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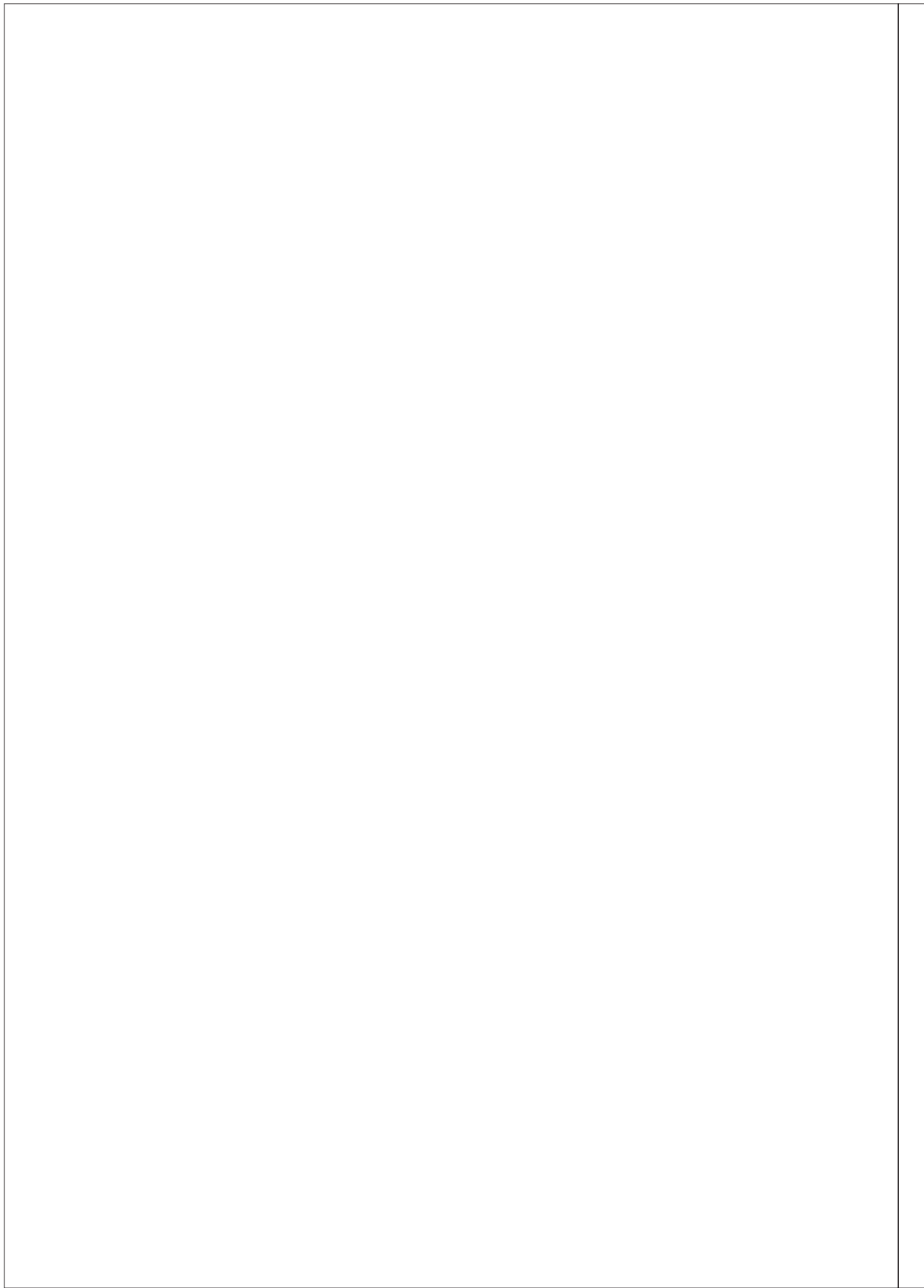
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*Greenwich University*

KARACHI – PAKISTAN

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**Research Journal**

**Faculty of  
Social Sciences**



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**Dr. Yuvaraj Deva Prasad** has a long and distinguished administrative, teaching, and research experience. He was Director of A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies in the rank of Vice-Chancellor from 1994 to 2000. He superannuated as Head of the Department of History in 2003. He was also Dean of the Faculty of Social Science, Patna University. He has been teaching since January 1963 and in Patna University since March 1964. He also taught in U.S.A. and Ethiopia and has been giving occasional lectures in different universities and institutions during his visit abroad. His publications, which are being extensively quoted world over, include books on Indian Muslims, Persian Gulf, American Studies: and research articles on Modern India, British Imperialism and American

ethnicity. He is actively associated with, and holds top positions in several academic and social organizations.

He has a brilliant academic career, and is a recipient of several prestigious national and international awards, fellowships, and distinctions. He is a Fulbright alumnus and a Commonwealth fellow. Professor Prasad was till recently Senior Academic Fellow, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. He has visited and lectured at international conferences in several countries of North America, Europe, Asia and Africa.

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*Under the coordination of Ms. Maryam Janjuah  
compiled by Mr. Abdul Kalam*

**New Horizons, Vol. 8, No.2, July 2014**  
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## **Editor-in-Chief**

### **Introduction to New Editorial Team**

Welcome to the current issue of the New Horizon. As Editor-in-Chief, I am honoured to be part of a journal that aims at bringing together social science researchers from across Pakistan and abroad in one place, enabling them to exchange ideas, identify new research ideas and promote interdisciplinary research in social sciences. The journal covers a wide range of issues, including but not limited to history, international relations, mass communications, psychology, political science, philosophy, development and education. The content ranges from research papers to discussions, political analyses & book reviews. New Horizon focuses on quality research, backed by its panel of local and international reviewers.

The current issue contains a wide range of topics, from the first study which looks at Modern Rights and the Muslim World, and how those two are not mutually exclusive. The paper sets forth an agenda of change and reform that brings both human rights and the Sharia on the same page. The second paper takes a philosophical look at the concept of development in Islam. Rethinking Development Discourse argues for a more ethical framework for development instead of the current capitalist paradigm. Other papers address issues like Cyber Harassment, Good Governance, Disaster Management, Cast-Systems' Analysis, Institutional Politics and Learning Disabilities. The current issue of New Horizon also includes a number of Political Analyses and Book Reviews as part of its contents.

Let me also take this opportunity to introduce the new editorial team for New Horizon. Dr. Arshad Karim, Professor & Dean of Social Sciences and Humanities & Graduate Studies has recently taken on the editorial responsibilities for the New Horizon. Specializing in Good Governance, Public Policy, Education and Public Administration, Dr. Karim is a prolific writer with over five decades of experience under his belt. During his long service to higher education Dr. Karim has helped setup multiple departments and establish numerous HEC recognised journals in Pakistan in order to promote research culture in the country's academia. For me as Editor-in-Chief, it has been a pleasure and privilege to work

with Dr. Karim and to learn from his vast experiences in academics, both domestic and international.

New Horizon's current issue exemplifies the diversity of research that exists in social sciences in Pakistan and hopes to provide local and international researchers a platform in which to showcase it. Under the guidance of Dr. Karim's rich experience and the support of his Assistant Editors Ms. Amrat Haq & Ms. Rizwana Amin, I have great expectations from New Horizon and look forward to its growth as a premier social sciences research journal in Pakistan.

**Prof. Dr. A.Q. Mughal**  
Editor-in-Chief  
New Horizon

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## **An Argument in Favour of Modern Rights in the Muslim World**

**Ishtiaq Ahmed\***

*This paper examines the concept of rights and argues that it represents a movement against hierarchy and towards equality and democracy. It evolved as a social and political value in the West over several centuries. Such evolution took place because of top-down reforms as well as bottom-up popular struggles of the oppressed classes of society. The political and religious establishments put up a fierce resistance to such movements. After the Second World War the idea of rights gained universal recognition through the UN Charter of 1945. Both Western and non-Western societies incorporated them into their legal and constitutional systems. An example is India. Rejecting the caste system it instituted affirmative action in behalf of the so-called Untouchables and tribal people known as Adivasis. In the Muslim world the idea of rights and equality is rooted in Islam's foundational principles. However, Islamic law, the Sharia, was elaborated more than a thousand years ago. Consequently the standards set for rights and equality by the Sharia are in need of development and modernization. The paper sets forth an agenda of change and reform that should make such change possible.*

**Key Words:** *Modern rights, hierarchy, equality, democracy cast-system, untouchable, Adivasis, Sharia*

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*\*Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed is a visiting professor at LUMS, Lahore.*

## **Rethinking Development Discourse: An Introduction to Philosophical Perspective of “Development” in Islam**

**Akhtar Baloch\* & Nazim Aman\*\***

*“The idea of Development stands today, like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Its shadow obscures our vision.” (W. Sachs)*

*The study of development has become a catchphrase in the disciplines ranging from politics to economy. It has become a “pious hope” of bringing positive change in individuals, institutions and societies leading to the increase standards of living and a better life. It involves time factor as an important ‘comparison scale’; for instance, as compared to limited developed in a manner aimed at providing multiple choices and standards of education, health, economy and social life for the individual. Considering development as a pious beam of hope for the majority of deprived population of the world, still its materialization and achievement is a fantasy.*

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*\*Dr. Akhtar Baloch is Professor & Chairman Department of Public Administration, University of Karachi*

*\*\*Mr Nazim Aman is a Ph.D. Scholr at University of Karachi.*

## **Cyber Harassment and Its Implications on Youth in Pakistan**

**Erum Hafeez\***

*Social Media Technology (SMT), a relatively new phenomenon in Pakistan, has gained immense popularity in a short span of time while transforming the ways in which the youth of Pakistan communicate, interact and socialize. According to International Telecommunication Union Report (2013), Pakistan is having an estimated mobile penetration of 70 percent and internet penetration of 16 percent by mid-2013; including more than 125 million mobile subscribers - a figure that ranked Pakistan 5th largest mobile phone market in Asia. Besides with more than 30 million Pakistani Netizens and around 8 million Facebook users, one can only imagine the potential effects of this rapidly growing media on the youth. Finding of this study reveal that approximately 36 percent of the respondents have been victims of social media harassment at some point in their lives whereas the ratio of female victims is markedly higher than that of male users (61% vs. 39%). Most of the harassment occurs at the social networking sites and instant messaging platforms where people share their personal information and pictures publicly. Online harassment often causes distress and depression in subjects' personal, academic and professional lives. However, majority of the victims who are subjected to online harassment do not label it as such and consequently never report it.*

**Key Words:** *Cyber Harassment, Social Media, Online Crimes, Pakistani Youth, Communication Transformation*

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*\*Dr. Erum Hafeez is Associate Dean Social Sciences, Greenwich University, Karachi.*

## **Good Governance in Pakistan Analysis of Threats and Opportunities**

**Syed Humayun\***

*Good governance in public sector has become the imperative need of hour in Pakistan. There are different ways to address the issue: one by taking different reorganizational measures in institutions and secondly by taking different isolated steps to control the situations. The institutions that need to be strengthened are Parliament, Supreme Court, Accountability Commission, Public Service Commission, Election Commission, State Bank, and Ombudsman's office. Reforms is needed in the mind set of civil bureaucracy. Other good governance steps are needed in the fields of reducing the size of government and institutions, achieving economy in governmental expenditures, improving tax collections system etc. The way to good governance is replete with insurmountable difficulties but it is unavoidable.*

**Key words:** *Governance, corruptions and reforms*

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*\*Dr. Syed Humayun was a Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Karachi.*

## **Afghan Elections: Some Reflections**

**Nasir Islam\***

The Presidential Election 2014 has been called the most important election in Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban. Ethno-linguistic factors influence the politics in Afghanistan, and the same is expected to play a decisive role in the upcoming elections. Whether elected or not, the Heads of the state, in Afghanistan have always been Durrani Pushtuns. Despite the rejection by any contemporary Afghan analysts and politicians, ethnicity will remain an important variable in the present elections. Provincial/regional breakdown of votes still reveal a significant relationship between ethnic/linguistic origins and affiliations of the candidates and voting pattern. The current paper takes a closer look at these affiliations and patterns, trying to evaluate the impact these may have on the outcome of the 2014 Presidential Elections in Afghanistan.

**Keywords:** *Afghanistan, elections, 2014, Ethno-linguistic factors*

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*\*Dr. Nasir Islam was a Professor of Governance and Public Policy, University of Ottawa.*

## **Politics in Academia: A Case of the University of The Punjab Nasira Jabeen\* & Amani Moazzam\*\***

*Organizational politics has been recognized as one of the most important factors which lead to the attainment and utilization of scarce resources at the workplace. Over a decade of research on this factor has not completely put forth its clear definition or the impact it has on the workplace. The current study takes organizational politics to a new setting of academia which it has neglected up till now. The study adopts a comprehensive research methodology and utilizes both quantitative and qualitative research methods from obtaining information from the faculty of the University of the Punjab, an oldest seat of learning in the public sector of Pakistan to investigate the use and effect of politics in academia if any. The results help us to conclude that like all other organizations, whether in services, industry or manufacturing academia also shares the same principles as they all share in the form of the human resources, organizational design and structure elements. Even the teachers and professors indulge in the political behavior to preserve their vested their interests. The paper, however, points to some interesting differences with regards to the use of politics in academia in the specific cultural context of Pakistan on the basis of gender and recommends the management strategies including the networking, political skills, conflict management and interpersonal skills to deal with organizational politics.*

**Key words:** *Academia, faculty, gender, organizational politics*

---

*\*Dr. Nasira Jabeen is Director at the Institute of Administrative Sciences, University of Pubjab, Lahore.*

*\*\*Dr. Amani Moazzam is an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Administrative Sciences, University of Punjab, Lahore.*

## **Problems and Prospects of Good Governance in Pakistan**

**Abu Rashid Jafri\* & Farida Faisal\*\***

*Good Governance is a burning issue in Pakistan. Poor state of governance in Pakistan is the cause of suffering from a number of social, political and economic problems. Presently the country is passing through a series of painful problems including political crisis, socio-economic faults, energy crisis, security threats, insurgency in Balochistan, day to day suicide bombings in cities and an overall worst situation of law and order in the country. In view of the multiple problems of all kinds faced by the country this paper analyses the concerned issues and suggests economic political and administration measures to retrieve the deteriorating system of governance in in the country. Key issues discussed in the manuscript include; Governance, Good governance, Manifestations of good governance and Panorama of good governance in Pakistan. Remedial measures to face the problem of poor governance in Pakistan.*

**Key words:** *Governance, Good governance, Panorama of good governance in Pakistan, World Wide Governance Indicators (WGI).*

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*\*Dr. Abu Rashid Jafri is an Eminent Professor of Public Administration, University of Punjab, Lahore.*

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## **Impact of Caste System on Voting Behavior: A Comparative Study of Punjab (Pakistan) and Bihar (India) Affecting Process of Democratization of a Political Society**

**Arshad Syed Karim\***

*Examining the impact of caste system on voting behavior this study deals with a comparative analysis of the two provinces, Punjab of Pakistan and Bihar of India. The two provinces have been picked up representing the study of caste system in Muslim society on the one hand and the caste behavior in the Hindu society on the other hand. This study is based on the many factors analysis such as understanding democracy, voting behavior, impact of culture, and political culture of these two societies. It is a descriptive study based on research which shows that the authority of the people is continuously affected because of caste influence which delays the democratic process in both societies.*

**Key Words:** *Punjab, Bihar, Caste-system, Muslim, Hindu, Voting Behavior, Political Culture, Ethno-Regional System, Bridari, Zat.*

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## **Disaster Management in Pakistan: A Case Study**

**Sajjad Naseer\***

*The global ecological imbalance is manifesting through natural disasters with increasing devastation of human lives, property, agriculture, and natural resource etc. particularly in the last decade or so. Such disasters have hit Pakistan on a recurring basis in recent times. The earthquake of 2005 in northern Pakistan led to the creation of National Disaster Management Authority along with its chapters in the four provinces. This Authority along with provincial setups has yet to demonstrate functionality to address the consequences of natural disasters. Inadequacies in terms of infrastructure and structural functionality are clearly obvious. This paper argues that the tier of local government is the focal point where goods and services can be delivered to mitigate the consequences of natural disasters. Hence, it is asserted that there is an urgent need to proceed with the local bodies elections to deal with this natural menace in the years to come. This sine qua non for the implementation of policy decision in this regard.*

**Key Words:** *Ecology, natural disaster, infrastructure, local bodies, agriculture*

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## **Learning Disabilities in School-Going Children**

**Zahra Sethi\***

*Learning disabilities are quite common among children around the world but in Pakistan they often go undetected due to lack of awareness. The aim of the present study is to explore the problems faced by school going children with learning disabilities, especially dyslexia, and what techniques can be used to accommodate these children in normal classrooms in Karachi. This was achieved using both secondary and primary data. Secondary data was collected using reports, books, and peer reviewed journal articles. Primary data was collected using semi- structured interview questions. Five clinical psychologists with at least one year of field experience were selected to participate in the study since they are well aware of different learning disabilities. The data was analyzed using a qualitative approach showing that using a number of teaching techniques the learning of children with dyslexia can be significantly improved. With the support of teachers and parents, children with dyslexia can be facilitated in a normal school with non-dyslexic students.*

*Keywords: learning disabilities, dyslexia, slow learners, retarded.*

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## **Political Analysis**

### **Narendra Modi and the Indian Constitution**

**Ishtiaq Ahmed\***

Will the constitution effectively restrain his neo-fascist proclivities? When in power, will he discard his tainted past and become the prime minister of all Indians or will his anti-Muslim tactics, which partly explain his rise to power, prove too enticing a temptation?

Indian voters have now given their verdict: a majority wants the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to form the next Indian government under the premiership of Narendra Modi. According to the latest count, the BJP has won 282 of the 543 seats of the Lok Sabha. Along with its allies, it can probably achieve 337 seats, which is a formidable majority. Congress has suffered its worst rout. The most interesting thing to study from now onwards will be how Modi relates to the Indian constitution. The Indian constitution is an outstanding exercise in secular, democratic and progressive constitutionalism. In some senses of the word, its secular-democratic credentials are stronger even than that of many western democracies. By introducing reserved seats for the Dalits and Adivasis in various legislatures, educational institutions and government jobs, it committed itself to affirmative action meant to help a despised section of Hindu society overcome historical disadvantage going back many centuries.

Let me say emphatically that its architects, Dr Ambedkar, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru constituted a remarkable variety of views and philosophies individually but they complemented one another in producing the Indian constitution. This is not to deny that the ideas and values underlying the constitution fermented over a period of more than half a century and the overwhelming majority of the Indian Constituent Assembly had been groomed and seasoned into a vision that upheld inclusive and universal citizenship without any reference to caste or creed. It is a sui generis type of secularism: not one that categorically separates state and religion but one that prescribes equidistance from all religions because South Asia is probably the most religion-intoxicated region of the world and that reality cannot be wished away. Undoubtedly, the long premiership of Nehru was crucial for India in becoming a modernising democracy.

This is not the first time that an organisation and movement rabidly opposed

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the secular democratic ethos of the constitution: the Rashtiya Swayamsevak Singh (RSS) has had one of its leading figures elected as prime minister. However, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee was a poet, a man of cultivation and learning and once in power he transformed into a man of peace and worked sincerely to achieve it in relation to Pakistan.

Modi has a very different background and orientation, and even if some official enquiries have not found him directly involved in the infamous carnage of Muslims in 2002, one would be a complete fool not to realise that such investigations can be partial and biased. After all, General Dyer was acquitted by a similar enquiry of the murder of innocent Indians — Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs — at Jallianwala Bagh on April 13, 1919, and George W Bush managed to secure a mandate from the US Congress to attack Iraq in 2003 — a decision described as unlawful by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. However, in the court of history and world conscience, all three are guilty of crimes against humanity. Ironically, the US even imposed a ban on Modi visiting that country.

With regard to democracy, its imperfections and dangers have resulted in notorious outcomes. Plato deplored Athenian democracy for sentencing to death the most learned man of those times, Socrates. Hitler's ascent to power received a dramatic breakthrough when the Nazis, through democratic elections, became the biggest party in parliament. Israel's democracy continues to perpetuate the occupation of Palestinian territory, Iran's Majlis has enacted laws that restored stoning to death of alleged adulterers and the persecution of the Bahai minority. Pakistan's democracy maintains barbaric laws.

Considered in the light of the above background, one can say that the most interesting thing about Modi is going to be his relationship to the Indian constitution. Will the constitution effectively restrain his neo-fascist proclivities? When in power, will he discard his tainted past and become the prime minister of all Indians or will his anti-Muslim tactics, which partly explain his rise to power, prove too enticing a temptation? These will be issues and problems we all will be watching.

Modi has also built for himself a notorious anti-Pakistan reputation. Ironically, Pakistan rightwing forces are quietly celebrating his triumph. In a bizarre way it vindicates their anti-minority and anti-human rights disposition. That a lawyer defending an individual charged with blasphemy (Rashid Rehman) can be slain or a journalist who is critical of the Taliban (Raza Rumi) escapes an assassination attempt while an elected government is in power speaks volumes about the type of democracy that exists in Pakistan. If now, in India, someone with a comparable

past is prime minister, what has happened to Indian secularism and democracy?

I would like to advise India's future prime minister: do not let your jingoism dictate your foreign policy. Any military adventure will be met with a determined response from Pakistan. I do not say this because of latent ultra-nationalism but as a political scientist who has recently published a book that, among other things, looks at the wars between the two countries. To the ISI and the Pakistani military my plea is: please ensure that another terrorist attack along the lines of the November 26, 2008 outrage in Mumbai does not take place. It will force India to take punitive action. Irresponsible militarism can plunge this region into a nuclear war, which would effectively destroy a region famous as the cradle of some of the earliest civilisations.

Indian democracy has proved that the old order and caste hierarchy are seriously dissipating because a man of very humble origins (class-wise and caste-wise) has been elected to the highest executive office of India. Modi has also built his reputation as a development genius; most Indians voted for him in the hope that economic development would accelerate under his rule. I hope he puts such skills to the service of India and its millions of impoverished masses, including the Muslims. In Pakistan, we should be willing to learn from him; who knows, maybe we can be partners in peace and prosperity. Nothing is written in the stars. I do not believe in miracles. It is we human beings who can change the direction of history and, no doubt, leaders play the pivotal role in such transformations.

*Note: With complements from the Daily Times, Lahore*



## **The Indian Elections 2014**

**Yuvaraj Deva Prasad\***

Elections 2014 have received worldwide praise for the peaceful transition of power in India. Narendra Modi becoming the prime minister of India has been equated in some quarters with the ‘Margaret Thatcher moment’ in Britain. Thatcher became the prime minister in 1979 after the ‘winter of discontent’ – a national mood of gloom and doom following a spate of nationwide strikes. At that point in time, Britain needed a strong leader to deal with her problems. Similarly, Modi has come to occupy the prime minister’s chair after the ‘summer of discontent’ following disclosure of a number of scams and unbridled price rise. India also yearned for a strong and imaginative leadership to get her out of the morass that engulfed her during the second UPA government.

Modi himself called the Elections 2014 a ‘big turning point’ for the twenty-first century. It has indeed been remarkable on many counts. Manoj Ladwa, the London based solicitor, who headed Modi’s communication team in Delhi, expressed his views in the following words: “We studied the Barack Obama and Tony Blair campaigns, but this was a Modi campaign and it will be seen as a benchmark in political campaign’. True, this election will form a unique chapter in history for some of its amazing features.

Elections 2014 is being applauded for its efficiency, and it has truly been a logistical achievement. Planning for this major event began over 18 months ago, and the Election Commission leadership was clearly focused on delivering an efficient, quiet and high quality election with minimum glitches. The sheer size of the Indian electors is mind-boggling to most outsiders – 830.5 million voters, 900,000 polling stations, 8,000 candidates across 543 Lok Sabha constituencies in the world’s largest democracy that demands involvement of men and machine of a scale unthinkable anywhere else in the world. The largest size of poll staff was deployed in this election – precisely 669,000 poll officials across 543 constituencies drawn entirely from the central and state bureaucracy. Helplines were set up at the constituency level, state level and at Delhi headquarters to immediately organize raids and seize cash. This enabled seizures of cash of Rs 313 crore, 2.2 lakh litres of liquor valued at Rs 1000 crore and 1.85 lakh kg of drugs. For the first time in the Lok Sabha polls, the Commission operated an expenditure monitoring division headed by a senior officer of income tax department.

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There were nine long phases to conduct the elections as forces had to be made available for quick turnaround. The Commission, by rotating forces across multiple phases, optimized the services of over 800,000 paramilitary personnel during the elections. Such large number of troops had to be rotated across the length and breadth of the country nine times over the nine phases of the polls via Indian Railways. Over 570 special trains were dedicated for election duty to rotate the troops. Additionally, over 50 helicopters were deployed on poll day duty, which made over 1500 sorties. The Commission also made innovative polling booth security management. As against an isolated state election where it could provide 100 per cent paramilitary force deployment, in a general election the same forces are deployed across the country. This makes the force availability limited to about 20–30 per cent of sensitive polling stations, besides 100 per cent deployment in the Left Wing Extremism areas. In the initial phases of this election, the Commission started taking the preferences of political parties in deploying the limited available paramilitary forces in various polling stations. This enabled political parties to feel a sense of participation in security arrangements and went a long way in retaining faith in the security arrangements.

The greatest achievement of this election has been the highest turnout in the history of Indian elections. This was facilitated by a voter awareness programme ‘SVEEP’, introduced nationwide with major celebrities roped in as brand ambassadors. National icons like former President of India APJ Abdul Kalam and the cinema icon Aamir Khan greatly helped in voter awareness. The women voters have gone up from 55 to 65 per cent which has contributed to the overall increase of the voting percentage. In 16 states and Union Territories, women recorded higher turnout than men. Success was also achieved in the area of eliminating urban apathy. The participation of urban voters also increased significantly by 13 to 20 per cent in different mega cities and urban centres. Also, the Commission took up a special campaign for registration of voters on election eve for the first time.

It took note of the general complaint of some voters, particularly in big cities, whose names were not found in the current list when they went to the voting booth though they had voted in previous elections. So the Commission, when it announced the election schedule on March 5, also announced registration for filing application on the same day if voters did not find their names. Over 82 lakh applications for enrolment were filed in one single day. It also put in place a special complaint management machinery. In the last two months, the election machinery filed over 16,000 FIRs and issued 3000 paid news notices in which 700 were confirmed. This amounts to an average of 300 FIRs and 50 paid news



cases each day, with more than one in some constituencies. The Commission also managed to complete diligence on each complaint and directed it to its logical conclusion. Depending upon the complexity of the case, suitable investigation by field staff had been undertaken and further action was taken. Over Rs 2000 crore worth of inducement materials were seized by expenditure management monitoring.

This election also marked the first large scale deployment of flying squads and static surveillance teams. Over 21,000 teams were deployed amounting to 40 flying squads in each parliamentary constituency. Helplines were set up at the constituency level, state level and at Delhi headquarters to immediately organize raids and seize cash. This enabled seizures of cash of Rs 313 crore, 2.2 lakh litres of liquor valued at Rs 1000 crore and 1.85 lakh kg of drugs. For the first time in the Lok Sabha elections, the Commission operated an expenditure monitoring division headed by a senior officer of income tax department. A record 667 expenditure observers, more than one in some constituencies, were deployed in this election to monitor expenditure of candidates.

The mandate on the biggest democracy polls in the world is out and it is a historic one. For the first time, a non-Congress government has pulled off a landslide victory, and more importantly for the first time all caste factors have been transcended. It is an awakened democracy that has chosen the next government. And hopefully, that zeal will continue through the next five years because the job of a true democracy never ends. BJP under Modi got 282 seats and an outright majority which is certainly its highest ever tally. The tally of 44 seats for the Congress is a historic low for the party. BJP has dominated the 2014 election result with an unprecedented margin. A margin, because of which for the first time in our democratic history, there is no one single party that can sit in the opposition. The INC and the AAP were completely routed in majority of the states. Outside of BJP, the only parties that did well were regional powerhouse, AIADMK, Trinamool Congress, and the Biju Janata Dal. The biggest surprise, even for the BJP, were the UP results, where a staggering 71 seats were won by the BJP and the Congress was left with just 2 seats. In Rajasthan, Gujarat, Uttarakhand and Delhi, it was a complete whitewash by the BJP. Only regional satraps, Naveen Patnaik, Jayalalithaa and Mamata Banerjee managed to retain a hold on their states.

The vote percentage for BJP however is not impressive as it got only 31 per cent of total vote in 2014, but it's remarkable that though the BJP got the lowest ever vote share it was able to secure an absolute majority. Some other significant

features of the election include the partisanship displayed by the media, corporate houses, and non-resident Indians. The media was probably never as one-sided as it was during this election campaign. It is difficult to assess the support given to Modi by Indian corporate houses as their deals are not very transparent but there is no denying the fact that they openly backed Modi. As regards NRI community, they have been traditionally supporters of the right wing causes and it was not surprising when they backed BJP and Modi during 2014 election. The impact of social media must also be taken into account as a contributing factor for Modi's win. Modi commands the largest group of Twitter followers of any Indian politician and one of the highest of any politician in the world. Modi also addressed a staggering number of rallies to reach out to people of India. The 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha is bound to reflect this polarized election campaign and the personality of Narendra Modi will certainly dominate the House. He has been presented as a messiah-like figure, who alone can address the anxieties and fears of the youth, the neo-middle class and the unknown 'silent majority'. However, an analysis by the Association for Democratic Reforms has shown that 82 per cent of the winners are multimillionaires. It is dominated largely by middle-aged rich men and their influence on the proceedings of the house cannot be underestimated. Another interesting feature of this house is that despite the fact woman voters outnumbered men in 16 of the 28 states and 7 union territories, only 62 women (11 per cent) have been elected, which is more or less similar to earlier parliaments. This is not a good signal towards empowering women. Another concern raised by the 2014 election is regarding the representation of minorities, especially of Muslims, which is the lowest since the first general election of 1952. Only 22 Muslims have been elected and the treasury benches have none. This amounts to an imbalance where 11 per cent minority population will have only 4.4 per cent representation.

The 2014 verdict also marked an expression of vote against dynasty politics. BJP played the anti-dynasty card by juxtaposing the humble tea-seller background of Narendra Modi with the aristocratic trappings of the Congress's first family. In doing so, it fired the imagination of commoners where anyone could rise to the top through sheer hard work. This is something that the dynasty based parties failed to grasp. Though Sonia Gandhi and Rahul Gandhi could thwart the challenge, the Congress had to pay a heavy price. Not only that, the polls also saw the decimation of other dynasty based regional outfits while the DMK in Tamil Nadu, the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, and RLD in Uttar Pradesh all failed to win a single seat. In Bihar, Lalu Prasad's wife Rabri Devi, and daughter Misa Bharti both lost as RJD's candidates and the party could manage

only 4 seats. Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi party was reduced to 5 seats in its bastion UP. The electorate clearly chose to give dynasty the boot and discarded the patronage politics of family based parties. On the other hand, non-dynasty parties such as AIADMK in Tamil Nadu, BJD in Odisha and Trinamool Congress in West Bengal managed to push back the BJP wave on their home turf, only because these leaders were not hoisting their sons and daughters on them.

### **The Election as an Indian Awakening**

The greatest impact that the elections had was on the consciousness of the nation. The Indian elections of 2014 marked the rise of a new national consciousness. It seemed that the citizens of the country realized that India indeed has a government, and that the citizens have to get involved with the political environment for the government to be effective and for the country to progress. Up until these elections, the national consciousness was in a slumber. There existed a prosaic saying that "China grows because of its government and India grows despite its government," that could occasionally be found in online discussions or heard in casual conversation, usually between an Indian and a non-Indian. This phrase provides insight into the perceptions people have of the Indian government. There was a sense that the policies and actions of the government were simply impeding growth and progress, primarily because of the larger-than-life bureaucracy.

To say the least, the expanse between the political class and the non-political class was gigantic. The politicians seemed to be living on one planet, and the citizens seemed to be living on another. Each class of people was ignorant of the other's existence. This disconnect became conspicuous when debating global issues with non-Indians. Discussions turned into monologues which consisted the other person telling this author about gap between the political system in his country and the political system in India. Those were dangerous situations to be in because the temptation was to accept and parrot biased opinions about a political system he had probably read about from some biased newspaper. But the rise of a new consciousness and growing political awareness among the different strata in society has changed things. Unlike before, it doesn't seem taboo to talk about the policies that are implemented by the government or even to discuss the daily occurrences in the Lok Sabha (lower house).

Political discourse can frequently be heard on the streets, in shops, between family members, and even between friends. It's become common to discuss politics with the auto-wallah (rickshaw driver) or listen to their opinions. Voting has become "cool". Famed cricketer Sachin Tendulkar flew to Mumbai from

Dubai to cast his vote and then flew back to Dubai. Even attempting to analyze political candidates or make fun of them has become fashionable. Political discourse has entered everyday life. Some people would argue that the dissemination of political awareness across one billion people belonging to a multitude of religions and speaking a multitude of languages is a dangerous thing. In the future, finding a policy that has the potential to satisfy such a diverse amount of political observers will become a tiresome task. Almost every policy will have some detractors, who will foresee it harming their personal interests. Because of these detractors, policy making will perhaps become even slower. But that's just one side of the coin. The other more positive side hints that the entrance of political discourse in everyday life is a great thing. Primarily this is because citizens won't feel that they are part of some different planet, and that the policies that the government makes won't affect them at all. With an increased awareness about the political system and an enhanced voice in the political decision making process, the people who vote now feel that they have a stake in the welfare of the country and thus, they share at least some responsibility for its performance. That increased stake will definitely make decision taking by the government slow, but it will enhance national loyalty.

Finally, the entrance of political discourse in everyday life will also open up more career options for aspiring politicians. No more will politics be reserved for the chosen individuals and families. Ordinary people, without any connections, will now have an option of entering politics. These people will have to prove their worth, and will have to have some sort of skill. This requirement will make sure that the political class is more responsible and better qualified than it has been hitherto. Other impacts too will be felt in time. Meanwhile, the rise of a national consciousness will continue to change thoughts, notions, and people. And the changes have just begun. At one point of time, it was common for someone to wonder, "Whether India will change". The answer to that question is obvious. Now, it is common for someone to wonder, "When will the changes come". The change has begun. Already the BJP's landslide victory has injected a strong sense of optimism in India's financial markets. The key is now to take this optimism to the real sector with policy prescriptions that will yield tangible results.

The election results could be an "inflexion point" for India's story and the country's GDP is likely to accelerate to 6.8 per cent over the next two years, a Morgan Stanley report says. Inflation, on other hand, is expected to head towards 6 per cent, it added. "We now feel more confident that India will emerge from the stagflation type of environment over the next few quarters," Morgan Stanley said. "The GDP growth is to accelerate by 210bps over the next 8 quarters to 6.8 per

cent. Inflation will finally head towards RBI's comfort zone of 6 per cent over the next two years," it said in a research note. While India's structural story has been very strong, the pace of reforms has been slow in the recent years holding back its growth. Reforms that could follow post elections will improve the business sentiment, thereby lifting corporate sector profitability and incentivizing a revival in private investment, experts believe. "The election outcome has only increased our confidence in our forecast that India is on course to achieve an average real GDP growth of 6.75 per cent over the next 10 years, taking its nominal GDP from \$1.9 trillion to \$5 trillion," Morgan Stanley said. Risks to Morgan Stanley's forecast are weaker than expected global growth and slower than anticipated pace of policy reform. As per the report, some of the near term challenges for the Indian economy in the next 12 months include El Nino and pace of recovery of exports, while some of the medium term challenges for the economy are global environment and reform momentum. On equity markets, the report said that given the mood of the market, an "overshoot" is possible. Morgan Stanley's Index target is 26,300 for June, 2015 compared to its previous target of 21,280. "The GDP growth is to accelerate by 210bps over the next 8 quarters to 6.8 per cent. Inflation will finally head towards RBI's comfort zone of 6 per cent over the next two years," it said in a research note. While India's structural story has been very strong, the pace of reforms has been slow in the recent years holding back its growth. Reforms that could follow post elections will improve the business sentiment, thereby lifting corporate sector profitability and incentivizing a revival in private investment, experts believe.

In order to bring economic reforms priority must be given to present day globalized nature of economy. The domestic house could be set in order only when external engagements must also go hand in hand. India's economy can get a boost by reviving investment and reenergizing the manufacturing sector for which capital and technology flows from advanced industrial economies will be required. This could be achieved by providing greater attention to countries like the United States, Germany and Japan. But more importantly India's emergence as a regional and global power will squarely depend on its relationship with neighboring countries. India's economic progress will be jeopardized and security concerns will have negative impact on developmental issues if our neighbourhood is politically unstable and economically deprived. In fact the new dispensation made a good beginning by inviting the heads of governments of SAARC nations for the swearing-in ceremony of Narendra Modi on May 26<sup>th</sup> 2014. Modi himself observed that "It was right initiative at the right time and that the whole world was still talking about it". It was the maiden occasion when leaders of all seven

SAARC countries were invited. As such, it was read as an attempt to reach out to neighbors. India is the eighth country of the grouping. Mauritius, too, was invited. Modi took the unprecedented step because peace in its neighborhood would be conducive for India to break out economically and similar considerations also apply to Pakistan, and that is why Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif accepted the invitation.

The most important outcome of this historic initiative was the Modi-Sharif meet on May 27<sup>th</sup> which can turn a new chapter on Indo-Pak relations. The key reason why peace can break out while Modi and Sharif are in-charge was stated by Sharif on Indian soil that both governments now have strong mandates in their respective countries. There is absolutely no reason to doubt Sharif's commitment to peace with India – he actually made this a plank of his election campaign and won handsomely last year. In fact, terror remains the only outstanding issue between the two nations in a manner of speaking as a template for resolving even the thorny Kashmir dispute had been arrived at between Pervez Musharraf and Manmohan Singh before former fell from power and grace. Now that Modi and Sharif have agreed to pursue talks at the Foreign Secretary level, the peace process should be continued so as to normalize relations and usher in an era of trust and prosperity. Still, when Sharif returned to Pakistan, he had to face a volley of criticism for not meeting Hurriyat leaders and also not raking up controversial issues like Kashmir. However, it was pleasing and comforting to note the comment made by a member of his delegation, Sartaj Aziz, Political Adviser to Prime Minister, that the visit was a success “more than expected (ummeed se zyada achchha)”. This summing up of Sharif's visit is in harmony with Modi's oft repeated campaign slogan “Aachhe din aane waale hain (Good days are to come)”.

## **The Sovereignty Debate in Pakistan: Sovereignty and Representative Governance**

**Hasan Askari Rizvi\***

Sovereignty is an imprecise concept because its operationalization in the form of institutions and processes is a complex affair. It is easy to say that sovereignty belongs to the people or to God Almighty. The key issues are where would sovereignty be located in a state? How would you create institutions and processes for management of sovereignty? The location of sovereignty may vary from state to state, depending on the nature of the political system and the constitution.

Democratic political system emphasizes representative government and the exercise of state sovereignty by people through their elected representatives. This means that sovereignty is located in the elected legislature. The elected representatives maintain a close contact with the people in their constituencies who are viewed as the ultimate sovereign. The parliament and other institutions of the state shares power and authority within the limitations set out by the constitution and law of the country concerned. However, being the representative of the people the parliament has precedence over other state institutions.

In Pakistan the theoretical formulation and location of sovereignty has caused controversies for two major reasons. First, at the operational level the supreme political power and authority has been used by different institutions. Second, there is a widespread tendency among the political class to view sovereignty as a textbook concept and it is often employed for advancing partisan political agendas.

### **The Sovereignty Debate**

The Preambles of all regular constitutions of Pakistan (1956, 1962 and 1973) assign sovereignty all over the universe to God Almighty. The people exercise this authority as a sacred trust within the limits prescribed by Him. This exercise of power and authority is to be done through the chosen representatives.

The Preamble of the 1973 Constitution opens with the statement: “Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; And whereas it is the will of the people of Pakistan to establish an order; Wherein the State shall exercise the powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people.”

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This means that at the operational level, the authority and power of the state is located in the elected parliament, making it the salient institution as compared to the bureaucracy, the military and the judiciary, although these institutions have their domains of authority under the constitution and law.

Historically speaking, sovereignty was located in the constituent assembly and national assembly during 1947-58. The two constituent assemblies were elected indirectly by the provincial assemblies. Civilian governments headed by different prime ministers managed the state affairs with the support of the two constituent assemblies. The political parties and leaders competed with one another to establish and sustain their control of the state power.

During the periods of four direct military rules (1958-1962, 1969-1971, 1977-1985, 1999-2002), the top brass of the military controlled the sovereign authority of the state because they abolished or suspended the constitution and ruled over the country without constitutional restraints. Their orders were law and the people generally accepted their commands. Three military rulers, Ayub Khan, Zia-ul-Haq and Pervez Musharraf, civilianized military rule by coopting a section of the political elite, making constitutional and legal changes to provide a legal and constitutional cover to their continuation in power and holding of carefully managed elections.

Sovereignty returned to elected parliament during civilian elected rule in 1988-1999 and from 2008 onwards. An elected civilian political order functioned in Pakistan, although it faced different pressure that adversely affected its performance. During 1988-1999, the military exercised clout from the sidelines and influenced foreign policy and domestic politics. All four civilian governments during this period were dismissed by the president with the support of the army chief.

A new journey on road to democracy began after the February 2008 general elections. A new milestone in this journey was the May 2013 general elections and the establishment of new elected governments at the federal and provincial levels. Democratic institutions and processes have encountered many challenges which we will discuss in the next section.

One key issue in Pakistan is how to determine that a law or executive action does not violate the teachings and principles of Islam. Most religious leaders wanted this power to be assigned to a committee of religious scholars. However, the constitutions have assigned this power to the parliament. Alternatively, the law or executive action can be challenged in the High Courts or the Supreme



Court. The military government of General Zia-ul-Haq decided in 1979-1980 to establish a separate system of Islamic courts to woo orthodox and conservative Islamic leaders and parties. A Federal Shariat Court was established for that purpose. The appeals against the judgment of the Federal Shariat Court can be made to the Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court. A large number of legal experts view the Shariat court and the Shariat Bench as a parallel court system to the High Courts and the Supreme Court.

The Council of Islamic Ideology was first established under the 1962 Constitution for reviewing Pakistan's existing legal system to make sure that it conformed to the principles and teachings of Islam. The 1973 Constitution retained this institution with some changes. However, the advice and recommendation from the Council of Islamic Ideology is not binding on the government and the parliament.

This means that Pakistan's parliament is not sovereign by itself but sovereignty is located in it for the purpose of exercising it because the elected parliament is the representative of people. No other state institution has this status which needs to be respected by other state institutions.

A large number of people in Pakistan are extremely sensitive about sovereignty when it comes to interaction with India, the U.S. and other western countries. They describe the attacks of American drone aircraft in Pakistan's tribal areas as a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty. However, when Pakistani Taliban and other militant groups violate Pakistan's sovereignty by launching armed attacks on state institutions, functionaries and citizens, they stay quiet.

If drone attacks violate Pakistan's sovereignty, the attack on the institutions and personnel of Pakistan state by militant groups is also a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty.

Sovereignty has three dimensions. First, no state should violate any state's territory by any direct or indirect means except with the permission of the state concerned. Second, a state must have a firm control over its territory and no organization should defy the state authority by any means, especially by taking up arms. Third, a state territory should not be used against any other state. No armed and other groups can launch attacks or engage in political campaigning against a state from another state territory. The drone attacks fall in the first category and the activities of the Taliban and other militant groups based in Pakistan's tribal areas or in the mainland come under the rubric of 2nd and 3rd categories.

## **Challenges:**

The challenges to the primacy of the parliament as the seat of sovereignty and its representative character come from several sources. The first challenge can be traced to the people and groups that wish to use the democratic procedures and elections as a means to implementing their peculiar political ideas that are not necessarily democratic. For them democracy has instrumental relevance and elections provide an established way to access power. Once political power is achieved, they can use the electoral legitimacy to turn Pakistan into a state based on their ideological Islamic orthodox and fundamentalist lines and with an emphasis on literalist approach to the religious text.

The second major threat is posed by non-elected state institutions like the bureaucracy, the military and the judiciary. The bureaucracy has often supported or worked with other non-elected institutions to expand its authority over the elected institutions and the people. The military has traditionally undermined the prospects of representative governance through its direct and indirect rule. The military often attempts to restructure the political system to its satisfaction. The military has been out of power since 2008 but it continues to be a powerful political player from the sideline.

The judiciary was supportive of the military's expanded role in the past. It endorsed the direct assumption of power by the military on all four occasions. Since the restoration of the present Chief Justice and other judges in 2009, the Supreme Court and the High Courts have engaged in a high pace judicial activism and have built pressure on the elected parliament and the elected federal government.

The comments of the judges, as published in the media, have political implications in the politically divided political context.

Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry (retired in December 2013) had publicly rejected the notion of primacy or superiority of the elected parliament, arguing that the Supreme Court had the power to make sure that all institutions of the state stay within the framework of the constitution. This raises a fundamental question if the Supreme Court has unlimited power to reprimand every state institution and functionary, restrained only by the conscience of the judges, its words become constitution and law. This implies that the judges exercise the sovereign authority of the state which negates the preamble of Pakistan's constitution that stipulates the exercise of state authority and power by the representatives of people.

The superior judiciary has the power to interpret the constitution but while doing this it needs to acknowledge the privileged position of the parliament as given by the constitution. The superior judiciary needs to examine if it is not entering the domain of the elected executive and elected parliament by its actions like fixation of sugar price (September 2009) or lifting price ceiling for samosa (July 2012) and transfer and posting of officials. These developments have caused uncertainty about what the parliament can or cannot do, especially after one prime minister was convicted by the Supreme Court on contempt of court and sent home in June 2012.

The third major factor that adversely affects the primacy of the elected parliament is unrestrained competition among the political players. Though all important political parties are in power either at the federal level or in provinces, the main focus is always on the party in power at the federal level (the PPP: 2008-2013, the PMLN: since June 2013). Both the ruling parties at the federal level have to struggle hard for political survival as the opposition parties offer minimum cooperation and keep them under constant pressure. They often engage in a free-for-all effort to dislodge the federal government. During 2008-2013, the PMLN used all parliamentary and extra-parliamentary means to keep the PPP under pressure. After June 2013, the PTI led by Imran Khan is using street protest to keep the PMLN led federal government under pressure.

What helps the opposition to make the life of the government difficult is that the performance of the government at the federal and provincial levels has generally been poor. Poor governance and political mismanagement weakens the ordinary people's resolve to support the democratic process. The ever-increasing economic pressures on the people due to inflation and price hike have caused much alienation at the popular level. It makes it easy for the opposition to keep the government under pressure and, from time to time, bring people in the streets. This makes it difficult for the democratic process to consolidate and become self-sustaining.

The fourth major threat is religious extremism, sectarianism and terrorism that can degenerate the political process and make the parliament irrelevant to political management. Religious extremism is not confined to far and remote areas of Pakistan. It is publicly practiced on the mainland. The killing of people by a frenzied mob on some religious account is not an unusual phenomenon in Pakistan. The religious minorities are targeted by extremist societal groups. Islamic sectarian conflict, especially the killings of Shias, is more common now.

The fifth major challenge is poor governance by the federal and provincial governments. The popular support for representative governance and primacy of the elected parliament is expected to decline if the elected civilian political system does not deliver services and security to the people. The governments need to adopt policy-measures to reduce socio-economic pressures on the common people and assure them security of their life and property. All governments have performed poorly, causing alienation among the common people. If the people get alienated from the political process for one reason or another, they are not likely to stand up to defend it against non-democratic pressures.

Pakistan's economy is in real trouble. The opposition leaders talk of the troubled economy only to criticize the federal government. They have no concrete ideas to suggest solutions. They are also not prepared to adopt a joint strategy to cope with economic challenges. The Islamic parties and some of the mainstream political parties are talking of tough disposition towards the western countries which will isolate the federal government and make it impossible to salvage the economy.

Pakistan is currently facing deep rooted structural problems that can cause a total collapse of the political system or it may function only at the minimum level. All political parties and state institutions need to work together within a democratic constitutional framework to address them. If the current power struggle continues unabated neither the present democratic order nor an authoritarian or technocratic arrangement can salvage the situation.

The sixth major challenge to sovereign status of the state and the institutions that exercise sovereignty is linked to the communication and technology revolution. The hard crust of the state is now penetrated by influences from outside of the territorial boundaries due to modern information technology, especially satellite television and radio, internet and other media technologies and cellular technology.

It is no longer possible for a state to completely isolate itself from the rest of the world. The communication system is so fast that the major developments are reported very quickly at the global level. Further, no state can invoke its sovereign status to adopt any policies towards the people. If internal violence and civil strife intensifies and persists over time, it has a tendency to become an international event. Many issues like environment, sharing of river water and natural resources, human rights and treatment of minority groups draw attention far beyond the territorial boundaries of a state.

### **Concluding Observations:**

All states are sovereign but the exercise of sovereign rights in international politics depends on internal political cohesion and economic strength of a country. Further, a country must be positively linked with the international system in order to assert its independent and sovereign status. Sovereignty is not protected by aggressive posture towards the outside world but by positive engagement with the rest of the world and peace at borders.

Pakistan's sovereignty with reference to the rest of the world depends on its internal political strength, societal cohesion and, above all, its economic resilience. If Pakistan continues to face acute internal conflict and economic meltdown, it will find it difficult to protect its sovereignty in the international system and it will be extremely vulnerable to external influence, penetration and intervention.

In Pakistan's domestic context, sovereignty lies with the elected parliament that works within the limits set out by the constitution and law. If Pakistan becomes ungovernable over time and the state cannot assert its control over all of its territory, its internal sovereignty can run into serious problems. Similarly, if non-government groups engage in armed conflict with the state or with one another, the state loses its credibility. In such a situation of internal strife, some groups start using a state territory for pursuing their ideological-political agenda beyond the territorial limits of the home-base state. These developments compromise the sovereign status of a state.

The state of Pakistan must address these challenges to function effectively both in the domestic and global contexts. It should strengthen the capacity of its institutions to deal with internal challenges. Currently, Pakistan faces more acute challenges from within. These range from religious and cultural extremism and intolerance, internal violence and terrorism, increased insecurity for citizens from non-state violent groups and individuals, faltering economy and the growing economic pressures on the ordinary people that have increased poverty in Pakistan.

Pakistan's state institution and the people have the potential to overcome most of these problems but the key issue is the leadership crisis. The political and societal leaders are divided on narrow partisan considerations and do not demonstrate a strong political determination and collective action to cope with these problems. The ordinary people would be willing to support them if they learn from experience that the leadership is working for improving their quality of life.

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## **My Sahib**

**Ashir Karim\***

*Translated from Urdu by Ashir Karim, Sa'adat Hasan Manto's Mera Sahib*

“It happened in 1937. The Muslim League was in its juvenility. I, too, was a young man. I wanted to do something. Anything. Besides, I was healthy and strong, and wanted to engage in a rumble. I wanted to look for trouble and pick fights. I was at an age when one longs to do something. By something, I mean to say, if not a great adventure then *something!*”

“After this brief intro I return to the time when Ghalib was young. Don't know if he ever participated in any political movements or not, but Yours Truly was a very active member of the Muslim League. Ghazi Corps was comprised of youths like me, and I was a sincere member of it. I stress 'sincerity' because in those days I didn't have much else.

“It was in those times that Mohammad Ali Jinnah came to Delhi. The Muslims took out a huge and a wonderful procession in his honor. Obviously, Ghazi Corps participated in this procession with full vigor. Our leader was Anwar Qureshi sahib. He was a strong young man who had been given an honor of and is now known as 'Poet of Pakistan'. Our Corps' youths were singing an anthem written by him. I don't know if we sang in tune with each other or not, the only thing I remember is nobody cared about singing in synch.

“This historical procession started from Delhi's historical Jamia Masjid and, roaring, passed through Chandni Chowk, Lal Kewan, Hoz Qazi, and Chawri Bazar and ended at its destination, meaning at the Muslim League office. In this historical procession people yelled “Quaid-e-Azam,” which was considered illegal, for Mohammad Ali Jinnah. A six-horse coach was provided for him. All members of Muslim League were there in this procession. There were lots of cars, motorcycles, bi-cycles and camels. But it was exceedingly well organized. Quaid-e-Azam, who by nature was a very civil and organized person, seemed very pleased to see such civility.

“I caught many of his glimpses. I don't know my reaction the first time I saw him. Now, when I think about it and analyze it I conclude that, because sincerity is colorless, my reaction too was colorless. At that time if someone had pointed me to any man and had said 'there is your Quaid-e-Azam,' my adoration would

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have believed him. But when I saw him many times there in that crowd of people and cars, my ego was hurt: my Leader and so skinny...such a weakling! Ghalib has said: *He comes to my house God blesses / Sometimes I look at him and sometimes I look at my house.*

“It was his kindness and God’s blessing that he came to our house. I swear to God when I saw him and his frail body and then my strong physique, I wished either I contract or he expands. In the heart of my heart, to keep him safe from evil eye, I had prayed for him and his feeble body. The wounds he had inflicted were a common topic among his enemies.

“Circumstances change. Situation arose such that the art bug that was sleeping in me started to crawl. I felt like testing my kismet in Bombay in that field. I was attracted to drama ever since I was a kid. I figured maybe there I could show off my skills. Now, on one hand a desire to work for the nation and on the other, acting! A man is weirdly contradictory!

“I arrived in Bombay. In those days Imperial Film Company was at the top. It was difficult to get in, but somehow I got in. I worked as an extra for eight anas a day, and used to dream that I will be a top movie star one day. With God’s blessings, I am very talkative. I am not a very pleasant talker, but I am not that unpleasant either. Urdu is my mother tongue, a language the stars of Imperial Films did not know. Urdu helped me out more so in Bombay than it did in Delhi. Almost all the stars there had me read and write letters in response to those that came to them in Urdu. All this reading and writing for them did not help me, though. I was an extra and remained an extra.

“During this time I became friends with Buddhan, the very special driver of Saith Ardesher Irani, the owner of Imperial Film Company. Buddhan paid back my friendship with him by teaching me in his free time how to drive a car. But his free times were brief, and I was always scared of the Saith lest he finds out. I never really became a skillful driver. Without Buddhan I could drive the Buick on an alif-like straight road. My knowledge about the parts of the car, however, remained zero.

“I was obsessed with acting. But that was in my head. My heart still belonged to the Muslim League and Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. At Imperial



Film Company, on the Kennedy Bridge, in the Bhindi Bazar, on the Mohammad Ali Road, and at the Play House, we used to have a discussion, with groups of mostly Muslims, about the behavior of the Congress. Everyone at Imperial knew that I was a Muslim League and adored Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. But it was a time when Hindus did not try to kill anyone who uttered the word "Quaid-e-Azam." Pakistan was not yet on the horizon. I think when people at Imperial Film Company heard me praise Quaid-e-Azam they thought he was a film star and I was a fan of his. That is why one day the biggest film hero D. Blemoria said to me, 'hey, here's your Jinnah sahib,' while moving *Times of India* towards me. I thought there was a picture of him in the newspaper. But I didn't see it. So I said, 'why, bhaiya, where is his picture?' Blemoria's John Gilbert style thin mustache expanded with a grin, 'no photo woto, this is an advertisement.' I asked, 'Advertisement? What kind of advertisement?' Blemoria took the paper back and showed me a long column and said, 'Mr. Jinnah needs a motor mechanic who can take charge of his garage.' I saw the ad where Blemoria finger was resting and said 'Oh!' as if I read the whole ad. The truth is I knew as much English as Blemoria knew Urdu.

"As I already told you, my driving was limited to driving a car on an alif-like straight road. I knew nothing about the mechanism of the car. Why does the engine start when you press the self, if some had asked me that question I would have said that because it is the law of motors; and why it sometimes doesn't start, then I would have said that is also the law of motors and human intelligence has nothing to do with it!

"You'd be surprised to know that I noted down the address of Jinnah sahib I took from Blemoria and decided to go there the next morning. I neither thought nor expected to get the job. I just wanted to see him in his residence from up close. Therefore, taking my sincerity as a diploma, I arrived at his beautiful mansion, located near the Pleasant Road, on the Malabar Hill. Outside was a Pathan guard. He was wearing an enormous shalwar and a silk turban, was very clean, strong, and intimidating. His appearance made me very happy. I felt strangely satisfied that there was not much difference in his and my biceps, maybe of half-an-inch or so.

"There were many candidates. They were all standing with their credentials under their arms. I joined them. The funny thing was, forget about the credentials, I didn't even have a simple driving license. My heart was beating hard just thinking I am about to meet Quaid-e-Azam any moment. I was still thinking about my heartbeat when Quaid-e-Azam appeared in the porch. Everybody turned

attention. I moved to the side. With him was his tall and skinny sister whose pictures I had seen in many newspapers and magazines. On the side was his respectful assistant.

“Jinnah sahib fitted his one-glass round eyeglass on his eye and started to scrutinize the candidates. When his eye turned to me, I moved back further. Immediately his piercing voice was loudly heard, but I only heard “You.” I knew that much English. It meant *tum*. But who was that “Tum” that he addressed? I thought it was the guy next to me, so nudging him I said, ‘I think he’s calling you.’ The guy asked hopefully, ‘me, sahib?’ Quaid-e-Azam said again, ‘No. Tum.’ His skinny but iron-like strong finger was pointing at me. My whole body trembled, ‘Ji, ji, me?’ ‘Yes.’ This three-knot-three bullet ripped through my heart and brain. My throat, which used to yell “Quaid-e-Azam,” was completely dry. I couldn’t say anything. But when he took off his monocle and said “All right,” I felt I might have said something that he heard, or he understood my feelings and said “All right” just to save me from further torture. He turned around and said something to his very handsome and healthy secretary and went inside with his sister. Totally confused, as I hurried to get out of there his assistant called me and said that the Sahib wants me present at ten o’clock tomorrow morning. I couldn’t ask the assistant why the Sahib wanted me; I couldn’t tell him that I was not at all capable and not qualified for the job for which Quaid-e-Azam put out an ad. The assistant went inside and I returned home.

“I was there again at ten the next morning. When informed I was there, the handsome and very well dressed secretary came out and, to my surprise, told me that the Sahib had selected me and wants me to take charge of the garage immediately. When I heard this I felt like spilling my guts out and tell him that Quaid-e-Azam had misunderstood Yours Truly, and that I showed-up just to have a little fun; why are you putting this garage responsibility on these incompetent shoulders. But I don’t know why I couldn’t say all that. As a result, I was immediately given that responsibility and the keys were handed to me. There were four cars of different makes, and I only knew how to drive Saith Ardesher Irani’s Buick, and on an alif-like straight road at that. There were many turns to get to Malabar Hill, and Azad was going to carry not only his own self in the car. God knows how many different places for important work he had to carry this Leader on whom depended lakhs of Muslims lives.

“I thought of dropping the keys and running away; run straight to my house, pick up my stuff, and catch the first train to Delhi. But I didn’t think this was the right thing to do. I figured tell the truth to Jinnah sahib, apologize to him, and

return to the place where I really belonged. But trust me, sir, I did not get a chance to do this for the next six months.”

“How so?” I asked.

Mohammad Hanif Azad continued, “Listen to this now. The very next day I was ordered to bring the car. Those things that fly at times like these, almost flew. I decided that the moment the Sahib comes, I’d say salam to him, return the keys, and fall at his feet. But it couldn’t happen. When he came to the porch, I was so intimidated by him that the incompetent me couldn’t utter a word. Besides, Fatima sahiba was with him. To fall into someone’s feet in the presence of a woman, Manto sahib, was too much.”

I saw bashfulness in Azad’s big eyes and smiled, “khair, what happened then?”

“What happened then, Manto sahib, is that Yours Truly had to start the car. It was a new Packard. I started the car with the name of Allah, and took it out of the mansion very cleanly. When I got to the bottom of the Malabar Hill near the red light at the corner...you know what a red light is, right?”

“Yes, yes,” I shook my head affirmatively.

“Well, sahib, that became a problem. Master Buddhan had told me to just press the breaks and everything should be all right. In confusion I hit the break with such clumsiness that the car stopped with a sudden jolt. The cigar fell off Quaid-e-Azam’s hands. Fatima Jinnah jolted forward and started cursing at me. A deep fear seeped through my entire body. My whole body started to tremble. I felt dizzy. Quaid-e-Azam picked up his cigar and said something in English, which probably meant ‘lets go back.’ I obeyed the order. He asked for a new car and a driver and left for where ever he had to go. I did not get to serve him for the next six months after that incident.”

“To serve him like that?” I asked, grinning.

Azad also smiled. “Yes. You figure the Sahib would not give me another chance. There were other drivers. They served him. The assistant told the drivers the night before the car and the driver that were needed the next day. If I’d asked him about me he couldn’t give me a satisfactory answer. I found out later what was in Sahib’s mind. No one could say anything about him with any certainty, nor could ask him about such matters. He spoke only when he had to, and listened only when he needed to. That’s why, although being so close to him, I could not find out why he kept me like a useless car part.”

“It’s possible that he forgot about you,” I said to Azad.

A huge laughter came out of Azad's throat, "No, sir, no. The Sahib never forgot anything even if he wanted to. He knew very well that Azad is breaking free bread. And, Manto sahib, when Azad breaks bread they are not little bread. Look at this built."

I looked at Azad. I don't know what he was like in '37 or '38, but I saw a well built and a strong man sitting in front of me. You must have known him as an actor. Before the Division he worked in many films in Bombay. With his other actor friends he is barely making a living in Lahore these days. I found out last year from a friend of mine that this big-eyed, dark-skinned, well-built actor was a driver to Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah for some time. I had been eyeing him ever since. Whenever I met him, I brought up the topic of his Master and collected his stories in my head.

With an intention to write this essay, when I listened to his stories yesterday, I saw a very interesting angle to Quaid-e-Azam's life. What had struck Mohammad Hanif Azad most was that his Master liked physical strength. Just as Allama Iqbal liked those things that were tall and majestic, Quaid-e-Azam liked strong things. That's why when he picked his servants, their health and physical strength was the first thing he noticed.

Quaid-e-Azam's secretary was a very handsome man. All of his drivers had exemplary physical built. The guards for his mansion were also selected based on physical strength. What could be an explanation for this other than that, psychologically, although Late Jinnah was physically very weak but extremely strong from inside, he did not want to associate himself with that which was weak and feeble. When a person really likes something, he takes care of it real well. Quaid-e-Azam made sure all his well-built servants dressed very well. His Pathan chowkidar was ordered to dress in his ethnic dress. Azad was not a Punjabi, but was at times asked to wear a Punjabi turban. This headgear is quite impressive and one looks very impressive in it. Quaid-e-Azam seemed very pleased by it and used to award Azad whenever he put one on. If you think about it, Jinnah being so conscious of his own frail body was his very strength of his strong and powerful life. That was evident in the way he walked, talked, ate, and thought.

Mohammad Hanif Azad told me that Quaid-e-Azam ate very little. "He ate so little I wondered how he is alive. If I were forced to eat that little my fat would've started to melt the next day. Despite him eating so little, four or five chickens were cooked every day. But he would eat only a very small cup of a chick's soup. Fruits were delivered everyday, and lots of it; but all of it used to wind up in the servants'

bellies. Every night after the dinner, the Sahib would check the list of grocery and give me a one-hundred-rupee bill for the next day's dinner.”

“One hundred rupees everyday?” I asked Azad.

“Yes, sir, exactly one hundred rupees. And the Sahib never asked what happened to it. Whatever remained of it got divided among the servants. Sometimes thirty rupees remained, sometimes forty, and sometimes even sixty or seventy. He must have known that we kept the remainder, but he never asked for it. However, Miss Jinnah was very clever. She used to get mad at us and say we all are thieves. But the way the Sahib treated us we used to think of his things as our own. So we kept quiet when she would lose her temper at us. At times like that the Sahib would say to her sister, ‘It is all right, it is all right,’ and that would be the end of it. But once “It is all right” did not end it. Miss Jinnah kicked the cooks out, not one but both cooks. Quaid-e-Azam had two cooks at the same time, one was an expert in Hindustani food and the other in English food. Usually the Hindustani cook was a waste and did not do anything. He got to cook maybe once in months. Once in a blue moon he would get an order to cook, but Quaid-e-Azam did not really care about that food.

“When both cooks got kicked out,” said Azad, “the Sahib did not say anything. He did not interfere in his sister's affairs. So he started eating out in restaurants. During this time we had a ball. We would take the car out for hours, hang out, come back and tell them we could not find a cook. Finally, both cooks were asked to come back by Miss Jinnah.”

If a man does not eat much, he either hates those who eat a lot, or feels very happy to see others eat a lot. Quaid-e-Azam ate very little but he was very happy to see others eat a lot. That's the reason he used to hand out one hundred rupees everyday and forget about it. It doesn't mean he was a spendthrift. Mohammad Hanif Azad recounts an interesting incident.

“One evening in 1939, by the Warli Beach, I was driving the white Packard very slowly with the Sahib in it. The low waves were touching the shore gently. It was a beautiful but slightly chilly evening. The Sahib was in a really good mood. I took advantage of it and started talking about Eid. He knew immediately what I was after. I saw in the rear view mirror he took his never-separating cigar out of his mouth and, his thin lips smiling, said in a broken Urdu, ‘Well, well, you suddenly have become a Muslim, try to be a little bit Hindu also.’ Four days earlier Quaid-e-Azam had turned Azad into a Muslim, meaning that he had given him two hundred rupees as an award. That's why he advised Azad to become a

little bit Hindu. But that did not affect Azad. In this Eid Azad came to the film producer Syed Murtaza Jilani to affirm his Musalmani when I saw him and further interviewed him for this story.

Quaid-e-Azam's private life is a mystery and will remain so forever. That is the general feeling. But I think his private life was so mixed-up with his political life that he had practically no private life left. His wife had passed away long ago and his daughter married a Parsi against his wishes. Mohammad Hanif Azad told me, "The Sahib was in a great shock because of it. He wished his daughter had married a Muslim; the skin color or the ethnic background did not matter to him. His daughter argued that if he could marry to whom ever he wanted, how come he does not grant her the same freedom."

Quaid-e-Azam had married the daughter of a very influential Parsi man. Everyone knows that. But very few people know the Parsi man was very unhappy about it and sought revenge. Some think he conspired to have Quaid-e-Azam's daughter marry a Parsi. When I talked to Azad about it he said, "Only Allah knows. I only know that this was the second biggest shock to him after his wife's death. He was greatly affected when he found out that his daughter married a Parsi. His face was a mirror of his feelings, and reaction to even a simple event could be seen on his face. A simple furrow in his eyebrow could become very scary. What must have gone through his heart, only the Late One could tell. What I found out from the outside sources is that he was very disturbed. He did not meet anyone for fifteen days. He must have smoked hundreds of cigars, and must have paced hundreds of miles in his own room.

"He walked a lot when he was in deep thoughts. In the dead of the night he would pace back and forth on the hard and spotless floor for hours. In calculated steps, from here to there, and there to here, in the measured distance. His white and black, black and white, or white and brown shoes used to make a strange tick tick sound as if a clock is telling the news about its life in a consistent manner. Quaid-e-Azam loved his shoes, perhaps because they were always at his feet and moved according to him.

"After fifteen days of constant mental and spiritual disturbance, he suddenly re-emerged. There was no sign of shock on his face any longer, although the sadness had left a slight wound in his neck. But it was still straight and stiff. It did not mean, however, that he had forgotten the shock."

When Azad started to talk about this aspect of Quaid-e-Azam's life a second time, I asked, "How do you know he had not forgotten that shock?"

Answered Azad, “Nothing in a house can be hidden from the servants. Sometimes the Sahib would order to open a trunk. In this ship-like trunk were many clothes, of his late wife and of that disobedient daughter when she was a little girl. When those clothes were taken out, the Sahib would look at them with an intense quietness. Then a sudden sadness would cover his thin and very clean face. He would quietly say ‘It is all right, it is all right,’ take off his monocle and, wiping it, would walk away.

According to Mohammad Hanif Azad, “Quaid-e-Azam had three sisters: Fatima Jinnah, Rehmat Jinnah, and I don’t remember the name of the third one who lived in Dongri. At Jopati Corner, near Chinnai Motor Works, lived Rehmat Jinnah. Her husband was employed somewhere. Their income was very modest. Every month the Sahib would give me a sealed envelope that had money in it. He would also give me a parcel that perhaps contained clothes and things. I used to deliver these to Rehmat Jinnah. Miss Fatima Jinnah and the Sahib would pay visit there every once in a while. The sister who lived at Dongri was married. All I know about her is that she was well off and did not need anyone’s help. He had a brother. The Sahib would help him out routinely, but he was not allowed in Sahib’s house.

“I had seen this brother of Quaid-e-Azam in Bombay. One evening in a bar I saw a man, who looked like Quaid-e-Azam, ordering half rum. The same feature, the same backcombed hair, almost the same white striped hair. When I inquired about him I found out that he is Ahmed Ali, the brother of Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah. I kept looking at him. Sipping it slowly, he finished that half a glass of rum in a royal manner. It cost one rupee, which he paid as if he is paying a huge amount. From his attitude it appeared as if he is sitting at a bar in Taj Mehal Hotel, not in some flimsy and cheap one. There was a gathering of Muslims just before the historic meeting between Gandhi and Jinnah. I had a number of friends at that gathering. They told me that Jinnah was on the platform giving a speech in his typical style, and far, at a distance, his brother Ahmed Ali, wearing his monocle, was standing in such a way as if he were chewing his brother’s words.

“Billiards was the only indoor game Quaid-e-Azam liked. He would order to open the billiards room when sometimes he felt like playing the game. Although every room was cleaned every day, the servants made sure the special room he ordered to open was spotless and everything in it was set properly before he walked in. Because I played the game a little, I was allowed in that room. Twelve balls would be presented to him, he would select them and the game would begin. Miss Fatima Jinnah would stand nearby. The Sahib would light up a cigar, press

it between his lips, and would analyze the position of the ball he was going to hit. He would spend many minutes in his analysis. With this angle and with that angle. He would weigh the cue in his hands and move his bony fingers on it as if it were a sarangi, mumble something, and take a position; but if another angle come to his mind, he would stop, think, make sure, hit the ball with the cue, and if successful, would look at his sister with a conquering smile.

“In the game of politics, Quaid-e-Azam was as careful. He would never decide immediately. He would analyze and scrutinize each problem as if it were a billiard ball. He would move his cue to hit the ball only when certain. Before he struck, he would weigh his prey with his eyes carefully. He would consider all angles. He would select the weapon according to the size of his opponent. He was not a hunter who would pick up a gun and just shoot. He would make sure not to miss. He would know his prey’s every possible weakness before he aimed.”

Per Azad, “Quaid-e-Azam stayed away from the people who came by just to meet him. He hated useless and senseless talk. He engaged in only those talks that mattered, and even that had to be very precise and concise, in both what he had to say and hear. That’s why only a few people were allowed in his special room. There was only one sofa inside that room with a small side table on which he would drop the ashes of his cigar. Across the sofa were two showcases. He kept those Qurans in them that were given to him by his fans. That room contained his personal papers as well, where they were kept safely. He would spend most of his time in that room. There was no table there. If a person was asked in that room, he would stay at the door, listen, and walk out backwards. The empty side of the sofa had his papers all over it. If he wanted to write a letter, he would have the steno come in and take dictation. His tone had certain harshness. When he spoke one felt as if he were putting emphasis on words that did not need emphasis.”

Judging from Azad’s testimonies, it seems the psychological reason for Jinnah’s harshness was his physical weakness. His life was more like a smooth pond, but he lived a life of a storm. Some people say that it was his inner strength that had him live for that long, that is, his awareness of his own physical weakness.

According to Azad, the Late Bahadur Yar Jung was among Quaid-e-Azam’s best friends. “It was only with him he was so frank. Whenever he came to visit, both men would talk about the country and politics like true best friends. At that time, Quaid-e-Azam would separate his outer shell from his inner self. He was the only one with whom the Sahib was so frank and open. One felt as if they were



childhood buddies. When they talked to each other, one could hear the loud laughter coming out of the closed doors. Other than Bahadur Yar Jung, other Muslim League leaders, such as Raja Mahmud Abad, I. I. Chundrigarh, Maulana Zahid Husain, Nawabzadah Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail, and Ali Imam sahib used to pay visit. But the Sahib dealt with them in a very professional manner, not in a frank way reserved for Bahadur Yar Jung.”

“Khan Liaquat Ali Khan must have visited quite often,” I said to Azad.

Said Azad, “Yes, the Sahib treated him as if he were Sahib’s best student. And the Khan sahib listened to him intently, obeyed, and carried out his orders. When he was asked to pay visit, sometimes he would ask me, ‘Hey, Azad, how’s Sahib’s mood today?’ I would tell him how his mood was. If the Sahib was not in his good mood, every wall in the mansion would know it.

“Quaid-e-Azam took great care in his servants’ character and personal behavior. Just as he hated bodily dirt and smell, he hated bad character and behavior. He liked his assistant very much, but was very irritated when he found out that the assistant was having an affair with a servant girl. He could not tolerate this irritation for long. The assistant was asked to see him, and was fired. But after firing him, the Sahib started treating him as a friend.”

Tells Azad, “Once I came home at two in the morning after having some fun. Those were the days when young blood feels certain pleasure for doing bad things. I thought the Sahib would not know about me coming in so late. But somehow he did. He called me in the next day and said in English, ‘You are developing a bad character.’ Then he said in a broken Urdu, ‘Well, we’ll have you married.’ So, when he went to Bombay from Delhi for a conference, I was married per his instructions. Although I am just a Shaikh, I am fortunate that only because of him I was married in a Sadat Family. The girl’s family accepted me because Azad was a servant of Quaid-e-Azam.”

I suddenly asked Azad a question, “Ever heard Quaid-e-Azam say I am sorry?”

Azad moved his fat neck in negation, “No. Never.” Then he smiled, “If by an accident he uttered the words ‘I am Sorry,’ I’m certain he would’ve erased those words from the dictionary forever.”

I think this spontaneous response of Azad sums up the entire character of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Mohammad Hanif Azad is alive, in this Pakistan given to him by his Quaid-e-Azam. And now, on the map of this world, this Pakistan is struggling to stay

alive with the leadership of Jinnah's best student, Khan Liaquat Ali Khan. In this free country, outside the doors of Punjab Art Pictures, near the paan store, Azad sits on a broken cot and waits for his Master. He also prays for a better time when he would get his salary in time. He is even ready to be a Hindu, as his Master once told him, provided he gets that chance back.

He was very worried when I talked to him about Quaid-e-Azam's life. He did not have money even for a paan. When I started to make small talks to relieve him from his worries, he sighed and said, "Sahib has died. I wish I had gone on that journey with him. It would be his open white Packard. I would be at the wheel. I would drive the car very slowly to his final destination. His frail body could not tolerate jolts, you know. I've heard, Allah knows right or wrong, that when the airplane with him on landed in Karachi, the engine of the ambulance that took him to the Government House was not in good condition. It stopped after going only a short distance. My Sahib must have been so annoyed."

Azad's big eyes were full of tears.

14 August 2001  
Pennsylvania

## **Book Review**

**Ishtiaq Ahmad, *Pakistan A Garrison State: Origin, Evolution, Consequences. 1947-2011*, Oxford University Press. Pakistan. 2013**

Pakistan: A garrison state is a chronology of political, military and administrative relationships which tells the story of rise and fall of democracy in Pakistan. The book consists of eighteen chapters beginning with an explanation of the metaphor of “fortress of Islam” and ending up at analyzing the Historical Legacy of breakup of India on the basis of religious diversity. Main focus of the book is on political administrative relationship between civil and military ruling elites and violent clash of interest among the superpowers, the present (USA) of former (USSR) and the emerging People’s Republic of China who have engaged Pakistan as a friend or enemy to take advantage of strategic geographical location of the country. Historical record shows that Pakistan from its inception in 1947 inherited a weak political system and comparatively strong civil and military bureaucracy. Under the shadow of non-political focus the dictatorial style of government functioning flourished by leaps and bounds leading to the development of a garrison state. The author has candidly discussed the burning politico-administrative issues faced by the political and military rulers of Pakistan in the past and the present perspectives. In the past scenario there are initial attitudinal reservations on the part of British, American and Soviet towards Pakistan, animosity with India on Kashmir dispute and supporting the cause of civil war in East Pakistan which led to India Pakistan war of 1971 and ultimately produced Bangladesh as an independent country, It was solid evidence to prove that a garrison state cannot triumph against a democratically governed state.

The present picture of statecraft in Pakistan after the separation of East Pakistan does not show a significant change in terms of strengthening of democratic powers of governance against the authoritative administrative system. During this period the salient episodes include, the rise and fall of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, military regime of General Zia ul Haq pretending to introduce the code of Islamic law, and participation of Pakistan in Afghan Jihad with help of U.S financial assistance and high profile weapons of destruction to defeat the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. There was also wavering relationship, between Pakistan and U.S along with internal political strife on Taliban issue under the military regime of General Pervez Musharraf. Last four chapters of the book deal with the consequences of transition to democracy, large scale spreading of terrorism, U.S. declaration of exit from Afghanistan and brutal killing of Osama Bin Laden

by the U.S marines. The chapter on analysis and conclusion presents a summary of political history of Pakistan and winds up the entire discourse by giving thought provoking views on future perceptions of internal and external forces which will determine the kind of path to be adopted for survival and institutional development for building Pakistan as a democratically governed state instead of following the footsteps of garrison rulers.

On the whole the book is a highly interesting treatise of political history of Pakistan portraying the bright and dark shades of civil and military relationships in governing the country and responding to the challenges of rapidly changing global environment. It could be deservedly recommended as a compulsory reading for the post-graduate students of political science and public administration in Pakistan. The author must be commended for compiling a mass of relevant research data, interviewing top most political and military personalities in Pakistan and abroad duly supported by a large number of references from past and recent publications of international repute. The only missing factor in the look is lack of focus on the element of diversity which is spreading in Pakistan in all walks of life. Oxford University Press may also be given due credit for publishing a book on current critical issues which are threatening the viability of Pakistan as an independent country.

**Arshad Syed Karim, Ph.D.**

**Abu Rashid Jafri, Ph.D.**





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