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**PAKISTAN TURKEY RELATIONS: AN HISTORICAL
APPRAISAL (1947-1977)**

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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE**

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ABSTRACT

This article argues that Pakistan and Turkey adhered to different ideologies i.e. Islam and Secularism which were quite antithetical to each other. Despite this, both the countries developed cordial relations. As contrary to the existing studies, which lay too much emphasis on the common Islamic factor as providing the basis for the relations, this study presents a nuanced approach and argues that when Turkey failed to get support from the West especially on the Cyprus issue, it started looking towards Muslim countries. Herein lay the root cause of the identity crises that beset the secular Turkey. Therefore, shared history of the caliphate era, Turkey's desire to reshape its national identity, and reciprocal support on Kashmir and Cyprus issues provided the basis for the development of cordial relations.

KEY WORDS

Foreign policy, Pakistan, Turkey, Caliphate.

The relationship of Pakistani and Turkish nations is deeply rooted in their shared historical experiences. Qutbuddin Aibak, a Turk, was the first who established his permanent rule in India. Politically, the Sultans were independent in their domains but they had to seek legitimacy by getting permission from the Ottoman Caliphs to assume the title of Sultan. The Institution of Caliphate was regarded very prestigious and the center of whole Muslim Ummah. Babur abolished this tradition and assumed the title of King but he was also a descendent of Chaghtai Turks. In this way, Turks continued to rule the Subcontinent until the War of Independence 1857. After the end of the Mughal rule, Indian Muslims kept reading the name of Caliph in Friday Sermons for some time.

After World War One, Turkish Empire was parceled out by the European Powers. The Turks as well as the whole Muslim World took it as a humiliation as the Ottoman Empire had been a source of pride for them for centuries. They started making efforts to restore the institution of caliphate. The Indian Muslims launched Khilafat Movement to restore the Caliphate but the Treaty of Sèvres put an end to all these efforts. This was the time when Atatürk emerged as a hero in the history of the Turkish Nation as he saved Turkey from utter annihilation. He abolished the institution of Caliphate, for which Indian Muslims were struggling very hard. Turkey emerged as a strong state. It was destined to win the admiration of the world by

her quick recovery and rapid progress as a secular country.

The existing scholarship on Pakistan-Turkey relations reveals two broad patterns. First, there are Pakistani scholars who only present the bright side of the relations and depict religion as the root cause of the cordial relations between both countries. They regard "Turkey as a Muslim state" and consider SEATO and CENTO responsible for bringing the two "Muslim Countries" closer and do not highlight the differences between both countries.¹ They also discuss the foreign relation of Pakistan with Turkey and other countries with special reference to security, economic and diplomatic dimensions. They do not problematise Pakistan's relations with Turkey rather discuss it as a part of Pakistan's relations with the Muslim world in general.

Second, there are foreign scholars who mainly focus on the efforts of Mustafa Kemal Pasha to lay the foundation of Turkey as a secular state and its struggle to join the European Union. The important things highlighted in their works are transformation of Turkey into a Modern State, constitutional changes whereby religion was made a private matter, abolition of the Old Dervish orders, government's actions against Islamic practices and prohibition of Islamic teachings except in the family. They also discuss the foreign policy and internal issues faced by Turkey but do not cover its relations with Pakistan except mentioning the countries as members of SEATO and CENTO.²

PAKISTAN-TURKEY RELATIONS: THE EARLY PHASE

Turkey is one of the most important and reliable ally of Pakistan. In due course of time, their friendship strengthened and they assured assistance to each other in every field. The scholars of Pakistan and Turkey relations have accorded special place to the religious factor. It is said that, Islam, as a religion, continued to play an important role in the relationship of both countries from the very outset. However, when we study the history of relations of these two countries, the thing which strikes us most is the ideological difference between both countries, at least in early years, despite being co-signatories to the two defense pacts, SEATO and CENTO. With the passage of time, both countries developed a cordial relationship for the sake of their national interest rather than love for religion. Thus, not religion, but the need of a trustworthy ally at their time of need contributed to the establishment of close relationship. By making a comparative study, it is revealed that the religious factor played little role in bringing them close to each other. With the Kemalist Revolution, Turkey became a Republic on 23 October, 1923³ and the institution of the Caliphate was abolished. On 4 March, 1924 the Ministry of religious affairs was also abolished.⁴ In 1925, religious orders and societies were suppressed.⁵ A western style civil code was introduced in 1926.⁶ The constitution was amended in 1928 and it replaced the phrase "by God" in the oath for assuming various offices with "on my honor"⁷ and the article stating that

“the state religion is Islam” was dropped. The principles of secularism were introduced into the Turkish constitution by an amendment introduced in 1937.⁸ Thus, in this manner, from the First Republican Constitution of 1924, to the more liberal and democratic constitution of 1961⁹ and finally to the most recent and more authoritarian constitution of 1982 the concept of Secularism has been deeply entrenched.¹⁰ On the other side, the principal motive behind the creation of Pakistan was to acquire a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims where they could lead their spiritual and religious life without any disruption. The Two Nation Theory was based on religious and cultural conflicts between Hindus and Muslims, and on the basis of this theory Muslims of India carried out freedom struggle and won independence. In 1947, after the creation of Pakistan, Islam was declared as Pakistan’s state religion. Thus the religious differences were very much obvious between Turkey and Pakistan from the very start. In this article, the relations between both countries are discussed in the context of their national interests. Both countries faced major challenges in the period of their national existence from outside as well as from within. Turkey continued its struggle to gain the membership of European Union and NATO and alienated itself from the Muslim world. On the other side Pakistan also sought refuge from a strong enemy in the shelter of United States, ignoring the Muslim countries, particularly the Arab world. The setbacks to

both countries in 1960s made them realize to revise their foreign policies. Meanwhile, Turkey continued to adhere to the principles of secularism and was accepted as an accession candidate for membership in the European Union. Pakistan, on the other hand, has been plagued by poor governance, ethnic and sectarian strife and these have been compounded by an economic crisis.

PAKISTAN AND TURKEY: A JOURNEY TOWARDS CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP

Since August 1947 when Pakistan appeared on the map of the earth, it could not develop cordial relations with Turkey. As latter was more interested to attain the status of a European country instead of Muslim Asian country because of its strategic location in Europe and Asia. The first interaction of both countries was noticed in 1954 when a US sponsored pact was signed between eight countries. Although Turkey was not a direct member of this pact, but it was receiving military aid from United States to contain communist expansion.

Throughout the cold war Turkey did not show any interest to have good interest with the Muslim world as it had gone so far in order to proclaim the status of a secular state. In recent years, though Turkey has continued to adhere secularism, it has shown keenness of an equal degree to embrace the Islamic heritage. Turkey, however, remains in the midst of an identity crisis.

Turkey had been a very reliable NATO partner. It established close ties with the West, especially with the United States. It strengthened its link with various institutions of European Union and established a special relationship with the latter. Throughout the cold war until 1960s, Turkey adhered to this policy of the commitment to the West, at times much to the disenchantment of the Muslim World. Similarly, Pakistan was drawn into the Western military alliance during the cold war, because of its regional vulnerabilities. It was pushed towards the West, especially the United States.

The decade of 1960s marked the beginning of cordial relations between Pakistan and Turkey. It was the time when both countries faced severe external threats from their adversaries and Turkey and Pakistan faced the Cyprus Crisis of 1962 and Indo-Pakistan War of 1965 respectively. The US did not show any interest to resolve their issues despite the fact that both countries were the part of US sponsored defensive pacts as well as the reliable allies. It gave an opportunity to Pakistan and Turkey to revise their foreign policies according to their domestic, political and economic conditions. Both realize that internal stability is the key to a country's security.

Pakistan and Turkey took these crisis as an opportunity to revise their foreign policy, and both countries looked towards the Muslim world to develop relations and found none but to depend on each other. The crisis of 1960s laid the foundation of the cordial

relationship between both countries. RCD was the first pact, which drew two countries together. In October 1966, President of Republic of Turkey, General Cevdet Sunay paid a visit to Pakistan. In response to this, General Ayub Khan was the first Pakistani President to make an official visit to Turkey on 31 October, 1967. Later, the Premier of Turkey, Demirel, also visited Pakistan and shared a great bond with Pakistan government. Pakistan lent its full support to Turkey on the Cyprus issue.

In the aftermath of these visits, the relationship between Pakistan and Turkey came to be primarily focused on the national interest and economic assistance. Both countries assured their support to each other on their internal problems. Pakistan and Turkey still have unresolved issues with their neighbors. Turkey's problems with Greece are still unresolved, while Indo-Pakistan relations have not improved in recent years.

INDO-PAKISTAN WARS: TURKEY'S ASSISTANCE

The conflict between Pakistan and India adopted a violent turn in August 1965 over the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The fighting took deadlier turn when India opened another front near Lahore. On 6 September 1965, in a special broadcast to the nation president Ayub Khan said. "We are at war". He invoked the article 51 of the UN charter and declared that Pakistan will exercise the right of self-defense in reply to the India aggression.

On 6 September, 1965 Indians crossed the International border of Pakistan without a formal declaration of war. The UN made efforts to get the two countries agree on a ceasefire and succeeded in its efforts. A ceasefire took place between both countries on 23 September 1965.¹¹

Islamabad invoked CENTO immediately after the attack on West Pakistan. The United States and Britain were much reluctant to give any assistance to Pakistan. Only two Muslims countries, Turkey and Iran also signatories of CENTO came forward to assist Pakistan in its hour of need. Turkey and Iran responded enthusiastically to Pakistan's appeal for assistance. On 10 September 1965 the premier of Turkey and Iran jointly expressed disapproval of an Indian attack on Pakistan. The Turkish premier also issued a statement on 8 September, saying that "there is no doubt that the suffering felt by the Pakistani nation is shared by the Turkish nation." There might be a strong reason behind this support that Turkey itself had faced the same situation in Cyprus crisis of 1962 where its allies could not come up to meet with her expectations. The Turkish Prime Minister announced that Turkey would send 5 million dollars' worth of Turkish ammunition and arms to Pakistan. Turkey could not entertain Pakistan's demand for fighter aircrafts, probably in light of the fact that the US would question on the supply of the stuff which she had provided. However, Turkey to help Pakistan with weapons in every possible manner. Substantial

quantities of Turks volunteered to battle against India and various Nurses traveled to Pakistan and served there.¹² On 10 September 1965, the Iranian premier flew over to Turkey to confer with Turkish Prime Minister where they issued the above quoted statement. Turkey and Iran further offered to supply forces for the UN peace force in Kashmir. On 14 September 1965 the foreign Minister of Turkey and Iran reached Rawalpindi for consultation with Pakistani leadership. The extent of assistance and financial backing given by Turkey to Pakistan was immense and demonstrated the firm friendship between the two states.

The next episode was the Indo-Pak war of 1971, when the Indian Government launched an all-out offensive against East Pakistan in November 1971. Turkey described these events as an internal affair. Mr. Osman Olcay, Turkish foreign Minister, recorded a statement, "Turkey wishes whole heartedly that this matter should be settled down without foreign interference so that the brotherly and friendly Pakistan may leave the sad day behind."¹³ In June 1972, Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the President of Pakistan, paid a visit to Turkey. In a joint proclamation issued after his discussions with the Turkish President Cevdet Sunay, the two leaders expressed the expectation that the summit between the Indian Premier and the Pakistani President would lead to an honorable and durable settlement of dispute between the two countries. On 4 October 1972, in a speech before the UN General

Assembly, the Turkish Foreign Minister, took a firm stand on release of Pakistani prisoners of war.

COMMON INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND MILITARY COUPS

Both Pakistan and Turkey have strong professional military establishments. A military career is viewed as an exceptionally respectable profession in both the countries. The military establishment in Turkey had played a significant part in enhancing its prestige after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and, therefore, it enjoyed an immense regard of the Turkish people. Pakistani military also commands tremendous respect of the people. In both countries when the politician failed to deliver the militaries intervened.

In Turkey, first military intervention took place in 1960¹⁴ when situation of law and order went out of control. The Turkish army has consistently opposed the exploitation of religion for political goals. As it is discussed earlier, Turkey was declared a secular state by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. He firmly believed that state and religion should be kept separate. So, when politicians started to exploit the religion for their political end, the Turkish army readily came to defend the Ataturk's reformist principles. In 1960s, the political scenario of Turkey was overcast by corruption, inefficiency and nepotism. The Turkish army proclaimed itself the custodian of Kemalist principles and Mustafa Kemal's reform program which was launched in 1920. In this way, the Turkish military had played a significant role in political and cultural history

of the country. Turk armed forces have been modernist and reformist right from the beginning. In 1971, National Salvation Party organized a highly provocative political rally. During this rally, a significant number of participants refused to stand national anthem was played. Immediately after this, once again a military intervention took place in Turkey. The army detests the corruption, lack of discipline and intrigue that sometimes beset Turkish politics.

In Pakistan, the first Martial Law was imposed on 7 October, 1958 by Iskander Mirza. Ayub Khan was appointed as the Martial Law Administrator.¹⁵ President Mirza abolished the constitution. The national and provincial assemblies were dissolved and cabinets were dismissed. Political parties got banned. On 8 October, 1958 in an address to the nation, General Ayub Khan said that “the army has entered into politics with great reluctance, but at the same time with fullest conviction as there was no alternative solution.”¹⁶ In 1977, another martial law was imposed when Pakistan People’s Party’s government was overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was prime minister of Pakistan, was arrested.¹⁷

The democratic process succeeds when the government and opposition, both play a role in nation building. The role of the opposition is almost as important in building democratic institutions as that of the government. The democratic system has a chequered history both in Pakistan and Turkey. The

convincing factor for takeover and intervention by military had been different in both the countries. In Turkey, the basic reason which led to the military takeover was the exploitation of religion by the politicians to accomplish their political goals. Military in Turkey stood to protect the secular character of the country. On the other hand, Zia's coup led Pakistan towards Islamization.

CONCLUSION

Foreign relations of Pakistan with Turkey go back to pre-partition period when Turkey was known as the center of the Muslim Ummah. After WWI, Indian Muslims made a great effort and launched Khilafat Movement to restore the Ottoman Caliphate, as this institution was very sacred for the Muslims. When Atatürk abolished the institution of Caliphate, the efforts of Indian Muslims to restore caliphate came to an end. Turkey proclaimed to become a modern secular state. On the other hand Muslims of the subcontinent struggled to acquire a separate Muslim state. The image of Turkey as Muslim state while describing its relations with Pakistan cannot be justified. Turkey had suffered a lot to maintain the status of secular state throughout its history. The story of relations between the two countries is a story of relations between a secular Turkey and Islamic republic of Pakistan. Cordial relations between the two countries began to develop in 1960s when they supported each other on their national issues. Both

countries have similar historical experiences at least when it comes to the role of political parties and military establishments. Recently both countries have become further closer and are assisting and sharing each other's experience in administration, town management and economic development. Pakistan took a step further in terms of cultural ties and started telecasting Urdu dubbed Turkish dramas and programmes on satellite channels. These programs helped establish a friendship on mass level. Pakistani nation finds itself emotionally very close to the people of Turkey than any other country of the world.

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MEDIA AS AN OPINION OPERATOR: PAKISTAN-INDIA RELATIONS IN 2000S

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we will review Media's role as an opinion operator to engage disputes and as peace maker particularly in India –Pakistan context. Media also serves the role as a conveyor belt to convey the demands and aspirations of the people to the leadership¹. We will discuss different facts which are influencing media to toe a specific line. The role of civil and military establishments would be discussed in detail to look in this important factor. How establishments influence media houses and Anchors directly and why they are helpless to accept that influence. We will try to dig out that how media can be used to build public opinion across the border so that both countries can solve their long standing issues like European countries. We will also throw light on the capacity and capability of TV Anchors to change public opinion, Government policies as well as foreign policy. We will also engage the arguments of Pakistan's renowned Journalists and TV anchors to draw any conclusion. The role of advertisers, ratings and revenue generation would also come under our

radar. These factors are blamed for highlighting non-issue and putting real issues like illiteracy, hunger, pollution, health, sanitation on back burners. Why there is more focus on terrorism and extremism in spite of the fact that less people are suffering from them in contrast of social issues. We will also discuss some good and successful initiatives took by media and general public for the solution of common issues such as Hunger. An initiative started in India by the Name of Robin Hood Army comes to Pakistan through social media and now they are feeding more than Six hundred thousand needy people across South Asia from surplus food of hotels and restaurants which would otherwise goes to dust bins.

KEY WORDS

Pakistan, India, Media, Water Dispute, Environment.

Some major responsibilities of the media are to keep public informed about everything of their interest, to keep an eye on Government policies, highlight public issues and criticize wrong Government policies. In democracy citizen's opinion play a vital role in forming Governments policies including foreign policy. As media leaves footprints on the public opinion it is being considered as a stake holder in foreign Relations. The impact of media was so huge in Iraq invasion in March 2003 that US administration started complaining that media coverage against war is molding public opinion against war². President Bush said: "We are making good progress in Iraq but it's hard to tell when people listen to the media". Editor Daily Express Ayaz Khan was of the view

that Media impact on state policies is up to 25% while on Public opinion it is 60%. When I interview TV Anchor Aftab Iqbal he said "After 2001 one good thing which happened due to media is in spite of general public only establishment fought".³ He was of the view that due to media establishments of both countries fought together through propaganda instead of a conventional war.

WATER DISPUTE

Water is considered among five major necessities of human being. The conflict on water usage between lower and upper riparian countries is a worldwide phenomenon starting from America to Asia. In United States of America the Colorado Basin water dispute is pending since 19th century. This dispute is between seven US states and Mexico. US states blame each other for water wastage and exploitation of lower riparian. In Africa River Nile is a conflict between Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan. When Ethiopia started diverting a tributary of Nile (Blue Nile) in 2013 Egyptian TV channels makes hue and cry. On that Egyptian politician demanded military action against Ethiopia⁴.

The 20th century famous British poet W H Auden said, "Thousands have lived without love not one with Out water"⁵. This is 100% true in terms of Pakistan and India agriculture based economies. That's why both countries usually locks horns on Indus basin water sharing. Every passing day population is exploding in both countries where as water resources are limited thus increasing conflict like situation. Each country is blaming other for the wastage and not proper utilization of resources. It is being predicted that water issue will become a new bone of contention between two countries even greater than Kashmir. Due to water

shortage a Water war is being predicted by water experts. US Senate's committee on foreign relation report from 2011 states that "unless Pakistan and India are able to resolve their water disputes amicably, a future war between them cannot be ruled out"⁶. Any news on new water reservoir construction by India on Western River becomes headline and inflames public perception and mood in Pakistan. The media went on to state that Pakistan will use nuclear bomb in case India stops the water flow⁷. Due to this public pressure Pakistani engineers are unable to evaluate and examine Indian projects on the basis of merits rather they follow public mood. The Pakistani media usually spreads an assumption that, now India is in a position to use water as a weapon, by stopping it a drought and by opening Indian dams spillways it can flood Pakistan. This means a loss of Billions of dollars in the form of standing crops. This problem increases many folds because media on both sides is highly vocal and effective⁸.

Same is the case with Indian media. The ministry of external affairs instructs the media about what they are allowed to say"⁹. John Briscoe a water expert said that Indian media never broadcasted valid Pakistani concerns on its intensifying water shortage. Even Indian Ministry of External Affairs instructs media to highlight this issue along with other international water disputes¹⁰. This statement is also testified by William Wheeler a National Geographic Reporter reported that Indian media never highlighted this fact intentionally that Pakistan is intensely dependent on Indus basin for its agricultural and power needs¹¹. There is another point of view who considers Pakistani media stance on Water issue as a blame game. According to their reports, Pakistani media about India getting more water is

propaganda, India is using water only to produce electricity¹². Pakistani media reports about Indian dam construction and hydropower projects frequently and aggressively. Environment experts like Danish Mustafa suggested Pakistan to engage with India positively rather than defensively on water issue and also educate public, politicians and media not to sensationalize by threatening about potential existence threats¹³. The media of Pakistan and people involved in negotiations built a false impression that India has no right on these three Western rivers namely Chenab, Jehlum, Indus and their tributaries¹⁴.

In this scenario we can say that media is the part of the problem by igniting public sentiments through negative and unrealistic reporting. When we discuss this matter with Senior Anchor Sohail Warraich he said media can be used to make public perception so that Governments can solve issues like Water.

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Environment is a common threat for all the countries on earth. No one can remain safe from its negative impacts. As Pakistan and India shares borders importance of Environment raises many folds. India and Pakistan are facing common adversaries of climate change and this needs serious and collective response from both sides. The ecological systems, natural resources and climate are shared. Like water availability is totally dependent on climate change which affects the spread of glacial melting and monsoon cycle that feed our rivers. Climate change is being considered as a serious threat to the development process in both countries. Due to burning of coal at power plants and Indian steel mills Pakistan is bearing a loss of

more than \$2 billion annual in aviation, cultivation, and healthcare. Due to wind blow from east to west these pollutants are even found in Sukkur and Gilgit¹⁵. Black carbon particles settle on glaciers thus results in more absorption of heat and melting them fast. In 2015' Karachi heat wave Power plants of Rajasthan were blamed by Pakistan Federal Minister for Climate change Senator Mushahid ullah. He said Pakistan will investigate this if proved than we will raise our concerns in United Nations¹⁶.

Experts are also explaining to India that major enemy is not Pakistan or China but landslides due to climate change but unfortunately media is not giving proper coverage to this issue¹⁷. Pakistan Federal Minister of Law said that both countries should work together on climate change because its impacts are across the south Asia. We can learn and benefit from each other¹⁸.

Mahatma Gandhi said "Challenges have boundaries but solutions to those challenges are boundary less"¹⁹. The threat of climate change can become an opportunity between two countries if both decide to cooperate. In this perspective media can play a vital role. Because both countries are equally and adversely affected by climate change²⁰. This is in the benefit of more than 1.5 billion people living in both countries.

In this case focus of media is on non-issues and a very little time is given to these genuine issues. Climate change is being considered among the major challenges faced by human race in 21st century. It is the need of the hour that both countries join hands together and use media for educating people across the border so that effects of climate change could be reduced.

TRADE

In the course of history trade has been considered as a tool to reduce tension and bridge gap between rivals. If we have a look on Pakistan India trade we notice that in spite of Partition both countries remains trading till 1965. After the war of 1965, all trade was stopped which opened in 1974. But after opening it didn't get momentum due to trade restrictions, trust deficit and tense Relations. India and China are also considered as arch rivals but there trade volume is crossing \$100 Billion which is stopping their aggression. This is called the India –China model of economic engagement. After 1980 both countries built ties and now China is India's largest trading partner. In 2012 the then Chinese vice Prime Minister Li Keqiang called India China Relations as "the most important bilateral Relationship in 21st century"²¹.

In India Pakistan context both countries express time and again to harness trade potential but it remains to just slogans. According to Pakistani Senior Journalist Najam Sethi Indian Foreign Policy establishment asked Indian media to pressurize Pakistan for trade and termination of trade restrictions. He urged Indian media and businessmen to show vision by increasing efforts for trade²². A shortage of awareness among masses that trade activities between both countries is limiting Governments to invest in trade normalization²³. In spite of the fact that goods from East Punjab reach West Punjab through Dubai, Karachi, Mumbai and Delhi which makes this journey eleven times longer and four times costlier²⁴. Newspapers are reluctant to publish different opinion on Pakistan India other than public statement to avoid any controversy and avoid confrontation with state official stand²⁵. Extremely active electronic media is spreading suspicious and this negative

propaganda is becoming hurdle in regional cooperation. There is a need to promote positive perception about each other. Media under reporting as a barrier to India Pakistan trade normalization. The media war between both countries is overlooking trade activities which can build a good Relationship²⁶. The media favors reporting on negative events to improve TRP's²⁷.

As media has great influence on public across the border it is the time to engage media. The media should highlight positive impacts of mutual trade²⁸. In the 21st century trade could be used as a powerful tool for dispute resolution between both countries²⁹.

REGIONAL CONNECTIVITY

The 21st century is called the century of trade and connections. Connectivity means trade new ventures, job creation and reduction in unemployment and poverty. If border disputes are resolved then borders becomes a source of revenue. New trade routes are being built, like China - Myanmar, Pakistan -Turkey and new silk route are under construction. China is building "One Road One Belt" connecting three adjacent continents Asia with Africa and then with Europe. This will connect Pacific Ocean with Atlantic Ocean. A new route of great importance CPEC is also under construction. A study of 2005 proposed ten road and five rail corridors along with inland waterways that will not only decrease distance but also save transportation cost and multiple ports access to land locked countries such as Afghanistan, Bhutan and Nepal . This brings about regional integration³⁰.

Pakistani media usually reports about the role of different foreign agencies active in this region. They are

active to sabotage CPEC corridor. If media highlight positive implications of mutual cooperation instead of war than the dream of regional integration and connectivity will come true³¹. Interconnectedness of Pakistan with neighboring countries will steer development and bring peace to the region³². Regional connectivity will also boost tourism especially religious tourism in both countries. Because religious places of Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism are spread on both sides of the border.

China is using media to spread public awareness about benefits of connectivity. Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) a group of 51 countries to enhance cooperation and connectivity in its 11th summit (15-16 July 2016) admit media as a major Stakeholder to harness the Power of modern media (Electronic and Social media)³³. If we have a look on developed states one of the main reason for their progress and development lies in regional connectivity³⁴. The case of European Union validates the reason that increased interdependence and economic cooperation helps them in maintaining economic progress and long-lasting peace. Pakistan and India can use media to promote regional connectivity and trade like ASEM countries.

TRUST DEFICIT

Trust is the most important and useful tool in individual's Relationship as well as in political arena. Any deficit in it results in the form of tense and hard Relationship. In Pakistan- India context one of the major reasons behind about seven decade's long rivalry is trust deficit. There lies a huge trust deficit between both countries due to negative propaganda, border disputes and regional interests. There is no way to keep good Relations until this trust deficit is bridged. Everyone talks about this deficit starting from

Prime Ministers to a layman. In 2010, Indian PM Manmohan and Pakistani PM Yousaf Raza Gillani admitted that trust deficit is the main problem blocking improvement in Relations³⁵. The media can play an important role in creating trust between India and Pakistan³⁶. In a university seminar Mujahid Mansoori urged that in this Global era media should be a part of solution through promotion of people to people contact and trade venture which will reduce trade deficit. We can learn from Europe's World War II³⁷.

According to Khurshed Kasuri the media especially electronic media can play an important role in influencing public perception across the border. He said that media can bitterly handle tense situation between Pakistan and India³⁸. To improve relation between both countries media is another important player. It is the responsibility of media to follow Journalistic principles that includes Neutral and unbiased reporting. In this process, the media should also question their respective Governments and agencies fabricated stories and narratives. This step can bridge trust deficit and improve Relations³⁹. During 1948 when India stopped the flow of canals to Pakistan newspapers wrote bluntly that India is going to starve us by choking our water. After many years I concluded that the real issue is trust deficit⁴⁰. According to Saleem A Sethi a Pakistani journalist if professional journalists are allowed to run the show media can play the most effective role in bridging the trust deficit among Pakistan and India⁴¹.

TERRORISM

“The unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political or religious aims” is called terrorism.⁴² Terrorism is now a worldwide phenomenon and a serious threat to the society. In the course of history political, religious, Nationalist and revolutionary groups use terror and human fear to achieve their goals. The war against terror started by USA to end terrorism is now spreader to France and Belgium. Terror organizations are now using media for their own interests. As per the Global Terrorism Index 2015 terrorism rises from 3329 deaths in 2000 to 32685 deaths in 2015 a rise of over nine folds. A war started by western world, but west is not affected by terrorism. Only 0.5% death due to terrorism has occurred in the West during this era.

New research proved it that media coverage of terror acts results in the form of more terrorist attacks. During this research, more than sixty thousand terror attacks between 1970-2012 were analyzed. Terrorist organization used media to spread their agenda.⁴³ The ISIS is effectively using media tools to spread its vision of the Caliphate. Their media cell consists of many departments and using media as psychological weapon to attract new fighters, more economic resources and to amplify its power.⁴⁴

India is using media to propagate Kashmiris freedom struggle as terrorism. State sponsored television channels of both countries remain biased while covering disputed issues such as Kashmir and Terrorism⁴⁵. In spite of blame game, we should let the enforcement agencies to work. Zahir Mubashar Maj General ® during a seminar said that media is very important power in the modern world and without it war against terrorism is not an easy job. It was discussed in seminar that more than 120 million people

view television, 140 million listen radios while 30 million read newspaper. Now it is the responsibility of media to discourage coverage of terror incidents. Media should highlight the real causes behind terrorism such as ignorance, poverty, unemployment and injustice in the society⁴⁶.

One example of India-Pak unity against terrorism was Army Public Attacks of 2014. On 16th of December 2014 most Indian media condemn these attacks in strongest possible words and urge people to stand with Pakistan in this time of grief⁴⁷. Indian PM Narendra Modi called Pakistani PM Nawaz Sharif, Indian parliament observed two-minute silence and all schools across India along with prayers and candle light vigils.⁴⁸ Media can play a vital role in countering terrorist propaganda and can stop war⁴⁹. The Indian media should understand restraint, cooperate to stop role of force multiplayer against terror organizations. Aman ki Asha started an initiative and slogan Stop terrorism not Talks. Under this initiative 30000 people from both sides participated in it and news dailies gave front page coverage to this⁵⁰. Journalists, singers and public participated.

It is because of media that "The Peshawar tragedy has united Indians and Pakistanis in grief. The bonds of insaniyat [humanity] among the two people must continue to grow". Harish Khare Editor In chief, The Tribune while addressing a seminar said "Making peace or war is a statesman's job and we have no statesman. We in the media should help political leadership from sinking in the quagmire of antagonism and pull them back from war"⁵¹.

The South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA) is an association set up by media persons to promote media networking, exchange media professionals and joint media productions to promote peace between the states of South Asia. Hostile attitude of media on both sides is a huge hurdle in the way of peace efforts.

SAFMA played an important role for the freedom of the media in South Asia and coordinate with Governments for peace. This organization decided to favor positive steps and constructive initiatives between both countries⁵². It is a fact that people living on both sides of the border have lived together in a peaceful environment for centuries. Now difference between them is very much large and critical. In every terrorist incident, Indian media starts blaming Pakistan without investigation which is hurting peace process. Musharraf's 5 point Kashmir formula was failed due to Pakistani media campaign against it⁵³.

There is a dire need to increase media interaction specially film so that masses on both sides can understand each other⁵⁴. In the course of History media played an important role in the state of war or negations through shaping public perception and mobilizing them⁵⁵. In 2013, Indian President Pranab Mukherjee praised role of SAFMA in promoting regional cooperation. Pranab Mukharjee and SAFMA members also discussed the possibilities of peace between Pakistan and India⁵⁶. It is need of the hour to take more steps by media and intellectuals. SAFMA, Press clubs, media unions can play a vital role in promoting peace in the region.

ROLE OF ELECTRONIC AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN SOCIAL CHALLENGES

Media have an important role to play in educational, social and economic issues. An independent media's impact on society is viewed as a critical in the process of development. In Hungary and Poland media played a positive role by changing conflict into coordination⁵⁷.

During 2008 Mumbai crisis Social Media played a negative role and increased the temperature⁵⁸. Even Indian Supreme Court said media worsened the situation by irresponsible and unethical reporting and it should be regulated by the Governments⁵⁹. The impact of media is so much high that military public Relations departments from both sides have to issue statements regarding Fake incidents and news reporting through main stream and social media⁶⁰. Media is playing a vital role in the shaping of Pakistan India Relations through its citizen diplomacy is started which can help him in dispute resolution⁶¹. Media can play a role in bringing peace and prosperity to the region⁶².

Ayaz Khan Editor Daily Express is of the view that media can play part in solving social issue but not doing so due to many pressures. If Governments make productive environment, media will be very useful tool. These Social evils are damaging both countries equally. Anchor and Journalist Mazhar Barlas was of the same view that media can only highlight issues and make public perception and the rest is Governments work. In this case we can say that media's job is to educate people about a problem and its solutions. Media can just operate public opinion. Now it is the duty of both Governments that they should use the platform of media for their citizens' welfare.

HUNGER: ROBIN HOOD ARMY

According to Global Hunger Index 2015 India and Pakistan both are among countries with “Serious” level of widespread hunger. India is at Number 97 and Pakistan is placed on 107 ranking among 118 developing countries. If situation remains same till 2030 both countries will be in worst “Alarming Category”⁶³. It is advised by UN that there is an urgent need to think out of the box so that no goes to sleep hungry. To tackle this huge social problem Robin Hood Army was started by two Indian students Neel Ghose and Anand Sinha of New Delhi on August 2014. Mission of this volunteer organization was to feed the poor with surplus food from restaurants. They use word “Army” to show intensity of situation and a will required on war bases. This organization is tying up with volunteers and restaurants through social media. In just 1 year this organization was working in 19 Indian cities and served 350,441 hungry people⁶⁴.

On 15th of February 2015 This Army started its operations in Pakistan from Karachi⁶⁵. Sarah Afridi and Neel Ghose were friends through social media⁶⁶. Because 230 million people in the subcontinent did not get two meals a day. Difference between rich and poor is huge. Food left in restaurants can feed millions. Both discuss this idea on social media and started it in Pakistan. In less than 10 months this organization is operating in three big Pakistani cities and fed 350,000 people with five star meals to fast food chains and road side hotels food⁶⁷. Through social media Robin Hood army is serving 500,000 hungry peoples in 5 countries now⁶⁸.

HEALTH CARE

Lack of Health facilities are another social issue commonly faced by both country. In World Bank Sustainable Development Goals Index (SDGI)2015 on health India stood at number 143 and Pakistan at 149 among 188 countries⁶⁹. Both nuclear states are behind small countries like Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Botswana. This is a matter of shame for these military might's. As India is a large country and large economy, Private sector is heavily investing in health care facilities thus raising standards in private sector. Due to cheap human resources cost of Medical treatment in India is about 1/10th of the Europe. Due to cost restraints patients are not able to go Europe. That's why majority of Pakistanis are visiting India for complex medical procedures. It is estimated that 15-20% patients visiting Indian hospitals from abroad are Pakistani. Pakistani nationals are visiting India for Organ Transplant, Oncology, Cardiac and Orthopedic procedures. Till now more than five hundred patients got liver transplant from India.⁷⁰ More than 500 Pakistanis are visiting Apollo Hospitals in India per month⁷¹.

People came to know about medical treatment through electronic or social media. They use social media to interact with facilitator, hospital management and doctors for visas, boarding, lodging and treatment. A Pakistani father voiced for financial help for his daughter operation through TV in 2013, his cry was heard by a philanthropist who took responsibility of all expenses for her Liver Transplantation⁷². In many cases when Pakistani patients were poor Indian Civil Society and NGO's arranged funds for them. Even Indian hospitals waved off their charges. Our media does not show these initiatives, which is a wrong attitude⁷³. After operation patients have to come back and

going India for follow-up is not possible for everyone. This problem is also solved by the social media. Through social media (Skype, IMO) and telephone Indian doctors remains in regular contact for change of medicines and tests. This kind of medical consultancy is named as Telemedicine⁷⁴. In February 2015, Doctors of both countries started an initiative with the name "Peace Clinic". The purpose of this initiative is to start a permanent contact between doctors of both countries through social media, so that they can learn from each other's experience and help out patient's⁷⁵. Now Indian doctors are visiting Pakistan this is exchanging knowledge⁷⁶. The collaboration of Pakistani and Indian doctors is dissolving fears, demolishing man-made walls of hatred, ending rivalry and increasing friendship and brotherhood⁷⁷. Now even Pakistani Governments is giving financial support to citizens, bureaucrats and politicians for medical treatment in India. By looking on this issue we can easily say that Social media is helping citizens of both countries to come together and find solutions for their challenges.

ROLE OF ESTABLISHMENT

Governments and State departments use media to make public perception on a specific issue. Then a time comes when that public perception becomes a headache for Governments and agencies. Due to media built perception an emotional environment Governments become hostile of that sentimental public opinion. Same is the case with India who uses media to allege Pakistan for every wrong doing. Now every time a terrorist attack happens in India public start demanding full fledges war on Pakistan⁷⁸.

Media expert Michael Sweeng said “The press lost most of the battles because journalists after all carry notebooks while soldiers carry guns”⁷⁹. Hamid Mir said whoever talks about facts was called a traitor in Pakistan and starts saying him RAW agent. It is also a bitter truth that when Pakistani Journalists intersect with their counterparts in India they commonly blame other fellows in Pakistan as establishments’ men. This gives a strong feeling that every other journalist in Pakistan is an agent of someone⁸⁰. Even our fellow Pakistanis are making our case weak.

Famous Pakistani TV Anchor Aftab Iqbal said any stakeholder in the media is helpless without the blessings of Media house Owners and establishment. Hamid Mir is of the same view that influence of establishments on media houses is so much that you cannot say the truth on your own. Senior Journalist Abdullah Tariq Sohail goes to such extent that he said 70% of Pakistani media is managed by the Establishment⁸¹. Editor Daily Express Ayaz Khan said you can do two shows of your choice but then you have to follow what your owner or Governments agencies are demanding.

There is another narrative that due to technology advancement this grip of establishment weekend. People supporting this argument are in very less numbers. So, in this scenario we can say that due to provocative and effective media in Pakistan and India, the political establishments cannot ignore them. Now it’s up to the International community to support people with sensible approaches on both sides⁸².

MEDIA HOUSES VESTED INTERESTS

Running a media house is a kind of business to earn profits. But this business is very sensitive because of Public Interest and National interest. Unfortunately, majority of our public is unaware of this bitter fact. They think media as an entity to safeguard National and Public interest. When media does not fulfill their expectations, they become annoyed. The race of ratings and sale ability of news is the force which is driving our media today. Media houses are sacrificing responsibility and accountability for the sack of rating. The race to become number one and broadcast news firstly is also damaging this profession. Now this business is totally depending on social, economic, political, cultural and psychological disturbances. Now a day's media is playing a role of a judge, prosecutor, Jury and investigator at the same time, which is creating more nuisances⁸³. According to Abdullah Tariq Sohail media houses are influenced by not only establishment and Governments but Embassies also. In Pakistan, some media house owners are in agreement with different foreign agencies and getting money to promote a specific agenda dictated by them. Like a TV channel (GEO) campaign of Parhnay Likhnay kay Siwa, Pakistan ka Matlab kaya? This was rejected by the public because it was against our public and religious views. Other than agreements with international players race of ratings is spoiling this industry. The Rating agencies do fraud with the help of advertisers. According to Hamid Mir Rating of just two big cities is being implemented on all Pakistan and the rest of whole country is being ignored⁸⁴.

Same is the case across our border. India's Broadcasting and information minister Manish Tewari while addressing a conference in New Delhi said: "Media is a

business, question germane to the media: whether it is a business as defined under the Indian constitution or any other activity”⁸⁵. He went on to say that 789 channels are heavily dependent on advertisements and for that they add sensationalism, media trials and spreading anger. This issue must be addressed⁸⁶. Gurbir Singh President of Mumbai Press Club requested Pakistani as well as Indian media to stop airing Television Rating Point (TRP) based talk shows because they are damaging peace process between both countries⁸⁷. Media houses occasionally misuse rights given by constitutions such as the freedom of speech and expression for vested and business interests. Sometimes media is under pressure to broadcast what agencies are informing them. Such as Pakistani media spreads unrealistic and unauthentic reports about insurgencies hit areas like FATA and Baluchistan because access to those areas are almost impossible and they have to rely on establishment for news⁸⁸. Media houses took information through this source because it's cost effective and also serves National security narrative⁸⁹. If we shed light on this issue, we come to a conclusion that war mongering takes ratings. This bashing earns revenues but at very high cost⁹⁰. Media is a business house but a heavy responsibility of neutral, realistic and unbiased reporting is on its shoulder. There should be a transparent mechanism to watch media. So that media should follow ethical values of journalism.

ROLE OF TV ANCHORS

Television Anchor's play an important role of bringing information and stories to the public. That's why they become the face of the channel. Due to the penetration of TV's in our bedrooms and offices, TV anchors contribute

exceptionally in changing public perception. General public take anchor as a celebrity and role model. People take them more seriously than politicians, technocrats and bureaucrats⁹¹. TV Anchors can influence that why they decide what would be debated daily and what is more important news than others. This kind of power print media journalists never had.

But there are many factors which are influencing TV Anchors, from civil, military establishments to media owners and obviously Advertisers. Because of advertisers high influence TV anchors keep focus on issues related to middle and upper classes. As these classes have the capacity to buy more, spotlight remains on issues like terrorism, extremism and India Pakistan border firing. This is the main reason that there is no prime time debate in India on socio economic issues like malnutrition, poverty, illiteracy etc.⁹². An Indian Government's official said to Aakar Patel an Indian Columnist that "Arbab is now setting the agenda... any visit to China or Pakistan was preceded with images or infra-red images of infiltrators from across the border — all designed as campaigns to put off the visitor to dilute its impact."⁹³. But this is a matter of grave concerns that TV anchors interests are only popularity and ratings. His struggle to gain more ratings can be against the national interest⁹⁴.

This fact is correct for Pakistan also. Although all TV channels claims that they follow non-discriminatory and neutral policy. But it is a matter of fact that different channels support different social groups and political organizations. It is a reality that people affected by the talk shows in Pakistan whether it is Hamid Mir's Capital Talk and Talat Hussain's Live with Talat Hussain. In their talk shows

Anchors raise questions and in the end conclusion drawn was also by anchors themselves⁹⁵. TV Anchors have no impact on state policies. Hamid Mir's argument was that in 1947, 1965, 1971 and Kargil wars there were no TV anchors than who make hype? It becomes a fashion to blame media for that. There is another point of view on this issue like Mr. Rather, Anchor CBC news said "In the political process, I think that the power of television in general is overstated, There is some power, yes, I think some considerable power, to set the agenda. I don't think there is very much, if any, power to get people to think in a certain way, politically or otherwise."⁹⁶. Pakistani Journalist Hamid Mir is also of the same opinion. Anchor Mazhar Barlas is of the view that in Pakistan India context Relations are emotionally driven and TV anchors have no role except to say what people demand⁹⁷.

When we discussed this matter with Famous Anchor Mr. Aftab Iqbal he said TV Anchors are like sports man whose struggle is to raise his score, rating for more credibility and Survival. Some Anchors are under influence of Channels establishment which is working under some other establishment. If blessings of the Foreign Office and establishment TV anchors can become the Ambassadors of peace even better than carrier diplomats because they are more enthusiastic, energetic, talented and full of spirits. They can do miracles⁹⁸. According to senior journalist Najam Sethi many times media played the role of spoiler during negotiations to find solutions of disputed issues and stopped both countries from signing accords. He termed it as "entrapped in narrow nationalism"⁹⁹. Many reporters and Anchors discuss disputed issues by waging war between participants across the border to get ratings. In

these shows retired army officials from sides, Nationalist security experts and opposition leaders are invited¹⁰⁰. "Some prime time Anchor invites guests who usually takes extreme positions and Anchors taking special care to ensure that those advocating peace in the two countries are not brought in to dampen the hate-filled atmosphere."¹⁰¹ Keeping in view this debate we can say that Anchors can largely influence public. To some extent they can influence Governments policies provided that they have credibility. TV Anchors can be used to make public perception for the solution of disputes

IS MEDIA REFLECTION OF THE SOCIETY?

It is a debate that whether media is reflection of the society or society is the reflection of media. According to Anchor Sochail Warraich media is reflection of society because media is more dependent on societies than the society on media. If media will not reflect what society demand or go against the sentiments of the Society then it is impossible to survive and work. Like in war conditions first you have to discuss war and toe national stance than discuss peace¹⁰².

People who are of the view say that media shape things and society is reflection of media then a question arises that why in Pakistan Anti India and in India Anti Pakistan channels and shows are hit? Media has to report according to people's wishes and sentiments. Media is part of the society but a little bit ahead because if it didn't remain ahead society becomes stagnant. According to Hamid Mir for media public interest is supreme because media is part of the public. Kamran Wajih Director Express News commenting on what drives the media coverage said "The media's role is like that of a mirror — it only reflects

what is real”¹⁰³. Faizan Syed CEO of health television “A journalist is like a pipe connecting the water tank to a faucet — if the connection is good, the outcome will always be undistorted information.”¹⁰⁴. On this point all journalists in Pakistan agree that media is reflection of the society. It shows what people want.

MEDIA HAWKS AND DOVES

A person who strongly supports the use of force against opponents rather than discuss or other means is called hawk. Doves try to resolve issues without force¹⁰⁵. Even in America and UK there were two types of media in at the time of Iraq war: Hawks and doves. Johan Galtung, a famous sociologist, classifies media into two types: Peace loving (Doves) and War loving (Hawks). In India-Pak context it is often debated that which country has more hawks in establishment as well as media. This perception is so strong that even President Musharraf asked Khursheed Mehmood Kasuri, his first Foreign minister, in very first meeting by saying “Are you a hawk or a dove on India?”¹⁰⁶.

According to Ayaz Khan, Editor Daily Express, in Indian establishment there are more hawks; that’s why on every terrorist incident they use media to blame Pakistan for that¹⁰⁷. According to him, Indian media has more hawks’ attitude than Pakistan; that’s why their propaganda is stronger as compared to us. But we are saying this while sitting in Pakistan and no Indian TV channel is on air over here on the basis of video clips we see. For a neutral view, someone has to live two months in India and then conclude after all their channels. The hawks in Indian media and BJP usually bash Pakistan to make meetings in failure. People who support peace and improved Relations in media are in

minority on both sides. In the time of crisis they are sidelined and media indulged into blame game. TV anchors use these movements to increase their ratings by using harsh language¹⁰⁸.

Hamid Mir is of the view that majority of our journalist's community is neither hawks nor doves but are "Ghulam" (Slave) of either Saith or establishment. In India majority of media persons are Doves except some like Arnab Gosvami. He gave the example of Arundhati Rao who is advocating for Kashmir's freedom. Hamid Mir said in India media is freer because of long democracy that's why Sagarika Ghose, IBN CNN Anchor said bluntly on TV that 70% Kashmiri are demanding freedom. If someone says like this in Pakistan, people (Hawks) Like Zaid Hamid will label him Ghadar (Traitor) and he would have been arrested. No one arrested Arundhati Rao and Sagarika Ghose in India.

On the other side Mazhar Barlas was of the view that media in Pakistan is freer and we have fewer hawks. He shared a story of his journalist friend that in Indian Foreign Office Journalists have to submit their questions two hours before weekly news briefing. A RAW official pick and choose questions. Indian Foreign office only answers selected questions. While in Pakistan even foreign media and journalist can put any questions and foreign office has to answer that. If we have a look on this aspect we can safely say that Hawks are there on both sides in majority. They are doing war mongering to satisfy public perceptions and respective establishments.

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DISTRICT OF KASUR (PUNJAB) SINCE NINETIETH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the socio-political conditions of the district of Kasur in the colonial and post-colonial Punjab. The study tries to answer the questions pertaining to the Kasur's importance and development during colonial Punjab. In addition, effort has been made to assess the appropriation of local resources and exploitation of manpower in Kasur by the colonial rulers during world war first. Then, this article also tries to locate the local political power pockets in Kasur during the final years of freedom movement. And, at last, the study moves on to enlist several administrative-cum-historical developments up to 2010 in the district of Kasur.

KEY WORDS

Punjab, Kasur, Sikh, British Rule.

Before the dawn of colonialism in Punjab the city of Kasur had to face tens of militarized attacks by several Sikh confederacies (missals or blocs). Following the bitter and tragic experience of five already deadly attacks on the town, nobody knew that time that the much attacked and frequently sabotaged city of Kasur now had to face a new series of five attacks, by the Ranjeet Singh's forces, which

had to treat with the Kasuris with worse than before. The first expedition by Ranjeet Singh for Kasur was conducted in the year of 1801. In this expedition, Ranjeet Singh sacked and plundered several places locating in the peripheral areas of the Kasur but could not be successful in suppressing the Pathan leader, Nizam-ud-Din who had become a potential threat by joining the other Sikh confederacies. So, Raja Ranjeet Singh had to return back to Lahore without any headway. But, still, Raja was restless and thought out a new plan to subdue to the Pathan chief. He now sent another campaign under the commandership of Sardar Fateh Singh Kalliwala who became triumphant over Nizam-ud-Din who now acknowledged the Maharajaship of Ranjeet Singh and sent his brother Qutub-ud-Din with tribute for Raja to Lahore. He also agreed to send a regiment under his brother Qutub-ud-Din at whenever the Raja orders it. Thus, for the guaranty of the armistice, two Pathan sardars, Haji Khan and Wasil Khan, were made in custody of the Raja's administration, later on. On the arrival of them at Lahore the brother of Nizam-ud-Din was let go back to his home along with gifts of an elephant and a horse. And, after some days, Haji Khan and Wasil Khan, the hostages, were also released along with Shawls embroidered with costly pearls.¹

The third assault on Kasur by Ranjeet Singh was happened in 1802 when the Raja scarcely did return from Chaniot expedition then he was informed that the Kasuri Chief, again, raised his head, got a large number of Pathans with him, and looted two villages surrounding Lahore. The Raja became very furious now and decided to launch a very powerful charge upon him. He wrote to Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, son of Bhaag Singh Ahluwalia and

leader of Ahluwalia misal which had attacked the Kasur in 1747 and 1763 in the command of Jasa Singh Ahluwalia. The Raja asked him to march as earlier as possible towards Kasur. So, Fateh Singh marched with a larger number of army as was asked by the Raja who himself, while commanding his military, approached the unfortunate city of Kasur. A general warfare started and the Raja and his friend Fateh Singh showed their valor in person. The Kasuri Pathans, after being too weaken to defend themselves, enclosed themselves in the fort following by a potent and powerful siege by the attackers. After a fight of several days the Sikh military controlled the fort and began to slay each and every trooper of the Pathan forces. All the palaces and small forts of the city were captured and a general bloodbath, plundering, ruination, and sack of the city were the scenes and glimpses of the day. A tremendous number of men, women and children were enslaved. When Nizam-ud-Din came to know the whole situation, he presented himself before the conquerors and begged for pardon promising to pay a good deal of monetary penalty and comprehensive compliance to the Raja who allotted the pardon to him.²

Then, it was in the same year, 1802 that Ranjeet Singh had to wreak another raid upon the township of Kasur, the fourth one. In actual fact, the Pathan Chief Nizam-ud-Din Khan had been assassinated by his close kinsmen, Wasil Khan Haji Khan and Najeeb Khan the former two were those sent to Lahore as surety, in 1801, and Qutub-ud-Din Khan the brother of the assassinated Chief, now had been the ruler and leader of the Pathan Colony. Formerly, he was in charge of the town of Khudian but now at Kasur he had challenged the Raja's writ

causing embarrassment to Raja Ranjeet who, once again, managed a large united army of the Sikhs. His friend, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, was also accompanying and supporting him in this campaign. On the other side, Qutub-ud-Din Khan had consolidated and fortified his forts and battling positions. For months, besiegement remained still and stand convincing the Raja to offer the besieged with pardon and acquittal as the best for them but to no vain. So, when all is said and done, the Raja concluded a complete blockade and barricade of the city consequently producing the repercussions in the forms of a general mass hunger. Thus, due to continuous lack of food stuff and edibles, the besieged people began to die of hunger and diseases. Moreover, since the Raja himself didn't desire to make blockade dragging out yet he unhesitatingly assented to take the penalty of war and left the place for Lahore.³

But the fate willed else and the inhabitants of Kasur had to meet with another assault which was to break records of those occurred in past. In February, 1807, Ranjeet Singh, on the excuse of the disobedience by the Pathan Chief, prepared an extremely powerful military of 25,000 with the help of Jodh Singh, the son of notorious carpenter Jasa Singh Ramgaria who was also the Raja's father's old ally. The Raja raided the already sabotaged city of Kasur. This was the fifth and final charge by the Raja Ranjeet Singh on this city. As practiced in past, the Raja did the movement blocked, by all sides, of the several small forts which were full of armed material and edible stuffs. For one month the beleaguerment went on supervising by the Raja's army and the engulfed Pathans began to depend, for their consumption, on the flesh of the cattle and horses at the termination of the foodstuffs.

The Sikh troopers kept on ruining the whole of the region and destroyed the city's main rampart and entered it. They defeated the Pathans, ransacked everything from the residents, butchered and slaughtered a cyclopean number of people, barbarously insulted the women by enslaving and making them walk nakedly. Lots of ladies committed suicides by jumping into wells or hanging themselves, thus preferring death over being disrespected or raped.⁴ So, till the end of March, 1807, Qutub-ud-Din Khan, the Pathan leader, had to be disarmed and he was sent to Mamdot, a place of his ancestors, on the obligation to provide a force of one hundred cavalry when asked for it. However, Kasur and all its associated regions which worth 1,70,000 Rupees were encompassed in the Empire of Lahore but it was given, on ad hoc basis, to the care of Sardar Nihal Singh Attariwala who was already in possession of Major part of it worth 1,00,000 Rupees since 1806.⁵

After the conquest of Kasur, Maharaja not only became successful in extending and consolidating his empire but also had been upgraded in financial condition which was recently fueled by the expensive material of booty from Kasur. Enriched Raja had acquired volumes of gold and pearls, a larger number of horses and camels, and of epic proportions toll of books in Arabic, Persian, etc including the holy scripts of the Quran. In Lahore these manuscripts were sold at very throw-away prices. The victorious Maharaja conducted a very remarkable court with a view to celebrating the winning at Kasur and at this occasion clay-lamps were kindled at Lahore and Amratsar simultaneously.⁶

Accordingly, the year of 1807 marked a new chapter in the annals of the history of the Kasur which had now

concluded its centuries-old independence. Now, the people of this land were to experience an age of dependency. They sustained and survived a number of barbarous assaults but now they were left with no courage, leader, potency, and even fuel to make their spirits effort. So, now, the whole area of Kasur, means of production, and its manpower came under the control of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. In 1808, the dispatch of Qutub-ud-Din Khan with his troops from Mamdot to join the Sikh forces for Multan for collecting the delayed levy and in 1816, once again, gathering with the Sikh army for Bahawalpur were the obvious manifestations of the complete submission of Kasuri Pathans to Raja.⁷ Now they were only jagirdars. And, in the year 1831, a fight occurred in between the Qutub-ud-Din Khan and his nephew and son of Nizam-ud-Din Khan, Fateh Din Khan, over the possession of Mandot fort, built by Nizam-ud-Din Khan and Qutub-ud-Din Khan after annexing Mandot in 1800. Qutub-ud-Din had been wounded in this fight and had retired to Amritsar sooner where he died in the same year. But, Ranjeet Singh called Fateh Din Khan back to his former possession in Gugera district and validated the Mamdot region to Qutub-ud-Din's elder son, Jamal-ud-Din Khan. But, according to the writer of the "The Punjab Chiefs", he proved an incompetent administrator.⁸

The second son of the late Qutub-Din Khan, Jalal-ud-Din Khan, was a brave man who fought in side of Sikhs in 1845 but in 1848 he had sided with the British at Multan. Moreover, he did a good deal of job during the great military mutiny of 1857 and serviced for the British with respect to its postal communication from Ferozepore to Bahawalpur. His loyalty for the British destined him to the succession to the chief-ship for which the sons of Jamal-

ud- Din Khan were also claiming. So, he became the Chief of Mamdot, by the orders of the Governor General-in-Council, in 1864. In these times the title of Nawab was also allotted to him and in 1870 he was further empowered by conferring the magisterial powers. Anyhow, the canton of Mamdot was appropriated to Ferozepore in 1855 and thereafter it had no direct political affiliation with the territory of Kasur which had been seized to Lahore in 1807 by Maharaja Ranjeet Singh".⁹

As far as the durability of the clutch of the Sikhs on the region of Kasur was concerned, it had been unassailable in the life of Raja Ranjeet Singh. After him, with the battles started betwixt the Sikhs and the British, this part of the land began to fall off. Since most of the fights occurred on the bank-sides of the river Sutlej, Kasur, having been located a few kilometers from Sutlej, had many of its villages and hamlets engulfed by these fights. The noted battle of Sabhraon happened on tenth of Feb, 1846 was fought at Sabhraon, a village on the bank of river Sutlej. This village was situated in the paragana of Kasur. After winning, the British troops entered the city of Kasur, on February 11, before heading towards Lahore. On the next day, Governor-General approached there and the fort of Kasur was controlled without any resistance. And, on the fifteenth of this month, Gulab Singh, a high-ranked Sikh official, met and commenced deliberations with the Governor-General, on the behalf of the minor Raja Dulip Singh. In the same day, a long meeting, to negotiate all important issues, was conducted among the British officers and Sikh delegates including Dewan Dinanath and Gulab Singh. After a protracted meeting, pretty nearly all the claims and demands of the British were countenanced

by the delegates from the Lahore government. The principal clauses from the draft, which had to still be ratified by the head of the Lahore government and the Governor-General, were that the underage Dulip Singh would be the Raja of the Lahore government and the regions and the areas lying in between the Sutlej and Beas rivers would be completely autonomous of the Raja's government. Compensation for war 1.5 million sterling pounds would be paid by the Sikh government to the British.¹⁰

COLONIAL KASUR (1846-1947)

So, on Feb 18, 1846, eight years old Raja Dulip Singh appeared and offered his submission before the governor general at Lilliani, a village on Ferozpur road, 16 km north of Kasur. The Raja was also accompanied by several Sikh leaders thus he signed the draft following its sanction by the governor general, Sir Henry. And, ultimately, the British put their boots on the soil of Lahore on Feb 20, 1846 and started concluding day after day, a serial of net-like settlements with the Khalsa govt. The Khalsa rulers were not enough equal to the task to control the worsening affairs of the state and counter the time-tested tactics and policies of the British imperialism, conclusively providing grounds for the foreign colonists to hold the possession of whole of the Punjab. Thus in 1849, the land of the five rivers went into the hands of newcomer aliens.¹¹

But, the Pathan rulers of the city of Kasur remained the faithful to the British during the whole of colonial period. They provided the British their each and every assistance on the very crucial and critical times, too. The faithfulness of them towards the British can be seen and

analyzed by accounting the occasions and events during which the local chiefs of the Kasur proved their loyalty towards the British.

At first instance, during the war of Independence, in 1857, the Kasuri chiefs Sardar Nasiruddin Khan (d.1875) and Sardar Wasil Khan helped the colonial power by supplying 135 horsemen. And Sardar Jalaluddin Khan showed his loyalty by saving the state treasure of Kasur in the days of this war. Then, at second instance, on May 13, 1857, an organized plan of insurgents, who wanted to snatch arms from the marines, was also suppressed. In addition, Sardar Shahbaz (b.1878), the son of Sardar Zulfiqar Khan who was the president of Kasur Municipality in 1886 and grandson of Sardar Nasiruddin Khan who served the British during 1857 crisis, helped the British in the 1907 insurgencies in Kasur.¹² Furthermore, on the events of World War First, for the recruitment of Indian soldiers he provided lots of local personnel which became the part and parcel of the Punjab recruitment which surpassed in number all the other Indian provinces combined recruitment (in sooth, the two third of the Indian army during ww1 was from the Punjab only).¹³ Above and beyond that, Shahbaz Khan lent an amount of 60,000 Rupees for War Fund without any interest on this money. In the wake of his these services, he was awarded, by the British, with a sword, a war medal, a title of Khan Sahib, and a jagir of Rupees 250. He was also made the magistrate of the city of Kasur in 1914. Over and above that, during the emergency state of Jallian Wala Bagh, there was a general strike, on some day, in the city of Kasur and on that very day the railway station and post office of Kasur were set on fire by a violent mob. And, during these violent moments, the lives of the Mr. Shrowd

and his wife were saved by this Pathan Sardar, Shahbaz Khan. Again, for his undivided loyalty for the British government, he was awarded with a Khalat of Rupees 200 and a land of Rupees 50 by the Lt. Governor of the Punjab. Due to his undoubted allegiance to the British, he was one of those chiefs who met with His Royal Highness Prince of Wales, in 1922. The unwavering staunchness of Shahbaz Khan for the British government went on continuing during the WW second, too. He devoted a portion of 309 mann (one mann is equal to 40 kgs) wheat voluntarily and free of any cost.¹⁴

Thus, the fidelity of Kasuri Pathans remained with the British through thick and thin. With the introduction and the application of the administrative reforms by the British government, Kasur, being an eminent city, could not help experiencing these reforms and went on being administrated parallel to the other cities in Punjab. Thus, a tehsildar, for heading revenue department, and an extra-assistant commissioner, for managing administrative affairs were appointed here.¹⁵ The Kasur city acquired the status of a municipality in October and Sub-division in December, 1867.¹⁶

With the application of railway network in India, there started a widespread net of railway lines in whole of India. It was in the pioneering decades of railway introduction from 1850s to 1870s, that a 25 km railway forest at Changa Manga, a village of Kasur district, was planned in 1864 to provide cheap fire-wood for the steam locomotives running between Karachi-Lahore-Amritsar in the late nineteenth century. This was the largest man-made forest watered by an irrigation canal in Pakistan. The Changa Manga, named after 2 popular bandits active here in eighteenth century, is a place located by rail 72 km

south of Lahore. The first working plan for Changa Manga plantation, designed by Mr. B Ribbentrop, started in 1866 producing mature harvesting by 1881-82. The forest was made thick by planting Shesham wood at considerable area of the forest in 1888. Though locomotives were provided with wooden fuel from here in the beginning, yet wood began to be supplied to the timber markets of India, later on. Almost an area of 500 acres of forest was used to being harvested each year by early 1890s. Later on, for timber transporting from faraway places within the forest, a 25 km lengthy, 600mm (2 feet) wider narrow gauged-track, forest railway network was laid down. In late 1920s, four old fashioned steam locomotives were made running on these forest railway tracks to lift and transport the timber materials from the deep thick jungle to the Changa Manga railway station located at Karachi-Lahore railway line. In addition, a guesthouse was also built by north western railway's forestry department, in the forest.¹⁷

Then, not only this village of Changa Manga proved a paramount place but also the city of Kasur itself demonstrated its pivotal position, by attaining the status of a railway junction in the British India railways. Four railway lines headed from Kasur junction towards four different directions encompassing several numbers of largest cities of British India. Thus, a splendid building for railway station of Kasur, besides the bungalows for officers' residences, many small residential quarters for employees and subordinate officials, various warehouses and a medical dispensary were constructed. But, the enormous signification of the Kasur junction went on reducing since and in the post years of the partition of India in 1947.

Then, during this phase of the history of Kasur district, the impact of canalization in Punjab was also applaudable and noteworthy for the reason of the fact that it did change the patterns of agriculture and cultivation. In the regions of Kasur, too, five canals were made running through covering substantial parts of the cultivatable lands.¹⁸ In actuality, the successful running and working of canals in the Punjab plains was a landmark feature of colonial power. After the completion of the process of canalization in Punjab, generally, the agricultural and cultivatable modes began to be modified and transformed from good to better, ultimately, creating new avenues of economic gains and profits. Commercialization of crops reformed the lives of rural communities as well as markets in civic sectors. The finishing of the progression of canal-channels ushered the region into a new age.

On one side, colonial power went on introducing agricultural law and order, administrative and economic reforms in Punjab, but, on the other side, it had to be faced and tackled with local insurgents who had threatened and challenged the British writ and order. Besides other insurrectionists in Punjab, there were several ones in the land of Kasur too. To top them all, Malangi and Nizam Lohaar were leaders of these rebel factions active in this area. In sooth, they were ones who could not help resisting and standing firm against the ill-treatment by native landlords and tricky-cum-intricate commercial activities of Hindu money-lenders. Their bad feeling and antagonism for those landlords and money-lenders, finally, brought them in clashes and encounters with the law and order enforcement agencies of the British. The colonial law enforcement authorities, after all,

became successful with the help of indigenous plotters and agents, to quell these insurgents but these agencies too remained not unmolested. Since these rebels enjoyed the full-fledged confidence of the major part of the local community which was consisted of lower castes and menial workpeople yet they went on being remembered and celebrated as the champions of their socio-economic rights in the generations to descend. These exponents of menials are, nevertheless, being recognized and talked about as the local heroes in the popular folks and Punjabi literature.¹⁹

As, for long years, the Hindu political parties-cum-leaders were reluctant to recognize the legitimized political and constitutional rights of the Muslims of India, the Muslims of the sub-continent embarked on for their new career. The freedom movement by Muslims had been launched with great zeal and zest and people of Kasur remained not behind and participated in Pakistan movement with full enthusiasm. Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri, the father of Mian Mehmood Ali Kasuri who remained national law minister, and the grandfather of Mian Khursheed Mehmood Kasuri who had been the foreign minister during General (retired) Pervaiz Musharraf's government, took warmly part in the Pakistan movement. His sons, Maulana Muhhayyuddin Ahmed Kasuri, Maulana Muhammad Ali Kasuri, Maulana Ahmed Ali Kasuri and Mian Mehmood Ali Kasuri also contributed their parts in the freedom movement. Then, Sardar Muhammad Hussain (1904-1969) of Ganjianwala was an eminent chief and politician of the Kasur region. He remained the member of Unionist Party and become MLA in 1937 for this party. In 1940, he joined Muslim League and succeeded again as MLA for Muslim League in 1946.

He organized regional branches of Muslim League in Kasur and arranged a Muslim League conference at Khudian Khas, a town of Kasur, in 1945. He was also jailed for joining Civil Disobedience Movement in 1946-47. So, the politics and people of Kasur remained not away from the freedom movement.²⁰

POST-COLONIAL KASUR (1947-2010)

On partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947, the souls of Kasur did their jobs beyond their means and sources and provided each and every possible help and assistance to the migrants coming from India through the way of Ganda Singh Wala, a village 10 km east of Kasur and now bordering with India. After partition, Kasur region went on populating solely on account of migration on massive scales. The rural sectors began to be increased with the newcomers formerly belonged to Ferozpur district areas, now a big city and district of India. With the passage of time the population of the tehsil of Kasur kept up increasing by virtue of its status as an industrial and commercial center generating a big deal of employment opportunities for rural unemployed ones. So the population volumes started to rise but the Indo-Pak war of 1965 did this mass rising sabotaged.²¹ This fact was clearly manifested in the article of the time magazine of Friday Sept 24, 1965:

World: the curious battle of Kasur; “according to the rival claims, both Pakistan and India won a stunning victory last week around the border city of Kasur. The outside world has mostly had to take such grandiose boasts on faith since neither government encourages close press coverage of the war”. But time correspondent William

Rademaekers managed to get to Kasur, a bustling Pakistan city of 100,000, 37 miles southeast of embattled Lahore and only 5 miles from the Indian border." "Kasur is deserted and its inhabitants scattered over the countryside", Radmaekers reported. Buzzards wheel overhead and settle with a flourish of wings on the swollen...²²

But, on the contrary, new settlements were occurred since-and-post war of 1965. These were also constructed military garrisons which had occupied a considerable area in the eastern parts of the city and later on, built-up defense and strategic infrastructure with a view to promoting and strengthening the defensive position of the city. Moreover, in the post war of 1965 times, the process of populating was started more rapidly and new housing colonies and societies went on developing.²³

Thus, it was the day of first of the July, 1976, when the ancient city of Kasur procured the status of a district, chiefly attributable to the swelling volumes of urbanization year after year and the continuous demand of the by the people of Kasur.²⁴ Now, the township of Chunian had been made a tehsil of Kasur beside itself which was also a tehsil as well.²⁵

Chunian is also an old place situated on the high bank of the bias river. Its latitude is 30°58'0" N and longitude is 73°59'0" E. It is distanced from Kasur 53 km by way of Kasur-Khudian khas-Chunian road and 47 km by flight. Chunian's road distance from Lahore is 80 km via Bhai Pheru-Changa Manga and air distance is 73 km.²⁶ This town remained throughout its history in the territory of Kasur. In 1720-21, the noted war in-between Abdul Sammad Khan, chief of Lahore, and Hussain Khan

Khaweshgi, the leader of Kasuri Afghans was fought at this station. Besides the destructions and deformations caused by climatic and geographical changes, from the war of 1720-21 to the assaults done by several Sikh misals, first, and the raids of Ranjeet Singh, later, the town and peripheral areas of Chunian went on ruining and laying waste. The periodic brutish and savage offensives by the Sikhs had wiped out each and every hamlet and expunged every single village surrounding Chunian. However, with the establishment of Pakistan, there commenced a course of floating small new hamlets on the off-centre regions of Chunian. And, according to the census of 1998, its population was 584,587 souls which were previously 389,255 souls as per 1981 census. Total area (land) of Chunian tehsil is 1212 sq km and total number of union councils is 27.²⁷ Till the late nineteenth century Sikhs were in two-third ratio regarding this town's population but it is, currently, completely a Muslim dominated towns.²⁸

Then, as the constant escalation in the process of population-cum-urbanization it necessitated the creation of new administrative units so on the first of July, 1992, another tehsil administration had to be established making Pattoki, a commercial town of Kasur located on Multan road, as its headquarter.²⁹ The town of Pattoki, located 68 km by road and 58 km by air in the west of the district headquarter of Kasur. From Lahore, it is distanced 83 km on G.T (Lahore-Multan) road and 76 km by flight. Its latitude is 31°1'0"N and longitude is 73°51'0"E. It was merely a village about 3 to 4 decades ago but by the virtue of its locus of occurring on G.T road (Lahore-Multan) and having a railway station on the Lahore-Khanewal-Karachi tract it kept on being attracted by industrialists and traders. The process of industrialization went on

happening in the last three decades which was further boasted by the years-old cotton market here. The sky-rocketing commercial and business activities went on growing further due to its location on Lahore-Multan highway. Anyhow, it was a town of 403,109 souls in 1981 and 634,236 with respect to the 1998 census. Total area of Pattoki tehsil is 892 square kilometers. Being a hub for industrial and other enterprises, its mass-toll is going to be ballooned day by day. The number of Union Councils in this administrative unit is 31.³⁰

Again, with the uncontrolled volumes of population there was felt the need to create a new tehsil unit, again. So, on the day of July first, 2006, the tehsil of Kot Radha Kishan was created with the same town, Kot Radha Kishan, as its administrative center.³¹ This town is located at 31°10'21"N, (latitude) and 74°5'59"E (longitude). Drive distance from Lahore via Manga Mandi to Kot Radha Kishan is 60 km and flight way is of 48 km. Drive way on Raiwind road from Kasur is 44 km and air way is 34 km. This tehsil has 28 union councils.³²

The historical backdrop of this town is very important to be known. So, the etymology of the name of the town, Kot Radha Kishan, has its links to Punjab history. In actuality, this village was named after Mr. Radha Kishan (d.1875) a Brahman Pandat descended from a family migrated, in 1244, from Muttra to Multan but had to be returned soon. But in the midst of eighteenth century, a member of the family and grandfather of Pandit Radha Kishan, Pandit Brij Raj or Brij Laly (d.1833), settled at Lahore. He was a man of letters and renowned Sanskrit scholar. On account of his scholarship and learning the Bhangi chiefs respected him much and after some years Maharaja Ranjeet Singh appointed him for reading and

interpreting the sacred Sanskrit texts. The maharaja made him official pandit and in 1808, appointed his son and father of Radha Kishan Pandit Madhusudan (d.1863) who was also noted for Sanskrit scholarship, almsgiver and chief darbar pandit afterwards. Being popular for his distinguished scholarship, Radha Kishan was designated as tutor of young Raja Hira Singh earlier and of Maharaja Dulip Singh later. He was, too, like his ancestors, a darbar pandit. He was a well-known champion for promotion of education and an eminent advocate of female education. He worked much and collected large donations from the landlords of the Punjab for the foundations of the Punjab University. He was allotted with the honorary seats at various literary and linguistic forums by virtue of his deep insights in education and expertise of Sanskrit and Hindu law. For these realities, the Text Society of London conferred upon him the honorary membership. Pandit Radha Kishan was too great scholar to be ignored by the British government while handling with matters concerning education.³³

So, it was due to his unforgotten services that in 1884 the local government allocated a land of 2,000 acres in Chunian to his son, Rishi Kesh (d.1888). Besides it, earlier at Radha Kishan's death, an amount of 6,000 acquired from the village of Kot Radha Kishan was also dispensed to him (Rishi Kesh).³⁴ Thus, it were the estimable and luminary accomplishments of Pandit Radha Kishan that kept him remembered in heads and hearts of the people who went on calling the site of his residence after his name. So, now, this tehsil of Kot Radha Kishan consists of 28 local government units (union councils).³⁵ In summary, the areas of the district of Kasur have a very rich history. The population settlements at these regions

had been already happened before the arrival of the Mughals in India. During the Mughal dynasty, the people of this region remained closely connected with the Mughal court. These areas also had been very well-to-do during almost all the important phases of the history except during the Sikh control of the Punjab. During the historical phase of Sikh rule in Punjab, the city and joined regions of the Kasur were attacked and assaulted repeatedly and were treated worst. Then, during British rule, the local ruler class of this region remained unequivocally loyal to the British. And, after partition of India, these areas went on populating and urbanized and consequently dividing into multiple administrative units.

In conclusion, this article has offered a set of answers to the questions floated in the academic circles. And, there are concrete evidences which give readers glimpses to further historicize the role of district of Kasur in the colonial and post-colonial perspectives. Thus, the district of Kasur has its undeniable historical role in the construction and development of Pakistani society.

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EDUCATION LEGISLATION IN PAKISTAN AFTER THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

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ABSTRACT

Insertion of Article 25A in the constitution of Republic of Pakistan 2010 has made it mandatory for the state to provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law. As the state includes both the federation and provinces therefore the latter are also obliged to legislate for free and compulsory education to the children as defined. This article is about the status of legislation by the provinces with some background of the international movement for free and compulsory education.

KEY WORDS

Pakistan, Education For All, Eighteenth Amendment, Article 25A, Millennium Development Goals (MDGS)

Throughout the constitutional development of Pakistan, Education has, mostly, remained a provincial domain. The 1973 Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, for the first time, placed Education related entries on the Concurrent Legislative List, allowing a substantial Federal role in Education; particularly in terms of Curriculum, Syllabus, Planning, Policy, Centers of Excellence and

Standards of Education; and Islamic Education. Therefore, it would be appropriate to have a look back on the track of Education in the constitutional development of Pakistan before the 'Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010. According to this article it is explicitly written that "The state shall provide free and compulsory education as may be determined by law"; the onus of implementation of this article, after 18th Amendment, fall on the shoulders of provinces to legislate and implement, what is contained in the Article. The Federal Government of Pakistan, becoming the pioneer and issued an Extra Ordinary Gazette on 24th December 2012, containing an Act, as assented by the President on 19th December 2012, wherein, it was expedient to provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in the schools established by the Federal Government and Local Government in Islamabad Capital Territory.¹

CONSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Pakistan inherited federal structure of governance at the time of independence under the interim arrangement provided by the Indian Independence Act 1947². The Act provided for the adoption of Government of India Act 1935 as the provisional constitutional framework of the newly born, Pakistan. The Government of India Act 1935, adapted as "Pakistan (Provisional) Constitutional Order 1947" served as the constitution of Pakistan till the adoption of First Constitution in 1956. Government of India Act 1935 provided three Legislative Lists namely; (a) Federal, (b) Concurrent; and (c) Provincial. Education was placed in the exclusive legislative

and executive domains of the provinces³ vide *Entry 17* of the provincial legislative list. Any matter related to the Education, as policy, planning or curriculum was neither on the Federal Legislative List nor the Concurrent Legislative List.

The first Constitution of Pakistan was adopted in 1956 and provided for three legislative lists in the manner similar to the Government of India Act 1935. Education in the 1956 constitution was stipulated as the obligation of state. The directive principles of the state policy in the Constitution of 1956 required the state to remove illiteracy, provide free and compulsory primary education within minimum possible time. Article 106 of the Constitution dealt with the distribution of powers between Federal and Provincial governments. The legislative jurisdiction by enumeration of the subjects was provided in the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution; and the Education (including university education, technical education and professional training) was assigned to exclusive legislative domain of the provinces⁴.

The Constitution, adopted in 1962, provided for a Presidential form of government; and Education featured prominently in the constitution as it was acknowledged, the fundamental right under Article 12(3), and Article (Principles of Policy Chapter 2). However, in terms of distribution of powers, the 1962 Constitution moved away from the practice of provision of multiple legislative lists and provided only a single list of subjects on which the central legislature had the exclusive power to legislate. The federal legislative list, as provided in the third schedule of the

constitution had 49 items and none dealt with Education, thus delegating it to the provincial realm. The only entries related to education in the exclusive jurisdiction of central legislature as mentioned in the third Schedule of 1962 constitution were; *National Libraries and Museums*, and Central Agencies and Central Institutions for the promotion of special studies and research.⁵

The interim Constitution of 1972, continued with the previous tradition of division of subjects. It, too, provided three legislative lists i.e. Federal, Concurrent and Provincial.⁶ Education including higher education was conferred to be the Provincial Mandate⁷. A major shift was made in 1973 regarding Education Sector, as it was formally incorporated in the Concurrent and Federal Legislative Lists in the Constitution of Pakistan 1973. In the Federal Legislative List, Part-I three Entries: 15, 16 & 17⁸ dealing with Education regarding Libraries, Museums and similar institutions controlled or financed by the Federation; Institutes for professional, technical training or promotion of special studies, affairs of Pakistani students studying in foreign countries, were incorporated; and the Concurrent List included important entries like Education Policy, Planning, Curriculum, Syllabus, Standards of Education; and Islamic Education⁹ thus empowering the federal government to play a dominant role in the affairs of education.

EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT ACT, 2010

The 18th Amendment Bill was passed by the National Assembly of Pakistan on April 8, 2010 and by the Senate

on April 15, 2010. It became an Act of Parliament on April 19, 2010, when it was signed by the President of Pakistan. The Amendment abolished the Legislative Concurrent List, omitting Entries 1 to 47.¹⁰, and gave much more provincial autonomy than was earlier available to the provinces in several sectors, including, Education, Entry 38 and Entry 39; and the Council of Common Interest was empowered by giving more say to the provinces on national matters by enhancing their representation in the Council.¹¹

Section 101(3) of the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010 omitted the Concurrent Legislative List and entries thereto from 1 to 47 (both inclusive); with Entry 38 and Entry 39 relating to Education, from the Fourth Schedule, (w.e.f. April 19, 2010); thus revising the distribution of power between federal government, its units; shifting the legislative and executive jurisdiction to the provinces; and reconfigured the federal and provincial relationship in terms of governance of education. The subjects in the shared legislative jurisdiction of Federation and Provinces omitted in context of education were entry 38 and 39, which, read as under:

Entry 38: Curriculum, syllabus, planning,
policy, centers of excellence,
standard of education

Entry 39: Islamic Education¹²

The Section 75 of the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, which reads as under; implies that the "Concurrent Legislative List" has been substituted by the "Federal Legislative List." In the Constitution, in Article 203D, in clause (1A), the words "or the Concurrent Legislative List" shall be omitted and for the words "in

either of those lists" the words "in the Federal Legislative List" shall be substituted. Following new entries have been inserted in the Part II of the Federal Legislative List, which, have direct bearing on the Education.

Entry 06: All regulatory authorities
established under a federal law.

Entry 12: Standards in institutions of
Higher education and research,
scientific and technical
institutions.

Entry 13: Interprovincial matters and
Coordination.¹³

Throughout the constitutional development of Pakistan, Education has, mostly, remained a provincial domain. The 1973 Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, for the first time, placed Education related entries on the Concurrent Legislative List,¹⁴ allowing a substantial Federal role in Education; particularly in terms of *Curriculum, Syllabus, Planning, Policy, Centres of Excellence and Standards of Education*; and *Islamic Education*.¹⁵ Therefore, it would be appropriate to have a look back on the track of Education in the constitutional development of Pakistan before the 'Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010'.

The Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment 2010 redefined the institutional and legal framework for education in Pakistan. The capacity of the provinces to take on the challenge is at variance with each other. Insertion of Article 25-A in the makes the state responsible for free and compulsory quality education; and according to Article 7 of the constitution the

definition of state includes both the federal and *provincial governments*. Therefore, in order to lead and create a basic framework for the provision of this Right, the *provincial governments* are also obligated to do legislation for complying with the spirit of Article 25-A. Consequent upon the obligatory requirement to legislate for Free and Compulsory Education by the provinces, the headway has been made and progress the four provinces has been briefly given below.

LEGISLATION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES

The Punjab Free and Compulsory Education Ordinance 2014 (Bill No.16 of 2014) has been sent to the Committee on Education, as displayed at the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab's¹⁶

The status of the Bill as on August 5, 2014 is given below:

Date Introduced On:	16th May 2014
Government Bill	
Movers:	Rana Sana Ullah Khan (Main)
Bill Progress	
On 16th May 2014	Bill sent to Committee Education in Session 8-Sittng 16 th May 2014
On 16th May 2014	Introduced in Session 8-Sittng 16th May 2014

Source: The Punjab Free and Compulsory Education Ordinance 2014 (Bill No.16 of 2014)¹⁷

However, on 13th May 1914, an Ordinance to provide for free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years; whereas Article 25A of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan enjoined that the State would provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years and, for

the purpose, it was considered expedient to make necessary provisions; and whereas the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was not in session and Governor of the Punjab was satisfied that the circumstances existed which rendered it necessary to take immediate action; therefore, in exercise of powers conferred under clause (1) of Article 128 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Governor of the Punjab was pleased to make and promulgate the Ordinance.

In Sindh, according to the Provincial Assembly of Sindh's Notification issued at Karachi, on the 11th day of March 2013, NO.PAS/Legis-B-07/2013, "The Sindh Right of Children to free and Compulsory Education Bill, 2013" having been passed by the Provincial Assembly of Sindh on 13th February 2013 and assented to by the Governor of Sindh on 6th March, 2013 was published as an Act of the Legislature of Sindh.¹⁸

The Status of The Right to Free and Compulsory Education Bill for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as given in the webpage of Right to Education, Pakistan¹⁹ is that, it is still being drafted by the Provincial Government. The government representatives assured at various times that this Bill would be soon tabled in the provincial assembly for the ratification and formulation of "Rule of Business". The implementation of this Act will make all five to sixteen-year-old children residing in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, eligible for free and compulsory education, by law.

However, reportedly, the implementation of the Article 25 A is being asserted by the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the media, time and again. According to the Bureau Report of Dawn.com, on July 15, 2014, 12:00

AM, from Peshawar, the Experts have expressed their concern over the delay in the enactment of the law on free and compulsory secondary education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Reportedly, they further asserted that 'Free and compulsory education is mandatory under Article 25-A of the Constitution but the government is using delaying tactics to ensure it. According to a study, around 2.8 million children are out of schools in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa but they could get entry to schools if that article is implemented, '²⁰ This was stated by Fayyaz Ahmad of the Working Group for Girls Education Initiative (WGGEI) at a news conference at the Peshawar Press Club.

The representatives of NGOs, including Khwendu Kor, Dost Welfare Foundation, Sparc, Save the Children and CGPA, were also in attendance. Similarly, in the Statesman Report of The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Tribune, titled "Legislation urged to make education common",²¹ from Peshawar,²² the participants of a workshop stressed the need for making legislation and implementation of article 25-A to make education common for it is vital for every developed and educated society. This was stated during a workshop organized by the Khwendu Kor (NGO) with the cooperation of UNICEF, which, was attended by the representatives of education, civil society members and others.²³ The participants threw light on the Article 25-A, and sought proposals from the participants in this regard. Project manager Nuzhat Amin briefed the participants about aims and objectives of the project. She said making legislation through parliament, is the need of the hour to make education common for all and enforcement of the Article 25-A, in which education is made compulsory for all children.

The Balochistan Compulsory Education Act, 2014 (Act No. V of 2014) was passed by the Provincial Assembly of Balochistan on 28th January 2014 and assented to by the Governor, Balochistan on 04th February 2014; and was issued as an Act of the Balochistan Provincial Assembly vide Notification No.PAB/Legis: V (05).²⁴

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGS)

At Dakar, Senegal, the World Education Forum (WEF) met from 26th to 28th April 2000 and adopted the Dakar Framework for Action (DFA), 'Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments'. The participants of this forum reaffirmed the vision of the World Declaration on 'Education for All' (EFA) adopted ten years earlier in Jomtien, Thailand, 1990. The Education for All (EFA) is a global movement committed to provide quality basic education for all the children, youth and adults.²⁵ At the World Education Forum (Dakar, 2000), 164 governments pledged to achieve EFA and identified six goals to be met by 2015.²⁶ As a follow up, the governments; development agencies; civil society and the private sector have started working together to reach the Education for All goals.

The mandated UNESCO to coordinate in cooperation with UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF and the World Bank to follow, these, up. UNESCO, as the leading agency, is focusing on the key areas of policy dialogue, monitoring, advocacy, mobilization of funding, and capacity development. UNESCO has established several coordination mechanisms managed through the EFA Global Partnerships Team in order to sustain the political commitment to accelerate progress towards the 2015 Targets. The Dakar Framework focused on the

importance of girls' education, quality learning and reaching those who are excluded from education.

The participating governments committed themselves to the attainment of the following goals:

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, with special emphasis on girls, children in difficult circumstances and from ethnic minorities have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality;
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs;
4. Achieving 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality;
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning

outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.²⁷

The 'World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA)' was convened in Jomtien, Thailand by the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF and UNDP from 5th to 9th March in 1990. Some 1500 people representing 155 governments, 33 intergovernmental bodies, and 125 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), institutes, and foundations attended this conference; who concluded with the unanimous adoption of the "World Declaration on Education for All"; and endorsed a "Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs." In a way, the world community renewed the commitment to ensure the right of all the people to education and knowledge, through these texts. In this conference, the participants pledged as follow.

Therefore, we participants in the "World Conference on Education for All", assembled in Jomtien, Thailand, from 5 to 9 March 1990:

Recalling that education is a fundamental right for all people, women and men, of all ages, throughout our world; Understanding that education can help ensure a safer, healthier, more prosperous and environmentally sound world, while simultaneously contributing to social, economic, and cultural progress, tolerance, and international co-operation; Knowing that education is an indispensable key to, though not a sufficient condition for, personal and social improvement; Recognizing that traditional knowledge and indigenous

cultural heritage have a value and validity in their own right and a capacity to both define and promote development; Acknowledging that, overall, the current provision of education is seriously deficient and that it must be made more relevant and qualitatively improved, and made universally available; Recognizing that sound basic education is fundamental to the strengthening of higher levels of education and of scientific and technological literacy and capacity and thus to self-reliant development; and recognizing the necessity to give to present and coming generations an expanded vision of, and a renewed commitment to, basic education to address the scale and complexity of the challenge.²⁸

The World Conference on Education for All at Jomtien, Thailand was followed by a series of other meetings and conferences with brief detail as follows. In 1996, from 16th June to 19th June, the Mid-Decade Meeting of the International Consultative Forum on Education for All²⁹ was held in Amman, Jordan, which, was attended by 250 decision makers from 73 countries, including ministers of education, and related to education, agencies and non-governmental organizations with an aim to assess the advances made since the Jomtien Conference; and they issued the “The Amman Affirmation”³⁰ and “Amman Final Report”.³¹

The United Nations, together with the governments of the world, other related agencies launched four initiatives, all of which focus on education in one way or

another;³² as important steps towards realizing the Right to Education for All.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) – eight goals with a target date of 2015; Education for All (EFA) – six goals with a target date of 2015; The United Nations Literacy Decade (UNLD) – from 2003 to 2012; The United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) – from 2005 to 2014.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are the world's time-bound and quantified targets for addressing poverty, hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter, gender equality, education, and environmental sustainability. The Millennium Development Goals 2 and 3 are related to education about the achievement of Universal Primary Education, and promote Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women with 2015 as the target date. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) emerged as an agreed Development Agenda in September 2000 in UN sponsored Millennium Summit by the World leaders; which were endorsed by the G8³³ countries in 2003. The MDGs were a quantifiable “Development Agenda” emerging from the series of conferences in 1990s to redress the social, economic and gender inequalities under eight overarching goals that hamper the overall progress of countries including Pakistan as a Global Citizen. According to the Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform, Government of Pakistan along with other world leaders adopted the Millennium Declaration in the year 2000, and pledged to ‘spare no

effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and de-humanizing conditions.

Following are Millennium Development Goals the related to education.

Goal 2:	Achieve Universal Primary Education
Target 3:	Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling
Indicators:	Net Enrolment Ratio in primary education (UNESCO), Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5 (UNESCO), Literacy Rate of 15-24-year-olds (UNESCO)
Goal 3:	Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women
Target 4:	Eliminate Gender Disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015
Indicators:	Ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education (UNESCO)

In accordance with the Section 9 of the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, the Article 25A was inserted in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as modified up to the 20th April, 2010;³⁴ which reads as under:

Right to Education 25A. The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law.

As is very much explicitly written in the Article 25A “...as may be determined by law”; the onus of implementation

of this article, after 18th Amendment, fall on the shoulders of provinces to legislate and implement, what is contained in the Article. This would be discussed in detail while discussing various issues arisen after 18th Amendment and the actions taken by the provinces. The Government of Pakistan had published, an Act of Parliament assented by the President on 19th December 2012 wherein it is expedient to provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in schools established by the Federal government and Local Government in Islamabad Capital Territory.³⁵

So, it is not a very sad state of affairs, as against what was envisaged in certain corners the provinces have been able to frame enactments for the dispensation of the Free and Compulsory Education to the children of the age of at least in the provinces and if the will of the people and the institutions including the governments remain there the process will be completed. However, a big question mark remains also for the execution and implementation what we have resolved on paper to do.

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³ *Entry 17*, Provincial Legislative List, VII Schedule, Government of India Act 1935 (Section 100-104, Part V Chapter I, of the Government of India Act 1935) which dealt with division of powers between the centre and provinces, the list of subjects was given in the Seventh Schedule.

⁴ *Entry 20*, Provincial Legislative List, Schedule V, Constitution of Pakistan 1956.

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¹³ Section 101(2)(i)(ii) of the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010 (10 of 2010), renumbered entries 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 as entries “14, 15, 16, 17 and 18, respectively and inserted the said new entries 4 to 13 in Part II of the Federal Legislative List of the Fourth Schedule.

¹⁴ Article 268 (2) Schedule VI; Entry 16, and Article 270 A (6), Schedule VII, Entry 6, 7, & 8.

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²³ The workshop was attended by Balqees Bibi, Afshan Bibi and Subhan Ali of the Khwendu Kor, research study consultants Samena Anwar and Amir Khan, Deba Shabnam from Unisef, Jehan Zeb Khan from Spark Organisation, legal adviser Fayaz Ahmed advocates and Shakoor Khan from Education Department.

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³³ The Group of Eight (G8) - Eight highly industrialized nations—France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Japan, the United States, Canada, and Russia—However, Russia, has been excluded from the forum on March 24, 2014, as a result of its involvement in the 2014 Crimea Crisis in Ukraine

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Notes for Authors

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