as the last refuge of a person who is the victim of his own moribund thinking. Besides the perversity of their logic or anti-logic has created confusion in the minds of the new generation and some West-oriented intellectuals who have given the impression that Islam cannot stand analytical dissection. With no particle of uncertainty reader and researchers must consult this book for their conceptual clarity over Qur'anic Basis of Constitutional Theory.