



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL Of KASHMIR STUDIES



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Objectives of the IJKS

- To assess and examine the needs and requirements of research in Kashmir studies and dynamics of Pakistan.
- To publish articles related to Kashmir conflict, international affairs, political studies, diplomacy and public advocacy, security paradigm, defence, and strategic studies, law-based approaches, peace and conflict studies, governance and economy, self-determination, and other solidarity rights.
- To coordinate research programmes of various universities and other research bodies in and outside Pakistan and cooperate in the academic activities and scholarly pursuits of all official and nonofficial institutions engaged in this field;
- To seek, acquire and preserve source material (private papers, newspapers, rare books, documents, and pamphlets, etc.) relevant to the above fields;
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(Resolution 122, Adopted by the Security Council at its 765th meeting on 24 January, 1957)

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The *International Journal of Kashmir Studies* has devised a clear policy for the publication of different articles. Articles submitted should contain elements relating to the Kashmir studies and the dynamics of Pakistan. In addition, the journal is publishing articles related to Kashmir conflict, International affairs, political studies, diplomacy and public advocacy, security paradigm, defense and strategic studies, law-based approaches, peace and conflict studies, governance and economy, self-determination and other solidarity rights.

As per the layout of the journal, the first page of the article should contain the title, name of the author, and an abstract of the article. For the sake of uniformity, we have included a "Note to Contributors" on the back of the cover page. For citation and references, the IJKS follows the format outlined in the Sixteenth Edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

The current Issue carries six articles and a book review. The first paper offers a thorough analysis of the Kashmir conflict in an ethnoreligious perspective. It's also an attempt to identify the core issues of ethnoreligious conflict within Kashmir and their role in the Kashmir conflict and its solutions. The paper's primary focus is the contemporary situation of the Kashmir territory, so whenever, the present-day situation changes, the validity of the article will also be altered.

The second article provides a critical appraisal of education policies of Dogras towards Kashmiri Muslims mainly through European accounts. This paper is an attempt to explore the hostile attitude of the Dogras towards the spread of modern education among the Muslims of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. An attempt has been made to assess the impact of narrowly sectarian and exclusivist educational policy of the Dogras on the socio-economic and political dispossession of the Kashmiri Muslims on the eve of India's Partition in 1947. This paper highlights the role of educated Muslim leadership of the state in unshackling the Muslim population from the Dogra servitude through the weapon of modern education. The paper also throws light upon the nature and role of Christian missionary education in the state.

The third paper briefly discussed the four-point formula of Gen. Pervez Musharaff to resolve the decades-long Kashmir conflict between the nuclear powers. This paper highlights the violations of human rights and restraint from freedom of speech in Indian occupied Kashmir. This paper is an effort to discuss the Kashmir issue with its short history and potential initiatives and their results, which were taken towards its peaceful solution during Gen. Pervez Musharaff era.

The fourth paper undertakes an extensive as well as meticulous analysis of Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan as a Governor of West Pakistan: 1960-66, who belonged to a famous Awan tribe. This paper focused on his achievements and initiatives as a governor and his dynamic role in the strengthening of the Ayub regime.

The fifth paper provides a comprehensive analysis of the role of good governance to counter social evils particularly corruption and poverty. This research paper goes a long way in contributing to the policymaking process for the elimination of corruption from Pakistani society and also enlightens the good kaleidoscope in their teaching and research efforts respectively.

The last article attempts to analyze electoral politics and the role of political parties in Indian Occupied Kashmir: 1999-2008. This article examines the elections, which were conducted in the state from 1996 to 2008 and claimed as rigged. This study shows that the political parties of Jammu and Kashmir also worked during that time by allying with the Indian government. People of the state participated in elections with the only hope that it would change their political, social, and economic conditions. But their participation in elections does not mean that they do not want freedom.

Separatist's movements are also running in the state they also boycott the elections and demand independent status of the state. The present paper is an effort to analyse the political role of these political parties in the Kashmiri struggle for independence.

This volume also includes the book review on *Turbulent Empires: A History of Global Capitalism Since 1945*.

The process of evaluation and blind peer review is comprehensive. We have an Internal Review Committee (IRC) consisting of the Chief Editor, Editor, Associate Editors, and Assistant Editors. The committee recommends an article for evaluation after preliminary assessment. The article then goes through a cycle of evaluation, editing, review, and proofreading.

An acknowledgment letter is forwarded to the author, which should not be deemed as an acceptance letter. It is just to inform the author that the article is being sent for blind peer review. Then the article is sent to two appropriate scholars. Articles are evaluated on the recommendations of nationally and internationally known referees belonging to various disciplines. It is the policy of the forum that the internal committee recommends at least two reviewers one local and one foreign for the evaluation of every article. If they recommend changes and suggestions, the article is sent back to the author for revision. After a positive recommendation from both the reviewers, an article is accepted for publication in the *International Journal of Kashmir Studies*

(Dr. Sania Muneer)
Editor in Chief

Kashmir Conflict: An Analysis of Ethno-Religious Perspective

Rahat Zubair Malik*
Masood Ahmed Riaz**

Abstract

In the contemporary world, Kashmir is one of the most militarized regions with 700,000 Indian military personnel. Controlled by arms, weapons, and terror, Kashmir is generally referred to as one of the most insecure zones of the world having a potential threat of nuclear war between India and Pakistan. Although, numerous options and solutions have been proposed by different sections of society i.e. politicians, political analysts, and multiple international organizations to settle the issue of Kashmir the real cause of conflict generally out of focus. The question arises why Kashmir is the major cause of skirmish between the two neighbouring nuclear powers when both share borders at Lahore, along the Rann of Kutch, Sir Creek Line, and in the Arabian Sea?

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The answer to these questions lies in addressing the ethnoreligious causes of the Kashmir conflict. This paper is an effort to identify the core issues of ethnoreligious conflict within Kashmir and their role in the Kashmir conflict and its solutions. The paper's primary focus is the contemporary situation of the Kashmir territory, so whenever the present-day situation changes, the validity of the article will also be altered.

Key Words: Kashmir, Conflict, India, Pakistan, Religion, and Politics

Introduction

Kashmir occupies an area of 222,236 square kilometers.¹ It is blessed with natural resources and beauty. It is named as Paradise on earth due to its friendly climate and rich culture. Kashmir is geographically occupied by triangular powers that include India, Pakistan, and China.² In terms of ethno-religion, it is encircled by Afghanistan (a Muslim Pashtun Country),³ China (Majority of its population consists of followers of Confucianism/Buddhism)⁴ and India (the majority of its population follows Hinduism).⁵ Interestingly, all three neighbouring powers have their claims on the Kashmir territory.⁶

Kashmir had been ruled by Kaurava Dynasty for more than 1266 years.⁷ Later, it was overtaken by Gonerdyia Dynasty in 2448 BC.⁸ The people of these dynasties were snake worshippers.⁹ The next ruling dynasty of Kashmir consisted of followers of Buddhism;¹⁰ the religion which was practiced by Sino-Caucasian as well.¹¹ Some recent sources refer to the fact that Kashmir is

¹ Musarat Javed Cheema, "Pakistan-India Conflict with Special Reference to Kashmir" in *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, 2015. 45.

² Deepa Wiswam, *Role of Media in Kashmir Crisis* (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 55-56.

³ M. K. Kaw, ed., *Kashmir and its People: Studies in the Evolution of Kashmiri Society* (New Delhi: APH Publishing, 2004), 51.

⁴ Bansi Pandit, *Explore Kashmiri Pandits* (N.A. Dhrama Publications, 2008), 96-98.

⁵ Shyam Kaul and Onkar Kachru, ed., *Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh: Ringside Views* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1998), 218.

⁶ Tariq Ali, Hilal Bhatt, et.al, *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (London: Verso Publishers, 2011), 54.

⁷ Girirwar Charan Agarwala, *Age of Bharata War* (New Delhi: Indological Publishers, 1979), 228.

⁸ James Prinsep and Edward Thomas ed., *Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatics and Paleographic of the Late* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 242.

⁹ Prinsep and Thomas (ed.), *Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatics and Paleographic of the Late*, 101.

¹⁰ J. N. Ganhar and P. N. Ganhar, *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh* (New Delhi: Shri Ram Nath Ganhar, 1957).

¹¹ Pyong Gap Min and Jung Ha Kim, *Religions in Asian America: Building Faith Communities* (England: Altamira Press, 2002), 79.

inhabited by Brushno and Kalash, who are Aryans as they have a fair complexion.¹² Some other shreds of evidence link people of Kashmir with the followers of Judaism who migrated from Egypt and got settled there.¹³ This school supports its argument by proving the fact that a significant portion of Kashmir's population consists of Dardic people who speak Sanskrit.¹⁴ Over the centuries, the majority of its people embraced Islam. The struggle for freedom started mainly after the Jammu and Kashmir region was taken over by Gulab Singh.¹⁵

Present-day Azad Kashmir consists of people belonging to diverse religions and ethnicities such as Brushn and Shina.¹⁶ Cheema in her article¹⁷ discussed the reasons why there is an unending conflict between India and Pakistan. She claims that the reason is the issue of identity and justification of the claim of foundations of a state. For India, the inclusion of Kashmir means the winning of its secular government claims whereas for Pakistan it means uploading the Islamic identity. She simplified the issue by relating it to the post-partition era. However, the issue is very complex and has its roots long before the partition of the Indian Sub-Continent. It appears that the real conflict resides in ethnoreligious identity and it is not just an issue of political identity/supremacy.

James and Ozdamar held religion responsible for instigating ethnic identity. They consider the religion of Islam as the primary cause of fostering ethnic identity in Kashmir.¹⁸ It seems that the argument is prepared to praise India's secular identity against Pakistan's Islamic identity and they ignored the attitude of the Hindu community towards Muslims of India. Another question that needs to be addressed is that if India is a secular democracy; why the Modi's government in India won the elections on *Hindutva*¹⁹ and why the government by (Baharatiya Janata Party)

¹² Shri Ram Bakshi, *Kashmir: Valley and its Culture* (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 1997), 166.

¹³ Kaw, *Kashmir and its People*, 51.

¹⁴ Ranabir Samaddar, (ed.), *Peace Studies: An Introduction to the Concept, Scope, and Themes* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004), 335.

¹⁵ Christopher Snedden, *Understanding Kashmir and Kashmiris* (London: Hurst & Company, 2015), 71.

¹⁶ William Frawley, *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 198.

¹⁷ Musarat Javed Cheema, "Pakistan-India Conflict with Special Reference to Kashmir" in *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, 2015. 45-69.

¹⁸ Carolyn C. James and Ozgur Ozdamar, *Religion as a Factor in Ethnic Conflict: Kashmir and Indian Foreign Policy* in "Terrorism and Political Violence" Vol. 17, 2005. 447-67. See Also Husayn Ansarian, *The Islamic Family Structure* (Qum: Ansarian Publishers, 2003), 77-84.

¹⁹ M. G. Chitkara, *Hindutva Parivar* (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishers, 2003), 218.

means a reign of terror for non-Hindus and scheduled casts living in India and Muslims in Kashmir?

Similarly, Wenning focused on religion as the main cause for the rise of conflict between India and Pakistan. This article further highlights the idea that religion has not only disturbed the region but it is also transforming Kashmir into a global magma.²⁰ This issue is expanding and is threatening global peace. The researchers consider religion as the sole cause of conflict. Their conclusion appears to be based on miscalculation and misinterpretation. Conversely, the ethnic arena concerning the Muslim population in the case of Kashmir also needs to be explored by keeping the historical evidence in mind.

Role of Ethno-Religion in Demarcation of Boundaries of Kashmir

At the announcement of the June 3rd Plan of 1947 related to partition of the Indian Sub-Continent; Jawaharlal Nehru pressed Mountbatten-the last Governor-General (through multiple means) not to include Kashmir in Pakistan and asked him to avoid even its division between the newly emerging states.²¹ Nehru's claim was based on the rationale that he was a Kashmiri Brahmin,²² so he never wanted to lose his native place in favour of Pakistan. Thus, at that point, ethno-religious identity compelled Nehru to resist the inclusion of Kashmir in Pakistan or its partition according to the basic rule of division, which was the demarcation of the international boundary based on majority's religious affiliation. Although Jinnah kept on pressing Mountbatten to merge Kashmir with Pakistan or to leave it as an independent princely state, the Earl did not pay much attention to Jinnah's request.²³ Jinnah's first claim was based on the idea of Muslim brotherhood which links the Muslims living anywhere in the world and geographical proximity.

²⁰ Holger Wenning, *Kashmir: A Regional Conflict with Global Impact* in "New Zealand Journal of Public and International Law, Vol. 01, November 2003, 197-228.

²¹ For details see, Akbar Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

²² Sten Widmaln, *Kashmir in Comparative Perspective: Democracy and Violent Separatism in India* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 37.

²³ Douglas Johnston, (ed.), *Faith-Based Diplomacy Trumping Realpolitik* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 39.

When Jinnah was informed about the alterations in the partition plan by Nehru, he sent a messenger to Mountbatten to inform him that alterations in the partition plan were not acceptable to All India Muslim League because they feared that its outcome would lead to ethnic riots. Jinnah's messenger was informed by Allan Campbell, who was the private secretary of Mountbatten that there were no changes in the partition plan. The messenger however witnessed a map hanging in the room with a line drawn exactly in the same pattern that indicated the change in plan. This is how Nehru-Edwina-Mountbatten²⁴ nexus had won over Jinnah's peaceful solution to the Kashmir conflict.

Kashmir in Post 1947 Era

After the partition of 1947, Maharaja decided to maintain Kashmir's independent status and signed a standstill agreement with Pakistan.²⁵ Muslim population rose in revolt and demanded a merger with Pakistan.²⁶ Responding to the uprising Maharaja used violent power against the Muslim population of the region. The Pashtoons reacted against the genocide of Muslims in the Kashmir region and came forward to join their struggle.²⁷ This provided a point of justification to Maharaja who asked India for help.²⁸ Utilizing the situation to mould circumstances in India's favour, Nehru offered military support to Maharaja and demanded to merge Kashmir with India.²⁹ The Maharaja consented and the Indian forces entered Kashmir.³⁰ To protect the Muslim masses of Kashmir, Pakistan moved its military.³¹ This resulted in the war of 1948.

Mountbatten being the Commander in Chief of armed forces of India could stop the war to reach a peaceful solution of Kashmir issue but he did not take any practical step. This helped India to

²⁴ Khalid Chowdhry, *Apocalypse 1947* (Pittsburg: Dorrance Publishing, 2019), 13. For Pakistan, Mountbatten said, "administratively it is the difference between putting up a permanent building, a nissen hut or a tent. As far as Pakistan is concerned, we are putting up a tent." Ayesha Jalal, *The Struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics* (London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 3.

²⁵ N. Jayapalan, *Foreign Policy of India* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2001), 238.

²⁶ Amitha Shastri and A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, (ed.), *The Post-Colonial States of South Asia: Democracy, Identity, Development and Security* (Oxon: Routledge, 2001), 207.

²⁷ Owen L. Sirrs, *Pakistan Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate: Covert Actions and Internal Operation* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 16.

²⁸ Fozia Nazir Lone, *Historical Title, Self-Determination and the Kashmir Question: Changing Perspectives in International Law* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2018), 80.

²⁹ Vassilis K. Fouskas, *The Politics of Conflict: A Survey* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 75.

³⁰ Erik Goldstein, *Wars & Peace Treaties: 1816-1991* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 86.

³¹ J. N. Dixit, *India-Pakistan in War & Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 105.

occupy Kashmir using its military. India had used the same strategy in the states of Hyderabad, Junagadh, and other princely states. Moreover, there was a handsome number of British army officers in Pakistan's army including its Commander in Chief Lt. Gen. Frank Messervy.³² He followed the guidelines of Lord Mountbatten and did not allow the military personnel of Pakistan to move against the Indian army in Kashmir. Furthermore, the British army on Pakistan's side refused to obey the orders of Mr. Jinnah. Luckily however the Pashtoon *Mujahideens*³³ supported the people of Kashmir. Facing defeat in Kashmir on the Military side, India/Nehru opted for United Nations.

India attempted the UN to oust Pakistan from the soils of Kashmir. Hyngari Shankar-a prominent lawyer from India-pleaded case of India against Pakistan on the forum of UN³⁴ taking Nehru's statement that Pakistan was incapable to defend its claim for Kashmir in UN and thus will be forced to quit. But Jinnah appointed Sir Muhammad Zafrulla³⁵ to face Indian representative with such zeal, vigour, and facts of incidents that India was compelled to change its nominees.³⁶ Zafrulla not only proved that the stance of India on Kashmir is based on falsehood but asked the UN to pass a resolution on Kashmir³⁷ and thus UN proposed solution for Kashmir in the shape of Plebiscite.

Facing the failure of its claim in the UN, India started creating law and order situation in the Kashmir region to avoid Plebiscite as it was mentioned in the UN resolution that

³² Messervy served as the first Commander in Chief of Pakistan army from 15th August 1947 till 10th February 1948 Kuldip Singh Bajwa, *Jammu and Kashmir War (1947-48): Political and military Perspective* (New Delhi: Har Anand Publications, 2004), 105, whereas Douglas Gracy succeeded Messervy as the Second Commander in Chief from 11th February 1948 till 16th January 1951. For a complete list, see <https://www.globalvillagespace.com/1947-2019-a-list-of-army-chiefs-who-lead-pakistans-army/>

³³ Samir Puri, *Pakistan's War on Terrorism: Strategies for Combating Jihadist Armed Groups Since 9/11* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 12.

³⁴ When India came to know of Khan, then they sent Hyngari Shankar, who was the best lawyer. It was because Nehru was well aware of the abilities of Khan. Muhammad Nasrullah Raja, *Tameer o Tarakhi-e-Pakistan Mein Jammāt Ahmadiyya Ka Misaali Kirdar* (London: Privately Published, 2010), 185.

³⁵ Adil Hussain Khan, *From Sufism to Ahmadiyya: A Muslim Minority Movement in South Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 113. For Details related to life and work of Sir Zafrullah Khan, refer to, Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, *The Forgotten Years: Memoirs of Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992).

³⁶ Munir Ahmed Munir, "Pakistan kay Pehly Wazir-e- Kharja Sir Zafrulla Khan say Munir Ahmad Munir ka Interview," in *Atish Fishan Lahore* (Lahore: Atish Fishan Publishers, January 11, 1981), 34.

³⁷ Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2003), 68.

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined by the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the Truce Agreement both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured.³⁸

The statement hints that a peaceful environment is a prerequisite to conducting a plebiscite in Kashmir. Strategically the government of India created a situation that resisted the fulfillment of this primary requisite to get the plebiscite in the region. On the arrival of the UN team in Kashmir, the situation on the ground was more that of a civil war. Thus, the plebiscite was not possible until peace was ensured. The nefarious design of our neighbour proved successful to halt the peaceful solution to the Kashmir issue. In the UN, Zafrulla kept on pressing the organization to ensure a peaceful solution to the Kashmir conflict. So, UN representatives visited India and Pakistan to make another attempt but the Indian government kept using delaying tactics. Clearly, India wanted only one solution to Kashmir that it must accede to India. However, Pakistan did not surrender its principle stance and efforts for the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir.

India kept itself engaged not only on the borders of Pakistan but it also tried to occupy areas of China along with borders of Kashmir. For this purpose, India mobilized the military on the India-China border to accomplish the mission but failed to accomplish its agenda. Retrospectively, India had to surrender its territories to China. After facing failure at the Indo-Chinese border, India again indulged in skirmishes that resulted in war with Pakistan in 1965.³⁹ In 1999, another war (though limited one) began at Peak of Kargil Mountains; part of Kashmir.⁴⁰ A threat of nuclear war between the two neighbours was delayed only due to the interference of the international community.⁴¹

³⁸ Resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on August 13, 1948 (Document No.1100, Para. 75, dated November 9, 1948). Accessed on July 07, 2019 <http://mofa.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Resolution-adopted-by-the-United-Nations-Commission-for-India-and-Pakistan-on-13-August-1948.pdf>

³⁹ Farooq Bajwa, *From Kutch to Tashkent: The Indo-Pakistan War of 1965* (London: Hurst & Company, 2013).

⁴⁰ Lowell Dittmer, *South Asia's Nuclear Security Dilemma: India, Pakistan, and China* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 137.

⁴¹ Annie Waqar, "Nuclear War between India and Pakistan? An Expert Assesses the Risk," in *The Conversation* on March 06, 2019. <http://theconversation.com/nuclear-war-between-india-and-pakistan-an-expert-assesses-the-risk-112892>, accessed on 24-06-2019.

Kashmir Conflict and BJP Government

BJP government opted for the policy of blood and iron to deal with the Kashmir issue.⁴² Many academics have even compared Modi's policy of Kashmir with that of Palestine vs Israel.⁴³ India militarized the region to such an extent that it forced the Kashmiri youth to get indulged in armed conflicts instead of peaceful protests to their right of self-determination. Kashmiris were left with no option but to fight their war with stones against the deadly arms of Indian forces.⁴⁴ Most of the Indian authors have penned the argument that India's founders wanted an independent Kashmir⁴⁵ but Modi has adopted the stance to occupy Kashmir for Hindu Nationalism.⁴⁶

Patrolling personals were deployed around Kashmir borders to avoid its contact with Pakistan and other neighbouring regions.⁴⁷ This step was particularly taken to bar Media men and other Organizations such as amnesty international to get correct information about Kashmir. Furthermore, constant curfew increased problems for the Kashmiri Muslim population. Means of communication were generally kept suspended in Indian Occupied Kashmir to limit their contact with the world⁴⁸ Kashmiri voices against Indian occupation were generally censored or they had to surrender lives for raising voice against this unlawful occupation.⁴⁹ Modi's government even

⁴² Manoj Joshi, "Why Modi Government's Ramzan Ceasefire in Kashmir is Doomed to Fail," in *Observer Research Foundation* May 23, 2018. <https://www.orfonline.org/research/why-modi-governments-ramzan-ceasefire-in-kashmir-is-doomed-to-fail/>, accessed on 24-06-2019.

⁴³ Azad Essa, "When it Comes to Palestine and Kashmir, India and Israel are Oppressors-in-Arms, in *Middle East Eye*, March 1, 2019. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/when-it-comes-palestine-and-kashmir-india-and-israel-are-oppressors-arms>, accessed on 24-06-2019.

⁴⁴ Khalid Bhatti, "The Pulwama Massacre," in *The News*, December 21, 2018.

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/408599-the-pulwama-massacre>, accessed on 24-06-2018.

⁴⁵ Manoj Joshi, "What would India have been without Nehru?" in *The Herald*, August 14, 2017, <https://herald.dawn.com/news/1153825>, accessed on 25-06-2019.

⁴⁶ Hilal Mir, "India's Modi will Continue to Use Kashmir as Fodder for Hindu Nationalism," in *The World*, May 24, 2019.

<https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/india-s-modi-will-continue-to-use-kashmir-as-fodder-for-hindu-nationalism-26953>, accessed on 25-06-2019.

⁴⁷ Matthew J. Webb, *Kashmir's Right to Secede: A Critical Examination of Contemporaries Theories of Secession* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 127.

⁴⁸ Nandita Dinesh, *Memos from a Theatre Lab: Immersive Theatre and Time* (Delaware: Vernon Press, 2019), 10.

⁴⁹ Shujaat Bukhari, *Why the Death of Militant Burhan Wani has Kashmiris up in Arms*, "BBC" July 11, 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-36762043>, accessed on 25-06-2019.

started targeting the neonates by the use of pellet guns.⁵⁰ Kashmiris freedom fighters have termed it as continued genocide against Kashmiri Muslims.⁵¹

The Kashmiri Muslim critics have been kept under house arrest.⁵² Furthermore, the region has been militarized at an alarming ratio to the civilian population.⁵³ In the present scenario, it is evident that the occupation forces want to force Kashmiris to accept their domination or quit Kashmir. Consistent efforts are being made to bring a demographic shift in the Muslim population in IOK by carrying out their Genocide as once it was practiced in Myanmar and is still in vogue in Palestine.⁵⁴ As mentioned in the UN Resolution of 1948,⁵⁵ it is being done under a plan to convert the Muslim population into a minority before letting the international observers enter into IOK to create an atmosphere for the plebiscite. This is how artificially created Hindu majority will be given the right to vote in the favour of India⁵⁶ and it may result in the fulfilment of India's long-awaited dream and the manifestation of its hegemonic designs.

Solutions to Kashmir Conflict in the Framework of Ethno-Religious Identity

India has alleged time and again that it is not the Kashmiris who are struggling for independence but Pakistani agents who are trained for destabilizing Kashmir to carry out terrorist attacks in India.⁵⁷ As a result, Pakistan has to enhance its diplomatic policy to handle the allegations of India for which it has to focus on gaining the support of the UN, OIC, SCO, and SAARC to

⁵⁰ "Indian Pellet Guns in Occupied Kashmir Kill, Blind and Enrage," in *The Dawn*, November 30, 2018.

⁵¹ Zamir Akram, "Genocide in Kashmir" in *The Tribune*, August 08, 2017

⁵² Jehangir Ali, "Hurriyat Leaders Detained, Released Ahead of Meeting with Sartaj Aziz," in *The Citizens*, August 20, 2015 <https://www.thecitizen.in/index.php/en/NewsDetail/index/2/4833/HURRIYAT-LEADERS-DETAINED-RELEASED-AHEAD-OF-MEETING-WITH-SARTAJ-AZIZ>, accessed on 26-06-2019.

⁵³ Rifat Fareed, "Indian Forces kill Civilians and Rebels in Kashmir," in *Aljazeera*, December 15, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/12/indian-forces-kill-civilians-rebels-kashmir-181215113733350.html>, accessed on 26-06-2019.

⁵⁴ Whitney Webb, "Robert Fisk Exposes Israel's Hidden Role in the Brewing India-Pakistan Conflict," in *The Mint Press*, <https://www.mintpressnews.com/robert-fisk-exposes-israels-hidden-role-in-the-brewing-india-pakistan-conflict/255860/>, accessed on 26-06-2019.

⁵⁵ Mohammad Yasin Malik, "Comment: Fear Rules Kashmir as BJP Goes About Realizing its Dream," in *Daily Dawn*, September 27, 2018.

⁵⁶ M. G. Chitkara, *Kashmir: LOC* (New Delhi: A. P. H. Publishing, 2003), 156.

⁵⁷ Rajpal Budania, *India's National Security Dilemma: The Pakistan Factor and India's Policy Response* (New Delhi: Indus Publication, 2001), 97.

pressurize India to let Kashmiris get their right of self-determination.⁵⁸ Furthermore, dialogue between the followers of different religions (inter-religion dialogue) is needed to bring peace in Kashmir particularly where ever role of religion for ensuring peace is required to create harmony among followers of different religions along with taking care of ethnic affiliations/emotions of the people of conflict areas.

Conclusion

The solution to Kashmir conflict lies in answering the pertinent question of ethnoreligious dynamics. The support of the international community may prove to be a primary factor to get the Kashmir de-militarized. Avoidance in targeting particular ethnic groups will help prevent ethnoreligious conflict in the region. This will create a conducive environment to conduct plebiscite which may lead towards the solution of Kashmir issue. Besides the Palestine issue, the Kashmir conflict has remained one of the unsettled issues of the world demanding immediate solution which can only be done through a genuine understanding of the religious and ethnic realities of the region.

⁵⁸ Jolyon Mitchell, *Promoting Peace, Inciting Violence: The role of Religion and Media* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

Education Policies of Dogras towards Kashmiri Muslims mainly through European Accounts: A Critical Appraisal

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Abstract

The educational scenario in Kashmir was largely disturbing during the Dogra Rule in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Before the introduction of the western system of education in the state, the indigenous schools, pathshalas, and madrassas run by the members of the Hindu and Muslim communities and generally housed in temples and mosques. The Dogra rulers, particularly Gulab Singh and his successor Maharaja Ranbir Singh, paid no attention towards the education of their Muslim subjects. They wanted to keep Kashmiri Muslims in perpetual ignorance to avert the rise of political awakening among them. Some measures were indeed introduced in the 2nd half of the Dogra Rule (Post British Intervention in the state) to improve the education of Muslims. But these measures were too little and too late to make any significant difference. The Pandits (ethnically Kashmiri speaking Hindu minority) made advances in education because of the facilities provided to them by the co-religionist Dogras. The same was denied to the overwhelming majority of Muslims. The disparity was not accidental but a deliberate and

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conscious policy of indifference of the Dogras towards the education of Muslim subjects. The Muslim majority was politically disempowered, economically starved, and socially humiliated by the Dogras. The communal, oppressive, and exclusivist policies of the Dogras paved the way for the Muslim awakening in the state and, therefore, germinated in the form of political movement from the 1930s under the aegis of the Muslim Conference. The present paper is an attempt to explore the hostile attitude of the Dogras towards the spread of modern education among the Muslims of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. An attempt has been made to assess the impact of narrowly sectarian and exclusivist educational policy of the Dogras on the socio-economic and political dispossession of the Kashmiri Muslims on the eve of India's Partition in 1947. The paper highlights the role of educated Muslim leadership of the state in unshackling the Muslim population from the Dogra servitude through the weapon modern education. Besides that, the paper will throw light upon the nature and role of Christian missionary education in the state.

Key Words: Education, Kashmiri Muslims, Pandits, Discrimination, Christian Missionary

Introduction

Kashmir is said to have been the seat of learning and this small valley has produced masterpieces of history, poetry, and philosophy. It remained the home of great Sanskrit scholars for centuries. George Grierson writes, 'Kashmiris are proud and justly proud of the literary glories of their land.'¹ With the coming of the Muslims, Islamic influence penetrated deep into the valley. The Muslim Rule saw the promotion of learning, both Persian and Sanskrit. Madrasas and Maktabas were found. Urwat al-Waqta was the first madrassa established in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Qutubuddin (1373-89 CE). Sultan Sikandar established a similar madrassa in Nawhatta which had scholars from Central Asia on the staff. Zain ul-Abidin (1420-1470 CE) established a madrassa at Nav-Shahr, his capital with teachers drawn from West Asia and Central Asia. Sheikh Hussain Chak (1562-69 CE) established a Darul Uloom at Khawaja Bazar.² During the reign of Jahangir, some more madrasas were established. The reign of Shah Jahan witnessed the development of Khanqah-i-Naqshbandyah by Moinuddin Naqshbandi. The Mughal rulers also encouraged vocational training in carpet, shawl making, paper machine and other handicrafts.

¹ I. G. Greison, *Linguistic survey of India*, vol. vii, Part 2, pp.241,251

² Didmari, M. A., *Waqat_i_Kashmir*, p.133-34

During the Afghan rule, these institutions largely could not survive for want of patronage. Sikh rule shattered the economy of Kashmir beyond retrieve.³ Therefore Madrassas were replaced by Maqtabs run by individual pedagogues who generally had no claim to scholarship. This continued during the Dogra rule also. Thus, in the middle of the 18th century, Kashmir stood as a beacon of enlightenment to the surrounding territories. From this position, it declined under the tyrannies and extortions of subsequent rulers, until by the last decade of the 19th century. The cultural glories of its past had disappeared, and it was known abroad chiefly for the desolation of its land and miseries of its people. Kashmir had an established tradition of learning Persian because it became the court language during the Shahmiri rule. When the Dogra rulers switched over to Urdu as the official language of the state, the English also began to be used, the Persian knowing people became redundant and their job opportunities in the administration were phenomenally reduced. Then followed the dilemma faced earlier by Muslims in the rest of the subcontinent.⁴

The era of modern education in Kashmir started in the 1880s during the Dogra rule. The Sikhs, predecessors of Dogras, were oblivious of education, and when west Punjab fell into English hands by the middle of the 19th century, Lahore became the epicenter of educational activity in the region. However, Gulab Singh (1846-1857 CE), trained as he was in the Sikh school, had no pretensions of being an educationist.⁵ He was hardly interested in the spread of education particularly among the Muslims. Brinkman notes that ‘The Raja will not allow education there [J&K] but to bind us [the British], sends us a few thousand rupees occasionally to our Punjab Schools.’⁶ S. S. Charak gives the credit to Ranbir Singh for opening schools in the state. Charak notes that 44 schools were opened in 1872-73 of which 33 alone were started in Jammu province.⁷ However, it appears that Ranbir Singh besides being too religious opened only *pathshalas* in Jammu and maybe a few makhtabs in Kashmir, was too prejudiced towards Muslims. It is further substantiated when *Mridu Rai* points out that the Dogra State was a Hindu State and its rulers tried their best to broaden its Hindu nature, with the result, Kashmiri Pandits, as a co-religionists’ class, found it easy to get associated with it and the Muslims were

3 Khan, M. Muzaffar, *Kashmiri Muslims: An Historical Outline*, , vol 2, Humanizer Publications, Srinagar, 2012, p.108.

4 Ibid, p. 108.

5 Ibid, p. 108

6 Brinkman, Arther, *The Wrongs of Kashmir*, London, 1868, p.42

7 Khan, Muzaffar, op. cit. p.108

marginalized.⁸ Thus, politically suppressed, morally quashed, and economically downtrodden, the Muslims of Kashmir were educationally backward during the Dogra period. The causes of their backwardness were manifold: harsh poverty, their ignorance, the unsympathetic attitude of non-Muslim students and teachers in the government schools, and the discriminatory policies of the Dogra administration.⁹ The most important cause of the educational backwardness of Muslims was the anti-Muslim attitude of the Dogra administration.¹⁰ In rural areas, where they constituted more than 80% of the total population, their illiteracy was almost a hundred percent. Lawrence points out that ‘out of a population of 757,433 Mohammedans, only 233 obtained any benefit from the state schools, while out of 52,576 Hindus, 1327 received state instructions.’¹¹ These figures show that though the Hindus formed a minority, they, however, monopolized 83% of the education bestowed by the state. Prem Nath Bazaz criticized the Dogra Government for its indifference towards education among the Muslims and not working for their welfare. ‘The poverty of the Muslim masses is appalling. Dressed in rags, which can hardly hide his body and barefooted, a Muslim peasant presents the appearance rather of a starving beggar than of one who fills the coffers of the state’, Bazaz notes.¹²

Muslim Social Reforms and Education

From the beginning of the 20th century, Kashmir witnessed the socio-religious and political activities among Muslims. The fundamental aim of the early Muslim socio-religious reform movements was to acquaint the Muslim masses with the cause of their stagnation which was one of the factors of their backwardness for decades. Moulvi Mirwaiz Rasool Shah, head preacher at the Jama Masjid in Srinagar, claimed the leadership of the Kashmiri Muslim community through his activities on the educational front and founded the first reform association for Kashmiri Muslims, with an affiliated school. Founded with the financial assistance of eminent Punjabi Muslims, the Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam, literally meaning the Society for the Victory of Islam, sought to unite the Kashmiri Muslim community around the concept of *Tawheed*, or the unity of Allah. The Anjuman opened its doors to all Muslim sects, to cleanse the Kashmiri Muslim community of its un-Islamic aspects. A *madrassa* was soon attached to the Anjuman to improve a

8 Rai, Mridu, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects, Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 2004, p.80

9 Khan, G. H. *Freedom Movement in Kashmir 1931-1940*, Srinagar, 1980, p.22-26

10 Bazaz, Prem Nath, *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar, p.251

11 Lawrence, Walter Roper, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar, p.229

12 Bazaz, *Kashmir*, op. cit. p.252

lot of the Kashmiri Muslim population through pure Islamic education.¹³ The Anjuman-i-Nusratul Islam, Srinagar, was the earliest and the most important socio-religious organization in Kashmir. It was founded by the Mirwaiz Moulvi Rasool Shah of Kashmir in 1905 CE. The aims and objectives of the Anjuman were to facilitate education for the backward children of the Muslim community. The role of Anjuman in its educational activities was limited in the beginning to the imparting of religious education. But after seeing the Dogra apathy towards the Muslim subjects, the need for introducing a course of study on modern secular lines was felt by its members. In their efforts to make educational facilities available to Muslims, the leaders of the Anjuman attempted to extend the benefits of education to the Muslims of Kashmir. The educational program of the Anjuman included education both for males and females.¹⁴ In order to exist as a community, the Muslims had to be roused from their deep slumber of existence and their dependence on others. They had to learn the need and importance of self-help and self-confidence, which alone could save them from their degrading conditions and solve their immediate problems. The leaders of the Anjuman had felt the urgency of making the Muslim community stand on its own feet if it had to survive. They warned their coreligionists in the state that in case they did not follow the principles of self-help and self-confidence, no one could save them from their fallen conditions.¹⁵

Christian Missionaries and Education

Modern education does not seem to have existed in Kashmir until the advent of Christian missionaries when a changed outlook gradually came into being. The Makhtabs of Srinagar and other parts of the Valley were generally affiliated to the mosques, where the boys were taught to read Arabic so that they might be able to read the Quran. Likewise, the Kashmiri Pandits had their schools called *Pathshalas* where Sanskrit was taught to enable them to read the sacred books. Persian, introduced in Kashmir by the Muslim rulers, continued to remain the official language till 1907 when it was replaced by Urdu.¹⁶ From this, it is obvious that the valley was very backward in education. The Administration Report of 1873 which is the first of its kind in the Jammu and Kashmir State testifies to the educational backwardness of the city population.

13 Zutshi, Chiterlekha, *British Intervention in a Princely State: The Case of Jammu and Kashmir in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries*, p.18

14 speech delivered by Munshi G. M. Khadim at the second annual session of the anjumani nusratul Islam, p.41

15 Saad-ud-din shawl at the second Annual session of the Anjuman-i-Nustatul Islam, Halat-o-Rou-i-dad p.63

16 J&K file no.27z6 of 1967 Sampvat

The report makes mention of government schools only in the city and these are named Pathshala, Nawakadal School, Maharaj Gunj School, and the Basant Bagh School. The educational institutions classed as *Maktabs* and *Pathshalas* often provided only religious instruction of a very limited type and they cannot, therefore, strictly speaking, be classed among institutions engaged in promoting general education.¹⁷ It was during this period that the missionaries made their appearance in Srinagar. The travel accounts published by the European visitors to Kashmir in the first half of the 19th century awakened the western philanthropists to the vast scope of missionary work in the Valley. In 1854, Colonel Martin, a retired Army Officer of Peshawar, Robert Clark of the Punjab Missionaries, and two Indian Christians came to Srinagar.¹⁸ Though the Christian Missionary Society of London started its activities in Srinagar in the sixties of the nineteenth century, it had to face serious opposition from the state authorities.¹⁹ At first, the missionaries thought it prudent to administer medical relief to the people of Srinagar during periods of epidemics. The useful services rendered by the medical missionaries made them popular among Kashmiris and this encouraged them to fight illiteracy. There was not a single school in Srinagar, where the right type of education could be imparted. Maharaja Ranbir Singh's school established in 1874 was the only state school but here the medium of instruction was Sanskrit and Persian. It cannot be denied that the Dogra Government's attitude towards the education of their subjects was that of deliberate indifference.²⁰ The Church Mission Society of England started a primary school on western lines in Church Mission hospital premises and Rev. J. H. Knowles laid the foundation.²¹ In its infancy, the Church Mission School had to face several problems. Up to 1886, the policy of Dogra rulers was to confine educational activity to a few religious books. In *Maktabs* and *Pathshalas* attached to mosques and temples, respectively, the subjects like grammar, logic, rhetoric, and arithmetic were also taught in varying measures.²² In 1886, the state school had facilities for teaching English. Until the beginning of the 20th-century one does not find even a single Muslim boy in the Christian Missionary Schools.²³ It was largely for political reasons, the government for a long time showed a lukewarm attitude in

17 Report of the Educational Reorganization Committee, 1939, p. 10

18 Khan, Mohamad Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, Aamir Pub. Srinagar, 1978, p. 145

19 *ibid*, 145

20 *ibid*, 145.

21 Biscoe, Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, Srinagar, p. 160

22 Om Hari, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir: A study in the spread of Education and consciousness 1857-1925* p. 19-20

23 Biscoe, *Kashmir*, *op. cit.* p. 269

disseminating modern education among the Muslims. To quote P. N. Bazaz: “The awareness that the Dogras were Hindus and the overwhelming majority of the Kashmiris professed Islam constantly made them apprehensive. They disliked the idea of making their subjects politically conscious and thought that imparting of education was only an effective way of awakening the people to their political and human rights.”²⁴

Conclusion

The education during the Dogra period witnessed a few progressive changes. All these changes and developments took place owing to manifold reasons. The people of Kashmir were subjected to grave miseries after the Mughal period. The Dogras left no stone unturned in marginalizing the Muslim subjects. In other aspects of life, the condition of Muslims was not less pathetic. Muslim patients in medical departments did not receive as much care as the Hindus used to receive and the Muslim clients in the offices and courts were contemptuously treated while the cases of Hindus were expeditiously resolved. The people of Kashmir during the Dogra rule were labouring under many disadvantages. They were discriminated against by the Dogras for being followers of a different religion, i.e. Islam. Dogra rule in the state was not only oppressive and exploitative but communal as well. The anti-Muslim policies on the part of the Dogras towards Education in Kashmir were largely arrested by the British intervention i.e. the appointment of British Resident at Srinagar in 1885. The policies of the Dogra state were further impacted by the role of Christian Missionaries and the foundation of Mission school 1880 (later named as Tyndale Biscoe School) at Srinagar. However, the presence of Muslim students in this school for more than a decade was nil on account of Muslim backwardness. The role of Indian Muslims mostly from west Punjab and the role of the socio-religious reform movements started by Kashmiri leadership also frustrated the Dogra ambitions of educationally disempowering the Muslims of the state. If Muslims could make some incremental advances in modern education under the Dogras, it was the result of the British Missionary efforts and the pressure of the British state, educated Muslim leadership of the state, and the influence of the popular movements across the sub-continent and the world at large.

²⁴ Bazaz, Prem Nath, *Daughters of Vitasta*, Srinagar, p. 215

Kashmir Issue and its Impact on Indo-Pak Relations: An Analysis of Gen. Pervez Musharraf Era

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Abstract

Pakistan and India both are nuclear powers. Since independence, they did not stay in amicable relations with each other. There are many factors behind this situation but Kashmir is one of the primary issues. This issue could never be ignored. Violations of human rights and restraint from freedom of speech may commonly be observed there. Even religious freedom is not given there. The root cause of the Kashmir issue may be considered as an incomplete partition agenda between Pakistan and India. This paper is an effort to discuss the Kashmir issue with its short history and potential steps that were taken towards its peaceful solution during Gen. Pervaz Musharaff era. The existing dividing line between these two regions i.e. Azad Kashmir administered by Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir held by India is called Line of Control (LoC). Including four points formula, many steps were taken by Gen. Musharaff to resolve this issue, the present paper is an effort to analyse these initiatives and their results.

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Keywords: the Nuclear States, Human Rights Violation, Kashmir Unfinished Agenda, Peaceful Solution

Introduction

Pakistan and India came into being as Dominions on August 14 and 15, 1947, respectively. The partition process was an incomplete agenda of the British government and due to this reason, many issues arose between these two nuclear states. Foreign Policy of Pakistan always remained on the agenda of friendly relationships. Besides that, the other agenda was goodwill enhancement efforts with all the nations of the world in general and with the neighbouring countries in particular. But its foreign policy towards India always faced many complications and problems. Pakistan always tried to improve relations with India but these efforts never bore fruit due to Indian foreign policy. The territorial issue of Jammu and Kashmir has always remained a key issue between the two countries as both consider the Kashmir region important for the security of the international border due to its geographical importance. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are struggling for their right to self-determination for the last seventy-two years. This issue had started just after the independence of Pakistan. At the time of partition, there were about 560 states in the subcontinent which were being ruled by their native rulers. Kashmir was one of those states. The future of Kashmir was not decided immediately at the time of partition. This reason became the root cause of the issue. This decision had to be taken by the Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler of the state. Due to the public demand for self-determination and law and order situation, Maharaja Hari Singh decided to seek help from the last Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten. Military help was promised to Maharaja Hari Singh by the viceroy. In return, Maharaja Hari Singh accepted the accession of Kashmir to India. In this regard “Letter of Instrument of Accession” was signed by him.¹ This accession remained controversial. After signing the accession, the Kashmir dispute started because this was signed without the consent of the people of Kashmir and without following democratic values. It was announced by the first Prime Minister of India on November 02, 1947, on All India Radio that the future of Kashmir

¹ “Instrument of Accession”, Instrument of Accession executed by Maharajah Hari Singh on October 26, 1947, 29 March 2018, http://jammu-kashmir.com/documents/instrument_of_accession.html

would be resolved according to the will of the people of Kashmir. He said clearly about the plebiscite in Kashmir. The same decision was considered as a solution to this issue by UNSC. This promise is not fulfilled till now by India and the people of Kashmir are struggling for their basic human rights and the right of self-determination.

Due to the unfinished agenda of the partition, a war broke out between India and Pakistan just after partition which was stopped by the UNSC on India's Request. India went to UNO for the said cause on January 01, 1948. It was said that Pakistan supported and favoured the people to attack the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. This matter was put to UNSC with the hope to get a decision against Pakistan. United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was established. Security Council of United Nations followed this commission and a resolution² was passed on April 21, 1948. Many measures were taken by the UN to ensure the ceasefire between the belligerent states. A commission was approved to be appointed to investigate the matter thoroughly. In these resolutions, it was mentioned that the matter of Jammu and Kashmir would be resolved according to the will of the people of Kashmir. To know their willingness plebiscite process would be adopted. The said UN Commission reached Kashmir for initial arrangements for the plebiscite. In this context, three visits were paid by UNCIP to the subcontinent. These visits were made in official capacity between 1948- 1949. India refused to withdraw its forces from Kashmir to create a conducive environment for the plebiscite. India also made arrangements to increase the number of followers of other religions to manage the ratio of the Muslim population to manage the ratio of the Muslim population in the region. In this way, the UN which is the biggest forum of nations could not resolve this issue. The international community also could not play an effective role in solving this issue.

Kashmir has always remained one of the major complications in Indo-Pak relations. India and Pakistan; the two nuclear states have multiple historical contradictions and issues. Since the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, New Delhi and Islamabad have indulged in several wars and borders' scuffles. Geographically, all the rivers of Kashmir flow towards Pakistan. The longest border of Kashmir is also linked with Pakistan. Many other feasibilities of Kashmir like trade and other cultural things are also connected to Pakistan.

² This resolution was given the number 47 by UN.

In such a scenario, the government of India held elections in Kashmir in which the ratio of participation of the Muslim population remained nominal, majority of whom voted under the pressure of Indian occupation forces. India claims that the people of Kashmir are satisfied with the annexation of Kashmir with it and are living a normal life and participating in the routine matters of administration such as elections. The representatives of India took a stance that participation in the election by the people of Kashmir means there was no need for a plebiscite. On the contrary, Pakistan's stance is that elections in the Kashmir were not conducted in a free and fair environment. People participated in elections due to governance issues. They wanted to improve infrastructure and situation in Kashmir like electricity, roads, and other developments. As per an estimate, about 06 to 07 lack of Indian soldiers is deputed in Kashmir to maintain law and order in the Indian held Kashmir. It is worth noting that in this scenario, with such a threatening situation, to what extent free and fair elections could take place there.

General Pervez Musharraf took many steps to enhance friendly relations with the whole world, especially with India. General Pervez Musharraf era is worth mentioning regarding India and Pakistan's foreign policy, particularly regarding the Kashmir issue. He clearly explained the policy objectives claiming that Pakistan was capable and fully prepared to respond to any aggression but it wants to follow the policy of peace and respect towards the international community in general and towards its neighbours in particular. Kashmir issue was given the focal point of the foreign policy of Pakistan during the General Pervez Musharraf era. General Musharraf pointed out that this issue will remain the primary agenda of the foreign policy of Pakistan towards India. He also desired to start a bilateral dialogue between the two nuclear states. Agra Summit was positioned well for reconciliations of positive relations. It was started after the deadlock of bilateral talks. This deadlock was standing after the Kargil war in 1999. Confidence Building Measures and joint Mechanisms against terrorism also remained the part of Indo-Pak relations. Four points formula was presented by Musharraf as the president of Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir issue. The first point of this formula was that borders would remain the same as on maps while people could move freely on both sides of the said border.³ The second point was self-governance but not independence was to be given to Jammu and Kashmir along with Pakistan occupied Kashmir. This step was for internal management in all areas. Those fields

³ Line of Control (LoC) was the said border which was to be considered.

included trade, tourism, and water among others, to enhance the trade through good relations and cooperation. The third point was the withdrawal of troops from the said disputed area. This process was to be phase-wise and stepwise accordingly. The fourth point was the joint supervising mechanism establishment. This step was to supervise the implementation of such a road map for Kashmir. In this mechanism, the representatives of India, Pakistan, and Kashmir were to be considered as per the management of this four-point formula. Many other efforts and summits were also tried to plan to settle this issue. Main steps taken to improve relations between nuclear states were:

1. Lahore-Amristar Bus service on January, 2006
2. Weekly bus service
3. Tehar Express
4. Bilateral talks were planned

Indo-Pak relations and peace processes are halted many times due to the Kashmir conflict. It has a potential threat of the outbreak of nuclear war not only between these two neighbouring states but it can also be the cause of third world war. That is why, it is needed that the Kashmir issue should be resolved justly and immediately. Peaceful relations between Pakistan and India depend upon resolving the Kashmir issue.

A Short History of Indo-Pak Relations since Partition of Subcontinent, 1947

The plan of division of British India into two States i.e. India and Pakistan were the news on which this process was initiated. This news was broadcasted from imperial capital New Delhi at about 07.00 PM on June, 03 1947.⁴ The process of migration started on August 14, 1947. It was the greatest and huge migration of the twentieth century which was an outcome particularly of the division of Punjab between the two newly created states. In this process, deaths of about one million persons were estimated. It was the most momentous mass migration across the borders of newly created states, India and Pakistan. This process of migration generated a huge debate in history. This plan of partition was highly appreciated by the media of the time because, on this division, leaders of both states were agreed to avoid any bloodshed. British speeches were marvelous and even Lord Mountbatten considered himself prided on this decision of division.

⁴ Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition The Making of India and Pakistan* (New York: Yale University Press, 2008), 25.

The plan clearly announced the partition of the subcontinent which was highly contested and opposed. This meant that the campaign which was started by the Muslims of the subcontinent for a separate Muslim state for the Muslims was succeeded. In the partition of the Indian Subcontinent under the Indian Independence Act, 1947 the two provinces, Punjab and Bengal were divided. To actualize the plan of partition of the two provinces; two Boundary Commissions were established. The Hindu and Muslim majority areas were the primary principles for the partition. British Indian Army, Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Civil Services, the Railways, and the Central Treasury were also to be distributed between these two newly born states. At midnight on 14-15 August, 1947, the independent governments were established. About 10-12 million people were part of this partition process. This division did not cover the political integration of princely states like Hyderabad, Junagarh, and Jammu and Kashmir. West Pakistan and Indian states of Punjab came into being in this process of partition of British India.⁵ British and the Hindus never wanted partition of the subcontinent but the British finally agreed to the point that the partition was necessary due to ideological differences between the Muslim and the Hindu communities.⁶

Mountbatten's Plan

It was the time when many changes were being expected in the subcontinent. Mountbatten came to the subcontinent with a prepared and planned agenda and specific objectives. He also had selective staff and special powers. He was assigned the task of the partition of British India as it was already planned. The plan of partition was also described in Attlee's speech in February 1947. To maintain his credibility, Mountbatten announced a peaceful transformation of powers to the concerned. Mountbatten declared that the Government of the British would not prolong its stay in the subcontinent. There were many challenges to face to withdraw. The main, important, and sensitive issue was to decide the boundaries of the Hindu as well as the Muslim majority areas. The division of princely states was another important issue. This issue was considered a sensitive issue at the time of partition. This issue needed very careful handling but unfortunately, this did not happen. This was the beginning of a new chapter in the history of South Asia with

⁵ Arundhati Roy, Pankaj Mishra, Hilal Bhatt, Angana P. Chatterji, and Tariq Ali, *Kashmir: The case for freedom* (Verso Books, 2011)

⁶ Rabia Umar Ali, "Planning for the Partition of India 1947: A Scuttled Affair" *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 30.1 (2009): 113-130.

certain unresolved issues such as the annexation of princely states. Amongst these princely states, Kashmir in particular is considered bad planning and mishandling of partition plan.⁷

Radcliff Award

Sir Cyril Radcliff was appointed the Chairman of the boundary commission. The division line was given the name of the Radcliff line. Forcefully, the said task was given to him. He took the assistance of his private secretary in this mission. As mentioned by Khan, Radcliff was a respected judge. He was well known for his intellectual thinking but he did not have any technical skill for drawing the boundary line. He arrived in India with partition intention. There were 3800 miles border between the two states. This division was decided on the statistical proportions of the Hindu, the Muslim, and the Sikh populations. Radcliffe considered this task a thankless job. He had not even visited India before this responsibility.⁸ Even after the division of newly born states, a new boundary line was not shown to the public but on August 17, 1947, it was shown and marked on maps. A short report was presented by Radcliffe to Viceroy Mountbatten on August 08, 1947, which was officially announced and made public on August 16, 1947. Radcliffe worked on it in a harassed and hurried way.

The Stance of M.A. Jinnah over Radcliff Award

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the representative of the Muslim community and leader of the Muslim League. He considered this division unjust and was reluctant to accept it.⁹ He said clearly that the plan did not meet the requirements of the Muslims of the subcontinent. In Radcliffe award importance was given to only the chairman of the commission. Muhammad Ali Jinnah considered this award an unfair and illegal political award. It was commission only in papers but the decisions were made as per the will of British rule. Despite all issues and illegalities, he accepted this award with great patience.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition The Making of India and Pakistan* (New York: Yale University Press, 2008), 26

⁹ Sarah Ansari, *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh: 1947-1962 (USA: Oxford University Press, 2005)*.

Historical Background of Kashmir

There are many conflicts and issues between Pakistan and India but Kashmir is the core issue over which three major wars in 1948, 1965 and 1999 along with multiple limited skirmishes have taken place between India and Pakistan. Kashmir issue has remained unresolved since the partition in 1947. The origin of the issue is that at the partition of the subcontinent, it was decided that the areas in which the Muslims were living in the majority would be given to Pakistan. In the same way, the areas in which the Hindu were living were to be given to India. The state of Jammu and Kashmir had the Muslim majority and it was being ruled by a Hindu Maharaja, Hari Singh. He concluded a standstill agreement with Pakistan. He started atrocities against the Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir. In this activity by the said Maharaja, the population revolted against him largely. In October 1947 people started protesting against Maharaja on a large scale. He was going to hand over Kashmir, a Muslim majority state to India. In this situation, the people of Kashmir declared a war of liberation against him. They advanced towards the capital of Kashmir, Srinagar for freedom. In this situation, Hari Singh requested Delhi for military assistance. The last Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten, who was working as Governor-General of India accepted his request for military assistance. He also imposed a condition that Kashmiri people would offer a referendum of the plebiscite to decide about their future as per their own will. Indian Prime Minister, Nehru was a Hindu Kashmiri. He sent troops to Jammu and Kashmir. During the final month of 1947, the Kashmir crisis could not be resolved. Both states failed to address the issue. Meanwhile, Indian troops succeeded to capture the Srinagar. On November 01, 1947, Gilgit was conquered by Local Muslims personnel of Gilgit Scouts with the assistance of two British officers and subsequently, Baltistan was also conquered on August 14, 1948 after a long deadly war between the armed forces of India and Pakistan. On October 24, 1947, as a result of the successful rebellion of the Muslims from the areas of Muzaffarabad, Poonch and Mirpur (presently called as AJK), a successor and revolutionary Government was established with the name of Azad Government of the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir.

A war started between Pakistan and India in 1947 due to this unjust partition of Kashmir valley. India presented this matter to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as a complaint against Pakistan. UNSC on the request of the Indian government intervened in the matter and

ordered Pakistan and India to stop the war. Indians claimed Kashmir on the conditional association of Maharaja to India. United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was formed by UNSC to enquire about the whole matter. This commission was given the task to settle the issue while keeping in view both parties as well as the will of the people of Kashmir. This commission submitted its report after enquiring the matter deeply. Responding to this report, UNSC passed two resolutions regarding the issue of Kashmir on August 13, 1948 and January 05, 1949, respectively. In both resolutions, it was decided that the matter of Kashmir would be resolved as per the will of the people of this region through a plebiscite. Indian leaders did not cooperate in this regard as per the decision of the UNSC. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India took steps to incorporate in this regard. On January 01, 1948 and July 27, 1949 Indian and Pakistani Military officers signed an agreement. This agreement was signed in Karachi to a cease-fire line. This line was followed until 1965 between both states.¹⁰

India and Pakistan agreed to administer a part of Kashmir till the plebiscite. Pakistan controlled the Gilgit, Balistan and the Western edge of the valley of Kashmir. Its population was about 03 million. The rest of the Kashmir was controlled by India. That part consisted of Kashmir, Jammu, and Ladakh. Its population was estimated to be about 09 million.¹¹

Kashmir issue was to be resolved quickly. At that time Generals of both states were the British. They could settle the issue amicably. General Gracey was serving as Chief of Pakistan Army and General Bucher was the General for India. They remained in close contact with each other during those crucial days. They did not want to prolong this conflict and resolve it as soon as possible. In the following years, no solution could be suggested about the issue and it is still unresolved and even becoming more critical over time.¹²

Kashmir for Sale

In the name of humanity, Sale of Kashmir is a great black spot. The foreigners sold it to Ghulab Singh by a treaty. This sale was made without the willingness and desire of the people of Kashmir. This deal was made by the East India Company. This task was performed as a goal.

¹⁰ Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: a disputed legacy, 1846-1990* (Oxford University Press, 1991)

¹¹ Musarat Javed Cheema, "Pakistan – India Conflict with Special Reference to Kashmir," *South Asian Studies*, 30:1(2015): 45-69

¹² Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: a disputed legacy, 1846-1990* (Oxford University Press, 1991)

Ghulab Singh enjoyed this deal and used it as personal property. Maharaja died and his brother Dhayan Singh was murdered. At that time Maharaja Ghulab Singh became the most important figure. He served to the British during the first Sutlej campaign. His services were acknowledged. The Sikh did not have a treasury full of coins. Ghulab Singh robbed it a few years ago. The little amount which was left was usurped by the expenses of administration. Governor-General also wanted to fulfill the demand of the directors at home. Therefore, it was secretly agreed to sell it. This deal was planned between the Governor-General and Ghulab Singh. In this deal, it was decided to transfer states such as Jammu, Ladakh, and Hazara. The Treaty of Lahore was signed on March 09, 1846. Clause 12 was applied to it. This treaty had a clear message that the amount would be transferred to the British.¹³ In Punjab, political upheaval started by June 27, 1839 A.D. At that time there was no alternative to cope with the situation. On the other hand, Ghulab Singh was a very cunning and clever person. He judged the situation and planned his own. It was decided to attack the English jurisdiction. It resulted because the Sikh was defeated and the English soldiers had crossed the River Sutlej. They entered in Sikh jurisdiction. Strategically, Ghulab Singh did not participate in this war. He also maintained his secret relations and discussions. In this way, he was nominated to settle the matters with the English rulers. He got the benefit of this deal truly. He planned cunningly and did not care for the other Sikh community. The badly planned treaty was condemned. "Sale Deed" of Kashmir was signed. This deal was signed at Amritsar on March 16, 1846. Mr. F. Currie and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence on the behalf of Lord Hardinge reproduced it. A Treaty between the Government of British and Ghulab Singh of Jammu was signed. The East India Company directed Governor-General to control the matter with Ghulab Singh.

Indo-Pak Joint Mechanism for Anti-Terrorism

After Mumbai blasts of 2006, leaderships of both states once again condemned the terrorism and showed determination to work jointly against it. It was also planned to take steps against terrorism. Both countries launched a joint anti-terrorism mechanism. This anti-terrorism was institutional to counter-terrorism. For the truck service, CBMs related LoC and other issues were focused by the leaders of both states.¹⁴

¹³ Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1977),45.

¹⁴ Rahul K Bhonsle, *South Asia security trends* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 2007).

Agra Summit 2001: An Effort for Bilateral Negotiations

Pakistan always tried its best for bilateral negotiations with India at every level. These efforts were increased and given top preferences in 2000 especially. The deadlock was broken by the call of the Chief Executive of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf to Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee. This call was made by him to show sympathy to India on the losses of the earthquake. This earthquake showed a great disaster in Kutch and Gujrat of India. Not only the President of Pakistan called the Prime Minister of India but also sent goods and help to support the people who faced difficulties due to this earthquake. The Prime Minister of India positively took this gesture of Pakistan. He invited the Chief Executive of Pakistan to India. On May 25, 2001, India sent the invitation in an official capacity to Pakistan. This invitation was not a visit in an official capacity to New Delhi but there was a mention of bilateral talks at summit level. General Pervez Musharraf accepted this invitation and decided to visit India. This visit was also confirmed by the book *In the Line of Fire* by Pervez Musharraf. "I landed in Delhi on July 14, 2001".¹⁵ General Pervez Musharraf was warmly welcomed there. There were many expectations of the public from this meeting. The Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee met the president of Pakistan the next day in the city, Agra. Formal talks started which were affirmed by Gen. Pervez Musharraf: "We began our formal dialogue on the morning of July 16, 2001".¹⁶

Four rounds of talks were held. Mutual issues were discussed by both leaders. The issue of Jammu and Kashmir was also discussed in this dialogue. It was also accepted and confirmed that this issue would be resolved through bilateral talks. India and Pakistan also focused on the need for peace and a cooperative environment for the betterment of both states. Pakistan insisted India take the Kashmir issue as a core issue and that it should be resolved on the top priority. While India focused on cross-border's terrorism. They said that this terrorism was the main cause of the unlawful situations. General Pervez Musharraf said that this terrorism is due to the Kashmir issue. This cross-border terrorism could only be ended with the resolution of the Kashmir issue. Both states could not give a joint statement and the agenda for peace remained unfulfilled. The

¹⁵ Pervez Musharraf, *In the line of fire: A memoir* (Simon and Schuster, 2006), 299.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 300

summit talks could not achieve the desired results. “What followed was initially quite encouraging, but ended on a disappointing note.”¹⁷

The Revival of Indo-Pak Dialogue

It is obvious that Indo-Pak relations had never remained cordial. Multiple attempts were made to start the peace process but all went in vain. After 9/11, both India and Pakistan faced a new situation. India blamed Pakistan for state-sponsored terrorism in December 2001 for the Parliament attack incident. In the same way, India blamed the attack on Srinagar Constitutional Assembly on Pakistan. Due to this situation, both states were on the brink of war. This critical situation continued for ten months. A cease-fire agreement was also made between both states in 2003, due to which some tension decreased. In January 2004, the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) held a summit conference. This summit was organized in Islamabad under the administration of Pakistan. Both Pakistani and Indian heads met in this summit where they declared the revival of composite dialogue. Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee agreed and convinced to start the peace process. Pakistan also showed willingness regarding this process. Meanwhile, Indian political leadership changed. Manmohan Sing became the Prime Minister of India. He also showed a willingness to continue the peace process in May 2004. President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister of India Manmohan Sing met in New York. There, they agreed on the revival of dialogue. They planned to enhance mutual relations. In this composite dialogue, eight core issues were planned to discuss and focus. Those issues were as under:

1. Jammu and Kashmir
2. Confidence Building Measures
3. Siachin
4. Sir Creek
5. Wular Barrage
6. Drugs Trafficking and Terrorism
7. Commercial and Economic Cooperation
8. Promotion of friendly relations into many other fields

¹⁷ Ibid.

Talks on the Foreign Secretary-level were initiated on June 27 and 28, 2004. This process which started in New Delhi was part of Composite Dialogue. Pakistani Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar and Indian Foreign Secretary Shashank talked in this process. A joint statement to cooperate in security as well as the peace process was also issued at that time. The focus was that the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) should be continued to enhance the peace process. It was also suggested that prison fishermen would also be released by both states for the said purpose. Efforts for resolving the Kashmir issue were also agreed at that time. Aim to solve all other disputes were also shown at that time by both states. Transport diplomacy was also given importance towards the peace process. To initiate Srinagar-Muzaffarabad Bus Service was planned. For the said purpose legal documents of the passengers were also discussed. It was desired by both secretaries of the states that the Kashmir issue should be resolved as per the charter of the United Nations and Shimla agreement. Regular meetings were also decided to be held regarding nuclear technology.¹⁸

Cricket Diplomacy

Cricket Diplomacy was opted by the President of Pakistan Gen. Pervez Musharraf to resolve the Indo-Pak conflicts and issues. In March and April 2005, Indian and Pakistani cricket matches were played. On receiving the invitation by India for a day cricket match, President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf went to India on April 17, 2005 to watch the match. Due to cricket diplomacy, Indo-Pak relations enhanced positively. The meetings were held at summit levels in New Delhi in April 2005. To resolve the mutual conflicts, many proposals were given by the President of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India. CBMs, people to people contact and cooperation between both states were agreed. An agreement between Musharraf and Manmohan Singh was signed to start the peace process and to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir as well. It was also decided that trade deals would also occur on both sides of Kashmir. Not only Bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad started but planning was done to continue bus services among other cities as well. It was also decided by both leaders that train services between Khokarpar and Munabao would start on January 01, 2006. A decision was also made to reopen respective consulates in Mumbai and Karachi till the end of 2005. The proposal of Composite

¹⁸ Veena Kukreja, Mahendra Prasad Singh, Pakistan: Democracy, development and security issues (India:Sage Publications , 2005).76

Dialogue was also encouraged by both leaders. Discussion over issues including Sir Creek and Siachin Glacier was also planned to start. High officials got instructions to start these discussions. On October 03, 2005 meetings at the level of foreign ministers were held. These meetings were to review the composite dialogue including CBMs. Meeting of the joint commission was held in October 2005 and joint statements were also given by President Musharraf and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. To focus the agenda of the peace process, Pakistani foreign minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri and the Indian external affairs minister started work. The basic agenda was to focus the working speed on the said dialogue. Ministers of both countries showed interest over various issues.¹⁹

Many agreements of CBMs were also decided there. Agreement of the pre-notification of flight testing of Ballistic Missiles and the memorandum of understanding (MOU) between Maritime Security Agency (MSA) was also signed there. In the third round of talks between Pakistan and India, they agreed on non-conventional issues including CBMs measures. Work regarding Jammu and Kashmir's issue was also part of this effort.²⁰

Four Point Formula by General Pervez Musharraf over Kashmir

President General Pervez Musharraf proposed his four points' formula to solve the Kashmir issue. He gave an interview to the Indian television network, NDTV (E, 2012). This formula included the following four points.

1. Borders would remain the same as on maps while people could move freely on both sides of the said border. Line of Control (LoC) was to be considered the said border.
2. Self-governance but no independence was to be given to Jammu and Kashmir along with Pakistan occupied Kashmir. This step was for internal management in all areas. Those fields in which permission was to be given were trade, tourism, and water, etc. to enhance positive relations and cooperation.
3. Withdrawal of troops from the said disputed area. This process will be a phase and stepwise accordingly.

¹⁹ Krishan Kumar Katyal, *Journey to Amity: India and Musharraf's Pakistan* (Har-Anand Publications, 2006).

²⁰ Rahul K Bhonsle, *South Asia security trends* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 2007).

4. Joint supervising mechanism establishment. This step was to supervise the implementation of a road map for Kashmir.

In this mechanism, the representatives of India, Pakistan and Kashmir were to be considered.

In history, this was the top time when bilateral relations were in the best position. During Gen. Musharraf era, Indo-Pak relations were based on Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and conflict resolution. Indians were following quickly CBMs but were not showing a good and active role in conflict resolution. The idea of four points formula was supposed to satisfy Pakistan, India and people of Kashmir. As stated earlier, Gen. Pervez Musharraf narrates this formula in his book in the Line of Fire. He suggested identifying the geographic regions of Kashmir which needed solutions. Pakistani part is divided into two regions. Those two parts are Northern Areas and Azad Kashmir. The Indian part is divided into three parts. Those three parts are Jammu, Srinagar and Ladakh. All these issues of ethnic, political and strategic issues could be discussed and issues can be resolved based on some give and take formula. Secondly, there would be demilitarization in all the regions. This step would prove as comfort and soothing matter to the peoples of Kashmir. Thirdly, self-governance would be introduced in the specified areas. People from Kashmir would feel satisfaction to run their government and matter by their own. There would be no international factor to disturb their internal peace. Fourthly, the most important matter was the joint mechanism on the said area to supervise. This joint committee would comprise the members from Pakistan, India, and Kashmir. Four points formula needed consideration by the public as well as by stakeholders.²¹

In the view of the above discussion, it can be said that the stance of Pakistan towards the Kashmir issue was very realistic and determined to solve the problem. Pakistan wanted to resolve this international issue between the two nuclear states of South Asia. On the other hand, India was not serious to resolve this issue. This is another factor that the majority of the people who were living in Kashmir wanted to join Pakistan. The issue is not resolved till the present day. The people of Kashmir are facing difficulties, injuries and even they lose their lives because

²¹ Pervez Musharraf, *In the line of fire: A memoir* (Simon and Schuster, 2006).

they demand their basic right of the plebiscite. This right was also accepted by the United Nations (UN) in its resolutions.²²

Conclusion

Since 1947, India and Pakistan had several issues and conflicts. Kashmir always remained at a high position in those issues and proved like an apple of discord between both nuclear states.

Kashmir is a disputed issue. Its decision must be taken by the people of Kashmir as per their own will and desire as it is their basic right. The Instrument of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir is rejected by Pakistan. India always put this Instrument in support of the Kashmir issue. The point of view of Pakistan on this instrument is that Maharaja Hari Singh was an unpopular leader of Kashmir. The people of Kashmir did not like him and his will as well. He was considered as a cruel leader who always suppressed the people of Kashmir and never gave them their basic right to speak. Pakistan claimed that Indian forces were already present in Kashmir. The instrument of Kashmir was signed later on. Indian soldiers are also violating the basic rights in Kashmir.

It is also said by the scholars of Kashmir that India is violating the fundamental human rights of the people of Kashmir. The innocent people of Kashmir who are just demanding their basic human rights are controlled by terror. The people of Kashmir are being killed by the Indian army in Kashmir. A report indicates that more than 95 thousand peoples have been killed in Kashmir till now by Indian forces. India also refused to accept her promise of the plebiscite.

It is obvious that without resolving the Kashmir issue, the relations of Pakistan and India can never be positive and friendly. Kashmir's cause is very important and prominent. Both states are nuclear powers. To resolve this issue, the resolutions passed by the UN should be implemented and the will of the people of Kashmir should be given importance. The plebiscite was promised with the people of Kashmir at the time of accession by the Mountbatten on all India Radio publicly. This promise should be fulfilled which is the primary demand of the people of Kashmir.

²² Ashutosh Misra and Michael E. Clarke, eds. *Pakistan's stability paradox: domestic, regional and international dimensions* (Routledge, 2013).

Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan as a Governor of West Pakistan: 1960-66

Salma Iqbal*

Abstract

Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan belonged to a famous Awan tribe. He was a feudal lord, ruler, and 7th Nawab of Kalabagh estate in Mianwali District of northwest Punjab, Pakistan. Nawab remained chairman of Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) from December 9, 1958 to May 24, 1960. President Muhammad Ayub Khan nominated him, chairman of the Agriculture Commission, because of his understanding and experience in this field. That was well-earned recognition. During governorship, the Nawab of Kalabagh emerged out with sterling qualities of leadership. He was the 3rd Governor of West Pakistan. He was known as a man of principles and staunch follower of the feudal traditions. The paper focuses on his achievements and initiatives as a governor. He was a towering personality and a strong supporter of the Ayub regime. The paper aims not only to discuss his role in the strengthening of the Ayub regime but also focuses on the authoritarian character of his administration.

Keywords: Nawab of Kalabagh, leadership, administration, Pakistan, policies.

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Introduction

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was born on June 20, 1910, in Kalabagh. He was the only son of Malik Atta Muhammad Khan. He was crowned after the death of his father in 1924. He got his early education from Aitcheson College Lahore and completed his diploma class in 1928. He passed his Graduation from Oxford University in 1931. Nawab was too young to manage the estate matters, so estate matters remained under the supervision of the court of the ward, Raja Abdullah, a revenue officer appointed as a supervisor. He took his land from the court of wards in 1932. On the demand of Quaid-e-Azam, he donated huge funds during the historic session of the Muslim League in 1940. He played an important role in the Pakistan Movement. In 1951, he was not only elected as a member of Punjab Legislative Assembly but also as a member of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly in 1955. In 1956, he was elected as a member of the West Pakistan Assembly. On April 11, 1960, Ayub Khan enlisted him among the support of two trusted friends. They were men, known for their strong character and sense of responsibility. In April 1960, Governor Akhter Hussain relinquished office to Nawab of Kalabagh and he took oath as the Governor of West Pakistan on June 1, 1960. Thus, began the longest gubernatorial term in this country. No doubt, he was an outstanding administrator. Queen Elizabeth II and some other foreign dignitaries were much impressed by his administration. Ayub Khan, during his visit to Kalabagh, was also much impressed to see his estate administration. Therefore, he decided to appoint him as Governor of West Pakistan. Dir operation was an interesting event of his Governorship. Nawab of Dir, Shah Jahan Khan wanted to establish 'Pakhtunistan' with the help of the Afghan government. The personal intelligence of Nawab informed him well in time and it was controlled dramatically.

He was an agriculturalist by profession and had established a modern agriculture farms as well as horses, cow, and sheep farms which were famous all over Asia. Raja Hutheesing, a member of the Nehru family, recognized all this and decided to establish Stud Farm jointly because both were fond of horses. He introduced a peculiar variety of wheat (Maxi Pak). His role in the 1965 Indo Pakistan war was praised as he maintained law and order in the province, controlled the prices, and prevented the smuggling of wheat and rice.

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan as a Governor of West Pakistan

In April 1960, Akhter Hussain, the then Governor of West Pakistan relinquished his office to Malik Amir Muhammad Khan.¹ Akhter Hussain a dedicated, honest, and efficient civil servant had chaired the Land Reforms Commission and also served as Election Commissioner. He was later appointed as the Minister of Education before stepping down because of age and failing health.²

The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, which came into being in January 1952 as a central Government Institution was bifurcated into two provincial corporations, namely: West Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (WPIDC) and East Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (EPIDC) as from July 1, 1962. WPIDC aimed to fill the deficiency of private enterprise in industries to achieve accelerated and balanced industrial growth. The value of all the goods produced by WPIDC projects totaled to Rs. 218 million in 1961-62. The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) provided for a total investment of Rs.588 million in the public sector through WPIDC in West Pakistan.³ Nawab remained chairman of PIDC from December 9, 1958 to May 24, 1960. He established fertilizer, cement, penicillin, and dye factories under PIDC in Iskandarabad (Mianwali). He brought a revolution in all the units of PIDC which increased the pace of development of the country.⁴

Ayub was successful in cultivating the image of a soldier-statesman because of his able colleagues and lieutenants like Nawab of Kalabagh. The Nawab used to arrange hunting parties for Ayub Khan for many years. He had won Ayub's confidence and friendship. He ruled with a resolute will till 1966 when differences with Ayub Khan led to his resignation. In the course of his governorship, the Nawab also earned the resentment of the people by his dictatorial methods and police oppression. He was held in fear owing to his frightful reputation for vindictiveness.⁵ He had been described a controversial figure by many historians and writers. He had, at the same

¹ Morning News, Islamabad, April 12, 1960.

² Muhammad Asif Malik, *Ideology and Dynamics of Politics in Pakistan*, (Lahore: Emporism Publishers, 2001), 178-179.

³ *The West Pakistan Year Book*, 1962. (Lahore: Directorate of Publications Research and Films Information Department West Pakistan), 114-115.

⁴ Nawa-e-Sharar, Lahore, n.d.

⁵ Hamid Yusuf, Forward by, Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy 1947-1977*, (Lahore: Afrasia Publications, 1980), 61-62.

time, also been described as a man of principles and traditions. Queen Elizabeth II arrived in Pakistan on February 11, 1961, and was received at the airport by Governor, Nawab of Kalabagh. On March 21, 1962, Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy visited Pakistan. She was received by Nawab. Ayub Khan was also there. People of Lahore cordially welcomed her; all the roads were decorated with flags of Pakistan and the USA. Schoolgirls threw rose petals on the car of Mrs. Kennedy. A public holiday was announced on that day by the Government. Mrs. Kennedy visited different cities and historical places in Pakistan. She was also presented Guard of Honour by the forces. She was accompanied by the Nawab at most of the events. After concluding the visit, she praised the Nawab as a good history teacher and was also impressed by his administrative qualities and due to his interest and knowledge of the agriculture sector.⁶

He took several measures which fortified his image of a strong administrator such as organizing a special police staff for the recovery of unlicensed arms and rounding up of anti-social elements in the province. He also directed the Inspector General of Police to organize surprise raids for the recovery of unlicensed arms. The police staff was reinforced to effectively meet the requirements of law and order. He paid special attention to the regions that are included in Balochistan. New police stations were set up to manage the law and order situation in those regions.⁷ One of the main events of the Ayub era was a presidential election for which the major contestants were Ayub Khan and Miss Fatima Jinnah. Nawab of Kalabagh, as a governor and staunch ally of Ayub Khan, played an active role in the election campaign by enlisting the support of various landlords, influential persons, and basic democrats. He was often criticized because of his strong arms tactics by using West Pakistan's administrative machinery to the advantage of Ayub Khan. No doubt, Governor Amir Muhammad Khan played a decisive role in Ayub Khan's victory.⁸

During the Presidential Elections of 1965, he managed to get the sympathies from Muslim League leaders. As Lagharies and Mazaries of Dera Ghazi Khan were against each other but due to Nawab's political vision both the families supported Ayub Khan in the elections. Similarly, the bureaucracy was used in favour of Ayub Khan. On the election-day police were bound to facilitate the Ayub voters and create hurdles against voters of Fatima Jinnah. Many polling

⁶ Nawa-e-waqt, Lahore, March 22, 1962.

⁷ DAWN, Islamabad, March 1, 1965.

⁸ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969, Vol. II*. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Centre of Excellence Quaid e Azam University, 2000), 244-45.

officers put votes in boxes of president Ayub. Most of the polling agents of Miss Fatima Jinnah were arrested and brutally beaten and harassed; for example, Mr. Kareem Ullah Khan Durani's advocate was arrested at Malakand because he had to visit Mangora and Saidu Sharif stations.⁹

Habib Jalib presented the sarcastic picture of presidential elections in his poetry and pointed out the misdeeds of Nawab of Kalabagh. Habib Jalib ridiculed the menace which was used by Nawab to win the presidential election and was arrested on September 30, 1965, with the orders of Nawab of Kalabagh; because he recited poetry in a meeting in Peshawar that was against Ayub Khan. Habib Jalib had described him as a cruel leader in his poetry.¹⁰

As a governor, he took stern measures to stem the price hike.¹¹ Ayub was sworn in as President for a five years' term on March 23, 1965. Ayub decided to reappoint both, the existing provincial governors; the Nawab of Kalabagh in West Pakistan and Monem Khan in East Pakistan. A few days before the new cabinet was sworn in, Bhutto wrote a letter to him, assuring loyalty and devotion with Ayub's government. He also offered services in any capacity, without concealing his preferences for Foreign Affairs. Bhutto knew that certain people in the government, particularly the Nawab of Kalabagh, were keen to see him eliminated, but Bhutto had the support of some of the secretaries to Government, in particular the Information Secretary, and was able to persuade Ayub to retain his services on the previous portfolio of Foreign Office.¹²

Nawab played an important role during the war of 1965. He was in Murree during the war of 1965. After the outbreak of war, he reached Lahore to encourage the people of Lahore.¹³ On September 7, 1965, in Lahore, he felicitated the people of West Pakistan in general and of Lahore in particular on living up to their traditions of courage and fortitude in the face of peril. In a message that evening, the Governor said the people of Lahore were adding a glorious chapter to their magnificent history by facing Indian aggression. Governor assured the people that the

⁹ Nawa-e-waqt, Lahore, January 3, 1965.

¹⁰ Matloob Ahmad Wraich, *Soharwardi Say Wardi Tak*. (Lahore: Nashir Book Home, 2008), 58-59

¹¹ Nawa-e-waqt, Lahore, March 8, 1965.

¹² Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1993), 291.

¹³ Malik Asad Khan, Son of Nawab of Kalabagh, Interview by the researcher in Kalabagh, Pakistan, Dec 10, 2009.

defense of Lahore was very strong.¹⁴ He also played an important role by controlling the price hike and hoarding during the war.¹⁵

During the war, Nawab of Kalabagh who ignored the advice of staying away from Lahore proved a great inspiration for common people. He refused to move to a safe location and said that his body could be recovered from the debris of the Governor House. The Khan of Kalat also paid tributes to him for his courage which he showed as the Provincial Governor, and for his efforts to keep up the morale of the people by remaining in Lahore during the September war.¹⁶

On September 13, 1965, in Lahore, he appealed to the people to generously donate towards the National Defense Fund and demonstrate to the Pakistan forces fighting at the borders that the people of Pakistan would do everything humanly possible to back up their heroic actions.¹⁷ On September 25, 1965, he sent a message of congratulations to General Muhammad Musa, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army; Air Marshal M. Nur Khan, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Air Force, and Vice Admiral A. R. Khan, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Navy, on the heroic performance of their Forces in repeating the enemy aggression and in causing a crushing and decisive blow to its armed might. The message says that “these performances would remain enshrined in golden letters in the pages of history and posterity would refer to these deeds with pride and pleasure”.¹⁸

A prolongation of the war would inevitably result in attrition, and unless losses were replaced a stage would be reached when the air force would perform be grounded. This would be a sorry post-script to a spectacular performance, and one Ayub Khan naturally did not relish. There was also very strong advice of Nawab of Kalabagh, the Governor of West Pakistan—to whose charm both he and Ayub Khan were susceptible. He exercised great influence over Ayub Khan, who regarded him as a practical and down-to-earth person. In whose judgment and advice he had implicit faith. The Nawab visualized things from Lahore and to that extent was nearer the battlefield. But he, no more than Ayub Khan, reflected the mood of the people. He saw in the continuation of the struggle the possibility of the crumbling of the social structure of which he was

¹⁴ DAWN, Islamabad, September 8, 1965.

¹⁵ Malik Asad Khan, Son of Nawab of Kalabagh, Interview by the researcher, Dec 10, 2009.

¹⁶ Pakistan Times, Islamabad, June 3, 1966.

¹⁷ DAWN, Islamabad, September 14, 1965.

¹⁸ DAWN, Islamabad, September 26, 1965.

a staunch pillar. There is no question that his advice was an important factor in deciding the course of events.¹⁹

Ayub had a cabinet meeting on December 31, 1965 in Rawalpindi, before departure for Tashkent via Kabul. All ministers, the Governor of West Pakistan, Nawab of Kalabagh, the commander-in-chief of Army, General Musa, and the then Speaker of the National Assembly, Abdul Jabbar were present in the meeting. The only minister absent was Altaf Hussain, who was away in Manila to represent Pakistan at the swearing-in ceremony of President Marcos. Ayub started by saying that he did not know what to expect of Tashkent. The issues of prime importance for Pakistan were, and this was the order in which Ayub listed them; withdrawal of forces and adoption of a no-war declaration once there was agreement on the first three items.²⁰

The September War had several economic consequences for Pakistan. Kalabagh had always been active in the factional politics of the regime, competing with Bhutto, for whom he had a personal and political disregard. To some, these efforts suggested higher political ambitions on the part of Kalabagh, ambitions that were given added credence after the 1965 war. As the most influential chief in the Punjabi Awan tribe, Kalabagh was in a position to exercise influence in the internal matters of the military. Moreover, like Bhutto, he was not unaware of the political potentialities that the army was largely Punjabi in composition, the September War had been fought mostly in and around Punjab, and that, having been the most affected by the war, Punjab was also the most dissatisfied by its diplomatic outcome.²¹

The 1965 war put a heavy strain on the economy and defense of Pakistan and necessitated an appraisal of its internal and external expectations. The ceasefire became effective on September 23.²² According to Qudrat Ullah Shahab, he spoke to Nawab of Kalabagh, about the 1965 war, who said; this was not Pakistan's war. In fact, this was imposed by Major General Akhtar Malik, M.M.Ahmad, Z.A.Bhutto, Aziz Ahmad, and Nazir Ahmad. Their purpose was to control Ayub Khan and increase their power and influence.²³

¹⁹ M. Asghar Khan, *The First Round Indo-Pakistan War 1965*. (Karachi, 1979), 58.

²⁰ Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, 377-378.

²¹ Philip E. Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party; Rise to Power*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 142.

²² Syed Shabbir Hussain, *Lengthening Shadows*. (Rawalpindi: Mujahid Publications, 1970), 102.

²³ Qudrat Ullah Shahab, *Shahab Nama*. (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2005), 886.

During the agitation, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman put forward his six points for provincial autonomy. There was an allegation that six points were given to Sh. Mujib-ur-Rehman by the ruling party when there was a conference of the members of the opposition parties, after the Tashkent Declaration. S. M. Zafar made an inquiry from Gauhar of what he knew of the six points. The answer, which he gave to him, was to the following effect. These six points were lifted from a book in India which was written by some Bengalis suggesting the separation of West Bengal from India. Many people here do not know this. Thus there is nothing original in these points. When S. M. Zafar questioned him about an allegation that the six points had been supplied to Sh. Mujib-ur-Rehman by the government itself, he said that “one could say more sure that these were supplied to Mr. Mujib-ur-Rehman by the then Governor late Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh”.²⁴

The departure of Kalabagh was, in some ways, as significant as that of Bhutto. A representative of the old landed ‘Ashrafi class’, Kalabagh’s political leanings were as conservative as Bhutto’s were radical. He was the kind of ‘feudal lord’ who viewed Punjab as the ‘Prussia of Pakistan’, and who pronounced favourably on the fact that not a single school had been built on his vast estates. Though he was never accused of using his official position for personal profit, he was believed to live by the old feudal code of vengeance in personal and political matters. There were many reasons for the differences between Ayub Khan and Malik Amir Muhammad Khan.²⁵

The clash between Nawab and Ayub Khan started on the nomination of Habib Ullah, during the elections of Karachi. Nawab was in favour of independent candidate Ghous Bakhsh Bazinjo, a popular Balochi leader, and was an opponent of government nominee; Habib Ullah. Some government members like Mahmood Haroon was also against the government candidate Habib Ullah. It is said that Ayub considered Nawab responsible for the defeat.²⁶

Mr. Ghous Bakhsh Bazinjo defeated Convention Muslim League member, Habib Ullah. Ghous Baksh Bazinjo got 348 votes out of 497; although Habib Ullah got 128 votes and Major M. A. Qureshi got 3 votes. Most the voters from the Government Party denied casting their votes to Habib Ullah, a government candidate. Except for only one group of Convention Muslim League

²⁴ S. M. Zafar, *Through The Crises*. (Lahore: Book Center, 1970), 35-36.

²⁵ Philip E. Jones, *The Pakistan People’s Party; Rise to Power*, 142.

²⁶ Altaf Gauhaar, *Ayub Khan Fauji Raj Kay Pahlay Das Saal*. (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004), 435.

whole the Groups were united and against Habib Ullah. Nawab Sahib was in favour of Ghous Bakash Bazinjo. When Ayub came to know this, a clash started between Nawab and Ayub Khan. This was one of the main reasons for his resignation.²⁷

Nawab was a man of principles and he did not like the interference of anyone in his administration. Some closer associates of Ayub were interfering in his decisions and administration that was against the ego and temperament of Nawab, so he decided to tender resignation. This interference is considered as the second major reason for differences between Nawab and Ayub Khan which concluded at the resignation of Nawab of Kalabagh from the office of the governor of West Pakistan. Nawab felt it was difficult to manage, friendship, and duty side by side, so he preferred to tender his resignation which was accepted by Ayub Khan.²⁸ Gauhar also supports the view that the rift between the two had been caused by the nomination of Khan Bahadur Habibullah, a Karachi businessman, as the ruling party candidate for a by-election in the Lyari constituency.²⁹

On September 17, 1966 in Rawalpindi, President Ayub Khan said that the Governor of West Pakistan, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan had tendered his resignation for private reasons and he had very reluctantly accepted the resignation. He also said that the departure of Nawab from the office of the Governor would in no manner affect his regard for him or his friendship with him which was of very long duration.³⁰ Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, the long-time Governor of West Pakistan, tendered his resignation in September, following differences with Ayub and General Muhammad Musa, who had been retired from command of the Pakistan Army, succeeded him.³¹ Nawab resigned for “private reasons” to be replaced by General Muhammad Musa whose appointment as Pakistan’s Ambassador to Iran was canceled. When Bhutto arrived at Rawalpindi, from his foreign trip towards the end of September, he seemed to be gloating over the removal of

²⁷ Nawa-e-waqt, Islamabad, May 27, 1966.

²⁸ Malik Asad Khan, Son of Nawab of Kalabagh, Interview by the researcher, December 10, 2009.

²⁹ Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan Pakistan’s First Military Ruler*, 416-417.

³⁰ Morning News, Islamabad, September 18, 1966.

³¹ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century_ A Political History* (Karachi:Oxford University Press, 1997), 309.

Nawab.³² On September 18, 1966, Nawab resigned and Ayub had to deprive himself from his strong friend because Nawab had a complete grip on the province.³³

The resignation of the Governor of West Pakistan, and the Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in August 1966, also failed to make an immediate impact. General Muhammad Musa, commander-in-chief of the Pakistan Army, was appointed governor to keep up the strong-man image of this office established by Amir Muhammad Khan, and Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, promoted to the rank of a General, was appointed the Commander-in-Chief. These changes had a great bearing on subsequent political developments.³⁴

The Nawab of Kalabagh who had been partly instrumental in Bhutto's exit fell from grace. It appeared that a powerful lobby of officials enjoying the confidence of the President had been competing with Nawab for influence. It finally succeeded by assembling evidence suggestive of the Nawab's ambition, in arousing Ayub's suspicions to which personal rule is prone. The Nawab's departure left a vacuum. Since his appointment in 1960 as the Governor of West Pakistan, he had kept West Pakistan firmly under control by a policy that combined severity with political and administrative talent.³⁵

There were other reasons also for the differences between Ayub Khan and Nawab of Kalabagh. The open interference of Ayub's sons in the affairs of West Pakistan, his sons firing on the demonstrations in Karachi, killing thirty people, and abounding many more and incidents that drew attention to Ayub's nepotism further aggravated the relations between Ayub and Nawab of Kalabagh.³⁶

Ayub records in his diaries that "Nawab had been acting as in a disloyal manner to me in his subtle and devious way. I believe the people heaved a sigh of relief on his departure".³⁷ These comments of Ayub Khan demonstrate that he was not happy with Nawab of Kalabagh and

³² Syed Shabbir Hussain, *Ayub, Bhutto and Zia*. (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001), 103-104.

³³ Zahid Hussain Anjum, *Encyclopedia Wakiat Pakistan Vol. I*. (Lahore: Nazir Sons Publishers, 2005), 973-74.

³⁴ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969, Vol. II*. 222.

³⁵ Hamid Yusuf, Forward by, Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy 1947-1977*. (Lahore: Nazir Sons Publishers, 1980), 85.

³⁶ Daily Times, Islamabad, September 29, 2003.

³⁷ Craig Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan 1966-72*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 9-10.

expressed satisfaction over his departure.³⁸ The departure of Kalabagh and Bhutto did not mean Ayub lost all support among the landed classes. Some big zamindars from other provinces-like Nawabzada Abdul Gaffar Khan of Hoti-Mardan moved into the Central Cabinet in August 1966 and welcomed the departure of Kalabagh.³⁹ On November 26, 1967, Nawab was shot dead at his Kalabagh residence.

The Government of West Pakistan issued the following Gazette extraordinary; On the sad and sudden death of the late Malik Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh, “the Government of West Pakistan has learned with great regret of the death of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, H. P k. H. Q. A. of Kalabagh. Malik Amir Muhammad Khan served as Chairman PIDC, and Chairman of the food and Agricultural Commission. He held the office of the Governor of West Pakistan for over six years. He made a significant contribution towards the agricultural development of the country. The Government of West Pakistan conveys their heartfelt deep sympathy to the bereaved family.⁴⁰

A case against his son Muhammad Asad Khan was registered. This incident had nothing to do directly with the political happenings but during the tense period, in one of the statements Z. A. Bhutto accused that the regime was responsible for this murder.⁴¹ Malik Asad Khan said that “I fired my father with a bullet to save my life”.⁴² Ayub Khan in his one of entries of his diaries recorded and commented on the murder of Nawab of Kalabagh in the following words;

I was rung up by General Musa around midday and told that he had heard that the Nawab of Kalabagh had been shot and killed by his son Asad. Asad went to see his father in the morning to report something, during the talk, hot words were exchanged between the two over the running of the family estate. The Nawab accused Asad of mismanagement and he in turn accused Noor Muhammad, a trusted servant of the Nawab. On that, the Nawab is alleged to have whipped out his pistol and fired two shots at Asad slightly grazing him on the arm. Asad in return fired five shots hitting the Nawab in his neck, chest, and stomach. He died on spot. I told the governor to send the IG police to see that no one was unnecessarily implicated. It is an obvious case of self-defense, but all the same, tragic.

³⁸ Ibid, 47.

³⁹ Philip E. Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party; Rise to Power*, 142-143.

⁴⁰ Morning News, Islamabad, November 27, 1967.

⁴¹ S.M. Zafar, *Through The Crises*, 125.

⁴² Shakir Hussain Shakir, Razi ud Din Razi, *Pakistan Fifty Three Year, August 14, 1947 Say August 14, 2000 Tak.*(Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001), 426.

The Nawab deserved a better ending but by his feudal background he was prone to dictation and intolerance.⁴³

The reason for Malik's death was a family dispute created by illiterate General manager Noor Muhammad. About four thousand people attended the funeral. No important personality attended the funeral of the Nawab due to bad communication. Only IG Police Salahud din Qureshi on behalf of Ayub Khan participated in the funeral.⁴⁴ The death of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, the former Governor, in unfortunate circumstances suddenly removed from the scene a well-known figure in Pakistan's public life.⁴⁵

Conclusion

No doubt Ayub Khan was the president and head of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan but Nawab as a governor of West Pakistan was the pillar of Ayub Khan Regime. Nawab contributed to the Ayub regime utilising his administrative and political vision. Nawab Sahib has also been described as a man of principles and feudal traditions. The Nawab of Kalabagh displayed the sterling qualities of leadership. During his governorship, he handled many conspiracies against Ayub Khan. Nawab had a reputation for being a hard taskmaster. However, during his term as a governor was labeled as *soto voce*, ruthless tyrant. No doubt he was a harsh ruler but a great administrator. He strengthened the martial law government. He held the office of the Governor of West Pakistan for over six years and made a significant contribution in the agricultural development of the country. Administrative officers were granted full powers but they were directly answerable to him. No one could interfere in his administration and none could change his decisions. Some people nearest to President Ayub Khan tried to interfere in his decisions and administration which was not acceptable to him so he resigned.

Nawab of Kalabagh had been a confidant of Ayub Khan for more than six years but the issues of nomination and support of Habib Ullah Khan and kidnapping of the daughter of IG police made him resign from the office of the governor of West Pakistan. This was the day that, according to some commentators, started the fall of Ayub as well as Nawab. He was the person who

⁴³ Craig Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan 1966-72*, 179.

⁴⁴ Muhammad Hussain, General Manager of Kalabagh Estate, interview by the researcher in Kalabagh, Pakistan, Oct 12, 2010.

⁴⁵ DAWN, Islamabad, November 28, 1967.

strengthened the martial law government with an iron hand, harsh tactics with political vision, and contributed a lot in stabilizing the Ayub regime in West Pakistan and his resignation practically started the downfall of his regime.

Menace of Corruption and Way Forward: A Case Study of Pakistan

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Abstract

Corruption and good governance are unreceptive powers that effectively work in any developing nation. While corruption spreads significantly, good governance is to be constructed step by determined step. Good governance plays a significant role to counter social evils and poverty. Strong and loyal administration always supports minimizing corruption and comes up with the light of hope for the nation. This research paper will go a long way in contributing to the policymaking process for the elimination of corruption from Pakistani society and also enlighten the good kaleidoscope in their teaching and research efforts respectively.

Key Words: Corruption, Good Governance, Poverty, Pakistan

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Introduction

Menace of corruption in developing countries like Pakistan has become an accepted norm. At the same time, corruption is understood to be the cancer of the foundation of societal and economic foundations of the state. There is no sector of economy and society that looks at the outset, corruption-free. The irony of fate is that the organs of state that are responsible for alleviation and eradication of corruption and corrupt practices are themselves responsible for the growth of corrupt culture in society¹.

This research paper reviews the existing contemporary literature on corruption in Pakistan and contests the Class Conflict theory of Karl Marx, explaining the corruption based on the constant struggle of Proletariat against Bourgeois depriving them of their rightful economic rights². Economic loss to the society, the manifestation of corruption in various forms in diverse sectors as documented, reported and investigated by contemporary Watch Dogs like Transparency International (TI), the present anti-corruption institutional system in Pakistan and result from analysis makes part of this research paper. This paper hypothesizes that Economic disparity is necessary but not enough condition for growing corruption in Pakistan and equalization in access to resources is the only way forward in the elimination of corruption from Pakistani society.

In this reference, Ronald Wraith and Edgar Simpkins in their book "Corruption and Developing Countries" describe the problem of corruption in a very interesting way³. They describe that the people who try to live as amoral men in such a society which in amoral will give - up their honesty under societal duress and family pressure, they would develop an ambition that can only

¹ Khan, Mushtaq. "The role of civil society and patron-client networks in the analysis of corruption." (1998): 111-128.

² Dahrendorf, Ralf. *Class and class conflict in industrial society*. Vol. 15. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959.

³ Rose-Ackerman, Susan, ed. *International handbook on the economics of corruption*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2007.

be achieved through illegitimate means. However, if they fail in their dishonest overtures they would be left out by such an immoral society and will be stigmatized as defeated ones. The problem of corruption is common in the developing countries who are members of the commonwealth. Such is the situation of civil servants, Ministers, and Parliamentarians. The corruption is everywhere as an accepted norm from church to the Government.

Anthony Giddens refers to Karl Marx who claims that the Proletariats gain not enough in society but they sell their cheaper labour. They feel treated poorly by the middle class. They only survive. There is almost no chance of achieving a better status. The bourgeoisie exploits and degrade the Proletariat. The Proletariats are just used to improve production in society that turns in to capitalism. This is how the Proletariats are bent upon using the illegitimate way of earning a better status through a system called corruption.

Subhash C Kashyap, in "Eradication of Corruption and Restoration of Values, treatises" JS Verna "Former Chief Justice of India states that corruption is so rampant that everyone knows it, everyone sees it and every moment of our life comes across it⁴. Only the restoration of values can hamper it in this dismal scenario of degenerating society. He refers to Stuart Mill that an individual's worth has deteriorated to the all-time low in morality. Today's trouble is that ideals and role models are no more available to the younger generation. He sees no time to use and he sees that the real hope lies in the restoration of moral values to curb corruption from Indian society.

⁴ Kashyap, Subhash C. "Revisiting Corruption: Need for Systemic Reforms to Strengthen Democratic Structures." *Indian Journal of Public Administration* 57, no. 3 (2011): 445-457.

George Cremer, in his book "Corruption and Development Aid, Confronting the Challenges"⁵ says that dealing with corruption specifically in developing countries must include the global context of this phenomenon. He says that there is always a risk in the accountability process of International aid with the political elite in the developing countries. Because the lines share flows to the political elites, he says that the term corruption applies only when the behavior of a contractive official defies the accepted norms of his society. Corruption is a global phenomenon and it is manifested in international economic relations.

Daniel Smilov, in his article, "Anti-Corruption Bodies as Discourse Controlling Instruments: Experiences from South-East Europe"⁶ Governments, NGO's and anti-corruption, the New Integrity Warriors"⁷ edited by Peter and Barry studies in European Political Science, University of Burlingame UK, writes that anti-corruption efforts are a must for the political parties. He focuses his understanding of corruption on the target groups including politicians, judges, journalists, NGO's, and businesses. He sees the police and prosecutors as political party machines and concludes that any success of anti-corruption efforts lies in a healthy process of democratic representation.

Nick Lampert in his article "The Whistle-Blowers, Corruption and Citizens, Complaints in USSR," in the book "Corruption Causes, Consequences, and Control," edited by Michal Clark, concludes that the growing importance of law becomes ever larger and more intricate⁸. The complaints arising out of public office must be dealt with by law enforcement. He further

⁵ Cremer, Georg. "Corruption & development aid: Confronting the challenges." (2010).

⁶ Smilov, Daniel. "Anti-corruption bodies as discourse-controlling instruments: experiences from south-east Europe." In *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption*, pp. 111-127. Routledge, 2012.

⁷ van der Meer, Frits, and Gerrit Dijkstra. "Assessing and Explaining the Latit-ude of Loyal Contradiction within Bureaucracy: A Conceptual Ap-proach."

⁸ Lampert, Nick. "The whistleblowers: Corruption and citizens" complaints in the USSR." *Michael Clarke (ed.)* (1983): 268-287.

concludes that the problem of corruption can only be resolved from the top. The centralized political management is always responsible for enforcement in avoidance of law against corrupt practices in the lower ranks of the Government.

Potential Contributions and Limitations of the Study

This research paper will go a long way toward contributing to the policymaking process for the elimination of corruption from Pakistani society. For the students on the subject, a considerable amount of relevant data is juxtaposed scientifically in this research paper. For the teachers and further researchers, this paper gives quite a good kaleidoscope in their teaching and research efforts respectively. For the common man/woman interested to know about the corruption in Pakistan and way forward in eliminating this menace from the society, all relevant facts and figures are found available in one place. Due to the limited time and scope of the study, the personal interviews and concerns of all the relevant departments and walks of life across the country have not been possible. However, all relevant sources and links are given in-text and in the bibliography of this research paper will help in further research on the topic.

The present study provides a detailed analysis of the conceptual books on corruption from international literature. The study also analyses contemporary reports/documents on corruption in Pakistan.

Corruption Occurrence in Pakistan

Every country has its definition and understanding of the terms "corruption and corrupt activities" so it is a difficult task to put forth its exact definition.⁹ However, theoretically, the

⁹ Ismail, Aisha, and Kashif Rashid. "Time series analysis of the nexus among corruption, political instability and judicial inefficiency in Pakistan." *Quality & Quantity* 48, no. 5 (2014): 2757-2771.

corrupt means utterly broke. Aristotle defines corruption as a condition when good habits are abandoned by a person. Morris defined corruption as an act of misuse of public power.

Corruption according to the scales can be categorized as petty, grand, and systematic corruption. The scale of corruption is called petty when small amounts of favours and money are involved. Usually, this form of corruption is found in personal connections and where public servants are lowly paid. In developing countries like Pakistan, this form of corruption is commonly found in almost every walk of society¹⁰. Grand corruption is found in the highest levels of government, significantly subverting the political, judicial, and economic system. Usually, authoritarian and dictatorial governments are found involved in grand corruption¹¹. But weak democracies like that in Pakistan are equally corrupt in the developing and underdeveloped countries. Systemic corruption occurs due to the weakness of a process or an organization¹². In such departments, individual officials or their front men are found in systemic corruption in such sort of corruption. Lack of transparency, discretionary powers, low salaries, and culture of impunity are causing.

The acts of corruption include embezzlement, rent-seeking, extortion, and bribery. Corruption is equally found in the public and private sectors, but in Pakistan the public sector is the biggest harbinger of corruption. World Bank found that the policymakers whether elected officials or bureaucrats are the deciding factors in the level of corruption in a country like Pakistan. Usually, public corruption is carried through the police prosecution. Such sort of corruption is exerted

¹⁰ Apata, Gabriel O. "Corruption and the postcolonial state: how the west invented African corruption." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 37, no. 1 (2019): 43-56.

¹¹ Javaid, Umbreen. "Corruption and its deep impact on good governance in Pakistan." *Pakistan Economic and Social Review* (2010): 123-134.

¹² Khan, Feisal. "Corruption and the Decline of the State in Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Political Science* 15, no. 2 (2007): 219-247.

through the political patronage by way of intimidating the masses and falsifying the evidence etc¹³.

Usually, the labour unions are also involved in the manipulation of businesses, industries, consumers, and workers. They provide rich gangs of organized criminal groups. Such organized corrupt groups are present in all the big cities of Pakistan and the big enterprises of the country. They are similarly involved in bribery, embezzlement, theft, fraud, extortion, and blackmail¹⁴.

The Anti-Corruption Legal Mechanism in Pakistan

i. Prevention of Corruption Acts: 1947 and 1958

Pakistan adopted the 1947 Prevention of Corruption Act, particularly for the bureaucratic circles. The same act was adopted in the princely states in 1952¹⁵. However, in 1958 a new act was introduced in the entire country called Prevention of Corruption Act 1958. This act extended to the districts of Pakistan.

ii. NAB Ordinance 1999

Musharraf government in 1999 promulgated the NAB Ordinance for the establishment of an autonomous National Accountability Ordinance under the federal government and sub-offices in the provincial headquarters. NAB is mandated to apprehend, investigate, issue earnest warrants, and prosecute the corrupt persons in the country¹⁶. These accused persons are then trialed in the

¹³ Javaid, Umbreen. "Corruption and its deep impact on good governance in Pakistan." *Pakistan Economic and Social Review* (2010): 123-134.

¹⁴ Wei, Shang-Jin. *Corruption in economic development: Beneficial grease, minor annoyance, or major obstacle?*. The World Bank, 1999.

¹⁵ Christensen, Thomas J. *Useful adversaries: Grand strategy, domestic mobilization, and Sino-American conflict, 1947-1958*. Princeton University Press, 1996.

¹⁶ Sagar, Aneel. "The Concept of White-Collar Crime: Nature, Causes, Political and Legal Aspects in Accountability and Way Forward." *Journal of Political Studies* 26, no. 1 (2019).

accountability courts who have the right of appeal in the higher judiciary. Those who are found guilty cannot hold public office for ten years.

iii. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Anti-Corruption Legislation

In November 2013, the KPK government enacted KPK anti-government act 2013. They gave the mandate to well-thought out the board to NAB about arresting and prosecuting the officials of all departments found or alleged to be involved in the corruption in the province¹⁷.

iv. Extent, Harms and Hazards of Corruption for Pakistan

As reported by TI in 2014, PKR 8.5 Trillion was lost in corruption, tax evasion, and bad governance in the last PPP's government from 2008 to 2013.

Annual Loss of the exchequer due to corruption (in Billion Rupees)

Table

SROs	FBR Official	Non-tax Revenue	Black Economy	Tax Evasion	Mega Projects	Miscellaneous	Total
600	685	155	750	200	360	250	3000

Source: Transparency International 2013

The total expenditure of Pakistan in the annual budget is around PKRs 4000 Billion, while revenue earned is around PKR 27000 Billion. To meet the deficit, the GOP has to borrow from internal and external sources. The debt servicing costs the GOP around 15% of the total spending, whereas the corruption costs PKR 3000 billion annually. If the same pilferage is plugged the per capita income can simply grow by 200% and Pakistan can be enlisted in the middle-income countries. Most of the basic economic problems can be solved in a short period if the money being wasted in the corruption is utilized in the nation-building.¹⁸ From 2013 onwards

¹⁷ Ullah, Aman, Hina Ashraf, and Mussawar Shah. "Understanding perceptions about the role of traditional practices regarding inheritance with relation to inheritance feud settlement: A case study of District Mardan Khyber Pakhtunkhwa-Pakistan." *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies* 3, no. 2 (2016): 1.

¹⁸ Ahmed, Zubair. "Disaster risks and disaster management policies and practices in Pakistan: A critical analysis of Disaster Management Act 2010 of Pakistan." *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 4 (2013): 15-20.

social media has summed the form of citizen journalism in Pakistan. All the cases of corruption are put on social networking websites including the election rigging in the country. Transparency International in 2010 defined the factors involved in judicial corruption as below:

Public prosecutors, magistrates, judges, witnesses, court employees, high courts and lower courts under the influence of bar councils were alleged to be involved in nepotism. The education system in Pakistan in 2010 investigated that the admissions in the education institutions are granted through alternative and abnormal methods to the children of the elite class of politicians, businessmen, and technocrats. State-owned public schools are facing poor management and incompetence. Similarly gaining access to public health services essentially goes through the corrupt process fielded by doctors, nurses, and hospital staff.

Police and law enforcement agencies are top amongst the corrupt departments where payment of bribery is a common practice. The public utility services like gas, electricity, and water is not an exception in Pakistan. There is another unique sector of corruption that is observed in Pakistani Cricket sports fixing scandals. Sting operations were reported in August 2010 and decided against Pakistani players in November 2011 by the Southward court in London.

Mega Scams of Corruption in the Previous Government (2008 - 2013)

- Ex-PM Gillani's Son pressurized officials of the Ministry of Health into allocating a quota (worth Rs.70 billion) of controlled chemical ephedrine to two different Multan based pharmaceutical companies.
- Supreme Court of Pakistan took suo-moto of Pakistan Steel Mills leasing out a case involving corruption of Rs. 26.5 billion. However, the FIA investigation was hampered by the ministry of interior, Mr. Rehman Malik.

- Pakistan’s flagship airline Pakistan International Airlines and Pakistan Railways were brought into loss intentionally by the then government to facilitate the other private and regional airlines and the trucker’s association in the country¹⁹.
- The then President of Pakistan Medical and Dental Council was reported to be involved in the fake registration of medical professionals, allowing for inexperienced personnel to take up Important positions in the field of medicine.
- Ex-PM Raja Pervez was allegedly involved in these cases of RPPs corruption but was later cleared by the NAB. His involvement, in this case, earned him the nickname “Raja Rental”. Forty NATO containers went missing on their way to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. It was later identified that the missing containers carried cargo that was considered contraband in Pakistan, including liquor to be sold in Pakistan. The inquiry report never came to fore²⁰.
- In the HAJJ scam, the then Minister for religious affairs Mr. Hamid Kazmi was found allegedly involved in the illegal Hajj quotas to the fake travel agents. However, the case is politicized and the accused not punished.
- The National Insurance Company Limited scandal was first reported in the media in 2012 involving the purchase of 10 acres of land in Karachi. Mr. Makhdoom Amin Fahim the Minister for Commerce and Mr. Niazi the illegally appointed chairman NICL were found hands in glove for this corruption²¹.

¹⁹ Ahmed, Vaqar, Ahsan Abbas, and Saira Ahmed. "Public Infrastructure and Economic Growth in Pakistan: A Dynamic CGE-Micro Simulation Analysis." *Infrastructure and economic growth in Asia* 117 (2013).

²⁰ Saleem, Ashar. "State Under Trial An Institutional Analysis of a Policy Decision in the Pakistani Electricity Sector." PhD diss., Lahore University of Management Sciences, Lahore, 2015.

²¹ Abid, Massarrat, and S. Qalb-i-Abid, eds. *Pakistan: Challenges to Democracy, Governance and National Unity*. Pakistan Study Centre & Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 2013.

The financial corruption and its acceptance in society have given rise to a score of other economic and social evils which at the face of them look insurmountable. An analysis, in brief, is given below.

The budget deficit has become an increasing phenomenon in the country. Every government comes and goes without trying to resolve the problem by seriously tackling the problem. The political expediency at the cost of greater national interests is compromised as an ad-hoc arrangement.

Tax to GDP ratio is one of the lowest in Pakistan as compared to other contemporary economies. People avoid taxes and those who pay taxes payless²². The tax base is not increased due to the lash back of interest groups lobbying in the corridors of power. The connivance of tax official at the grassroots level cause around Rs. 685 billion loss to the national exchequer. The SROs on political motivation cause the economy to the tune of PKR 600 billion.

Looking at the corrupt practices of prominent figures and other general masses also find the ways and means to the methodical corruption for getting their things done. This makes the cost of living costlier²³. Unemployment grows in the country and thus poverty grows beyond limits. In a country like Pakistan where the population is increasing constantly, the infrastructure, health, and educational facilities cannot be provided by the government at the proportional growth of population. The frustrated population assumes the agitation posture and those who are acutely frustrated gain the assassination of merit. At the level of society, they go for crimes and thefts. The terrorists take advantage of this situation and the situation becomes more gruesome.

²² Khan, Muhammad, Naeem Akram, Hafiz Zahid Mahmood, and Farzana Shaheen. "Public Expenditure, Taxes and Economic Development: An Empirical Analysis for Pakistan." *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research* 23, no. 11 (2015): 2756-2762.

²³ Heres, Leonie. "Ethical Leadership Research: Looking beyond the leader 1." In *Ethics in public policy and management*, pp. 165-180. Routledge, 2015.

The corrupt society cannot naturally grow in the human development indices. Indicators like poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, epidemics, etc. give a dismal state of affairs which is exactly visible in Pakistan. The race for access to the eager resources in a country like Pakistan grows beyond control. The weaker sections of society are further marginalized

The stories of corruption also earn a negative impression among foreign investors. The confidence of foreign investors cannot be won²⁴. Thus, further job and employment opportunities are minimized due to a lack of investment in the business. The spirit of the Diasporas abroad goes low about their own country on foreign soils. Thus, a whole plethora of social and economic problems emerge if the corrective measures against corruption are not seriously undertaken at all levels especially at the top level of society.²⁵

Causes of the failure of Anti-Corruption system in Pakistan

Pakistani society is highly tolerant and thus prone to the acceptance of high handedness and corruption by the powerful people in society. People so often collude with the public functionaries greasing their palms for getting their things done by them. Most people avoid paying taxes and collude with tax officials and bribe them²⁶. Those who are sitting at the helm of affairs are more concerned about their self-enrichment instead of ensuring service delivery to the general masses. Anti-corruption efforts fail and further encourage the corrupt and dishonest individuals in society. This has a robust devastating effect on the social fabric of society²⁷.

²⁴ Garner, Jacqueline L., and Won Yong Kim. "Are foreign investors really beneficial? Evidence from South Korea." *Pacific-Basin Finance Journal* 25 (2013): 62-84.

²⁵ Garner, Jacqueline L., and Won Yong Kim. "Are foreign investors really beneficial? Evidence from South Korea." *Pacific-Basin Finance Journal* 25 (2013): 62-84.

²⁶ Javaid, Umbreen. "Corruption and its deep impact on good governance in Pakistan." *Pakistan Economic and Social Review* (2010): 123-134.

²⁷ Mahmood, Babak, Malik Muhammad Sohail, Shehzad Khaver Mushtaq, and Sayyed Abbas Rizvi. "Social factors Hindering political participation in Pakistan: A review Article." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no. 23 (2014): 1933.

Therefore, it can be safely said that the anti-corruption mechanisms in Pakistan failed due to the weaker institutional system in Pakistan²⁸. The departments of anti-corruption themselves became corrupt partly due to their inherent institutional weaknesses and largely due to the political support to the corrupt officials in the country²⁹. NAB, initially came with a big bang and showed good results but later it was observed that efforts of NAB were mainly towards the political capturing and aimed at that military and bureaucratic official who were politically affiliated to the two mainstream political parties in the country. Across the board, apprehensions were far and few between.

Those who were caught with full proof and were successfully trialed in the courts of law were given the facility of a plea bargain by NAB³⁰. In this way by depositing a part of looted money these individuals were freed. This process resulted in the pseudo-love of masses for these political parties and they again successively came into power to looting the country by way of corruption beyond her sustainable power³¹. NAB became controversial and the appointments to its chairman remained from the chosen retired military and civil retired military officials who had the blessings of the leader in the house of parliament and the leader of the opposition, both involved in mega scams of corruption. An appointment of impartial sewing or retired Supreme Court judge could have always been a better choice to saving the image of this national anti-corruption institution in the country.

²⁸ Khan, Muhammad Tariq, Naseer Ahmed Khan, Sheraz Ahmed, and Khalid Mehmood. "Corruption: Causes and Effects in Pakistan's Case (A Review Research)." *International Journal of Business and Behavioral Sciences* 2, no. 6 (2012): 79-91.

²⁹ Khan, Feisal. "Combating corruption in Pakistan." *Asian Education and Development Studies* 5, no. 2 (2016): 195-210.

³⁰ Javaid, Umbreen. "Corruption and its deep impact on good governance in Pakistan." *Pakistan Economic and Social Review* (2010): 123-134.

³¹ Samad, Sumaira. "Combating corruption: the case of the National Accountability Bureau, Pakistan." *JOAAG* 3, no. 1 (2008): 90-100.

Conclusion

Corruption in society can be simply calculated as below.

$$\text{Degree of corruption} = \text{Monopoly} + \text{Discretion} - \text{Transparency} - \text{Morality}$$

Based on the above analysis, it is concluded that Karl Marx's conflict theory of economic disparity does not augur well in the case study of corruption in Pakistan. It can be safely said that though the economic disparity is one of the primary but not enough conditions for corruption in Pakistan³². Corruption is rampant and widespread in the country. Wright Mills, a famous American sociologist, has given a well thought out conflict theory which explains the condition of corruption in a country like Pakistan. He said in his theory that the whole social structure came in to being as a result of negotiation and struggle of people from different areas, thoughts, ideas, interests, and conflicts. Society is determined and shaped by its power, and resources. Personal troubles and issues impact the social structure and economic power is not the only factor. He concluded that a corruption-free society can only be established when the differential of power is reduced amongst the people living in a society.

In Pakistan overpopulation of one hundred eighty million, unemployment, under-employment, poverty, illiteracy, and above all terrorism with a sense of impunity promotes the culture of corruption in Pakistani society. Corruption is the biggest social issue that has its deeper and wider prongs into the polity, morality, and economy of Pakistan³³. If the issue of corruption is dealt comprehensively and through an integrated approach, all other economic, financial, and social issues can automatically be dealt with effectively.

³² Halter, Maria Virginia, Maria Cecilia Coutinho De Arruda, and Ralph Bruno Halter. "Transparency to reduce corruption?." *Journal of Business Ethics* 84, no. 3 (2009): 373.

³³ Khan, Shahnawaz M. "Governance and Poverty in Pakistan: Some Reflections 2000-2006." (2008): 109-113.

Way Forward

The way forward in dealing with the issue of corruption in Pakistan particularly lies only in the reforms in the electioneering process whereby the truly representative government can be formed³⁴. The true democracy holds a larger promise in the way of elimination of corruption from the society. Aiming at the reduction of petty corruption is not the solution. The political corruption and strengthening of the institutional mechanism are the only step forward on the behest of full political will 2001³⁵.

Elimination of corruption is not possible in the short-term measures, instead of comprehensive economic planning and legislation is required to eradicate corruption from the society. According to the changed realities, the laws and regulations have to be changed through legislation. More strict laws by the parliament under the pressure of civil society will help change the situation. The discretionary powers at all levels have to be curbed so that the loopholes may not leave space for corrupt practices in the departments. Pakistani society is in the transformative phase where the middle class is growing rapidly and the proportion of youth population is increasing. Awareness against corruption can rapidly creep into the public at such a transformative stage. Therefore, the reformative process against the feudal mentality and poverty alleviation plans by the people's cooperatives and NGOs is the most appropriate step to whisk away corruption from the society with a new mindset of the youth and middle class against institutional and non-institutional corruption in Pakistani society.

³⁴ Malik, Salma. "Security Sector Reforms in Pakistan: Challenges, Remedies and Future Prospects." *South Asian Survey* 16, no. 2 (2009): 273-289.

³⁵ Taj, Aamer. "Bureaucracy and clientelism in an authoritarian context: a case study of local government reforms (2001-2009) in Pakistan." PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2011.

Electoral Politics and the Role of Political Parties in Indian Held Jammu and Kashmir: 1999-2008

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Abstract

Jammu and Kashmir is one of the oldest and most perverse disputes in the world. It is an unresolved issue between India and Pakistan since the partition of the subcontinent. People are denied their right to self-determination. But that does not mean that this issue cannot be resolved. Negotiations will have to be organized to differ from anyone party line, one country, and one ideology. According to the Indian government people of Kashmir are satisfied under its secular, democratic form of government as they participate in elections of the state assembly. But the elections which were conducted in the state from 1996 to 2008 are mostly claimed as rigged. Political parties of Jammu and Kashmir also worked during that period by allying with the Indian government. People of the state participated in elections with the only hope that it

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would change their political, social, and economic conditions. But their participation in elections does not mean that they do not want freedom. Separatist's movements are also running in the state they also boycott the elections and demand independent status of the state. The present paper is an effort to analyse the role of the political parties in the Kashmiri struggle for independence.

Keywords: Kashmir, Elections, politics, political parties.

Introduction

Indian Held Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory. The struggle has been made at the bilateral and multilateral levels to solve the issue of this disputed area but could not achieve any success; instead, the issue is getting challenge with every subsequent development. The wars between India and Pakistan also affected their relations. Pakistan has always opposed India's exertions to hold Kashmir. Pakistan favours the stance of Kashmir for the right to self-determination under the UN resolution of 1948-49. But on Aug 5, 2019 India has integrated Kashmir by scrapping Article 370 and 35-A. It was in the agenda of Hindu Nationalist party BJP to change the special status of Kashmir under new arrangements to directly rule over it from capital Delhi. In this way all Indian laws are now applicable to Kashmiris and the people outside the Kashmir are now able to buy property there. Indian leadership always challenged this demand and use power to suppress Kashmiri struggle for freedom through their right to self-determination. The result is a perpetual feud between the Indian authorities and the people of Kashmir. India is violating human rights in Kashmir by using a security establishment. The extensive use of security forces and state power by Indian rulers has changed the Kashmir valley into a human tragedy. The people of Kashmir want freedom from India and want to decide their political future on their own. This is not tolerable to India and it is using force to take over the Kashmir.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir consist of the areas of Kashmir valley, Jammu and Ladakh with approximately 1.25 Crores population according to last census of 2011 in IOK. Recently Indian government has passed Reorganisation Act of 2019 for bifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir and

two Union territories Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh to allow Indian Nationals to cast their vote and permanently settle in Jammu and Kashmir. It is the psychological tactics to convince the Muslims of state to live permanently under Indian rule. Formerly, Gilgit Baltistan and AJK are the part of state of Jammu and Kashmir. These territories are unique in that sense that they are not independent in their administrative affairs nor came under the direct rule of Pakistan due to unresolved dispute of Jammu and Kashmir. The conflict of Jammu and Kashmir started since the partition of the subcontinent. The result of the first India-Pakistan war was the division of the territory into Indian held Jammu and Kashmir (Kashmir valley, Jammu and Ladkah) and minor area with Pakistan (Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Northern Areas now considered as Gilgit Baltistan) this is still disputed and Pakistan has not made any claim even on this part. Since the issue of final status of Jammu and Kashmir remained unresolved the situation will remain the same. Under the UN resolution, the dividing line has been drawn between Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Northern Areas and Indian held Jammu and Kashmir originated in a cease-fire line agreement in 1949. It was renamed as the line of control (LoC) under the agreement at Shimla in July in 1972 between India and Pakistan. India claims their sovereignty over the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. But officially Pakistan has taken its principled stance to support the right to self-determination of the people of erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir in UNSC resolutions. The population of Kashmir is now tired with this dispute and they want to see Kashmir free from the clutches of Indian atrocities. The main reason for the tussle between India and Pakistan is, largely, a legacy of their history of nationalism. The Indian nationalism promoted a secular agenda and pluralist India where all religions should co-exist. Whereas the Muslim League argued that India consisted of two nations; Muslims and Hindus have a huge difference in their history, culture, politics and social life. India being a secular nation cannot concede to the idea of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan therefore, Kashmir is still a hostage of consistent conflict. Several complex disputes exist in Kashmir. The nature of disputes is ethnic, religious, territorial, electoral, human righteous, and above all the right of Kashmiri people to determine their political future. Rekha always try to show that there are so many conflicts within IOJK and the voices of freedom are not common and people have so many identities just to diffuse the conflict. India refused to hold the plebiscite in Kashmir. The reason for political turmoil in the state of Indian held Kashmir is the result of Indian unlawful occupation of Kashmir since 1947. The security forces are there since 27 October 1947 but active armed struggle started in 1989. These

engagements are resulting in human rights violations. The people of Kashmir are living in a state of constant fear.

The election of 1996 was very crucial because it was held after the seven years of turbulence in Kashmir. Assembly elections were considered as “Bread and Butter” elections and the matter of Azadi was not part of its agenda. In 1996, the election victory of Farooq Abdullah’s National conference raised hopes of a new era of good governance and improved economic policies. Policies to help Kashmir were announced but never implemented. The state created 100,000 jobs but gave them out as a form of patronage. Overall levels of corruption rose and new outside the political elite saw any improvement in their lives.³⁶

The condition in Kashmir is very depressed. The placement of security forces in IHK is also a threat for women as they are badly treated and raped by the security forces during the search operations. The ratio of kidnapping as well as rape is increasing every year. People raise their voices against such cruelty and violence but they were crushed badly by the Indian government and army in response to their protest. The human rights watch report on Kashmir in 1995 reported that:

Articles 4, 21 and 22 of the Indian constitution provided for equality before the law the right of life and right against arbitrary imprisonment while section 330 and 331 of Indian criminal code prohibit torture. Chapter 5 of the code of criminal procedure stipulates various rules. But the practice of the Indian government on human rights in Jammu and Kashmir has been at variance with these guarantees.

There is a multi-party system in Indian Held Kashmir. Major political parties are Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (NC), the Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) and the Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). According to 2014 Elections PDP with 28 seats in the first largest party and BJP with 25 seats is the second largest in the 87 member house.³⁷ The constitution of India gave autonomous status to IHK under Article 370. But the current situation is changed now after the abrogation of Article 370. Now India is successfully changing the demography of Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir. But the people of Kashmir from the start of this dispute wanted greater autonomy and sovereignty and even independence from India by using their right to self-determination and plebiscite. Some non-

³⁶ Abdul Majid and Mahboob Hussain, “Kashmir: A Conflict between India and Pakistan,” *South Asian Studies* (1026-678X) 31, no. 1 (2016).

³⁷ Paul Wallace, *India’s 2014 Elections: A Modi-Led BJP Sweep* (SAGE Publications India, 2015).

Muslims in IHK would like to see the state fully assimilated into India. India the major so called democracy in the world has occupied almost 60% area of Kashmir in an undemocratic manner. Free elections are not held in Kashmir. According to International law, everyone has an equal rights to life, freedom and security of person but unfortunately, people of Indian Held Kashmir are being humiliated, tortured, discriminated and killed. It seems that there is no law for their protection and safeguard.

Role of Political Parties in Jammu and Kashmir

The role of political parties is very important for any state as they perform different tasks in government. They organize people in one platform and give them an agenda to achieve targeted goals. Political parties also persuade voters to elect their candidates for government office. The role of political parties is also very significant in Jammu and Kashmir. They have their plans of action to run the government. The main political parties of Indian Held Jammu and Kashmir are the Indian National Congress (Congress), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Jammu and Kashmir Peoples and the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference (NC) Democratic Party (PDP)³⁸. The analysis of these political parties is given below.

the role of all these political parties were very important and considered as mainstream political parties in juxtaposition of separatists being led by APHC. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference is an alliance of 26 social, religious organisations in Kashmir. It is considered as separatists party because its main purpose is ascend the Indian controlled Kashmir to Pakistan for its Islamic governance. The elctions of 1987 created a huge disturbance in the valley because MUF (Muslim United Front) challenged the results of elections and claimed that worst rigging were made by Indian agencies and Kashmiris were forced to resort to force against India. Elections in Kashmir always created political drama because of blame game of pro-establishment parties against each other. All the elections in Kashmir were rigged started from 1951 till date and different political parties remained as puppets in the hands of India with no popular support and their lust for power. And finally India put all this mainstream leadership in Prison after August 05, 2019 under same Public safety act which they used against many Freedom Fighters.

³⁸ Shabnum Nabi and Noor Ahmad Guide Baba, "Role of Indian National Congress in the Politics of Jammu and Kashmir," (2016).

Jammu & Kashmir National Conference (NC)

National Conference (NC) is one of the ancient regional political parties in India which has played a dominant role in the politics of Jammu and Kashmir ever since its beginning in 1939. It started a political movement to challenge the feudal and autocratic rule. It occupied the hegemonic space in Jammu and Kashmir after entering into power politics in 1947 until it was merged in the mid-1960 with the Indian National Congress. However, it gained its place of dominance in 1975. It faced one of the most serious crises of integrity in 1987 after having enjoyed a position of pre-eminence for almost a quarter of a century. It hibernated in 1990 due to confrontation with popular hatred as well as armed Kashmiris . After another shift of power politics as the only governing actor and since the 2002 assembly elections it has played the role of the leading opposition party of the state. Although gaining the largest number of seats, the party was unable to gain majority support. With the beginning of another regional party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), it lost its place of dominance and the party is trying to gear up for a strong competitive power politics of the state. This political environment because of the contestation of the legitimacy of the conventional politics on the one hand and the condition of Kashmiri fighters and separatism on the other had limited the very nature of democratic politics.

The NC as a major political actor of the politics had to face the maximum brunt of the situation. It had to work in the environment of violence but also broken reliability and standing of institutionalized politics. The NC remains significant as one of the leading competitive party of the state although it has been pushed down from its position of fame. It claims as the motivator of the convention of the political movement in Kashmir as well as its support to the progress of Kashmiri identity politics assume importance in the situation of conflicting space of mainstream and the separatist politics. It is in this conflicting space that NC's discourse of autonomy offers an important channel. In the pre-1947 period, the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah started a political movement against the feudal rule so the NC was responsible for politicizing the mass of Kashmiris and providing a radical and progressive path to the prevalent political dissatisfaction. It also played a major role in giving political identity to Kashmir. It was due to a result of the discourse started by its leadership in the era of 1930s and 1940s that a collective awareness

around the political entity of Kashmir was formed. It could negotiate an independent political space for the Kashmiris in the period after 1947 within the federal structure of India and get it constitutionally assured under Article 370. In the process, it was able to achieve not only a mass base but also an organizational structure.³⁹

Its ideological formulation marked the NC as a radical party devoted to the interest of common Kashmiris which was reflected in its political program adopted in the form of New Kashmir Manifesto in 1944. This manifesto highlights the reorganization of the economic and the political structure for the welfare of the Kashmiri people as a start of new Kashmir; a Kashmir eradicated of its unhappy past political suppression, economic subjugation and social backwardness. With the abolition of the pattern of feudal land-ownership, it also highlighted the various problems interrelated to the troubled classes of the state including the peasants, workers, and women. It was due to the result of this manifesto that the NC after gaining authority laid out a plan that in a very brief time almost from 1948 to 1950, it could be able to enact various essential fundamental laws regarding the restructuring of lands. Such types of laws play its helping hand to the party worker to develop their associations to the poor peasant who mostly lived in the rural areas and to give significant and administratively effective influence to the politics of Kashmir by changing the consideration of the citizens of the valley from the factor of religion to the factor of economy and its related issues. However, the party that had been defined by its regional concerns had to endure an essential transformation that took place in the year of 1953 when party leader Sheikh Abdullah got detached from power and arrested for a long period. This change brought the loss of autonomy and a popular base.

The party was revived when Sheikh Abdullah re-joined the power politics in 1975. The remarkable factor that distinguished this phase of the NC from the earlier one was the restoration of the independence of the party. The NC was not only able to discover its politics in the regional context and re-establish its popular base of politics but also to take on the forces of centralization that were being released in India at that point of time when Sheikh Abdullah came at the helm of affairs. It was during this phase in the history that the state election was conducted which had given the party an overwhelming mandate in 1977. The autonomy of the NC, its central position in politics, and the popular support could not be continued after the death of Sheikh Abdullah.

³⁹ Rekha Chowdhary, *Jammu and Kashmir: Politics of Identity and Separatism* (Routledge India, 2015).

After giving a tough fight in 1983 elections in the state, it bows to the pressures of Congress and entered into an alliance with it, and then Congress planned the abrupt overthrow of the Farooq-led NC government in 1984. The NC continued to follow its policy of aligning with the ruling party in the centre, despite the adversarial effect of its alliance with the Congress during the 1986-1990 period. For running the government in tough situations in which it was to be found after the 1996 assembly elections, it felt essential to support the centre both in financial as well as political terms. Hence, in 1996 it supported the United Front government and made an alliance with its ministry with Saif-ud-Din Soz in the centre, a senior member of the party representing it in the government. Ideological similarities of the party with that of the Indian government did not pose many problems for it at that time. However, after 1998, when the government changed alliance in the centre and started cooperation with BJP, NC did not change its position and declared its position of spreading its support to any party or group forming the government in the centre. It decided to join the government of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in 1999. This decision of the NC to align with other sides with the BJP-led coalition, however, did not run properly with its constituency in Kashmir. The abolition of Article 370 and the ideology of BJP from the days of its Jana Sangh 'avatar', has been a curse to the Kashmiris.

The ideological conflicts existed that were different from the collective and fundamentalist positioning of this party. Its politics was based on hatred for minority and enmity for Muslims did not praise the agenda of the party of National Conference. Mainly it wasted the efforts of the party to renovate the self-confidence of the Kashmiris in its abilities to represent the regional sentiments. Even after Saif-ud-din Soz, a key member of the party decided to take a stand against the alliance of the party and this made a huge depression in the valley. The two chief problems that became the major source of humiliation for the NC during its partnership with the NDA were because of the presentation of POTA and the Gujarat violence. The legislation of POTA created a lot of reaction in the valley It was against the human rights more specifically because the Public Safety Act, a Local Preventive Detention Law, was already implemented and was being used severely. So another harsh legislation in the form of POTA and its first presentation in the state was disliked by Kashmiris. This hatred was further exaggerated during the Gujarat violence. The NC constantly made an alliance with NDA and Omar Abdullah gained an important position as minister of state for external affairs throughout violence. It affected the performance of NC and lowered the popular image of the party in the valley. Mainly, the

aggressive posturing of the party against Pakistan and more particularly the militaristic aggression of Farooq Abdullah did not go very well in Kashmir where the common sentiments have been in favour of peace and dialogue. Overall, its alliance with the BJP-led NDA did more harm to the NC than advantages. This association did not help the NC in its process of governance and in legitimizing its politics. Instead of this, the party was politically degraded by a scornful approach of the BJP towards the 'Autonomy' discourse.

The association of the NC with the BJP and its influence on in Kashmir became one of the major reasons for the weakening of the electoral prosperities of the NC in 2002 assembly elections. Resultantly, the party leader Omar Abdullah decided to withdraw from the coalition in early 2002. The era of hegemonic politics of the NC ended after the 2002 assembly election and it has a healthy effect both on the politics of the state as well as on the NC. Politics did not acquire a competitive character with NC as the single party dominating the political scene. This unfavourably stuck the process of democratization in the Valley where the presence of the opposition was nearly insignificant.

Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party

The Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party (JKPDP or PDP) was originated in 1999 by its leader Mufti Mohammad Sayeed who was ex-Union Home Minister in the regime of V.P. Singh's Jan Morcha. It is a national-based political party in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. When Sayeed died in January 2016, Mehbooba Mufti, his daughter took the lead and became a party head and got rank of a top most leading figure of Jammu and Kashmir State. A former associate of the party of Indian National Congress Sayeed, who split ways with the Congress to become a part of the group of Jan Morcha in the year of 1989, again became of the part of the Congress party which he eventually left to form the JKPDP in July 1999, alongside with his daughter Mehbooba Mufti. The PDP is not giving a solution nor does it pretend to have one.

In the year 2004, the party got the victory when the elections for the state assembly were first time won by it and the government in the state was shaped by this party. The chief minister at that time was Mufti Mohammad Sayeed and persisted in this position till 2005. During the assembly elections which the party won, it was in alliance with the UPA government. PDP's present-day president is Mrs. Mehbooba Mufti. Three of its members were elected in the 2014

general elections to the Lok Sabha. The membership on the seat of the Legislative Assembly was about 28 and was two in the Rajya Sabha. PDP was also in coalition with Bharatiya Janata Party. The PDP kept focused on the philosophy of self-government which is diverse to the problems of power. The party believes in independence and its agenda of politics is different from the concept of power and it guarantees the authorization to the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Election Commission of India approved the Election Symbol of the JKPDP and it is 'Inkpot and pen'. The election symbol of the JKPDP is important as it signifies the goals of the party. The JKPDP safeguards a new future of the people of J&K which will be dissimilar to the rising tensions and increased crises that the state is facing for a long time due to the territorial conflict. The symbol is a sign for the Indian government to approve a policy of resolution and to do absolute dialogues with the people of the state over the historic problem of Kashmir. The JKPDP stated that a new future must be written for the land.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

BJP is a Hindu nationalist party who always support Hindu majority population of Jammu and suppressed the Kashmiris through its illegal dominance over the valley. Kashmiri Muslims always remained deprived in the matters of jobs and development under this party illegitimate rule. Jammu region is much more intricate due to its social and political reality. Though it is a Hindu majority area, it has a large Muslim population almost one-third of the total population, and spread all over the region. Only four (Jammu, Kathua, Samba, and Udhampur) are mostly Hindu dominant areas out of the 10 districts and two (Poonch and Doda) are largely Muslim. The four districts have a diverse population of both religions. Not only religion, form the identity in the region, but also the tribal, caste and linguistic are other identities which are equally strong.⁴⁰ Its electoral profile has been shown the plurality of the region. Since the 1970s Jammu's electoral space has been filled by several parties, every other election has divided the mandate among several parties but not in 1983 elections when the Congress swept with 26 seats. In 1977, for example, the seats were allocated among Janata Party, the NC and the Congress while in 1987 they were distributed among the Congress, BJP, and NC. But in 1996 the political space

⁴⁰ Sten Widmalm, *Kashmir in Comparative Perspective: Democracy and Violent Separatism in India* (Routledge, 2014).

became much more split when the seats were allocated among the NC (14), the BJP (8), the Congress (4), the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) (4), the Janata Dal (4), the Congress (T) (1) and one independent candidate.

The similar division was seen in the 2002 election when the seats were distributed among the Congress, the NC, the Panthers Party, and the BJP. The perception that the BJP has been the dominant party of Jammu according to different media reports was wrong as its electoral visibility in this region has been comparatively minor due to the wake of armed militancy that this party started to enhance its power in Jammu. BJP created a space for itself after various militant attacks in the valley many of them on public and religious places such as on Raghunath temple and the railway station as well as the selective killing of Hindus in the remote areas of Doda. During the 1996 assembly elections, it could register its success on eight seats. BJP's share of votes in the region at that time was about 22%. So the party increased its space beyond its traditional urban base around Jammu and won eight constituencies and at least four were semi-urban and rural constituencies. Three seats were reserved for the Scheduled Castes (SCs). The party was able to find support from the SCs who constitute about a quarter of the Hindu population of the region.

The party remained as one of the competing parties in the region. In 2002, it was unsuccessful to repeat its 1996 performance and could win one seat only. Its part in the votes was also decreased to 12% in Jammu. Its performance got a boost after the Amarnath agitation of 2008. The party was again in a position to win 11 seats in the assembly elections that followed this agitation and received almost 22% votes. 10 out of 11 seats that it won were located in the “Hindu belt” of this region. Three were reserved constituencies from the 11 constituencies that it registered its victory. The 2008 elections still showed a plural electoral response within Jammu despite the increased space for the BJP. The party shared the electoral space with other parties including the Congress, the NC, the Panthers Party, and the PDP at the regional level. Votes were shared by the other parties including the PDP (two seats and 6.59% votes), the Panthers Party (two seats and 5.78% votes), and the BSP (5.45% votes). Even in the “Hindu belt” of 21 constituencies, there was the plurality of the parties. Besides the BJP’s 10 seats and around 27% votes, there was

the presence of Congress with five seats and around 21% votes, the NC with three seats and 12.72% votes, the Panthers Party with three seats and 8.52% votes and the BSP 8.34% votes.⁴¹

The 2008 elections showed the electoral tradition of the state where the Congress or the NC represented as the bridge across regional and communal divides. During 1996 and 2002 elections these two parties together ruled the electoral scene of the region with 22 and 24 seats and 45% and 49% of vote share. Similarly, in 2008 the NC and Congress also held together 19 seats and 41% of the vote share in Jammu.

Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress (INC) originated in 1885 and was created by A. O. Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha. After independence, Congress was changed into a full-fledged state-level party which have strong roots in politics. Jawaharlal Nehru who was the leader of the party as well as the first Prime Minister of India reserved the nature of the party as a political wide-range organization. Anxiety for keeping mutual coordination forced it to face condemnation for backup of the minorities, particularly to the Muslims. The social policy of Congress promoted the Gandhian ideology of Sarvodaya which includes the development of those citizens who are destitute from their economic and social rights. Unlike the Kashmir region, the electoral politics of the Jammu region has always been highly competitive.⁴² As heterogeneity of the region has made space for numerous political actors for example Congress, NC, and the BJP, along with other political parties including the Panthers Party and BSP have been contending in this region.

The region's plurality appealed the Congress with its centrist politics to take part in the parliamentary constituencies. However, with the beginning of militancy and numerous forces working in the way of separating the politics of the region in a communal track then BJP was capable to make an entrance in the region as a major political force. However, the region which is a mixture of caste, religious, tribal, and linguistic groups and characteristics, the electoral politics which is based upon communal division cannot sustain itself for a long time. BJP won

⁴¹ (Chowdhary.B,Pg.71)

⁴² Sten Widmalm, *Kashmir in Comparative Perspective: Democracy and Violent Separatism in India* (Routledge, 2014).Ibid. .

hardly one seat as compared to eight seats in 1996 and underwent a steep decline during the 2002 assembly elections. Congress was successful in re-establishing its power by polling 29.79 percent out of the entire votes that people cast in the region. It appeared as the major party of the region by registering its victory in 15 out of 37 assembly seats. The Congress has registered its success in both the Jammu-Poonch and Udhampur parliamentary constituencies in the 2004 parliamentary elections.

The return of the Congress in both the parliamentary seats of the Jammu region shows the claim of the politics of pluralism in the region despite the BJP as the main party in the Hindu-dominated areas of the region. The communal division that has been thoroughly and deliberately scheduled not only by the forces of Hindu-Right but also by the militant groups who mostly targeted the Hindus to incite a gap between the communities, has not succeeded. Apart from the urban and semi-urban Hindu-dominated areas, communal politics faces natural confines in the region largely due to the religion but also one reason is that politics of identity here. Tribal and cultural-linguist characteristics have a connection with religion-based identities; one of the major features that have been functioning in the Muslim-dominated Rajouri-Poonch areas is the politics of Gujjar versus the Pahari identities. Gujjars, even though being a hundred percent Muslims, have a distinct politics of their own based on the claim of their tribal rather than religious identity. It also gives an advantage to the scheduled tribe so they are themselves in competition with their co-religionists of the area.

The non-Gujjar Muslim population of this belt has started declaring its linguistic-cultural identity as Pahari and so demanding alike tribal status. One cannot only place the success of the Congress but also the loss of the BJP and the NC in such a context of multiple and overlapping identities in the Jammu region. BJP and the NC have been the mutual receivers of contentious politics for almost the last decade. The BJP had been fruitful in saving the parliamentary constituencies while the NC had won in holding its domain of influence in the Muslim populated areas of the region. Since 2002, with the reaffirmation of the Congress in the state, this party has been able to regain its political constituency, especially within the Muslim belt. Previously, Muslims who had been giving the vote to the NC has started to cast vote for the Congress in 2004 parliamentary elections.

The continued dominance of the Congress in the Jammu region has significant effects on the politics not only of the region but also of the state. Regional dissatisfaction because of the lack of a centrist politics in the last decade or so, has been directed by the forces of Right leading to the extreme demands of separation of the Jammu region from Kashmir. Congress redefined its political space that such communal based politics is bound to decline on its own. To one side from this, the existence of Congress as the most leading force of the region is vital for harmonizing the politics between Kashmir and Jammu regions, and in that process it is also necessary to reduce the gulf between the two regions. With its large representation and its capability to signify different communities and religious groups of the region, the reappearance of congress has already contradicted the perception of Kashmir dominated politics of the state. Boycott politics, operating within Kashmir, and the 'gun culture' was sure to influence voter turnout.

Many freedom fighter organisations had given out an open notice to people against participation in elections and their participation could bring violence which would be much intensified. Election rallies of almost every political party were observed and even attacks had been done on party offices. In these situations, voter turnout was quite low in the valley. The effect of the politics of boycott and violence on the election did not spread consistently through the valley. The influence of boycott politics was on the urban areas, rural areas, and especially those that have been usually inclined to freedom fighting so higher voter turnout was seen there.

The 2004 elections, despite the boycott campaign by separatists and the increased violence during the elections, were strongly competitive. This was chiefly because of the very high political risks for all major political parties of the state including the National Conference, PDP, Congress, and even BJP. These stakes originated from the nature in the politics since the 2002 assembly elections. It was during these elections that coalitional politics came to take the place of the phenomenon of supremacy by a single party in the state. Such supremacy as of the National Conference from 1975 onwards was linked to its hegemonic place within the region of Kashmir. Its power to gain most of the seats in this region helped it to obtain a leading role within the state. This phenomenon has experienced a change with the entrance of the PDP as a new regional party in the Valley. By opening up the new democratic paths of in the mainstream politics of Kashmir, this also brought about greater regional balance by inculcating two different

parties PDP and Congress power politics, the former found in Kashmir and the later in the Jammu region.

The competitiveness of electoral politics was well-known in the 2004 parliamentary elections with each region showing a diversity of actors and very real competition between the PDP and NC in the Kashmir region and between Congress, BJP and NC in Jammu region. Due to this nature of competition that finally showed the dispersion of seats among the political parties; two seats were taken by National Conference (NC) in Kashmir region out of the six parliamentary seats, two were filled by Congress in Jammu region and only one occupied by PDP in Kashmir region. An independent candidate got a victory on the sixth seat of Ladakh. Such dispersal of seats among three parties in such manner that Congress got 27.83 percent votes, BJP 23.04 percent votes, and National Conference 22.02 percent votes. It is important to refer to the regional distinctiveness of electoral politics to know the nature of such competition as these came to operate during this election.

The violence in the Jammu and Kashmir seems to last undiminished, although the curfew has been imposed in many places in the region. The nature of violence has even changed over time and shifted towards a new dimension due to the separatist movements which are distinct to the former protests against the forces of the establishment. This time every citizen, amongst which women and children are also included, has started to raise voices in the streets in the form of protest against the excesses of the security forces in the region. This resulted in the loss of confidence in the government of Jammu and Kashmir and that of India.

The unrestricted violence has already taken the lives of many innocent people in which most of them are young children and several people have serious wounds because of the catholic use of pellet guns.⁴³

The curfew which continued for many months has changed the whole valley. In 2008, for the first time in the anxious history of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), the whole Muslim population felt isolated from the state. Violence had long been aggravated by the reluctance to think about political compromise over this disputed territory. One of the noticeable insurgent leaders, Sayeed

⁴³ Prabhu Ghate, "Kashmir: The Dirty War," *Economic and political Weekly* (2002): 313–322.

Salahudeen, agreed to drop demands for independence or freedom. So he was willing to contribute in the elections of J&K state in 1987. He was leading towards a remarkable success but at the occurrence of Ghulam Mohiuddin Shah of the National Conference, it was stated that the election was rigged and Sayeed lost it. After this act of rigging, Sayeed started a movement for the right of self-determination of Kashmiris; the circumstances then onwards worsened.

It is significant to highlight the fact here that every election of J&K has had its dynamics and political settings and even been obvious by the struggle between pro-freedom and pro-Indian parties. The assemblies were shaped and worked in the environment in which they had either support from the public or the ruling party.

The rising violence in Kashmir highlights that the new generation especially youth has only considered Kashmir being put in danger to India's Armed Forces Special Powers Act, which endows the wide range of military powers to arrest, shoot to kill, and occupy or destroy property. People are feeling throttled by the security forces being positioned in all parts of Srinagar. All that fears of people of Jammu and Kashmir make them unable to rely on the electoral politics of Indian held Kashmir. They do not trust on Indian government so they only want freedom and to get their independent status based on a referendum.

Political leaders of all parties in India showed their concern over the increasing violence and death of innocent people. So, they upraised this problem in the Indian parliament and advised the government to halt the use of pellet guns against the stone-throwers. They also urged the government to reach out to the people to stop the violence and reestablish normal conditions in the state. But, the biggest dilemma now is that there is not even a single leader who has the support of the people with whom the conversers can talk all about the situation. For the first time, citizens started to form their groups to tackle the security forces.

The government made a plan to send an all parties delegation to reach out to the people to solve their issues and other marginal elements. Though, it was an open question for all if citizen groups would be eager to meet the delegation for the resolution of their problem because of bubbling anger and disappointment in the valley against the establishment. One must understand that the problem of Kashmir demands a political solution not a temporary resolution. The government of

India will not agree to accept the demands of independence or autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir State.

Extreme political competitiveness shows the trend of electoral politics of the state and it can be perceived as a sign of growing validity of mainstream democratic politics in all of its three regions of the state. It supports this perception that even though the politics of separatism exists in the region but still democratic spaces have come to form over several years. The parliamentary elections of 2004 in Jammu and Kashmir endorsed the trends which are previously in mark since the 2002 assembly elections of the state. Regardless of the constant risk of militancy and the politics of separatism, electoral politics is still going in a way parallel to these things. The better performance of the People's Democratic Party in the Valley of Kashmir and the renaissance of the Congress in Jammu make it clear that firstly, that problem was regarding the identity of the people of Kashmir, who had found a gap due to the electoral agenda and separatist platform. Secondly, the divided politics in Jammu based on religion, caste, or tribe which is stimulated by the political parties like BJP and the National Conference has been resolutely rejected by the people. It is essential to see now that whether the centre is creating a positive environment and improved atmosphere in the electoral process because different election surveys also showed that there should be some effort to pursue some purposes of the old Kashmir problem by connecting more groups in the process of elections.

In this setting, it is interesting to note the findings of the survey conducted under the auspices of CSDS of the recent parliamentary elections. In the political milieu that has existed in the Valley in the last few years, both separatism and electoral politics have coexisted, with political actors in both these spheres recognizing the political reality of each other. In the process, it is not surprising to find the electoral politics intersecting with separatist politics. How such intersection takes place can be seen from the response that mainstream political leaders have struggled towards one of the most significant of separatist's issues – the resolution of Kashmir problem and the meaning they give to electoral politics in this context. It is important to know that almost every serious contender seeking a political mandate from the Valley, takes the position that election, at best is a limited opportunity in the Valley and cannot be a substitute to the long-term resolution of Kashmir problem for which nothing less than a process of a negotiated settlement is required. That this position is in tune with ground-level opinion becomes clear from the CSDS

survey. In response to a question that Kashmir's problem cannot be solved through elections, 41 percent of respondents fully agreed while only 6 percent fully disagreed. It is in acceptance of the popular opinion that M Y Tarigami, CPM leader (and a candidate in the recent parliamentary election) distinguished electoral politics from the resolution of Kashmir problem.

Election, in his opinion, is aimed at forming the government only and cannot be treated as a substitute for the political resolution of Kashmir's problem.⁴⁴ It is with reference to such a popular perception that while campaigning during the parliamentary elections, both Mehbooba Mufti, president of PDP and Omar Abdullah, president of NC, gave credence to the separatist and militant groups, welcomed the ongoing dialogue with the Hurriyat (A) and demanded to broaden the structure of this dialogue to include not only separatist of all hues but also other militant groups. "That this approach of the two mainstream parties located in the Kashmir region reflects the popular opinion became evident during the CSDS survey. Responding to a question as to with whom should the government of India talk to solve the Kashmir problem, there was a very strong opinion that the government should talk to separatists as well as to Pakistan. Yet a larger percentage of people (18 percent)."⁴⁵

"Believed that apart from these, the government should also talk to the militants. This survey also shows that the state of Jammu and Kashmir is the biggest constituency of peace. People here are opposed to violence of any kind and believe that it is only through a negotiated settlement that the problem can be resolved. To judge how strong the urge for peace is and how important is the process of political settlement, it is interesting to compare the response from the state on certain questions with the response available at the national level. On a question as to whether the agitation of Kashmir should be suppressed or resolved through negotiation, 85 percent of respondents in Jammu and Kashmir as against 59 percent at the national level affirm that it should be resolved through negotiation. These respondents oppose the idea of suppression of the movement. It reveals that people make a clear distinction between 'peace' and 'peace with honour'. Though they would certainly like to have peace in the state, yet this peace has to come along with a political settlement in the state. Only such a settlement can, in their perception, restore their dignity.

⁴⁴ (The Tribune, May 1, 2004)

⁴⁵ (Chowhary.R, Rao.V,Pg.5454)

The overall sentiment, especially in Kashmir is that after thousands of lives have been sacrificed during one and half decade long movement, any kind of peace without a long-term resolution of the problem would be a worthless compromise. This sentiment gets reflected in the survey data which shows that as many as 74.8 percent of respondents stated, peace should be attained by retaining the ‘honour’ of the people. It is in this urge for peace with honour, that one finds the logic of parallel existence of mainstream democratic as well as the separatist space in Kashmir. With the urge for peace being strong, there has been a gradual but consistent movement forward, towards the democratic political processes that had been completely eroded in 1990 under the impact of militancy.

Despite the continued ascendancy of armed militancy, there has been a strong popular reaction against violence – a reality, in acknowledgment of which the separatists have also been compelled to assert the primacy of political over violent means of struggle. Meanwhile, the mainstream political actors have also accepted the need to resolve the issue through a process of negotiation and dialogue. It is the result of such an acknowledgment that separatist issues have been brought to the democratic space and electoral politics has become an important outlet for the articulation and expression of issues in a democratic manner. During the 2004 parliamentary elections, both the NC and the PDP seeking to enlarge their political base in the Valley had appropriated most of the political issues raised within the separatist politics. Bringing separatist issues to the mainstream political discourse works not only towards the loss of exclusivity that separatist politics has been enjoying so far but also towards legitimizing the democratic space.⁴⁶

Conclusion

So, we concluded our findings in this way that although electoral politics have its roots in Indian Held Jammu and Kashmir and political parties take part in this process of elections to promote the democratic system in the state. Elections in Kashmir have had a long and captivating history. The unashamedly rigged elections in the state were the instant aggravation for the armed uprising

⁴⁶ Rekha Chowdhary and V Nagendra Rao, “National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir: From Hegemonic to Competitive Politics,” *Economic and Political Weekly* (2004): 1521–1527.

12 Arundhati Roy, “Listening to Grasshoppers-Fields Notes on Democracy”, *Penguin Books* (2010).

that began in 1990. People of the state although participate in electoral politics but their participation is mostly based on the force by the leaders of political parties. They do not want to cast vote as they do not believe in the democratic system under the Indian government. India claims the largest democracy of the world but failed to deliver it in practical terms. Once Kashmiri protestors on the streets of Srinagar put a placard that said: “Democracy without justice=Demon-Crazy” As most people want freedom from the control of the Indian government so they raise their voices for the independent status of the state. But outside the territory, no one talked about the mass detentions, the curfew, and the lockdown of constituencies that were going to poll. Not many pay heed to the fact that campaigning politicians went out of their way to de-link Azadi and the Kashmir dispute from the elections. And their only focus is on municipal issues like roads, electricity, and water. No one dares to talk about the military occupation on people for decades where Indian soldiers can enter ruthlessly into homes and torture people at any time of the day. There is a need of someone to listen to the grievances of Kashmiri people, to take up their cases to represent them on humanitarian grounds. It is noteworthy that Demon-crazy cannot fool all the people all the time based on fake and so-called democratic elections. This is temporary and shotgun solutions to the unrest in Kashmir and it has the potential to create a disaster in the world especially in the South Asian region.

Book Review

Mike Mason, Turbulent Empires: A History of Global Capitalism Since 1945
(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018)
Pp. 368, Cloth, ISBN: 978-0-7735-5321-7, \$39.95 cad.

Hsiang-Wang Liu*

In the *Turbulent Empires: A History of Global Capitalism Since 1945*, Professor Mike Mason discusses dominant events of 70 years since 1945. He lived long enough to witness the fading of the British Empire, the heyday of communism and its demise, and the rise of East Asia with China, for him, the key to the future. He does not make predictions. Instead, he examines a changing era and finds China and East Asia combined poised to become the new centre of global wealth in the 21st century. Capitalism in his book means wealth. He does not discuss what happened to the capitalism of the past a lot. His theme is still the rise and fall of great powers. Nor is the book comprehensive historical writing. All events he selected and talked about are popular concerns in the West. All are too big to be a summary.

The United States is the biggest topic of all. The author deals with it in the first chapter and considers it as a Leviathan that rose before the beginning of the last century under its economic ideas and military prowess. It protects Europe and aggressively patrols Asian waters. While the Berlin Wall was breached in 1989, the euphoria was confirmed by the publication of *The End of History*, which seems promising a permanent U.S. age to come. However, Professor Mason sadly feels that signs of warning had revealed since the 1980s when the neoliberal economic growth rate slowed to almost zero like the secular stagnation and followed by the rise of China's militarism and Islamic radicalism.

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Europe is another story similar to that of the U.S. that is dealt with in the second chapter. Professor Mason believes that it is profoundly affected by the U.S. since the Marshall Plan successfully absorbed it into the U.S. system in 1947. However, since 1989 when Europe was unified, the European Union had transformed it into a new entity of more social welfare and common markets without class struggle and traditional aversions. He nevertheless does not find it promising, but compared it to the 1930s' Europe's rift with a sense of decline and secular stagnation. This is why the Brexit issues follow.

The third chapter about Russia is written in a very comprehensive manner. The author summarized recent scholarships succinctly. In his depiction, communist dictators were good guys during the Cold War: Khrushchev who pursued détente and renounced Stalinism; Brezhnev who tried to preserve the golden age, but failed; and Gorbachev reformed for an open economy and “universal human values.” The Berlin Wall was allowed to fall and the USSR ceased to exist in 1991. The new Russia since 1992 was ruled by plutocrats and kleptocrats who have close connections with “new class” from China, Africa, and the Gulf. They are a handful of go-getters and former communist officials who destroyed the Soviet economic foundation and voted out the communist party in Russia. President Putin, beginning in 2000, has subordinated them to the state and tried to bring back national glory by waging wars. Though the West sanctions Russia, China comes to her aid. Putin is safe.

The heart of the book is East Asia. Professor Mason discusses Japan, Korea and China in chapters 4 and 5. Regarding Japan, his view is mediocre that the U.S. makes it a valet state, to which Korea, Taiwan and Southeast Asia become dependent peripheries. Japan, in his mind, is the leading goose to guide the eastward flow of wealth and with wealth political and military puissance. Korea is the first goose following the leader. Imperial Japan industrialized itself in the early 20th century. The chaebol plays a key role, benefiting from the Vietnam War and maturing in the 1980s, to shape South Korea as one of the newly industrialized countries.

China, meanwhile undergoing gigantic transformations, is perhaps the last goose. The new regime in 1949, despite a rule of terror, successfully introduced Soviet plans to modernize the country. However, differences between Beijing and Moscow erupted in 1957. Maoism bloomed

during the Cultural Revolution and lasted until Mao died in 1976. New leaders shifted to lead China to a reversion. They dissolved the communes, opened the economy, expanded state-owned enterprises and allowed the communist princelings to take key positions as the oligarchs did in Russia. The commanding heights of the economy remain under state ownership. Since 2008, the Chinese economy is unshakable and big enough to elbow Western rivals away from their former African, Middle Eastern and Latin American clients.

‘India and Pakistan’ in chapter 6 is not so compellingly written. He discusses the National Congress Party’s unusual philosophy of non-violence, which inspired African nationalism. While its leader, Nehru dreamed of a ‘third way’ to distinguish from the bipolar Cold War camps, the border war with China in 1962 shattered his policy. India signed a friendship treaty with Moscow in 1971. However, democracy was maintained. Before the last Nehru dynasty ruler was assassinated, the country began to liberalize the economy, resulting in the take-off in the 1990s. Indian poverty was improved and Hindu nationalism grew. After joining BRIC countries, the Hindu state seemed to become one of the driving forces to spur global growth. Pakistani story of the chapter is biased too much. Professor Mason compared it to Israel. Despite strong American supports during the Cold War, it is an Islamic nation with a feudal society and it goes well in its way.

In chapter 7, Professor Mason keeps wary eyes on jihadism as he considers the Middle East. He traces ‘al-Qaeda’ to its origins in the late 1980s and discusses its wars in Europe, Africa and Central Asia until recent years. Egypt, the most influential and coherent Arab state, remains in the secular soldiers’ hands though its politics were disturbed for a brief period during the Arab Spring in 2011. Iran, nevertheless, went into the Islamic revolution in 1979 and became the trouble for the U.S. It seems to get moderate since 2013. Iraq was defeated and occupied by the U.S. in 2003 after Saddam Hussein’s follies. The costs to the U.S. were huge and the impacts panicked all powers involved since ISIS emerged among the discontented there.

Chapter 8 of “African Dark Days” is banal writing. He generalized postcolonial Africa as neocolonial societies ruled by a new class. He then discusses three countries. Ghana, an agricultural economy, is moderate at home and friendly to the outside world. Congo, on the

contrary, is anti-West and ruled by terror. It has fallen into a vicious cycle. A similar tragedy is Rwanda's genocide in 1994 which took hundreds of thousands of lives. South Africa has a mild vindictive outcomes, but its beginning is a miracle. In 1994, it ended apartheid and Nelson Mandela was elected as the president whose good intentions were unusual. However, since 1999, new leaders have mismanaged the economy and society. South Africa lost its luster til now.

Latin America is Professor Mason's last chapter. He discusses the two largest countries, Argentina and Brazil. In the case of Argentina, he highlights Peronism, which emerged during the turbulent era of the 1930s-1940s when Europe was troubled by Fascism and the Argentinian labor class was growing at a fast pace. In the coup of 1943, its populism was confirmed. Professor Mason points out that the deficiency in Peronism was the mass printing of currency, which inevitably led to the economic crisis. As a result, the coup of 1976 brought in a neoliberal economy, but the junta regime misruled despite U.S. support. When the civilian government returned in 1983, the nation's wealth had been drained by capital flight and debt. The malaise remains today. Brazil was in far better shape during the mid-20th century when the government successfully laid down a foundation of modernization projects. Again, similar to Argentina, the military coup supported by the U.S. disrupted the golden age from 1964 to 1985. When the "New Republic" adopted a neoliberal economy, widening the wealth gap, the political effect eventually resulted in a wave of social movements in the early 21st century. Meanwhile, China as the market for Brazil became too important to ignore. Brazil is no longer a dependency on the West. Latin America seems fundamentally changing.

This book, *Turbulent Empires: A History of Global Capitalism Since 1945* is suitable for scholars and political decision-makers. Professor Mason's erudite knowledge is impressive, and his overview of the last 70 years of global transformations gives the reader guidance in understanding current events. Few people can be familiar with so many facts like him though insufficiency in the field like the global south remains and he is somewhat too pessimistic. Peace, wealth, liberty, and human good intentions are still valuable in all societies. Professor Mason criticizes Eurocentrism as a vice, labels the American century 'short', and believes the future uncertain. For now, the West remains the leading force, expectations for East Asia may falter and the global south has a long way to go.



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