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Musharraf Legacy & Triple “N” Agenda NSC, NAB & NBR

By

Dr. Mian Saeed Ahmad

ABSTRACT

On October 12, 1999; it was fourth military coup in country, General Pervez Musharraf address to nation and said; the Armed Forces would never disappoint the public nor had it ever done. He assured that soldiers would spend last drop of their blood for the defense and solidarity of the country. He also appealed to nation to remain peaceful and lend him unflinching support for the prosperous and brighter Pakistan. After suspended the Constitution of 1973, General Pervez Musharraf imposed an Interim Constitution PCO on October 14, 1999 and created the post of Chief Executive (CE) instead of Chief Martial Law Administrator. It was a political strategy of Musharraf as this title was more acceptable in the western countries than Chief Martial Law Administrator. He presented the details about triple “N” on October 17, 1999, given below:

- **NSC: National Security Council.**
- **NAB: National Accountability Bureau.**
- **NBR: National Bureau of Reconstruction.**

Musharraf explained the seven point agenda about the restoration of national Economy & Political Road Map.

- 1. Impartial Accountability for all countrywide.**
- 2. Reconstruction of National confidence and morale.**
- 3. Eradication of politics from the national institutions.**
- 4. Supremacy of Law and accomplishment by speedy justice.**
- 5. To strengthen the Federation and restoration of national integrity.**
- 6. Restoration of the Economy so the confidence of the investors might be restored.**
- 7. Transfer of Power at grass root level and compulsory participation of the public.**

General Pervez Musharraf launched ridicule & fundamental changes in governance. General Musharraf layout about the National Security Council (NSC) on October 17, 1999 in nationwide address. Musharraf was apex & Supreme Authority in National Security Council (NSC), it was comprised of Military and Civilian Members. It was constituted as a result of Chief Executive’s (CE) announcement & later; General Musharraf formed NSC on October 25, 1999. It is notable that the Constitution of Pakistan does not allow such as NSC. Under Article: 243 of the Constitution of 1973, the President is the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces while, Article 245 envisage that, the Armed Forces shall defend Pakistan against external aggression or threat of war under the instructions

Musharraf Legacy & Triple “N” Agenda NSC, NAB & NBR of the Federal Government. That’s why the formation of NSC was thought to be supra-Constitutional. However, Musharraf denied the allegation and stressed that NSC would bring democratic changes in political structure of the country. 1. McGrath, Allen, 2001, p.159.

The President would be the Chairman of NSC and other Members would be Prime Minister, Chairman of the Senate, Speaker of the National Assembly, the Opposition leader, Chief Ministers, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, and Chiefs of Staff of the Pakistan Army, Navy & Air Force. NSC Cabinet took oath on November 6th, 1999. It was consisted of eight members and Musharraf was Pattern in Chief. 2. General Pervez Musharraf, In the line of Fire, 2001, p.138.

Stabilized the NSC; other Armed Chiefs granted the members status. In addition; seasoned lawyer Syed Shariffudin Pirzada, Dr. Mahmud Ahmad Ghazi and Javed Jabber were appointed as Advisers. Furthermore; the school time friend of Pervez Musharraf, Mr. Tariq Aziz was entrusted the Secretary ship of the Council. Further; General Musharraf elaborates the aims & objectives of National Security Council.

Musharraf said NSC would discussion & consultation on strategic importance, governance and inter-provincial harmony. Musharraf enumerated various objectives of NSC & Seven Point Agenda. As he said: The Council shall deliberate upon, discuss and tender advice to the Chief Executive on such matters as the Chief Executive may deem expedient and necessary to refer to the National Security, Foreign Affairs, Law & Order, Corruption, Accountability, recovery of bank loans and public debts from defaulters, finance, economic and social welfare, health, education, Islamic ideology, human rights, protection of minorities and women development so as to achieve the aims and objectives enshrined in the Objectives Resolution of 1949. 3. Zaidi, S. Akbar, A Benevolent Dictatorship, Economic & Political, October 16- 29, 1999, p.4.

The major objective of NSC was to run the Govt. Affairs smoothly. It was an Institution in itself. Its main function was to hold check on the Prime Minister, his cabinet, his administration and even “on the institution of democracy itself”. The hidden motive behind the NSC was also to make the parliament ineffective: “The much dreaded NSC, introduced by General Pervez Musharraf, agitates against democratic values and undermines the growth of representative institutions.”4. Baxter, Craig, Pakistan under the Military, 2003, p.71.

The establishment of NSC was not a democratic tradition; rather it was thought to be supra-constitutional act, which the military regime introduced to reduce the role of the Prime Minister to zero. It was the replay of the traditions of earlier military rulers, introduced the NSC for their own interests. The military regime, through the NSC, tried to run the state affairs from the back seat. The president in military uniform was to head the NSC for the next 5 years. Another drawback of the NSC was that the Chief Ministers could not be work independently, because they were appointed by Governors who were the nominees of the President of Pakistan. In short; NSC was an unrestricted body and all embracing invasive institution. Masses supported the Musharraf’s Agenda because they had fed up with the politics of the past. Numerous of political parties announced to support the political and social

of Musharraf. In 1998; there was same idea of NSC given by General Jahangir Karamat but he has to resign over the differences with Nawaz Sharif about NSC. In 1977; General Zia-ul-Haq could not accomplish the set up of this National Security Council. He had presented the initial sketch of NSC in RCO 1985. 5. Article 152-A, General Pervez Musharraf established NSC1999.

However, General Zia ul Haq could not implement the same due to strong political reaction. And the 8th Amendment was approved without the National Security Council. The idea of NSC has been existed in Pakistan in different era but in Pervez Musharraf regime this institution came into being legally. First NSC was constituted during the rule of General Muhammad Yahya Khan which remained in power from March 25, 1969 to December 20, 1971. 6. Saighal, Vinod, Restructuring Pakistan, 2002, p.118.

It was the age of Interim Constitution or Legal Framework Order. Major General Ghulam Omar was the Secretary General of the Council and its President was General Muhammad Yahya Khan. Thus, the command was handed over to Bhutto, and then it was dissolved. Later, NSC was established by General Zia-ul-Haq, which remained intact from March 29, 1985 to August 17, 1988. 7. Hussain, Ishtiaq, "Pakistan's October 1999 Military Coup: Its Causes and Consequences December 2000, p. 4.

Its Secretary General was Major General, Rao Farman Ali Khan and after the death of Zia-ul-Haq the Council also came to an end. Afterwards during Musharraf regime, NSC was necessitated and it was established on October 17, 1999. Its Secretary was Tariq Aziz and president was General Pervez Musharraf. 8. Zaidi, S. Akbar, Politics of Opportunism, November 2002, p.7. Due to 17th Amendment Musharraf had got the approval of NSC's legal status. This council existed from April 8, 2004 to 2010, while Pervez Musharraf during his regime was his last President up till August 18, 2008. 9. The Dawn, Lahore, November 5, 1999.

Later on' with the Promulgation of 18th Amendment it was abolished. After August 18, 2008, the Secretary General of NSC, Major General (R) Mehmud Ahmad Durrani and its President, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani, its status as presidential ordinance remained intact from October 17, 2008 to April 2009, but after the 17th Amendment its Legal Framework was created. President Musharraf was of the view that the political crisis could be averted through NSC. As during past there was a political instability due to lack of communication, hence, now all the important political and government institutions would play their due role in resolving the crisis. This institute was legally constituted in the country by adding Article 152- A* in the Constitution. Pervez Musharraf, after the formation of National Security Council, made appointments on the political posts which included Lt. General Safdar as Governor Punjab, Air Marshal Azeem Daudpota as Governor Sind, Lt. General Mr. Shafiq Ahmad as Governor of NWFP and Justice Ameer-ul-Mulk Mangal Governor for Baluchistan.

Pervez Musharraf was of the view that from now onwards the Governor and the Corps Commander would work together for betterment. The oath taking of the governors also remained a puzzle as the 1973 Constitution had been suspended and the PCO was imposed. Pervez Musharraf nominated technocrats and persons with good fame for the federal cabinet. He appointed his close friend and Ex-

Musharraf Legacy & Triple “N” Agenda NSC, NAB & NBR Governor Sind, Lt. General (R) Moin-ud-din Haider (1942-b), as Interior Minister. The Finance Minister was entrusted another close friend Shoukat Aziz(1950-b).Ministry of Religious Affairs to Dr. Mehmud Ahmed Ghazi(1950-2010), Local Bodies to Umar Asghar Khan(1953-2002), Science and Technology to Prof. Dr. Atta-ur-Rehman(1942-b), Education to Zebeda Jalal(1959-b), Privatization to Altaf Hussain 1944-b), Law and Human Rights to Barrister Shahida Jameel(1944-b), Foreign Affairs to Abdul Sattar(1943-b), Information and Broadcasting to Nisar Memon (1942-b), Trade, Industries and Production to Abdul Razzaq Dawood, Health and Manpower to Dr. Abdul Malik Kansi, Food & Agriculture to Shafqat Jamoot, Railway to Lt. General Javed Qazi(1941-b), Petroleum and Communications to Lt. General Nasir Javed(1933-b). Aziz. A. Munshi (1933-2009) was appointed as Attorney General, while Chief Election Commissioner Justice (R) Abdul Qadir Choudary (1945-) and Governor State Bank Dr. Yaqoob were not changed and they completed their tenure of service. Pervez Musharraf was steadily moving ahead with his Triple “N”** Policy and to achieve this objective, the set up of National Reconstruction Bureau was launched. Lt. General (R) Tanveer Naqvi was selected as its Chairman; General Pervez Musharraf confirmed his designation to Lt. General Naqvi also on the basis of personal relations. This institution further strengthened the political and social agenda of Pervez Musharraf.

In past when ever such policies were formulated on the national level that instability prevailed in the country and this factor further deteriorated the anarchy in Pakistan, hence, Pervez Musharraf launched this institution of NRB for compiling a policy on the national level. This institution was also set up due to the constitutional and the legislative consultation as per presidential ordinance on November 18, 1999. Musharraf had a clear vision how to run the affairs of the country and to strengthen it. In his speeches and addresses to the nation, from the very outset of his reign, he stressed on good governance, revival of economy, eradication of poverty, accountability and depoliticizing of state institutions. For all this, he announced to establish various institutions. National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) was established under the chairmanship of Lt. General Tanveer Naqvi on November 1999. NRB is one of the two main institutions, established by military regime. The other was NAB. The motive behind the establishment of NRB was to reform political, social and administrative structure of the society. The NRB was established to revise policies and strategies for national reconstruction. It was established to develop a scheme for devolution, in order to introduce democracy at grass root level. The establishment of NRB was one of the most moot decisions of the military regime. The NRB introduced novel innovations. It also demolished the old administrative and political system of the country. Introduction of the Local Government Scheme was one of its initial decisions. It launched on August 14, 2000, when the Musharraf presented the Local Government Plan 2000. 10. www.lgs2000.govt.pk.

The NRB was led by Chairman, and it consisted of the three members who were appointed on the basis of their experience in the areas of their respective capabilities relevant to its goals. The Chairman would be able to appoint Consultants and other staff for operational support. They would be termed as “Think Tanks”. The Bureau's Secretariat would contain four wings, Good Governance Group Wing, Administration Wing, Operations Wing, and Media and

Governance Cell. 11. Zaidi, S. Akbar, *State, Military and Social Transition: Improbable Future of Democracy in Pakistan*, December 2005, p. 5.

Furthermore, on November 2002, the Federal Cabinet approved that NRB would function as part of the Prime Minister's Secretariat and would perform the economics tasks. www.nbr.govt.pk.¹²

NRB would amend the Local Government Laws.

NRB would interact with the Government Organizations.

NRB would provide assistance to the Governments to implement the proposals.

NRB would support the by reconstructing and strengthening various institutions.

NRB would offer suggestions for the reconstruction of civil services at all levels.

NRB would present a report during the month to P M on the performance Bureau.

NRB would generate fundamental thoughts for the promotion of good governance.

NRB would reinforce the Federal & Provincial Governments for implementing LGS.

NRB would make coordination with the national as well as international Think Tanks.

NRB would arrange seminars and conferences and spread knowledge by using media.

Corruption has been the major problem of the world and Pakistan is no exception. From the very outset of the history of Pakistan, the governments had been taking steps in a way or other to get rid of this menace. In 1947, the government promulgated Prevention of Corruption Act 1947. After that in 1961, Provincial Anti Corruption Establishment in 1961, was promulgated and the Federal Investigation Agency in 1975. In 1997; Accountability Bureau was established under political institution. In 1999, the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) was created for the eradication of corruption. In his Seven Points Agenda, Musharraf had stressed on swift and just accountability. In order to ensure accountability, the military regime promulgated on November 16, 1999, the National Accountability Bureau Ordinance 1999. As per Ordinance, NAB was set up under the Chairmanship of Lt Gen. Syed Muhammad Amjad Ali, who was with good name and fame. Headquarter of NAB was arranged in Islamabad & five regional offices started operation in Provinces. The Provincial Headquarters was wholly and solely perform monitoring functions. Further; Regional Offices perform the function of investigation. However, the headquarters held very restricted capability for investigation. National Accountability Bureau was awarded the mandate from January 1, 1985; for the eradication of corruption's wide spread in the country the investigation and prosecution of such cases, the recovery of large amounts from the defaulters, the recovery of state money and other assets and for the elimination of corruption through a holistic approach of awareness, prevention and enforcement. ¹³ Mehmud, Sohail, *Musharraf's Regime & the Governance Crisis*, 2008, p.164.

NAB's main functions were ordered on practical lines and were arranged into four key divisions operations, Prosecution, Awareness and Prevention. The NAB formulated a National Anti Corruption Strategy (NACS) in 2002. It recommended

Musharraf Legacy & Triple “N” Agenda NSC, NAB & NBR *anti corruption strategy of awareness, Prevention and enforcement in an environment, where corruption is widespread. From its inception to 2002, the NAB investigated included bureaucrats, politicians, businessmen and from Armed Forces, cases were referred to courts which convicted 239. The NAB’s actions have resulted in convictions of hitherto sacrosanct persons in all fields of public life, 532 Bureaucrats, 180 Politicians, 149 Businessmen and 18 Armed Forces personnel have been investigated.*¹⁴www.nab.govt.pk. The NAB was to deal with corruption cases, and punishments prescribed including imprisonment, fines and disqualification from holding public offices and getting loans financial institutions which were sponsored by the government. However, the NAB did not take any solid and unbiased steps for uprooting corruption. Rather, the NAB showed partiality towards the politically unwanted people. The NAB’s credibility was not reliable. The evident proof of it was the regime’s deal with Nawaz Sharif, the ex-Prime Minister, and his exile to Saudi Arab and amnesty to the members of his family. On the other hand, many politicians escaped from the clutches of the NAB only because of supporting the military regime. These politicians were those who were notorious for corruption, tax evasion, and loan defaulting and many other malpractices, “National Accountability Bureau was created by a Dictator by bypassing the Constitution of Pakistan by imposing Martial Law. If Martial Law of October 12, 1999 is invalid and illegal, then how can National Accountability Bureau be Legal?” 15. The Weekly Fact, Islamabad, November, 2001.

NAB was established for Accountability and proper check and balance over the performance of the Institutions. However, besides the NAB, Pervez Musharraf also launched a new parallel system “Army Monitoring Team” (AMT) on November 15, 1999. The approach behind the appointments of the Army Monitors Officers was to improve the efficiency of Civil Officers, “The AMT was required to receive input from the field and pass it on top military brass for policy formulation” 16. The Daily Dawn, Lahore, February 17, 2000.

The AMT were appointed in order to enhance the efficiency of civil departments as well as to keep check and balance so that the corruption might be avoided to possible extent. The AMT were asked to prepare and submit performance and evolution reports of Civil Officers and their duties. AMT send confidential reports to higher authorities. During 1999-2000; more than 3500 Civil Officers, including 1000 from Central Board of Revenue (CBR), faced inquiries on the Reports of Army Monitors Teams; approximately 1000 CBR Officers were suspended.¹⁷ Ashok K. Behuria, “How Military Dominates the Political Space in Pakistan: a Study of Musharraf’s Rule 1999-2008”, 2009, p.5.

In Education Department; AMT visited various schools and colleges, where they were unwillingly welcomed, because of their interference in administrative and educational affairs. They visited these institutions and reported about teachers’ performance, absence from schools without prior leave, about free delivery of books to the students. Many teachers had to face inquiries on their reports. Many were suspended and so many others were given hard warnings. On the whole, the system could not prove effective and useful. In order to strengthen the Army Monitoring System, the General Musharraf Govt. promulgated two Ordinances; Removal from Services Ordinance 2000. II. Civil Servants Ordinance 2000.***

¹*National Accountability Bureau Ordinance 1999, www.nab.govt.pk

Through, the Ordinances, the Army Monitors Teams were empowered special authority to dismiss the corrupt and inefficient officers and the premature retirement. However, the system proved imperfect due to many drawbacks & loopholes. The Army Monitors Teams cut in the proceedings and matters of the departments. They also misused their respective authorities. It also seems that the rationale behind introducing this system was to deter political opponents and the civil bureaucracy from challenging and questioning the writ of military rule. The authority of this institution was extensive and it possessed supremacy on matters and departments in addition to the foreign policy including economic, interior and national harmony.

General Tanveer Ahmad Naqvi remained Chairman NRB from November 18, 1999 to July 25, 2002; he was mastermind & architecture of new Local Government System (LGS20001) in Pakistan. Having chalk out the LGS Plan 2001 & left the job. Mr. Daniyal Aziz appointed as new Chairman NRB; he served the institution for a long time. It was NRB, who floated the idea for the Presidential Referendum 2002 and proposed Constitutional Amendment.

In October 17, 1999; General Musharraf was presented a glorious seven point agenda and stressed the need of transparent Accountability. Hence, he inaugurated the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) on November 18, 1999. Although, the Accountability Institution already existed in country, but the previous government partial and Verdicts were granted from Courts, due to reason the institution had become notorious. General Pervez Musharraf tries to restore the confidence of Institution among public. So that, he appointed Lt. General Syed Muhammad Amjad as Chairman NAB.

AFP interviewed General Musharraf & he said that he has the longest time frame for the Restoration of Democracy after strict accountability process. Mrs. Benazir Bhutto termed about the NAB “New Accountability Cell is like old wine in a new bottle”.¹⁸ *Benazir Bhutto, p.329.* While, Musharraf defend the Accountability & said, for speedy and cheaper justice the Accountability Courts had started function in across the country. The political activities were very calm down; a Session of All Pakistan Advisory Council and all political parties held at Lahore. Participants from leading political parties demanded from Musharraf in the Joint Statement; “Democracy should be restored; PCO, NSC and NBR are unacceptable”.¹⁹ While, General Musharraf said; he has not come for a few months, he would accomplish my agenda. ^{20.} *The Daily Washington Times, USA, December 24, 1999.* The outcome of the Accountability Courts began to reach the public and the Ex-Chief Minister of Punjab, Arif Nakai became the first victim of the Courts. Apart from the confiscation of the property he was disqualified from taking part in the politics for 21 years. ^{21.} *Zaidi, S. Akbar, Elections: Continuity Rather Than Change, November 2002, pp. 2-7.*

After that a long sequence of such incidents began and the Accountability Courts were making decisions and these acts were getting popular among the public. It was a coincidence that mostly the politicians were victimized by the Accountability Courts. The performance of NAB remained unprecedented as it initiated corruption cases against big names and got the credit from the courts, while this institution deposited more than two Billion Rupees in the government treasury but no action could be taken by NAB against the military officers as they were declared above the law by the Presidential Ordinance. ^{22.} *Elhan Niaz, 2010,*

Musharraf Legacy & Triple “N” Agenda NSC, NAB & NBR
 p. 47. The politicians were perplexed against the accountability law as they were of the view that the courts without taking the demands of justice in consideration were hastily deciding the cases though influence. While, Nawaz Sharif was also victimized by the Accountability Court. The Chairman NAB said to clean the filth of the country further many years were required and to accelerate the accountability activity twenty three more accountability courts were going to establish. Nawaz Sharif termed this decision as engineered. But Pervez Musharraf said Courts are free and he has no influence, and as these are functioning according to the law.

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shall be the Chairman of the National Security Council and its other members shall be the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Senate, the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, the Chief Ministers of the Provinces, the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, and the Chiefs of Staff of the Pakistan Army, Pakistan Navy and Pakistan Air Force.

** Triples “N” Agenda of Pervez Musharraf Govt, it is just co incident that Musharraf introduced his Policy and institution started from letter “N” NSC, NBR, and NAB & NRO.

10. *LGS Plan 2000*, www.lgs2000.govt.pk

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18. Benazir Bhutto, p.329

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Competitive Analysis of Foreign Policies of India and Pakistan: Impact of Globalization

By

1. Wardah Gull

2. Muhammad Ali (Ph.D Scholar)

Greenwich University

Abstract

The foreign policy of Pakistan and India differs in great manner where Pakistan foreign policy revolves around security and economic concerns on the other hand India's foreign policy revolves around maintaining relations with other countries in such a manner to dominate the South Asian region and remain neutral from world conflicts most of the time. Pakistan and India were born on the same date in 1947 yet both countries have different set of problems and issues to deal with. The policies of both countries differs with each other in adequate manner because of difference alliances, friendship pacts, geo-strategic locations and domestic political factors in a compact and comprehensive way. The foreign policy of both countries were decided on the day when Pakistan joined the United States block right after its creation and India decided to remain neutral with both USA and USSR. The policy of both countries have different dynamics because Pakistan was a weaker state with no military strength and weaker economy thus they were aiming to have good relations with Western block in order to stabilize the country and minimize the security threat. On the other hand, comparatively India was a stronger state and they very soon realized after independence that in ongoing cold war in the word it is better to adopt a neutral policy so to avoid getting in to conflicts and taking maximized advantage of the situation.

Problem Statement

This paper is aiming to discuss foreign policies of India and Pakistan and highlight impact of globalization on the foreign policies of India and Pakistan. To understand the relationship between foreign policies of India and Pakistan, we will consider the globalized factors and try to highlight what are some of the major factors that impact these policies in a compact and comprehensive manner. This paper will discuss the foreign policy both countries and then try to build a comparison between two policies based on political events, international events and globalized factors that were happening during the time when foreign policies were made.

Major Questions of the Research

Some of the major research questions on which my research paper will be based are:

Q1. What is the summarized Foreign Policy of Pakistan Since 1947?

Q2. What is the summarized Foreign Policy of India Since 1947?

Q3. How Foreign Policies of India and Pakistan can be compared and what are their implications on each other's foreign policies?

Q 4. How Globalization and International Political factors affected the foreign Policies of India and Pakistan?

Hypothesis

Pakistan and India are facing serious security threats due to terrorism. Both countries have serious disputes over Kashmir and LOC and those disputes got worsen due to cross border terrorism. This study explores the foreign policy matters that are related to both country's internal and external issues. Furthermore, there are various globalized factors like cold war, war on terrorism and peace issues that are posing threats to the peace and security of India and Pakistan and disturbing the peace talks. Three conclusions were drawn. First, Kashmir dispute pose serious threats to either country and plays a major role in aggressive foreign policies towards each other. Second, with the passage of time aggressive foreign policies towards each other effects multiply and enhance the impact of conflict. Third, Globalized events like the cold war between US-USSR, emergence of China as economic power and shift of alliances plays a major role in transforming foreign policies of India and Pakistan.

H1: Kashmir Dispute plays a major role in aggressive Foreign policy towards each other

H2: Pakistan and India's foreign policy comparison shows aggression towards each other due political, social, international and globalized events.

H3: Globalization and International actors plays a great role in transforming foreign polices of either country.

Objectives

- This research will discuss the foreign policy of Pakistan in detail since 1947, where discussing all the major events that played a role in shifting that policy aggressive towards India and will also discuss how that aggression in the policy affected on regional and international Level
- This research will also discuss the foreign policy of India in detail where keeping realities in mind that India was a strong country right from the beginning and how India used that dominance in her foreign policy and how India's foreign Policy affects regional and International events
- This research will highlight the major international and globalized events that were taking place during the past five decades and how those international events were affecting and shaping the foreign policies of both rival states
- Currently world is facing war on terrorism, alliances are being shifted, China is emerging as new economic power and South Asian region is again getting lime light due to CPEC and other economic activities, how the foreign policies of both countries will be responding to these changes and what is the way forward for these countries to maintain peaceful and progressive co-existence in the region.

Research Methodology

To meet the requirements of research and reach to a comprehensive conclusion I will use exploratory research method to discuss the foreign policies of both India and Pakistan and then draw comparisons. Moreover, a literature research will also

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be used where I will be exploring data from the research journals, scholarly articles, published books, and electronic peer reviewed articles that are relevant to my topic. In the research four major areas are targeted where first area is the highlighting foreign policy of Pakistan since 1947, where all the major events and transformations will be discussed. Second research area is to explore the foreign policy of India and discuss all the major areas and events that transform and shape her foreign policy in the past decades. In the third area research, will focus on the globalized events and International Politics dynamics that are affecting the foreign policies of both countries and how those events shape those policies in to aggressive policies. In the last area of research my focus will be on finding comparisons of both policies and by researching on the current situation and recent international events this research paper will try to present a way forward through which both countries can bring balance in polices and move forward in future in a peaceful and less aggressive manner.

Literature Review

Tin the Literature review the foreign policies of Pakistan and India will be discussed in detail where using exploratory method this paper will find out the summarized foreign policies of both countries so that comparisons can be drawn. Also, this paper will use literature review to understand the impacts of globalized events on the foreign policies of both countries. The Literature review have been divided in to subsections where first this paper will explore the foreign policy of Pakistan and in the later part it will explore the foreign policy of India in a compact and comprehensive manner.

Pakistan Foreign Policy Brief Since 1947

Pakistan since its birth is surrounded by plenty of problems, threats and conflicts which sometimes pose great threat to its sovereignty. When Pakistan was created it was a very weaker state and it was very much clear in the minds of the politicians that they need a security umbrella and “financial assistance from the developed countries.” (Amin 2000) In late 1940’s the hostile cold war has just begun and USSR and USA were in a neck to neck conflict with each other and newly born states have to make a clear decision that either they are with USA or USSR. Pakistan’s Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan though received an invitation from the USSR government but they rejected that invitation and fly to USA, thus Pakistan become an official ally of United States of America soon after her birth.

In 1950’s after joining the Western block of USA, Pakistan’s foreign policy much revolved around comprehensive relations with the western world. The most notable actions were joining of SEATO AND CENTO which were anti-communist treaties and pacts. Thus Pakistan’s foreign policy diverged towards the US block and after signing the treaties Pakistan made it very much clear to the USSR that our policy have no place for their ambitions. AT the same time other than western world Pakistan foreign policy against India was always aggressive and that is the reason foreign policy experts call Pakistan as a “Security Conscious State since its birth”

Pakistan’s foreign relations with India were never good since birth and these tensions pile up after the war over Kashmir in 1948 and Indus water conflict. (Hinton 1963) The truth is that India since first day never accepted existence of

Pakistan and always tries to manipulate the politics and do some aggressive and hostile activity against Pakistan. Right from the start Pakistan relations with India are hostile, both countries went on 4 wars (48', 65', 71' and 98'). Moreover Indus water conflict which was apparently solved after Indus water treaty in 1950's was also considered as a "Completely Unsolved solution" because though with the efforts of USA the treaty was signed but that only increased the tensions between the two nations. Pakistan India in neck to neck fight attained Nuclear weapons, conflicts over Kashmir issue, economic issues, internal security and terrorist activities issues. The relations between two nations summarize the Pakistan's policy towards India as "India is our neighbor and we want peace but we are also always prepared for the war if India ever dare to hurt our sovereignty."

Moreover, Pakistan's foreign policy with other neighbors like China and Afghanistan is comparatively stable where our policy with Iran also face great tensions in past but now both countries are engaging with each other for peaceful progress and economic development. Pakistan's policy with Afghanistan is very much stable throughout the time despite the fact that Afghanistan many times deceived Pakistan by joining India but our policy always wanted to have peace with this country as Pakistan cannot bear another hostile border like India. Pakistan's policy with China is very much attractive and strong. In past and in today's date both countries are playing a role of economic and human development where China playing the role of Big Brother. Pakistan's policy with South Asian countries and Gulf is very much co-operative where our policy with Saudi Arabia is very much passionate and here religion is also one of the cause.

If we summarize the foreign policy of Pakistan we need to see it in Chunks. Pakistan foreign policy is actually keeps on changing due to no stable governmental system within the country. The military leaders tend to diverge more towards USA and the democratic leaders try to find new options in the past like Bhutto went to USSR in 1970's. Religion always played a role on our foreign policy and thus we can call it a very important indicator. Moreover, the Pakistan's foreign policy always is always plagued with the inconsistency of local leaders and bureaucrats. (Boone 1996) This is the reason Pakistani Nation always wanted to have an independent foreign policy with no foreign involvement but our "Imported Leaders" always let Western world and especially United States to dominate our foreign policy. US is an integral part of Pakistan's foreign policy and the truth is Pakistan never able to manage herself out of US influence.

In the end, it is summarized that Pakistan owns a US-centralized foreign policy where we are in a neck to neck hostile tension with India over all fronts, our policy with the gulf is much stable due to religious means, policy regarding Afghanistan is extremely confusing and the policy regarding China is extremely reliable and profitable in past 60+ years.

India Foreign Policy Brief Since 1947

As mentioned earlier Pakistan-India are in continuous tension with each other thus India's foreign policy is very much bold and stable against Pakistan and that is having conscious and aggressive stances at every front. According to Appadorai and Mannaraswamighala India is an intelligent country and they right after birth stayed neutral during cold war and enjoy benefits from both US and USSR (Appadorai et al 1985). Moreover, their policy towards China was very much

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hostile till 1980's but after their introduction of new "Look East" theory India's foreign policy is getting better day by day with the China and all other South Asian and East Asian countries. (Jaffrelot 2003)

India holds a history that it is a "sleeping giant" (Appadorai & Mannaraswamighala 1985) because of its area, its population and economic resources and the leaders of India realized this fact very much soon thus they maintained a continuous and smooth governmental process and thus successfully managed a neutral foreign policy. India is engaged in effective economic trade with almost every former, current and newly expected super power (i.e. china). The best part of the Indian policy is that they knew their importance regarding labor power and economic power and they are perusing a demanding policy in which they either demand a Security Council seat from the Western world or demand a strong Economic triangle with China. These both angles of policies are beneficial for the Indian state.

In the end, I must summarize the Indian policy that it is very much hostile with Pakistan, Extremely good with South Asian State, Look East policy further boosted their foreign relations with China and East Asian states. Moreover India stayed neutral in the cold war and even in today's time maintaining strong relation with USA, western world and Russia (former USSR). Moreover an interesting part of their policy is that India is having great trade and economic relations with Gulf States though they are not a Muslim state but have larger economic trade pacts with the Gulf States including Saudi Arabia. Now I will compare the policies of both India and Pakistan foreign policy.

Comparison of Pakistani and Indian Foreign Policy

In this part, I will compare the foreign policy of both states in the terms of time frames or decades so to make my paper findings and differences between the foreign policies of two states clearer. And in conclusion of comparison I will compare both policies in generalized way.

Cold War Era Comparison

There is a great difference in the foreign policies of both Pakistan and India during the cold war. On one hand where Pakistan remained on the side of United States, India remain neutral throughout the cold war. International Scholar Amin (2000) highlights that in 1950's Pakistan joined SEATE and CENTO and in 1958 Pakistan gave their air base to the United States spy planes to get economic and weaponry aid (Amin 2000). On the other hand, India joined NAM and keep healthy relations with both USSR and USA. Here Indian policy in my view is superior as compare to Pakistan because they not only get economic aid from both super powers but also get aid from USSR in 65' and 71' war. On the other hand, Pakistan face, great loss in the global scenario where after U2 event USSR threat a war to Pakistan and in two wars both super powers offer no help to the Pakistani state. Moreover, due to US based foreign policy Pakistan have to go on a war with Soviet Union and that war rewarded Pakistan with refugees, drugs, weapon culture, extremism, terrorism and tons of other problems which destroyed the peace of Pakistan over the past years (Abbas 2004). On the other hand, India not only stayed neutral but have strong economic ties with both USSR and USA and this is the reason that in Tashkent pact of 1960', both wars with Pakistan, water

issues and structural development projects India got way higher assistance from the super powers. (Dissatisfaction with Tashkent 1966)

In that era, the foreign policy with China is also very much important. Pakistan's policy was superior in this case as compare to India because Pakistan get great economic incentives and projects like Karakorum highway project in 1960's and strong stance of China over Kashmir issue in favor of Pakistan. On the other hand, India, due to their hostile foreign policy against china went on a war with them in 1960's and strong opposition from China over the international platforms which results in great economic loss for the Indian government.

Late 80's – Present

In the aftermath of cold war India revised their foreign policy and realized that they need to stand on their feet and make good relationship with neighbors expect Pakistan in order to have secure future in the world. On the other hand, Pakistan again repeated the same mistake and heavily relied their policy on United States and its assistance. India adopted on the look east policy, strengthen their Sino-Indian relationships by solving border issues in 1990s and developed strong economic dealings with China. Moreover, India adopted the Realist-economic policy like Indian voluntary Disclosure of Income System (VDIS) through which they boosted their local industrial markets and in less time become economically strong. On the other hand Pakistan, foreign policy in this era was rather more confusing from the past. On one hand Pakistan supported radical Islamist governments like Taliban regime of mid 1990's and on the other hand they tries to collaborate with western world, Gulf States and United States. The result is very much clear; Pakistan's foreign policy back fires after the event of 9/11 when USA waged a war against Afghanistan and Pakistan was forced to support that and whole country burns in the fire of extreme terrorism and brutal suicide attacks. Pakistan has sacrificed more than 30k civilians in the war against terrorism due to their wrong and extremely confused foreign policy in this time. According to Boon (1996) Pakistan's policy makers' one hand decided to make Nuclear weapons and on the other hand supported the Taliban regime in 1990's (Boon 1996). Right after the Nuclear testing Pakistan face great economic sanctions and isolating restrictions from all around the globe. Thanks to long lasting good relations with Saudi Arabia and china that played a vital role in providing economic oxygen to Pakistan in this era.

Generalized Comparison of India and Pakistan Foreign Policy

In general, the foreign policy of India is on much advantage as compare to Pakistan. The reason is that India never brought religion in to the policy issues and always prepare the policy on profit-loss basis. They remain neutral in cold war. They rebuild relations with China, they trade way greater than Pakistan with Muslim world, they are emerging as an economic super power of world and they started to firm their feet in the Asian politics and likely to get Security Council permanent seat soon; only their China is obstacle in their objective. (Drifte1998) On the hand the foreign policy of Pakistan since 2010 remains extremely confused and diverging. In one time they join US in the cold war and give air basis to them. In other Bhutto's time they get 5 year Green plans from USSR and then again Zia's time they fought the war of USA against USSR. In the same way they supported Taliban, then fought against them after 9/11 and all this confusion

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actually isolated and badly hurt the image of Pakistan. Only Nuclear weapons is the reason Pakistan existence is safe till now else the confused foreign policy and increasing hater against terrorism was a great threat to Pakistan's sovereignty. The good thing about current foreign policy of Pakistan is that now they are not getting indulged in to the Lebanon issue and not putting a dent to their relationship with Iran and Middle Easter States. In the same way Pakistan is not relying much on USA this time and building strong economic and strategic relationships with China; the recent 46 Billion \$ agreement and the trade route leading to Gwadar Port is one of the best example of some of the positive sunshine emerging in Pakistan's current foreign policy. Thus, if we can review the past foreign policies of both countries India's foreign policy was much superior and efficient as compare to Pakistan's confused foreign policy. In the conclusion of comparison of both foreign policies I must highlight that both Pakistan and India's foreign policy now highlight on the importance of collaborative integration and productive engagement with each other and rest of the world.

Impacts of Globalization on Foreign Policies of India and Pakistan

In the previous part of paper, we have discussed the foreign policies of India and Pakistan where we have discussed various global factors that affected those decisions. This part of the paper will specifically highlight those factors that forced both countries to enforce those policies. Boon (1996) highlights that When both India and Pakistan were created, the world was Bi-polar and was in the extreme phase of cold war (Boon 1996). Pakistan and India were located at that strategic positions where both super powers were directly interested to make good relations with them. It was the fact that because India was comparatively a strong country thus both super powers initially shown great interest in having India as ally, but India played a very good move by staying neutral and keeping good relations with both super powers. On the other hand, Pakistan was weak and needed support of one super power at least. In that era west was enjoying the impacts of globalization at greater extend and were more developed from the eastern parts of the world. It was preferable for Pakistan along with many other factors to joining hands with US, sign SEATO and CENTO and get some benefits. In the same way when China was expanding its economic development in late 1980's though India was a rival of China from the beginning, still they brought great shift in their foreign policies and decided to get in massive investment and development projects with China. It was because India have seen the trend of globalization and it was visible that in future soft power and economic superiority will play a greater role in world politics.

There were many concerns shown by some Middle Eastern countries when Pakistan joined hands with US in war against terror in Afghanistan. Some countries play the card of Muslim brotherhood and some plays the card of US double edged aims. But for Pakistan keeping the trends of globalization was most important. Those were high times; the wave of terrorism was spreading in the world and earning more hate from all developed nations. If at that time Pakistan did not support US, it was quite possible that Pakistan's own sovereignty falls in to great threat. Thus, the shaping of Pakistan's policy in the beginning of 21st century was impacted by the globalized issues and they were forced and left to support United States in that war, though there were many inner voices in Pakistan against that unconditional support. I have already discussed few points in this paper that

shows how foreign policies of India and Pakistan. Now this paper will discuss how the current foreign policies of India and Pakistan are affected by the Globalization and its impacts. From the past few years this world has seen re-emergence of extremist leadership in the key states. In India, we see the emergence of Modi as Prime Minister, In United Kingdom we see majority supports non-collaboration with rest of Europe that led to Brexit. In the same way in United States of America we Trump elected as president when everyone was predicting he will never get elected due to his extremist views. The trend does not stop here where we see a radical dictator ruling North Korea and threatening major powers and referendum in Turkey recently tells that now Turkey will also face an authoritarian type presidential government till 2029. These all trends show that struggle for power is only going intense between states and it is those high times when aggressive foreign policies do the business. These times are quite similar like 1920's and 1930's era, just before second World War, when aggressive foreign policies were enforced by many nations that led the world in to one of the massive clash of the history. Due to these trends and series of events that are dominating globalized world, we see same aggressiveness in the foreign policies of Pakistan and India too. Pakistan and India are now moving towards a policy where they are even canceling all the cultural interactions that further creating distance between these countries. The point of all this discussion is that to stay relevant in the global issues and global power struggle countries do form and shift their foreign policies according to globalization and its trends and same is visible in Pakistan and India.

Current Scenario

There is a famous saying by the Realist school of thought that to expect morality in International Relations and Foreign policy making is like da dreaming. Though Liberal and Functional school of thought rejects this idea but Realists say that these school of thought use realistic approach for their own policies and preaches others to use liberal foreign policy. The same saying goes to foreign policies of India and Pakistan. Where Pakistan who never shown any intent to go near USSR in the past, is not shaking hands, organizing meetings and collectively participating in the military practices. This sharp shift in the foreign policy by Pakistan shows that they have switched their priorities by observing global trends and now moving towards China and Russia to counter the domination of India and US. On the other hand, India is coming closer to United States where we see several visits of heads of both states and mega projects launched by United States in India. This shift towards United States and reluctance to follow neutrality is a clear evidence that India is also reformulating its foreign policy according to the global trends. Thus, it is concluded that foreign policies of all countries are meant to be change as per changing globalized trends and every state make a foreign policy by considering all national, international and globalization factors in a compact and comprehensive manner.

Conclusion

It is concluded that in the current date it seems that both countries have learned enough from their mistakes and moving towards a policy of mutual collaboration. Moreover both countries are seeking to have a good foreign policy towards China and Middle Eastern states and believes that economic prosperity will bring great benefits to them. United States on this point is trying to exploit both countries by sending different offers and manipulating power politics and it is most likely that

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Pakistan will not get trapped in their tricks this time. If we analyze current date foreign policy of India and Pakistan both are focusing on the regional development like Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh and other states. There are various reasons behind the change of policy but the driving factor is globalization because due to globalization states are forced to bring changes in their foreign policies according to changing situations. Moreover, the urge of attaining soft power and economic stability is also on rise thus we see several shifts in the foreign policies of either countries. In the era of globalization there is a need to develop a foreign policy that bring the people of India and Pakistan closer, because globalization's basic concept is to make this world a global village and bring people closer. Thus, there must be special focus on cultural integration and economic activities that spread peace and collaboration in a compact and comprehensive manner. This is the era of globalization and any state that denies this fact or make foreign policies against globalization will eventually isolate themselves from the rest of the world. There are clear examples in front of us, where China and Russia despite being one of the biggest rivals of US, always prefer to make policies that allow them to integrate with western world. On the other hand, when Iran tries to make a rigid foreign policy by denying the globalization and its implications they stood alone and face great economic and political setbacks on international forums. In the same way, today North Korea is also going wrong way in my view by implementing a foreign policy that is isolating them from the world, and the consequences could be very serious for North Korea. Pakistan and India are two geographical realities on the world map, thus there is a need to understand this reality and start making foreign policies that bring them together play vital role in diminishing the hostilities.

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Democratization: An Analysis of Musharraf Era (1999-2008)

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ABSTRACT

The prime objective of the paper is to discuss different dynamics of democratization critically during Pervez Musharraf regime. The internal developments as sequential events in the political ambience will also be analyzed. The devolution power plan was implemented and governmental authority was decentralized from the top to the bottom. It was shaped as its hierarchical authority and people may enjoy rights at door step. Three tier local government system, Zilla, Tehsil and Union Council Nazim was introduced. Musharraf government was focusing on binary dimension, first to implement local governance system and second develop National Security Council institution to frame policies for governance. The constitution was suspended in this era twice. The political parties were disintegrated which were the tool of democratic process. The superior judiciary and concept of rule of law were affected. The restoration of independent judiciary movement was started in Musharraf's regime. The general elections were conducted for transitional process of democratic process in Pakistan.

Keywords:- Constitution, PCO of Musharraf, National Security Council, Decentralization Plan, Restoration Movement of Independent Judiciary

Introduction

The democratic institutions were pre-requisite to establish democratic process in Pakistan. The authoritative regimes introduced the local government systems as it was observed during the eras of General Ayub Khan, General Zia-ul-Haq and General Pervez Musharraf. Local body government system's foremost objective was legitimation of military rules. The basic democrats were converted to 'Electoral College' for Presidential election. From Zia regime, it was evidently clear to initiate the democratic process to legitimate his regime. Zia's era finished with his death incident and General Aslam Baig supported to initiate the democratic process. The dissolution of Junejo government, full scale involvement of political parties in the next general election campaign, and return of Benazir Bhutto were different factors, those were pressurizing government to establish democratic process in Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto might get success in the election, therefore, political alliance was filtered and efforts were to manage the results of general election elections. These factors enhanced the role of intelligence agencies to grip the future of democratic system of Pakistan. It led to political catastrophe in dissolution of national assembly and democratic governments. The political leadership was not affordable for military establishment which injured the

democratic system of Pakistan. The civil military establishment dissipated foreign and defense policy issues. Military establishment tolerated the resignation of Army Chief to present the idea of National Security Council. The Kargil issue became hot issue of tension between civil government and military establishment. The military regimes wanted to conduct general elections but political parties should have to follow the "Political Parties Order". The civil leadership denied the stance of military establishment. The civil governments were legitimated through trust of people but military establishment derailed the civil governments. The democratization was based on the democratic values and culture. The democratic culture is major determinant that enhanced the capability of state to promote the democratic behavior of people.

Research Methodology

The historical and analytical method used to study the Pervez Musharraf era. Different books and journals were studied for analysis of the government of General Pervez Musharraf.

The Coup of Pervez Musharraf

The civil and military leadership was not on same page during Nawaz Sharif second era. General Pervez Musharraf overthrew the civil elected government. He suspended the Constitution of 1973 and terminated National Assembly. General Pervez Musharraf took the responsibilities of government as 'Chief Executive' on October 12, 1999. (The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt 1999). It was claimed that Nawaz government prohibited his flight from Sri Lanka to land on Karachi Airport and attempted to remove from service. Musharraf avowed a State of Emergency and imposed "Provisional Constitutional Order" (PCO), the special declaration safeguarded, it could not challenge in superior courts. He vouchsafed for introduction of good governance and revised, "real democracy" (Jamali 2003). General Pervez Musharraf broadcasted his seven point program and indomitable for its implementation. It was part of maiden speech delivered to nation on television as his agenda, "1- to rebuild national confidence and morale, 2- Strengthen the federation, remove the disharmony between provinces and restore national cohesion, 3- Revive the economy and restore investor confidence, 4- to ensure public order and dispense speedy justice, 5- de-politicize state institutions, 6- delegation of power to the local level, 7- ensuring fast and across the board accountability" (<http://presidentmusharraf.wordpress.com/2007/07/10/address-nation-7-point-agenda/> n.d.).

The Judges of Supreme Court of Pakistan were asked to oath to legitimate PCO on January 26, 2000. Mostly judges of superior courts were took oath but some were denied. (Baxter 2004, 59-60). The PCO judges of the court validated the termination of civil government and dissolution of assemblies in Zafar Ali Shah. Further, it was directed that the general elections should be conducted in next three years. (Mahmood 2015, 10). The verdict of court paved the way for

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authoritative pattern of government and left Pakistan as, “seemingly begun, but nonetheless very real military dictatorship.”¹

General Pervez Musharraf was considered enlightened leader of Pakistan. He led the state to modernization. The notion of “Enlightened Moderation as expounded by Musharraf himself was a direct response to growing world perception that Islam was linked to fundamentalism and extremism. It was a strategy meant to militancy that was rooted in political injustice denial and deprivation and to bring socioeconomic uplift in the Muslim world”. General Musharraf lectured Muslims, “adopt a path of moderation and a conciliatory approach to fight the common belief that Islam is not a religion of militancy in conflict with modernization but favored democracy and secularism”. Prime Minister Pakistan Shaukat Aziz was also concentrating the dogma of “Enlightened Moderation” before the international community. (Monitoring 2004). Extremists were considered an obstacle in offer approach.

USA had own interests in the region, particularly after the incident of 9/11. (Khan 2015, 94). The leadership of western countries wished to liberalize the Pakistani society. The criticism on military government was rejected by the Bush government and it was considered favorable for existing situation. It was considered as, “the right man in the right place at the right time for the right job”. (Dawn 2004). USA professed need for the stable and effective democratic system but also required as front line ally in the international war of terrorism. It was apparent that neither he nor USA was interested in genuine democratization in Pakistan. (Musharraf 2004)

The successive arrangements of Pervez Musharraf's indicated that he was envisioned to implement monocracy rules of governance. As he was directed to hold election, he involved the proponents of election with the support of army. General Musharraf was insisted that country was stabilized and with less corrupt military centric regime administration. (Reeker 2002). Musharraf started to force President Muhammad Rafique Tararr to resign in June 2001. (Ibrahim 2013, 10) He was legitimized himself as a President in April 2002.

Musharraf got approval from public by conduction referendum on April 30, 2002 and got majority of 98%. (Bakhtiar 2002, 48). The opposition political parties were boycotted and appealed to public for boycott. Later on these irregularities were admitted and apologized by Pervez Musharraf. (HR 2002). (Ganguly 2003).

The military establishment had dominance in the decision making process. It was observed that Zafar Ullah Jamali was nominated as a Prime Minister of Pakistan from Pakistan Muslim League (Q) which was known as King's party. (Zia-ul-Haq 2017). Therefore, he said that President Musharraf was

¹ Constitution of 1973 of Pakistan under 8th Amendment empowered to President. Nawaz Sharif amended Constitution under 13th Amendment, empowered Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1997.

his “boss” (Jamali 2003). The nomination of Prime Minister by military ruler did not fulfill the norms of democratization in Pakistan.

Political Developments in Musharraf’s Era

Since inception of independence, India and Pakistan could not maintain good and peaceful relationship between them. Government of India always blamed Pakistan possible for boarder interference issue. Indian government claimed that Kashmir based leadership was supported by Pakistan. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif’s government was dismissed. He was forced to leave Pakistan with his family members. They were sent to Saudi Arabia for ten years.

The political parties welcomed the military government. After some time, political leadership struggled for democratic process. The democratic process could be continued to hold transparent election. Meanwhile duration to conduct the general election in the light of verdict of Supreme Court was near to an end. The implementation of controlled democratic system was started. The Supreme Court of Pakistan already heard such petition against the authoritative rulers of Pakistan and passed orders as,

“The Courts do not decide abstract hypothetical or contingent questions or give mere declarations in the air. There is no duty cast on the Courts to enter upon purely academic exercises or to pronounce upon hypothetical questions. The Court’s judicial function is to adjudicate upon a real and present controversy which is formally raised before it by a litigant. If the litigant does not choose to raise a question, however, important it might be, it is not for the Court to raise it suo motu.” (Asma Jillani Case 1972)

Military establishment instigated the democratic process in Pakistan. The public appreciated maiden speech of Pervez Musharraf. He desired stable economic condition of state. He announced to implement devolution and local politics. There was serious challenge to economy of Pakistan due to economic sanctions on nuclear explosion of May 27, 1998 and overseas reserves embargoed by Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz. (Khalid 2015, 222) On the other hand, political parties were not paying full attention for stability of democratic process in Pakistan. There was no serious resistance against military establishment on taking control of Pakistan. It was hailed and honored and welcomed his seven point agenda. The liberals were considering that it was an attempt to develop a new political leadership which could perform for the shine towards prosperity of Pakistan. To gain the more power Pervez Musharraf, Rafic Tarrer was called for his resignation in June 2001. (Mahmood 2015, 10). On the other hand, Pervez Musharraf wanted to legitimate Presidential status. Therefore, he conducted referendum and got majority of vote in referendum. He considered himself as a legitimated President of Pakistan. Supreme Court decided functioning parameters of judiciary in Zafar Ali Shah case:-

“that the 1973 Constitution still remains the supreme law of the land subject to the condition that certain parts thereof have been held in abeyance on account of State necessity;...[and that the

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Superior Courts continue to function under the Constitution. The mere fact that the Judges of the Superior Courts have taken a new oath under the Oath of Office (judges) Order No. 1 of 2000, does not in any manner derogate from this position, as the Courts had been originally established under the 1973 Constitution, and have continued in their functions in spite of the Proclamation of Emergency and PCO No. 1 of 1999 and other legislative instruments issued by Chief Executive from time to time” (Zafar Ali Shah 2000)

When Nawaz Sharif Government dismissed, Washington did not support or react against Musharraf, only asked to restore democratic process as soon as possible in the country. The incident of 9/11 changed the fate of Pervez Musharraf. Now he was the best friend of Mr. J. W. Bush. Pervez Musharraf had decided to join the international war against terrorism led by America. He explained the reasons how he decided to join the war on the national television during delivering a speech. In case we did not take part in the war, Pakistan could lose the strategic interests in the region. To ignore Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto was national interests of USA.

Shahbaz Sharif came to Pakistan in May 2004, but he was sent back to Saudi Arabia within two hours. The authorities showed massive reaction. The workers and followers were imprisoned and faced legal investigation just to welcome leadership of Muslim League (N). The civil society criticized on this action. (Pennington 2004) The martial regime intimidated the political leadership. The opponents were curbed all over the country. The opposition in parliament was put to sideline. (Pennington 2004). The pending cases of Asif Ali Zardari used to put pressure on Pakistan Peoples Party. The delaying technique was used to torture and pressurized.

Controlled Democratic Government during Musharraf Era

The government of Pervez Musharraf was going to hold the general elections in 2002. It was seemed difficult that political parties Pakistan Muslim League (N) and Pakistan People Party to afford Pervez Musharraf in power but the leaders of both parties in exiled. There were cases in National Accountability Bureau. “Legal Framework Order” and “Political Parties Act” were imposed to control the political parties. (Report 28 September 2005, 6). The selection of Prime Minister third time was restricted. (Order 2002). There were charges of corruption on leadership of political parties. These parties had to change the leadership as well as their names.

During Pervez Musharraf era, Muslim League as political party was split into two groups. Pakistan Muslim League was converted into factions of Pakistan Muslim League (N) and Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam). Pakistan Muslim League (Q) was considered as king’s party and supported by civil and military bureaucracy. Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League (N) were victimized. Pakistan Peoples Party was also divided into groups.² Pakistan

² Stance of PPP and PML-N officials, Islamabad, January 19, 2004

Peoples Party was replaced through Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian and headed by Makhdoom Amin Faheem. The disintegration of political parties was not considered positive sign to promote democratic process.

The cases were operating against the political leadership of Pakistan Muslim League (N) and Pakistan Peoples Party. Makhdoom Amin Faheem was arrested and jailed in 2003. Makhdoom Javed Hasmi was arrested, sentenced for 23 years and jailed. Washington expected that trial and investigation of Javed Hasmi would be free and fair. The government of Pakistan stated that the role of Javed Hasmi was negative for judiciary. It was interference in our internal issues which linked to judicial system of Pakistan. (Sethi 2004).

The religious parties' were structured an alliance as a Mutahida Majilise Aamal (MMA).³ Alliance of Islamic parties MMA was formulated. Mutahida Majilise Aamal performed operative role in the parliament as well as outside the parliament as an opposition party. The leadership of national parties PML (N) and PPP were convincing the international community to promote democratic process and against military leadership. (News 2004) (News 2004). Benazir Bhutto was considered a liberal political leader and had influence at international community.

Pervez Musharraf favored and supported MMA. The slogans were emblem against USA but gained political benefits. It was seen that MMA won the maximum seats in North West Frontier Province (KPK) and Baluchistan. (A. Report March 2003, 17-18) The religious political parties gained such strength in provincial and national assemblies, was first time in the history of Pakistan. Muslim League (Q) was the largest party in National Assembly and Punjab Provincial Assembly. It needed the support to frame the government at national level. The faction of Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian named as Pakistan Peoples Party Patriot alliance with Muslim League to establish coalition government in Pakistan. Faisal Sallah Hayat, Sikhander Iqbal and Aftab Sher Pao rewarded with ministries. (Hussain 2002).

Now Electoral College of Assemblies voted to Pervez Musharraf and legitimated as a President of Pakistan. The opposition parties criticized the leadership of Mutahida Majilise Aamal. These parties were claiming that democratic process was betrayed and parliamentary mandate was desecrated.

Other opposition parties established Alliance for Restoration of Democracy. Mutahida Majilise Aamal was considered B team of Pervez Musharraf. The term friendly opposition was accustomed. The civil and military leadership was introduced for appropriate institutional space for democratic process. These reasons were not matched to democratic norms. It was not evaluated as a democratic regime.

Democratization and Constitutional Development

The dialogue between Pervez Musharraf and MMA was on the issue of opposition leader in National Assembly. S. M Zafar, Ch. Shujat Hussain and Mushahid Hussain Syed dialogued with Mutahida Majilise Aamal leadership. The

³ Establish MMA on June 2001 in which six parties head signed at Islamabad but declare it later.

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political deadlock solved and Mulana Fazal-ur-Rehman announced as opposition leader in National Assembly. 17th amendment was finalized shape of LFO 2002. The prime objective was to legitimate LFO from National Assembly of Pakistan. Muslim League and Mutahida Majilise Aamal drafted the 17th amendment which approved the amended Constitution of 1973 on December 31, 2003. (Constitution 2003). The amendment empowered the President to dissolve the national, provincial assemblies and Senate. The President Pervez Musharraf empowered as given by the constitution under 8th amendment. He was allowed to continue as Chief of Army Staff and President of Pakistan which reflected the hollowness of controlled democratic system.

General Pervez Musharraf was introducing local government system and National Security Council. It was recapped the idea of General Jahangir Karamat during second regime of Nawaz Sharif. That time it was criticized in civil government. These were considered as land mark achievements for the political implication of Pakistan. The formulation of National Security Council was considered the issue of dominance on governing system. (C. Order 2001). The second opinion was to utilize NSC as bridge on political issues between civil and military leadership. Although, parliament was highly esteem democratic institution which was constitutionally mandated to decide political or governance subjects. It was plan to establish superiority of military establishment in governing pattern. Therefore it was severely criticized on supporters of Pervez Musharraf. The issues of parliamentary sessions were also included in the National Security Council. Mulana Fazal-ur-Rehman was also present in it.

Democratization and Devolution of Power Plane

The devolution plan of Local government system was introduced by government of Pervez Musharraf government which approved for decentralization in 2002. The core object was to develop a responsible government at local level. The scheme of local government was defined as,

“in the existing system of governance at the local level, the province governs the districts and tehsils directly through the bureaucracy at the division, district, and tehsil levels. And the local government for towns and cities exist separately from those of the rural areas. The provincial bureaucratic set-ups are the designated “controlling authorities” of the local governments and tend to undermine and over-ride them, which breeds a colonial relationship of “ruler” and “subject”. The separate local government structures engender rural-urban antagonism, while the administration’s role as “controlling authorities” accentuates the rural-urban divide”. (Local Government Plan 2002 Section 140 n.d.)

The administrative and political decentralization was designed in local government system through devolution plan. Transparency and accountability were the elementary elements for consolidation of remarkable results. The devolution plan was consisted of district nazim, tehsil nazim and union council nazim. The district nazim, administration and provincial bureaucracy were treated in term of reforms. District Nazims were authority in district governments but results were not consolidated as these were expected. District Nazim through this system empowered to control District Co-ordination Officer. The technical reports

should have to write by District Nazim. The responsibilities of PCS and DMG officers were explained as,

“the two structured and systemic disjoints mentioned above, coupled with the absence of horizontal integration and the consequent inadequacy of functional coordination between the line departments at the division, district, and tehsil levels, lead to inefficiency and corruption and are the root causes of the crises of governance at the grass root sic level. The crisis appears to have been addressed through over concentration of authority, particularly in the office of Deputy Commissioner, which besides creating the potential for abuse of authority, diffuses operational focus and results in the expedient handling of routine functions through crisis management”. (Local Government Plan 2002 Section 140 n.d.)

The financial and administrative powers should have to be awarded to district governments. The finance terms and conditions were also acknowledged. The finance system of local government was began as,

“Almost universally, local governments receive some form of fiscal transfer from higher levels of government. In Pakistan, local governments have been receiving 10 to 15 percent fiscal transfers from provincial sources. The level of self-financing of local government in Pakistan has been much higher than in most countries. This is because provincial departments have been responsible for carrying out government functions and development at the district level. The transfer and grants system has been weak. There is no formula for distribution of funds to districts and provincial budgets do not specify district expenditures. Districts do not know, with certainty, what they will expect from the provincial departments, which affects planning negatively. This results in political machinations, ad-hocism, and lack of transparency. In order to accomplish a transparent, credible and fair system of transferring funds to the district level, a provincial financial commission will be constituted”. (Local Government Plan 2002 Section 140 n.d., 138-39)

The objectives of local governments were stated as,

“The principle of the formula for provincial to district transfers is that district and local government should generate their own resources to the extent possible.” (Local Government Plan 2002 Section 140 n.d.)

The civil secretariat was still hold the power of posting, transfer and account matters. The elected government ignored the introduction of rules, the successive governments to local governments. It was treated just municipal system. The issue of provincial and local governments authority deeply affected on devolution of power plan. The allocation and generation of resources were not determined. Although, fiscal transformation from provincial level to local government was mention as,

“A formula for provincial fiscal transfers will be devised and implemented. The model provincial formulas will become part of the proposed new provincial finance awards and the resultant formulas developed in conjunction with the provincial governments will be subject to change in a similar fashion as the

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national finance awards” (Local Government Plan 2002 Section 140 n.d.)

Table No 1
Academic Qualification of District Nazams

Province	Matric	Bachelor of Arts	Total
Punjab	2	32	34
Baluchistan	7	15	22
Sindh	2	14	16
Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa	4	20	24
Total	15	81	86

Source: www.nrb.gov.pk (Implementation Devolution: The New Local Government Scheme, Laport Robert Jr.)

The primary issue was considered the legitimacy of election. The winner of elections were the political gain in terms of personal political power. It was became nearer to his legitimacy but it might scattered the political groups for political gains. The Asia Time criticized local government plan of Pervez Musharraf and stated as,

“The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) rejected the plan, saying the military rulers have no mandate to take such steps, “The official local election scheme is incomplete, self-contradictory and divisive and the rulers should announce steps for return of democratic rule,” an HRCP resolution said. The Pakistan Muslim League (PML) of Nawaz Sharif and the Benazir Bhutto-led Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) have both rejected the military governments overtures and have demanded immediate restoration of democracy. Among critics of Musharraf’s plan are hard-line nationalist leaders from the provinces of Sindh and Baluchistan, who fear that it interferes with provincial autonomy guaranteed in the country’s 1973 Constitution, currently under suspension. The nationalists’ parties have demanded more autonomy for the provinces along with greater financial and administrative control ... The religio-political parties, on the other hand, oppose the devolution plan, saying it is contradictory to the country’s cultural values especially with regard to the mandatory representation for women in district governments”. (Rizvi 2000)

It was observed that unfortunate dilemma instead of moving forward for the establishment of institutional system, it was ignored. The political elite and provincial bureaucracy had no interest to implement for the good will of public. It was criticized that these institutions promoted nepotism, corruption and inappropriate environment with provincial machinery of government. There were issue of check and balance in local government system. The accountability and transparency was not reflected in the disposition of local government system.

Democratization and Restoration of Judiciary Movement

There was controversy between the Army Chief and Chief Justice of Pakistan Iftikhar Husain Ch. He denied resignation from the Chief Justice of Pakistan. The conflict was going to climax. Chief Justice was suspended and

Justice Javed Iqbal took the charge of Acting Chief Justice of Pakistan. (Pakistan 2007, 675). The full bench of the court restored the Chief Justice of Pakistan.

There was a hot issue of Pervez Musharraf next Presidential election in which he wanted to be an Army Chief as well as President. The political parties stressed him to resign from army and could not maintain dual status. He was elected as a President in uniform. (Mumtaz 2004) (BBC 2004). Benazir Bhutto was asked to negotiate with Pervez Musharraf. Asif Ali Zardari was released at judgment of Supreme Court after nine years of jail. He was allowed to go abroad to visit his family. (Abbas 2005). A secret deal was decided between Pervez Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto.

There was a petition filed against Pervez Musharraf's Presidential election. Pervez Musharraf felt himself that court did not relinquish him in uniform as President of Pakistan. He declared the state of emergency in Pakistan. New PCO was imposed and judges of superior courts were arrested at their houses.

The movement of restoration of judiciary was started. The civil society, lawyers and other segments of society were participated in the movement. Meanwhile, the new general elections were announced in December 2007. Benazir Bhutto announced to come in Pakistan.

Conclusion

Local government, war on terror and National Security Council were major contributions of Pervez Musharraf. The tendencies of democratic institution minimized. The democratic institutions were established but not appropriately rooted and flourished. The political parties were deeply fatigued. The secret agencies were involved in power game. National level political parties were ostracized.

It was reality that democratic values and norms were not established in our society. The majority of our leadership compromised with dictators due to minimum satisfaction instead of sacrifice for democratic process. The democratization was deep rooted in Pakistan. The political leadership had to fix authoritarian regime. The prerogative objective of military ruler Pervez Musharraf was to legitimate his regime. It was self-center approach to maintain political power through interpretation of democratic process. The non-democratic behavior was instigated in during this era of Pervez Musharraf instead of institutionalization for democratization. Democratic values were not obliged by Pervez Musharraf. The specific attribute for democratic process played vital role for the articulation of democratic institutions to promoted democratization in Pakistan. The democratization focused on the democratic institutions, rule of law, equality and freedoms of expression. It was compromised on democratic process in authoritarian rules not protected with principles of democratization.

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Geological, Historical, Political, Socio-Economic and Legal Context of Hydro-Politics in South Asia – Kashmir Discord

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ABSTRACT

Conflict is a fact among nations caused because of disputed lands or undecided borders linked to valuable resources or due to political and ideological differences. Current and supposed differences can take them to the establishment of antagonistic actors thus increasing the conflict behavior; and such becomes armed and leads towards war. Historically wars were fought in such circumstances and many of such differences are found in India and Pakistan relations.

According to neo-realistic point of view, this study examines the conflicting interests among India and Pakistan, which are related to Kashmir, and claims that it is not just religious but also geographical as it is basically connected to the control of river waters. There is very limited significant research present that primarily focuses on this facet of India and Pakistan's relations. The current literature expresses their conflict as of ideological, cultural and political nature. This model based research, addresses the relationship of water and other related sources to war and peace through a rational research method demonstrated by broadly observed data.

1.1 Objectives

This study primarily focuses on developing an exclusive model, generally explaining the importance of international rivers in the relationships of the nations and particularly interlinked disputes over Kashmir and the Indus River. It focuses on the investigation of those unidentified unique conflicting factors in the Indus Basin which are related to political beliefs, tactical formation, and rivalry among India and Pakistan and similarly realizing the situations that forces the arch rivals to an agreement on essential issues and delaying governmental agendas.

It primarily focuses on explaining the causes behind the settlement of Indus water conflict between both nations such that, although being the prime reason behind the Kashmir conflict, it has been dominated by other issues in the relational analysis of both the nations.

1.2 Historical Importance

Historically India and Pakistan conflict originates because of those harsh and deadly situations because of which both the nations emerged on the globe in 1947. The conflict Kashmir and Indus is caused by the Radcliffe boundary award. The unjust division of British Punjab at the Subcontinent's partition gave India the benefit of water control of West Punjab (Pakistan) as it controls the head works of two rivers and solely links India and Kashmir through land. Eventually, by captivating fragments of Kashmir, India got accessibility to the watershed regions of entire Indus River and also contributes in the origin of other rivers.

Maharaja Hari Singh, the Kashmir's monarch presented a 'Standstill Agreement' to both countries in order to secure his independence and rule. It was accepted by Pakistan but denied by India. The Kashmiri Muslims began to rebel against this, affirming their adherence to Pakistan. India entered its army on 26th October, 1947 in Kashmir, professing that Maharaja had signed an agreement with it.

The real political nature of Kashmir dispute arose when India blocked Pakistan's river water on 1st April, 1948; it hugely threatens Pakistan's survival and immediately gathered immense response of the international community. Indian government declares its sole right on the waters of international rivers emerging from its land. After more than a decade long dialogues and mediation, beyond public evaluation, under strong influence of the World Bank, it is settled as the Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) in 1960. It's acclaimed internationally as a method of conflict resolution; however some political critics questioning the sincerity and hostilities of their respective leaders were burnt to ashes.

The Indian Government is continuously violating the IWT and developing projects on Pakistan's rivers in order to manage the water flow and now with the help of Afghan Government it is trying to worsen the Water crisis in Pakistan by constructing 12 different hydro projects generating 2406.3 MW of electricity and storing 2,650,308 acres feet of water on the Kabul River which originates in Afghanistan and in Jalalabad, joined by the Kunar River having its origin in Pakistan. It makes Afghanistan and Pakistan upstream and downstream basin countries with regards to the Kabul River.

If Afghanistan government completes these projects, they will store around 4 million acre feet of water and ultimately reducing water flow towards Pakistan that severely affects around 3 million people along with the agricultural land in Pakistan and could jeopardies Afghanistan and Pakistan's relations.

1.3 Problem Statement

This research formulates different dimension claiming that neo-realistic concerns among the hostile neighboring nations can cause dispute and settlement; it highlights the contest for controlling significant water resources as a problem of high-politics among their relations.

It elaborates when hostile nations settle on important concerns and why they put political issues out form active development. It inquires the connection between the Indus waters and the Kashmir contest and explains its political role, systematic planning and hostilities between India and Pakistan. This study strengthen the faith of geographical legislators that essential resources like oil, gas, coal, minerals, water and sea lanes can cause dispute among the nations, and increase the importance of controlling the territorial freshwater resources.

1.4 Significance

It primarily focuses on discovering importance of control of water resources related to different aspects of the Kashmir discord regarding neo-realistic theory. It also focuses on the problems regarding mediation process and also explains role of mediators and the problems caused by their wrong attitudes. It also elaborates how nations unwillingly follow accommodation as recommended policy for protecting their primary national and international interests. The literature regarding the security aspects of the Kashmir issue under neo-realistic approach is rare; it contributes in creating a theoretical model elaborating diplomatic nature of

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conflict and accommodation among nations. This research also bridges the gap between theoretical and practical aspects and also provides new areas for research.

This research discloses geographical and socio-economic dimensions that are innate in the hydro-strategic nature and significance of Kashmir which is many times mistakenly represented as a political and ideological concern. Hence, uniquely it explains the distinct as well as relational aspects of geographical, social, economic, environmental and security issues related the Kashmir. Normally, the environmental and biological aspects are not considered as a threat to the fiscal or security situation of the rival nations, so are not considered as a reason behind war. Though, this research proves that the economic and military balance between both nations is strongly influenced by the evolving environmental chaos in Pakistan.

It tries to provide solution of critical questions and guidelines to policy-makers regarding the Kashmir dispute and water resources attached with it.

1. Literature Review

The current literature gives abundant information on the importance of international rivers regarding disputes and their solutions between nations, although it did not provide information about such agreements those lead towards improving their relations and ultimately achieving peace among nations. The information regarding critical evaluation of such agreements between the everlasting enmities and their effect on the extensive relationship is not present in literature. Actually it emphasizes on two opposite school of thoughts: "water causes war" and "water causes peace".

Water disputes are closely related to political, cultural, and faith related issues so historically wars were never fought over water. Besides, many times it is not related to the political developments.

Water scarcity and environmental issues coupled with population growth and unequal resource distribution are aggravating and causing disputes domestically as well as internationally but the problem is, it is yet to be proven that water is lone source of conflict and war among nations.

The only pertinent question of upcoming water inadequacy and dispute is due to possible increase in the contest over the Jammu and Kashmir land, being a significant source of fresh water. Some studies claims to have the relationship with each other.

International law provides beneficial rights to the countries if they don't effect lower riparian in harmful and hazardous manner. It is generally followed by the nations but it is not related to settlement between India and Pakistan regarding Indus water. So if any country violates the agreement the matter refers to International Court of Justice for settlement as they questioned their rights on riparian rights before signing the treaty.

The literature provides much information regarding the role of the terrestrial qualities of a land possessing those valuable resources in causing conflict. If borders are not properly defined they also lead towards war like in the case of Ireland, Palestine and British Punjab.

This passage defines and formulates a thesis about two primary notions: "water a source of war" and "accommodation as recommended security strategy" among arch rivals. It focuses on sorting out all aspects causing dispute and contributing in water war among nations and vice versa. The purpose is to design a model with detailed discernment of correlation between water, war and peace

keeping in view in the relationships of concerned opposing nations in general and India-Pakistan dispute regarding Kashmir in actual.

As Hurts says "although there is considerable rivalry among nations over the possession of such things as oil, gas and uranium, the most dangerous rivalry between countries can be for the possession of water, one of the elements without which man cannot exist." (C. K. Hurst, 1956).

There's is no doubt about the fact that water is essential for life, economy, and environmental harmony in world. Rarely, it may be possible that any other natural resource affects such a wide spread areas of human life from micro to macro levels, its life or death because "every living being is made from water". Usually, it's been present in plentiful amount, nearly a free product. Situation is becoming different swiftly as its scarcity becomes an international problem for existence and harmony. Researchers are claiming that soon it will cause wars among nations and global peace will be in hot waters. United Nations Security Council (UNSC) report has given prime concern to Indus water dispute among other great perils of water disputes. (UNSC Global Policy Forum, 2001)

Nevertheless, historical preview on international relations present several instances where even the bitter enemies agreed upon water distribution avoiding war, but never proved a successful facilitator for peace.

Generally, the controversies persistent and they did not give up on their territorial rights. India and Pakistan's relations is so far the best instance. Their controversy embeds all the aspects of disruptive international relations which expand from a supposed politics to real politics. Nevertheless, in 1960 Indus Waters Treaty; an agreement has been made by the two states on the diversion of rivers; it has not resolve any disputes, so there is no peace.

Most importantly, none of the two states gave up on their historical right on the state of Kashmir. Both India and Pakistan agreed on each other's demands but they never bargained on the state of Kashmir, formulates the prime route of the research.

Both states have had grave concerns over the Treaty (Energy and Water, 2002). The Indian government deliberately tried to abolish the Treaty in order to hurt Pakistan and it was extensively published in the newspapers of May 2002. In Pakistan, the era of General Ayub Khan is openly criticized for surrendering to the pressure of Indian government, World Bank and the US government, to give away the water of its rivers to India. According to international organizations through this treaty India received 12 % more water than its actual right. In Pakistan different politician express their grave concerns towards this treaty and some of them suggest the government to buy water from India, some criticized that probably it's the only pact on the earth in which a 'natural resource' was 'sold out'. Some Indian critics have a point of view that Pakistan's prime objective regarding Kashmir is to protect its water resources. In order to have a political solution India and Pakistan must sort out the issue of water, otherwise war is inevitable.

The situation of fresh water in Pakistan is becoming very crucial. The river water flow is deteriorating virtually and the water availability to every Pakistani has reduced to less than 1000 cubic meter instead of 5600 cubic meters at the time of independence. About 50 percent chances of loss by the year 2010 making it hard for wheat and cotton sowing. (Strategic Foresight Group, March 21, 2005).

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Keeping in view the previous war history between the two atomic powers on Kashmir and other issues, there is much likelihood that there will be a third one if they don't sort out their difference. Why is it so and why they are so reluctant in solving it these are the three reasons. There are three major perspectives which may prove an answer for the Kashmir issue.

It is a general perception that this issue is a religious one as Kashmir is a Muslim majority state which is an unfinished partition business. So if a Muslim ideology based Pakistan and so called Hindu extremist secular India tries to come on certain terms then the political pressure will be huge from both side as symbolically it a matter of national pride and integrity for both countries.

Secondly, it's a political controversy. The people of Kashmir wants freedom and they were promised to be given this right by the United Nations Security Council in 1948 after settling it between India and Pakistan but it is still unsolved. The disheartened Kashmiris then became aggressive and began to get their rights with violence, which is increasing day by day. Pakistan morally supports them in their right to self-determination. So, it's an issue on political as well as on human rights grounds but India criticize Pakistan for their support to Kashmiris.

On the last aspect it is the main idea about Kashmir that it is actually a political dispute. It is the origin of one of world's largest water system effecting largest populations in the world. "If India were [sic] to give up control of Kashmir—whether to Pakistan or an independent regime of some sort—it would lose its status as an upstream riparian and, therefore, much of its clout in determining the river's future use." (M. T. Klare, 2002). This affirms that the compression of the water flow is a matter of 'life and death', and for India, and Pakistan.

This study suggested that the Kashmir issue is primarily a political controversy. It is neither ideological nor intimate controversy. The importance of this territory is increasing day by day for India and Pakistan as the water resources are depleting and after capturing some area of Kashmir in 1963 by China, the dispute is becoming global. Pakistan and China is developing China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) on those areas which India claim is its part and the part of Kashmir. So the solution of this issue is of prime importance otherwise it could lead the world to a third world war.

2.1 Hypothesis

If arch rivals are not able to reach to an agreement then, they go for accommodation on national importance matter and delayed the political way

2.2 Research Questions

The reason behind this investigation is to identify that why clash is present between India and Pakistan on water and how to solve it. Precisely it answers the following questions.

1. What are the chief conflicts and concerns of Pakistan and India over water issues?
2. How this issue can pertain to the survival of Pakistan as an agrarian country?
3. Have water resources are protected geographically by demarcation?
4. Does territories explicitly captivated by the rivals to restrict the access to water resources?
5. Does upper riparian ever used water as a weapon?

6. Is the territory of Kashmir hydro strategically important?
7. What can be the possible role of river water resources in the relationship of both countries?

2. Theoretical Framework

Generally, the disposition of a state in terms of identity and nonidentity issues in international system is treated equally. In order to develop elaborated model it is necessary to work out the theoretical prospective of these issues. For example, the classical realism sees power politics and geo-politics as one, thus focuses on international structure as discorded one and resulting in disputes. Contrarily liberals states, globally states relies on each other thus increases mutual cooperation. Constructivists further verified it by carefully stating that nations prosper by mutual cooperation (M. N. Barnett & R. Duvall, 2005). The strategies of neo-realism focus on protecting national benefits and on increasing security and maximizing power. (R. O. Keohane, 1986). Thus, developing international relations on rational basis by keeping in mind cost and benefit analysis.

Despite having negotiations on interstate relations, the theories that have already mentioned do not consider water as an explicit issue among the two nations. Possibly because of inadequate significance of the matter globally, as they consider it, a premature thought.

Although there is scarcity of an explanatory model on the subject, neo-realist and neo-constructivist are still unable to clarify the matter. Water dispute is normally associated with rational approach of the countries under neo-realistic school of thought but neo-constructivism emphasis on the stability and continuity of the system. Territories are empirically related to development of conflict among the nations and if they are abundant in natural resources then conflict aggravates many folds. So, neo-realists explain such a situation as 'mutually hurting stalemate' centered around profit and loss, but according to neo-constructivists mutual cooperation is a better approach. Both sides provides empirical theoretical approach helping in developing elaborated model for explaining the importance of Kashmir strategically, economically and particularly on Indus Waters front between arch rivals India and Pakistan.

3.1 Variables

This research uses three types of variables. One comprising of those independent ones which leads towards war because of water resources or provoke ecological contests including the terrestrial dynamics, like location, boundaries type, landscapes (like regulated frameworks that is both natural and man-made); economic restrictions, like lower riparian reliance on resources, ecological changes, usage and development of land and water resources, and national influences, such as internal limitations and pressure from outsiders.

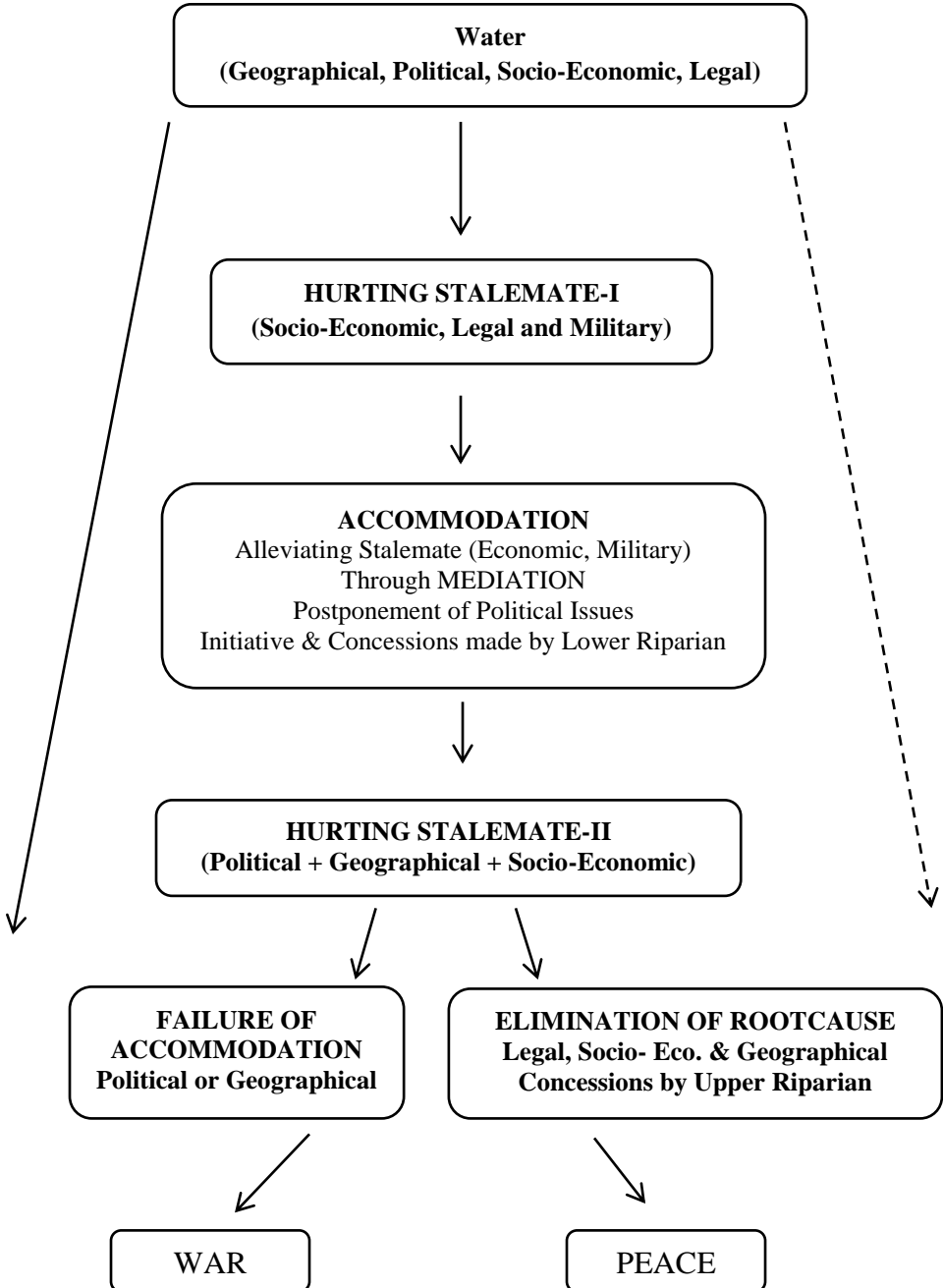
Other independent variables generate a settlement among prevailing controversies on water resources. It includes the existence of any of the detrimental conditions (like military, economic or socio-political), the necessity of minimizing losses (in international relations), and the degree of domestic reforms obligations (with in the country), and the presence of an arbitrator serving as an external international influencer.

Third set of interdependent variables influences the settlement process including: fruitful conversational negotiations, the culture of negotiation to resolve

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disputes, endorsing powerful third party, a delay of political issues, backdoor diplomacy, and forming a legal contract.

They are briefly explained in the following model which intertwines the concepts of water-war and water as cause of making peace and also clarifying the importance of the Indus River waters in the relationship of India and Pakistan.



3. Limitations

This reaches is limited in relation to the non-identity aspect of conflict and a distinctive territory as a consequence of unjust division of British Punjab between India and Pakistan by Radcliffe, links the state of Kashmir or the catchment areas of whole of the Indus basin was beneficial to mitigate the chances of conflicts among them. Assessing the descriptive value of a factor between others is, by necessity, a systematically complex stuff. Specifically of a multifaceted public matter such as war and accommodation among arch rival riparian, the investigator has to face the problematic intricacies of reality. Some researchers have tried to explain the simplification of intricacies of reality by professing that “any social system is as complex as the theory developed to study it thereby denying any intrinsic complexity to social phenomena outside the control of the researcher”.

4. Research Methodology

The qualitative interpretive methodology is used in this research in order to elaborate and combine the comparison made that is to signify affiliations between explanatory factors and in inspection of the normal patterns that are rarely found in quantitative analysis. This research method is applicable in a variety of case studies. In some social contexts, however, mono-causal explanations are persuasive; however a mere detailed result may be produced by an exclusive feature regardless of others. The method of settlement is inappropriate to account for various and theoretical antecedent. Contrary, difference goes further, “a double application of the method of agreement (Charles Ragin, 1987).

It explains that if results are different of a dependent variable having similar values for independent variable, then the independent variable is not a significant reason of the result. Such conditions do not exist every time: in the case of water disputes, there are various normal factors that surface, separately, to be neither satiate nor fundamental to generate the consequences of disputes. This expounds the problem of various complications in many occasions. Conflicts rarely or never originate as a consequence of an exclusive and cozily identifiable normal factor. However, there are certain factors that contribute in the occurrence of disputes. As has been shown in this passage, particularly, the variation among unidentifiable and boosting factors, and among those which pertain either to propensity or provocation, are significant in identifying the various factors which enhances disputes.

5. Analysis and Recommendations

This study analysis the state’s discourse concerning the management of river water and identifying that is there any territorial, political or legal changes are made. Water issues are normally associated with the security and mostly negotiations took place between India and Pakistan, neglecting the contributions of Afghanistan and China, except at the time of discussing dam projects. The changing political and water related dynamics demands the involvement of China and Afghanistan in order to resolve the water crisis in a better way. This study tries to explain their involvement and contributions in resolving this conflict. It also explains the importance of dams and there linkage to the national development, its control over water of in subcontinent and neighboring countries.

The national water policy of India, Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM) emphasizes the need to promote the “integrated and sustainable development and management” of water. It focuses on the Central Water Commission’s Dam Rehabilitation and Improvement Program, which explains that a large number of water projects are under development, thus increasing the water

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storage and power generation capacity and in reality blocking the water flow to Pakistan.

Pakistan's Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) has published a report on "Integrated Water Resources Management in Pakistan" which focuses on the need of building new water projects to improve water supply, its storage and power generation, the purpose of IWRM is to utilize and defend this construction.

The base of dialogue between India and Pakistan over water conflict differs and focuses on development and sovereignty narratives. Pakistan claims that dams are for national survival as they generate energy and store water; whereas Indian statements promote the "accelerated development" of water projects for "optimal usage of water allocated to India" under the Indus Water Treaty (IWT). Development and sovereignty makes it a political issue and state's responsibility, avoiding negotiations.

Pakistan's Indus Water Commission's capability to guarantee Pakistan's rights under the Indus Water Treaty has led to question many times. Jamaat Ali Shah who was the former Indus Commissioner was accused and said to be an ally of the Indian league with India as he claimed that India was not stealing Pakistan's water and has the right to establish dams on Pakistan's rivers. After Shah, political, national and security narrative regarding water against India were dominated in Pakistan.

Afghanistan's Salma Dam focuses on "improve the lives of thousands of people" and according to the Afghan President being "committed to control and manage Afghan waters and use them for the development of Afghanistan which will bring economic prosperity and harmony as sustainable development". Afghanistan claims that its dams are related to constant growth and to enhance the standard of living of its people by controlling and managing water as an appropriate way of achieving goals.

Pakistan claims that its water projects are mandatory for solving its water problems and for socio-economic development. Pakistan is running low on the water supply and facing severe crisis of power shortage. The solution to these problems is "to construct storage facilities and improve flood regulation" and "immediate construction of storage dams, not for power alone but for water storage is essential".

India and Pakistan's negotiation regarding water are based on IWT focusing on developing hydro projects. Pakistani Government repeatedly stated that India is not potentially and sincerely confining to its obligations regarding Indus Water Treaty. The plans of under construction projects are basically violating the specified criteria according to the Indus Water Treaty.

India continuously made attempts to disrupt Pakistan of its major concerns under the IWT and has expounded to the fact whether a dispute actually exists. Indian mediators try to avoid such statements that elevate the dispute to international level scale and reinforcing bilateralism. Technical descriptions and means abiding the legal concerns helps to give these concerns as neutral and objective, which conceals the facts laying beneath them in terms of politics and brings in technocrats and engineers as precise performers of law. This disguising of combat politics also allows 'status quo' to remain persistent under the support of collaboration, and permits India to carry on its projects of construction.

In order to resolve and manage the issue of water inadequacy and other related challenges Pakistan should;

- Protect its ground-water aquifers through appropriate parameters that imply administrative and procedural measures such as the controlling the design and development, water licensing, scientifically filling under water resources in vulnerable areas through joined water administered projects.
- Adopt sensible underground water extraction and mining by implementing controls on excessive water pumping.
- Focus on water recycling by adopting advanced measures and using best possible ways and using this water for commercial and agricultural purposes.
- Adopt measure to protect rivers and other water resources through plantation, increasing water storage capacity of dams and protecting hazardous water from reaching water sources.
- Introduce modern irrigation equipment and also give training and financial benefits to the farmers for using such systems.
- Control the mixing of saline water into Indus Deltaic Region and an appropriate flow of fresh water downstream of Kotri made an obligation.
- Use reasonable measures to secure and sustain the ecology of dry river reaches of the three eastern rivers diverted by India under the IWT 1960.
- Execute emergency plans helping in lessen the water scarcity.
- Explore the propensity for joint water-shed management of trans-boundary catchment areas with other nations.
- Use the international laws and forums to shield and guard Pakistan's rights on opposing boundary water inflows.
- Workout on having a water agreement with Afghanistan.
- Adopt and follow ecological conservation practices to promote integrated watershed management upstream.

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**Effects of Turkish TV Drama Ertugrul Ghazi on Youth of
Bahawalpur**

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Abstract

The main objective of this research is to find out the effects of Turkish TV drama Ertugrul ghazi on youth of Bahawalpur. Majority of the respondents agreed that they like, watch, impress and feeling energetic, gain courage of being a true Muslim and become strong warriors against the cruelty and all they want to attain, back the name of Muslims again as Ertugrul Ghazi has done in the past and ruled on three continents by his excellent vision and leadership. The main findings are that this drama created ambition to pride to Islamic culture, it creates brotherhood and bravery and jihad in positive manner for the safety of Muslim Umma and sentimental attachment with Turkey in particularly. The youth also agreed that this drama will bring together both the countries' masses and create soft image about Islamic civilization and Islamic heroes. A positive change after watching this drama is also observed like courage of not give up, strong belief in ALLAH, conviction to stand on principles, and creates courage to say what is right and what is wrong. The research conducted was descriptive in nature. Data was collected from teachers, students, administrators, private job holders and businessman from the Bahawalpur region. Quantitative method was used for collecting data through close ended questionnaire developed on Google form. Furthermore, data was analyzed through statistical analysis that includes

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frequency count etc. The respondents believe that they have got a positive message for a positive change in their life style. Pakistan and Turkey are the most important countries of the Muslim world are also powerful countries; these can unite the Muslim world again to attain the lost dignity.

Keywords: Dramas, Pakistan, Turkey, Television, Youth, Ertugrul Ghazi

Introduction

The Drama serial Ertugrul Ghazi is an adventure and fiction television series from Turkish, Mehmet Bozdog is a creator of this series, the title role for the drama and starring is performed by Engin Altan Duzatan. It was premiered for TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) on December 10, 2014 and pictured in a village of Turkey, Beykoz district of Istanbul, Turkey. This drama serial is about Ertugrul Ghazi, the most famous warrior of the 13th century who was the father of Osman-I. The famous Muslim Empire the Ottoman Empire was founded by Osman-I the son of Ertugrul Ghazi. He was actually a man of ambitious who wants to bring harmony, justice and peace to his people. At the same time, he was in war with multiple warrior groups like the Crusaders, the Byzantines and the brutally Mongols expanding quickly, Mongols were killing a lot of Turks. In between this, he is in a psychological war between his love and his so called destiny (Yesil, 2015). The nomad Turkish tribes, in the new Promised Land fought their way at the time when Middle East is swept through by holy acrimonious crusades. To take charge of the situation in his tribe the young, energetic, motivated, honest, dedicated, true and brave warrior Ertugrul Ghazi became the leader after the death of his father Suleiman Shah, Ertugrul Ghazi was the younger son of his father due to his mentioned strengths he emerged as a leader. Ertugrul Ghazi strived through the bad doers together with his companions from crusaders to Byzantine. Their camps were threatened by the malicious Mongols who were with the maverick Noyan in charge at that time. In the horizon a huge problem was showed. But in all these situations Ertugrul Ghazi not foot back for a single step. He fought bravely and collected successes. Keeping in view the successive history of Islamic world and Ottoman Empire, this remained the world ruling Empire for so many centuries. To recall this world ruling history of the Muslims and inspiring young Muslim nation to gain its destiny again in the world a drama serial named as Ertugrul Ghazi was pictured by Mehmet Bozdog after fame in Muslim world it was also introduced in Pakistan on the special recommendation of Pakistani prime minister Imran Khan. The drama serial Ertugrul Ghazi is a Turkish drama in turkey language for the purpose of entertainment of audiences, it is dubbed into Urdu language. Our TV channels adopted obviously a low cost business strategy. Against the airing of foreign content on Pakistani TV channels, the local directors and artists have raised their voices. However, the quality of our own production is declining but no considerable objection has been raised against that but for character development there is little regard (Nagihan, 2018). Mass media and society are the integral part of each other, Mass Media has been exerting its effects on human so people should know and aware what is the role of Media today. Effects of Media can be defined any changes induced directly or indirectly through News Papers films radio and television. Media effects are the study of behavior and interaction through exposure to the messages. It emphasizes measuring, explaining & predicting communication effects on knowledge, perception, beliefs, attitude and public

opinion. Media Effects not only relates with individual behavior but also rest of the society and its cultural tradition, norms, values & social behavior (Nagihan, 2018). The fame of Turkish dramas on TV channels of Pakistan in these days is particularly due to excitements and their love stories and liked by Pakistani nation. There is mixed response but the majority of Pakistanis are likened these Turkish dramas. When firstly, these dramas were introduced in Pakistan a strong but not long lasting resistance started from local producers and actors because playing the contents of other contraries on Pakistani channels means discouraging the local producers but actually that was doesn't mean. The basic purpose was to strengthen the Muslim Umma and also it was a move toward the globalization and many Turkish dramas will also be presented to this year as well. The drama serial Ertugrul Ghazi and many more Turkish dramas are about the heroic efforts of the father of Osman-I who was the founder of Ottoman Empire. This drama serial is all about the inspiring efforts and steps taken by Ertugrul Ghazi and his successor son Osman and having Islamic thematic concepts and true spirits of earlier Muslims (Nagihan, 2018). It's about the challenges he faced and wisely steps and struggles taken by with his nomadic tribe in tracing out the secure tribes and settlements to live, he not only drawn the way-out not only for his tribes, people and land but also saved liberated other lands and minorities from cruel and oppressive rulers including Mongols and Crusaders. These dramas are full of scenes of treachery, fairness and justice, humbleness, respect for Awliya, greed for power, tawakkul (reliance on Allah), power of zikr, intertwined with tales of love, brotherhood, unity and traditions, emotional at times and spiritually uplifting (Nagihan, 2018).

Statement of Problem

However, this study is related to the effects of Turkish drama in changing the attitudes of youth. This research will explore, how many hours' youth watch Turkish drama Ertugrul ghazi and how youth apply the acts and ideology of actors as role models in their lives. It will also be examined that whether females like the life style of Turkish people as portraying in Turkish dramas or not. Study will also explore whether youth like to talk the content of in Turkish drama. The effects of Turkish drama Ertugrul Ghazi will be examined on the religious beliefs and values of youth. What are the effects of Mass Media? This question has been always the focus of the attention for Researchers. Infect all the researchers of Mass Media revolve with effects study

Scope of Study

This research was conducted in the Bahawalpur region. This study is limited to the impact of drama serial "Ertugrul Ghazi" on the youth of Bahawalpur region. The drama serial Ertugrul Ghazi are the main source for triggering the youth, we may say that this newly introduced drama serial also affecting the life style of youth as well. This study is especially conducted from the youth of this region and it is basically the measurement of cultural impact of the Islamic values and also a factor is mixed with those of shared values of Pakistan culture.

Objectives of Study

1) To investigate that the youth is influenced by the content of Turkish drama Ertugrul Ghazi.

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- 2) To find out that Turkish drama "Ertugrul Ghazi" promoting the Islamic values among youth.
- 3) To explore the effects of Turkish drama on the life styles and mind set of youth.

Literature Review

Media has become the part and parcel of daily routine life therefore; it is become the most powerful tool of communication that has the power to influence public opinion. Furthermore, the audience is so much saturated with media content presented to them. They consciously and unconsciously influenced by the content which was presented therefore, it is stated that media is a source of information and entertainment million and even sometimes it clears conflict as well. Furthermore, Abu Bakar et al, (2016) stated that media enhance the ability to move emotions and also challenge the mind. Outrage or media towards their masses enable it to access the cross border information. While talking about the drama culture, it is a kind of entertainment that explores the human attitude, expresses human behavior and influences their feelings and emotions. Furthermore, these dramas were design to represent the story that usually depicts the reality of story with the help of fiction (Aslam et.al, 2015). Turkish dramas were introduced to Pakistani audience after the supreme court of Pakistan handed down a decision of censorship on Indian soaps (Ansari, 2013). In recent year, Careny (2018) stated that everyone in lockdown, across the globe spent their pastime while watching television. Watching television become the most trending pastime and most of the people subscribed to Netflix in drove and developed a taste for watching drama serial and movies because they were left with nothing to do in the lockdown. In such situation, Dirilis Ertugrul was the most popular series, comprised of five seasons. It wowed audience from the entire globe, including Asia and Middle East. According to the Jakarta Post (2018), Ertugrul Ghazi was proved to be the most popular drama after the very first episode was aired on April 25th on PTV and it broke the records as the most watched TV serial in Pakistan. It crossed almost 133.38 million figures in just first 20 days according to PTV and its views are increasing day by day. Semuhi, (2018) dramas were specially designed with the content to approach the females of the society and to engage them. The foreign content promotes immoral activity which was against the societal and Islamic laws whereas this drama presents the true image of the Muslim females. Moreover, Females play an important role in the progress of any society. This drama presents the Islamic values and norms. Female characters portrayed in this drama are the true epitome of loyalty. These female characters showed that a strong woman can be a true leader and also the true binding force behind the family and society (Zafar, 2017). Media has the power to impact the society and public opinion and the most vulnerable sector of the society is the youth. Foreign content promotes vulgarity, violence and use of drugs as a fashion statement and other social evils as well. On the other hand, the drama Ertugrul presents the role models for the youth to guide them towards their real responsibility (Semuhi,2018).

Research Questions

- 1) Is the youth influenced by the content of Turkish drama Ertugrul Ghazi?
- 2) Is the Turkish drama serial "Ertugrul Ghazi" promoting the Islamic values among youth?
- 3) What are the effects of Turkish drama Ertugrul Ghazi on the life styles and

mind set of youth?

Research Methodology

The Population of this study was including all the youth of Bahawalpur. This research is followed by two ways sampling techniques, the first is from the probability sampling which is stratified sampling in which populations is divided into strata or subgroups who all share a similar characteristic. This sample contains the strata of youth and from that sample group once again a simple random sampling is chosen with aim that the respondent is the continuous viewer of the drama serial. A sample of five hundred (500) has been selected for study, which is considered to be the good one. In this study, five (500) questionnaires were random mode is to be followed for the distribution of questionnaire amongst younger through whatsapp and Facebook groups. Finally, 305 questionnaires were correct and applicable for further proceedings. For the analysis of the data, SPSS was used. Questionnaire was used as a tool for data collection. The questionnaire was consisted of 22 close ended questions. Data was collected through a self-developed questionnaire on Google Form. The link of the questionnaire was sent to almost five hundred targeted population comprising of youth below the age of forty years from which three hundred questionnaires were filled by the respondents. Collected data was arranged and presented in tabular form. To evaluate data, mean score of groups was calculated. For data interpretation following criteria was decided, Mean score above than average is interpreted as respondent's agreement to the statement and below is considered as disagreement of the respondent to the statement, Higher mean score was interpreted as respondents more strongly agreed to the statement and vice versa.

Data Analysis

On the basis of data analyses following findings were drawn:

Table: 1 Age wise detail of respondents.

Sr. No	Items	Frequency	Percent
1	16-20	76	24.9
	21-25	119	39.0
	26-30	47	15.4
	31 and above	63	20.7
	Total	305	100.0

Table 1 shows age wise detail of the respondents. It showed that 24.9% of the respondents were from 16-20 years old, 39.0% were from 21-25 years old, 15.4% were from 26-30 years old and 20.7% respondents were from the age group of 31 and above.

Table: 2 Gender wise detail of respondents.

Sr. No	Items	Frequency	Percent
2	Male	166	54.4
	Female	139	45.6
	Total	305	100.0

Table 2 shows the gender wise detail of the respondents. It is reported that 54.4.0% of the respondents were from male category and 45.6 % were from female category.

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Table: 3 Area wise detail of respondents.

Sr. No	Items	Frequency	Percent	Mean
3	Urban	218	71.5	1.29
	Rural	87	28.5	
	Total	305	100.0	

Table 3 shows the area wise detail of the respondents. It showed that 71.5% of the respondents were from urban areas and 28.5% of the respondents were from rural areas.

Table: 4 Professions wise detail of respondents

Sr. No.	Item	Frequency	Percentage
4	Student	199	65.2
	Teacher	42	13.8
	Administrator	33	10.8
	Private Job/Business	31	10.2
	Total	305	100

Table no 4 shows that 65.2% of respondents were students, 13.8% were teachers, 10.8% were from administration and 10.2% were from private businesses and jobs.

Table: 5 Ertugrul drama watched wise detail of respondents

Sr. No.	Item	Frequency	Percentage
5	Yes	273	89.5
	No	32	10.5
	Total	305	100

Table no 5 shows that 89.5% of respondents agreed and 10.5% disagreed with the statement. Mean score is 1.10. It supported that majority of the respondents like and watch the drama serial.

Table: 6 The detail of the respondents, why they like to watch the drama

Sr. No.	Item	Frequency	Percentage
6	Due to the Islamic history	89	29.2
	Bravery of Muslim worriers impress you	61	20.0
	Due to sentimental attachment with Turkey	120	39.3
	Due to any other reason	35	11.5
	Total	305	100

Table no 6 shows that 29.2 % of respondents watch the drama due to the Islamic history, 20.0 % of the respondents watch drama due to the bravery of Muslim worriers impresses them, 39.3% of the respondents watch drama due to sentimental attachment with Turkey and 11.5% of the respondents watch the

drama due to any other reason. It supported that most of the respondents watch dram due to religious attachment.

Table: 7 This drama creates a soft image of Islamic civilization and Islamic heroes' wise detail of the respondents.

Sr. No.	Item	Frequency	Percentage
7	Yes	292	95.7
	No	13	4.3
	Total	305	100

Table no 7 shows that 95.7% of respondents agreed and only 4.3% disagreed with the statement. Mean score is 1.04. It supported that such type of dramas creates soft image in the mind of Muslims about Islamic civilization and Islamic heroes which was not focused because most of the Muslims are not aware about the history of Islamic heroes.

Table: 8 Opinions of the respondents about the Turkish and Pakistani mindset should work together in a joint venture through mass media

Sr. No.	Item	Frequency	Percentage
8	Yes	277	90.8
	No	28	9.2
	Total	305	100

Table no 8 shows that 90.8 % of respondents agreed and 9.2% disagreed with the statement. Mean score is 1.09. The statement is supported that people are encouraging the collaboration and joint venture of both the mass media of Pakistan and Turkey.

Table: 9 Opinion regarding positive changes to idealize while watching the TV drama Ertugrul Ghazi

Sr. No.	Item	Frequency	Percentage
9	Its creates courage of not give up	32	10.5
	It strong my belief in God	50	16.4
	Its creates conviction to stand on principles	17	5.6
	It stands me to say what is right and what is wrong	30	9.8
	All of Above	176	57.7
	Total	305	100

Table no 9 shows that 57.7 % of respondents chosen the last option that having all characteristics of the asked question like after watching the drama Ertugrul Ghazi the respondents feel a positive change that is its creates a courage of not giving up, stronger my belief in God, creates conviction to stand on principles and it stands me to say what is right and what is wrong. Mean score is 3.88. It supported that this drama is bringing a positive change in the society.

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Table: 10 Opinion regarding liking covered dressing style and jewellery worn by characters of Turkish TV drama Ertugrul Ghazi

Sr. No.	Item	Frequency	Percentage
10	Yes	280	91.8
	No	25	8.2
	Total	305	100

Table no 10 shows that 91.2 % of respondents agreed and 8.2% disagreed with the statement. It is supported that People liked perfectionist style of jewellery.

Table: 11 Opinion of the respondents regarding that any other drama from the history of Muslim warriors will change life

Sr. No.	Item	Frequency	Percentage
11	Yes	238	78.0
	No	67	22.0
	Total	305	100

Table no 11 shows that 78.0 % of respondents agreed and 22.0 % disagreed with the statement. It is supported that other dramas from the history of Muslim warriors will change life style of people that the respondents of this study are expecting.

Discussion and Conclusion

Majority of the respondents were from the age group of 16-30, from joint family system and seventy percent respondents were from urban region and equal representation of the both genders. Majority of the respondents like, watch and have seen almost all seasons through PTV, YouTube, Netflix and other media sources and have opinion that they are impress with the Islamic history that is full of brave warriors and their origin from Turkey bring us close to Turkey their people and media as well to work together with joint venture. The respondents believe that they have got a positive message for a positive change in their life style to bring the Muslim world united and other such type of dramas will also serve the same and better message like this drama. Pakistan and Turkey are the most important countries of the Muslim world are also powerful countries; these both can unite the Muslim world again to attain the lost dignity. Almost equal numbers of genders are chosen from both male and female for the purpose to avoid gender discrimination and pure results of the study from both perspectives regarding gender, and almost 70% sample were from urban, joint family system having family members from 4-9, and mostly were students having spare time to watch drama and having enthusiastic effort for that. The most important is that it is outstanding representations of sample. 85% respondents liked to watch Ertugrul Ghazi drama serial and 90% of the respondents were watching drama regularly through YouTube, PTV, Netflix, and other sources, 46% have watched all seasons of the drama while remaining majority have seen first two seasons, and 29% like drama due to the Islamic history, 20% due to the bravery of Muslim worriers, 40% like due to sentimental attachment with Turkey. 82% respondents like the drama due to culture and attractive character's presentation, 80% respondents agreed that drama brings together the both countries masses, 96% respondents said that the drama creates a soft image about Islamic civilization and Islamic heroes. Question regarding the controversial aspects about the drama, almost 85% respondents

agreed that there were no controversial aspects in drama and all aspect presented in the true way, and also the original names of hero and heroine are known to the majority of respondents. The majority of the respondents agreed that this drama creates ambition to pride to Islamic culture, it creates brotherhood and bravery and jihad in positive manner for the safety of Muslim Umma. 90.8% favored that Turkish and Pakistani mindset should work together in a joint venture through mass media, majority knows that this drama is broadcasted on the recommendation of the Prime minister of Pakistan Imran Khan to awake the Muslim unity, create friendly relationship with Turkey. Majority respondents agreed that they feel a positive change after watching this drama like courage of not give up, strong belief in God, conviction to stand on principles, and creates courage to say what is right and what is wrong and also creates harmony in Muslim world. For the majority of respondents, the character of Ertugrul Ghazi was attractive due to the charming personality, bravery, honesty and leadership style of Ertugrul, dressing style and jewellery and husband wife relationship of Ertugrul Ghazi and Haleema Sultan. Finally, this drama has set an ambition in the mind of the respondents to serve the Muslim world like Ertugrul Ghazi after watching this drama and also new dramas on such pattern from the history of Muslim warriors will highly influence the life style of youth. From question 01 to 07 of part I of the questionnaire was about demographic information which shows that a highly representative sample was selected for the representation of the entire population but from question number 01 to 22 part II were designed on Likert and dichotomous scales and all have been strongly accepted having means scores more than average that have been set as a threshold score for the study. This shows that a strong literature has been built for the study.

Recommendations for Future Research

Such types of dramas should also be dubbed into all languages spoken in all Muslim countries and played. Many other dramas on different Muslim conquerors from the history in true presentation should need to be picturized. A full use of media and technology is required to bring Muslim world united. The mixed cast dramas can also strengthen the Pakistan and Turkey relationship the main powers of the Muslim world. The youth of any country is the future of that country their motivation and brainwashing in positive sense and spirit is need to be done through these mediums like dramas, programs, motivational lectures, guiding consents etc.

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Nawab Sadiq Khan V and England

By

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Abstract

The last ruler of Princely State, Bahawalpur, Sadiq Muhammad Khan V lived the dream of his father, who was a great admirer of England, its scenic beauty, the rustic environment of its villages, the peace and tranquility of its parish areas held a life lasting love and admiration in the heart of Sadiq V. This conclusion can be easily drawn after a close observation and focused research on his frequent travels, the great enthusiasm and passion with which he took part in their festivities and his choice of houses and sceneries in his Mahals of Bahawalpur This article will throw light on those aspects of his life which show his attachment to England, an angle which is hardly researched upon and yet occupied the major part of the Nawab's activities and life.

Keywords: Sadiq, Nawab, Bahawalpur, England, state, Pakistan

The father of Nawab Sadiq-V, Nawab Bahawal Khan-V expressed his views about England by saying this to Abdul Aziz ¹ “I have heard wonderful, incredible things about England and its capital London... Then I shall visit you and you will show me around and tell me what is what.” Abdul Aziz, was friend and schoolmate of Nawab Bahawal-V, these words were spoken to him on the occasion of Nawab's coronation. Unfortunately, this was the last conversation they had but it indicates Nawab's admiration for England. He died without fulfilling his cherished dream. ²

His son Nawab Sadiq V, however, lived to fulfill the dream of his father. In 1912³ he visited England in the company of Mr. E. M. Atkinson, a political Agent of State of Pholkian and Bahawalpur, moreover a respectable tutor of Nawab Sadiq-V. His stay of lasted for 10 months. He stayed at Polak which was a beautiful seaside. This visit left such delightful memories on the mind of young Nawab that soon after coming back to Bahawalpur he again went back to England,

¹ K. K. Aziz's grandfather Gulam Nabi was a medical officer of Nawab Sadiq Khan-IV, Nawab of Bahawalpur State and he stayed in Sadiqghar Palace near the Nawab. For details of services of Gulam Nabi see Aziz, *Portrait of a Punjabi Family 1800-1970*, 244-274.

² Abdul Aziz went away to London in 1904. They wrote to each other when the spirit moved them. Then suddenly in 1907, when Abdul Aziz was still in London... Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan-V died in Bahawalpur. K. K. Aziz, *Portrait of a Punjabi Family 1800-1970: A Journey into the Past*. Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2006. 376.

³ Mary Butterworth, “Sadiq Muhammad Khan V (1904-1966): Last ruler of the Princely State of Bahawalpur” Mary Butterworth, ed. *Graffham Parish News*, December, 2009, 29.

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now his stay was for almost a year. Yet Nawab Sahib could not fully enjoy the peaceful surroundings and refreshing atmosphere, cares and responsibilities of the state called for his attention and he had to come back to India due to the start of World War 1 in 1914.⁴ He could not leave his country till the end of the Great War (1918).

In 1921, the Sutlej Valley Project was started in Bahawalpur; this was a grand project to establish a canal colony at Bahawalpur. This Project fully engaged Nawab Sahib at home from early 1920s to the mid 1930s⁵ but the fruits of this labour tremendously benefitted Bahawalpur and turned it into a prosperous State and Nawab Sahib, into an affluent man.

In 1930's after finishing this project, Nawab Sadiq-V resumed his visits to England for his annual "holiday" and this time he bought a beautiful house in the outskirts of Farnham, Surrey.⁶ Nawab Sadiq-V preferred a residence in a parish area when he could have easily picked some place in the urban areas, which clearly reflects that the fast-paced, modern industrialized life of urbanized areas held no attraction for him, he was pulled by the tranquility and the quiet beauty of England's countryside. He was, as Thomas Hardy would have put it, quite a rustic in that sense.

Even when abroad, he maintained all the paraphernalia which went with his title and position. He was a guest in all the State functions and ceremonies of England and attended the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the King Emperor George V in 1935, than the Coronation of George VI⁷, in 1937. His name appeared, regularly, in the court circular in the Times from the 1930s.⁸ The end of 1930s, the Second World War (1939-45) brought him back to Bahawalpur. Consequently he couldn't go on his annual holidays to Britain, from 1939-1945 but after the war he again started his annual visits to England.⁹ He lived in India during the winters¹⁰ and resided in Selham during summers.¹⁰

⁴ Molvi Muhammad Aziz-ur-Rehman Aziz Bahawalpuri, *Subha Sadiq*. 3rd ed. (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1988), 189-190.

⁵ On 22nd October 1932 formally Sutlej Valley Scheme Headwork start working.

⁶ Mary Butterworth, "Sadiq Muhammad Khan V (1904-1966)", 29.

⁷ King of Great Britain and Ireland and emperor of India from 1936 to 1947; he succeeded Edward VIII (1895-1952)

⁸ Mary Butterworth, "Sadiq Muhammad Khan V (1904-1966): Last ruler of the princely state of Bahawalpur" Mary Butterworth, ed. *Graffham Parish News*, December, 2009, 29.

⁹ Sheila Covey, "His Highness, The Ameer of Bahawalpur: Childhood memories of the Ameer's household in Selham" Mary Butterworth, ed. *Graffham Parish News*, December, 2009. Mrs Covey's Father, William Tilbury, worked for the Ameer as estate manager and head gardener for 35 years, and for part of this time Mrs Covey and her parents lived at Selham House of Amir Sadiq V.

¹⁰ "Ameer's Party is Best Yet" Extracts from Midhurst, Petworth and District Times, 6th January 1961.

In the second half of 1940s Nawab Sadiq would spend most of his time in England. According to Moon, his state was well administrated even in his absence. Moon was the Finance Minister of Bahawalpur State; he further writes “Nawab insisted on going off for the summer to England where he had a house near Farnham in Surrey. He promises, however, to return if any big issue regarding the future of the State has to be decided.” Therefore after 3rd June Plan, “when towards the end of July Lord Mountbatten called the Ruling Princes to Delhi to talk to them about the future of their States, the Nawab flew back to India to attend the meeting” in this meeting it was decided that Bahawalpur State would join Pakistan. After some time, on 14th August 1947 he attended the celebrations of independence in Karachi, on the inauguration of Pakistan, and flew back to England.¹¹

In late 1940s Nawab Sadiq V sold his house at Fernham and bought a house at Selham, Sussex in 1948 and named it as Al-Hilal. Selham was a small village in the Chichester district of West Sussex, England. At time Bahawalpur was enjoying the fruits of Sutlej Valley Projects and Nawab could buy residence wherever he wanted but he again preferred a country so he could be near the innate beauty of England. In 1953 Nawab Sahib attended the coronation function of Queen Elizabeth II¹². At this occasion a superb and Excessively Rare Collar and Badge was bestowed upon His Highness Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan, Abassi-V Nawab of Bahawalpur.¹³

The very next year in 1954 Nawab had shifted to his new house at Selham but missed his previous house at Farnham, when he came to know that the house in Farnham was on the market again, he ‘promptly bought it and moved back, putting Selham House up for sale. Sadly for the Nawab, Selham House did not sell, so he was advised to put both properties on the market. The Farnham House sold quickly, so once again he had to move back to Selham.’¹⁴ Actually this was a hard time for Nawab because in 1954 his State was merged into Pakistan under the One Unit Scheme; most probably that’s why he had to sell his house. Even then he visited his Selham house annually until his death in the mid 1960s.¹⁵

Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan-V didn’t just enjoy the beauty of surrounding but he took an active part in the lives and activities of the

¹¹ Penderel Moon, Mark Tully, Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Divide and Quit: An Eye-Witness Account of the Partition of*

India, (London: Oxford University Press, 1998) 106-107.

¹² She became the Queen of England and Northern Ireland in 1952 on the death of her father.

¹³ It was sold in an auction by Spink & Son Ltd. in London on 24th November 2005 as the Item no.129 and its estimated price was £20,000-25,000. *Auction catalogue SPINK*, Sale name: Orders, Decorations, Campaign Medals and Militaries, Sale No: 5019 this sale was referred as COVENTRY 5019, Auctioned by Spink & Son Ltd, Venue: London, Auction on Thursday 24 November 2005 at 10.00 a.m.

¹⁴ Covey, “His Highness, The Ameer of Bahawalpur, 26.

¹⁵ Covey, “His Highness, The Ameer of Bahawalpur, 26.

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neighborhood. He left no stone unturned to help out the people who lived nearby, without considering the class or creed. Within his house he had British as well as Bahawalpuri servants. English staff¹⁶ ran the household; however personal servants (*Khidmatgar-e-Khas*)¹⁷ were brought over from Bahawalpur each year and had their own apartment. Nawab Sahib liked to walk through the servants' quarters to see whether his servants were living comfortably. In the memories of Sheila Covey, he was a very polite man, and a gentleman. Before he went back to Bahawalpur he always shook hand with his English servants and gave them monogrammed gifts.¹⁸

More than that, he did welfare works for the community in which he stayed. Like during the First World War, Nawab sahib handed over his house to the authorities to be turned into a children's nursery (presumably for evacuees). He also provided a mobile canteen to serve the people in the blitz areas, like surroundings of Graffham. At the end of the war, his house was handed back and was restored.¹⁹ Once he came across some children playing cricket in the road near the Three Moles. As soon as he got back he rang Mr Simmonds, his London solicitor, and asked him to arrange for the correct cricket equipment to be sent to the children and the solicitor followed the instructions.

In addition, he put on a Christmas party every year, for many years for local children in the Empire Hall. They had first class entertainers and caterers and all received lovely presents. The presents were all sent down from London. The parties started in the late 1940's and continued into the 1960's. A local News paper admired Nawab Sahibby saying: 'Children's Christmas Parties in the Empire Hall'²⁰ during 1950's were by all accounts, were wonderful parties with

¹⁶ Manager/Head Gardener, he had six staff in the gardens, kitchen gardener (at Selham it was kitchen gardener, Mr Alf Sargent.), a cook, butler and housemaid as well as Nawab employed additional local people when in residence. Covey, "His Highness, The Ameer of Bahawalpur, 26.

¹⁷ Gulam Rasul Khan (Musheer-e-Khas), Noor Ahmad Khan Baloch and Allah Diwaya Baloch helped Nawab in taking bath and to get dress and wearing shoes. They went everywhere with Nawab even to England. Noor Ahmad Khan even wears English suit and can speak English. Tahir, *Riyasatee Bahawalpur ka Nezam-e-Mumlikat*, 245.

¹⁸ Covey, "His Highness, The Ameer of Bahawalpur, 24-25.

¹⁹ Sheila Covey, "His Highness, The Ameer of Bahawalpur: Childhood memories of the Ameer's household in Selham" Mary Butterworth, ed. *Graffham Parish News*, December, 2009.

²⁰ The Empire Hall was built in 1907 for the village by James Buchanan (later Lord Woolavington) of Lavington

Park. It was originally built to accommodate 400 (including 75 in the gallery!) and was constructed entirely by

men working on the Lavington Estate and in the village under direction of Mr. Buchanan's agent. In keeping with

the ideals of the Edwardian era he named it "Empire Hall" to suggest imperialism, patriotism and nationalism.

presents and entertainers'.²¹ This newspaper further gives an eyewitness account of these parties in following words:

More than 160 children attended a Christmas party in the Empire Hall, Graffham, given by the Ameer & Begum of Bahawalpur. Drawn from Graffham and surrounding villages, the children enjoyed a large tea before professional entertainers amused them with Punch and Judy and conjuring. Afterwards there were presents for all from Santa Claus, with games and dancing to conclude the party. They have held the party annually for 12 years. Each year they try to improve on the previous party and this was undoubtedly the best yet. The Ameer's gardeners decorated the Hall and catering was done by a Worthing²² firm.²³

Nawab Sahib had a passion to collect rare animals; from his collection he donated exotic animals to England zoo on several occasions, including a tiger, a blackbuck²⁴, bustards²⁵, francolins and a camel. He also donated pelicans to St James's park²⁶ in London. Besides the residences at Selhum, in his last years, he also owned an abode in London, although he spent only 2-3 days a week in

²¹ "Ameer's Party is Best Yet" Extracts from Midhurst, Petworth and District Times, 6th January 1961.

²² Worthing is a large seaside town with borough (An English town that forms the constituency of a member of Parliament) status in west Sussex.

²³ "Ameer's Party is Best Yet" Extracts from Midhurst, Petworth and District Times, 6th January 1961.

²⁴ Common Indian antelope with a dark back and spiral horns.

²⁵ Large heavy-bodied chiefly terrestrial game bird capable of powerful swift flight; classified with wading birds but frequents grassy steppes. This bird was once upon a time available in Cholistan Desert of Pakistan but now it is rare to find due to extensive hunting activities. Mostly Sheikhs of Mideast come here for legal and illegal hunt of this bird.

²⁶ St. James's Park is a 23hectare (58 acre) park in Westminster, central London-the oldest of the Royal parks of London; Buckingham palace is in the west of it. In 1531 the land was acquired by Henry VIII who created a deer park nearby and built a hunting lodge that later became St James palace. In 1660 park was re-landscaped for Charles II by Andre Mollet, in French style. In 1664 Russian ambassador presented a pair of pelicans to the king. Pelicans are still offered to the park by foreign ambassadors and remain one of the most popular sights of the park. Near Duck Island there is a park famous as resident pelicans; now days regular visitors can see them at 2:30 am every day.
www.golondon.about.com/_/pelican-1.htm
www.royalparks.org.uk/_/pelicans.cfm

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London to see to his official matters, than returned to countryside residences.²⁷ At London Mr. Simmonds was his solicitor and his chauffeur also stayed in London.²⁸

A residence in London was also a necessity to fulfill the desires of his family as three of his wives were English (and a fourth was Anglo-Indian)²⁹ 'For English wives he would shop at Tiffany's³⁰, Cartier³¹, and Garrard³². The salesman would come to him when he was in England to show the jewels.'³³ After his foreign trips he would enter the harem with tin trunks' for the women of his harem at Bahawalpur. At that time 'they had asked for chemises and chiffons and feathers...'³⁴ Therefore London was a best place for such luxurious shopping for Nawab's harems. This lifestyle also left imprints on the minds of his offsprings as Nawab Sadiq-V's son Sahibzada Muhammad Haroon-ur-Rashid Ahmad Abbasi (b 20th June 1924-1972) married at best hall of England **Caxton Hall**,³⁵ London on 26th September 1947. This was the best place in England for such celebration, most of the celebrities of England arranged their functions in this hall.³⁶ Nawab Sahib died in London on 24th May 1966³⁷, his dead body was brought to Pakistan and buried in his family necropolis in Derawar, Cholistan Desert of Bahawalpur.

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29 The first wife was Jamila Begum Sahiba, whom he married in 1921, was Indian, or Anglo-Indian. Then the second wife was Linda Sayce (d 1933 was English, with her Nawab Sahab got married at Bombay in 1927. Then Nawab's third Marriage was with Mrs. Y. I. Abbasi, this was another English lady by whom he had five daughters. *The Royal Ark*, www.royalark.net, Christopher Buyers. 'The last English wife of the Nawab was known locally as Lady O, because the British officials and the Bahawalpur gentry judged her to be common'. She lived with Nawab sahib till his death. V. S. Naipaul, *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions among the converted Peoples*, New York: Vintage international, December 1999), 332.

30 Tiffany & Co. has been the world's premier jeweler and America's house of design since 1837.

31 Cartier-watches (tank...), wedding and engagement rings, diamond jewelry and others luxury goods of the famous French watchmaker-jeweler. The corporation carries the name of the Cartier family of jewelers whose control ended in 1964.

32 Garrard: world's oldest jewelers, fine jewelry, diamonds, colour gemstones, established London 1735.

33 Naipaul, *Beyond Belief*, 332.

34 V. S. Naipaul, *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions among the converted Peoples*, New York: Vintage international, December 1999), 332.

35

36 Begum Haroon Abbasi born at London in 1931 she was a 16 year old English flower seller named Catherine Scott, than with Katherine Patricia Scott, daughter of a Railway carter from Fulham. <http://www.uq.net.au/~zzhsoszy/ips/b/bahawalpur.html>

37 *Auction catalogue SPINK*

CONCLUSION

This love for England's exotic landscape, forced him to buy houses in England's countryside. Like first he stayed at Polak than Fernham and Selhum. Whenever he came back to Bahawalpur he missed the beauty of English countryside therefore 'For himself he bought English country scenes, and he always had English portrait painters³⁸ come to paint him.'³⁹ This passion of Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan-V for the landscape of the countrysides of England made England his second home.

³⁸ One of them was Lane Cattermole (1898-1992) who painted an officer of 1st Bahawalpur Infantry (Sadiq-Battalion) in 1937.

³⁹ V. S. Naipaul, *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions among the converted Peoples*, New York: Vintage international, December 1999), 332.