THE OXFORD COMPANION TO
PAKISTANI HISTORY
EDITED BY AYESHA JALAL
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GARIQ RAHMAN

Hindu Mahasabha. Hindu Mahasabha (in Hindi: Great Hindu Association) was established in 1915. It evolved from the Lahore-based Punjab Hindu Sabha that was founded in 1906 which had worked towards forming an all-India organization for Hindus. It was initially an inter-linguistic Hindustani Hindukush movement in the Punjab and the United Provinces. In its early years the Mahasabha was torn between the 'Arya Samajists and the Sanatani Dharmis on the question of as to what degree social and religious reforms ought to be permitted. Thus in 1925 it allowed untouchables access to public schools and wells but it did not advocate widow remarriage. Mahasabha were also divided on the issue of participation in political and electoral activities. The Mahasabha's complex relationship with the 'Indian National Congress (INC) between 1915 and 1947' is an indication of some of the ideological contradictions that alienated both organizations from each other.

During the non-cooperation movement of 1919-22, several leaders of the Mahasabha disagreed with the Congress' aims of boycotting educational institutions and the legislatures as well as supporting the "Khilafat Movement. These Mahasabha-baites continued to cooperate in the congress. They were vindicated when non-cooperation ended, and the Swarajist wing of the Congress also espoused a policy of cooperation. Contrary to the Congress, some Mahasabha-baites in the Punjab decided to cooperate with the all-white "Simon Commission in 1928. Disturbed at the grant of a statutory majority to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal by the terms of the "Communal Award of 1932, members of the Mahasabha formed the Nationalist Party in 1934 and contested the elections—there was informal seat-sharing arrangement between some members of the Punjab Congress and the Nationalist Party. However in 1937 the Mahasabha altered its constitution and stated its goal to be the establishment of a Hindu nation. Formally, the Congress banned both: members of the "All-India Muslim League (AIML) and the Hindu Mahasabha from remaining within the fold of the Congress. Informedly, no works of cooperation between members of the Mahasabha and Congress continued—in the elections of 1946, most Mahasabha-baites agreed to campaign for Congress representatives. In the ensuing polarization, the Mahasabha demanded the partition of the Punjab but also made clear its preference for an Akhand (undivided) Hindustan.

Throughout this period, the Mahasabha strove to strengthen its pan-Indian Hindu networks and gain a hearing with the British. Measures that exercised Mahasabha included the predicament of Hindus during Hindu-Muslim disturbances; the proposed partition of Bombay Presidency and the creation of Sind; the possibility that reforms would be extended to the "North-West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa); the estrangement of Untouchables from caste Hindus in the census of 1931; the grant of "Separate Electorates to Untouchables; and providing statutory majority to Muslims in the Muslim-majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal in the Communal Award of 1932. Concerned with "Sangathan or the organization

Hindus. According to official figures from the most recent census that was conducted in 1998, non-Muslims comprise 4 per cent of the population of Pakistan, of which 2.44 million are Hindus, comprising 2 per cent of the population. The largest number of Hindus live in Sindh, constituting approximately 8 per cent of the total population.

Before "Partition in 1947, the regions comprising Pakistan had a large proportion of Hindus, who accounted for about 24 per cent of the population in these areas. Most Hindus migrated to India at the time of Partition, thus, lowering their population status in Pakistan to approximately 13 per cent, which included Hindus in the then East Pakistan [Bangladesh]. Over the years, this number continued to dwindle. Those remaining now comprise of the poor in the rural areas with a large number of them working as bonded labourers.

Like other religious minorities, the Hindu community living in Pakistan has been adversely affected by the policies of Islamization pursued by various ruling governments. However, unlike other non-Muslims living in Pakistan, the status of Hindus varies in accordance with communal relations in India. For instance, in retaliation for the 1992 destruction of the Babri Mosque in India, Hindus in Pakistan were attacked, their businesses ransacked and temples razed. Faced with increasing religious persecution and socio-economic marginalization, in 1998, Hindus forged alliances with other religious minorities to agitate for increased, more inclusive rights of citizenship. A formal body, the All-Pakistan Minorities Alliance was formed in 2002 to represent issues faced by minority groups.

Within the community, the Pakistani Hindu Panchayat and Pakistani Hindu Welfare Association are the primary civic organizations that represent and organize Hindus on social, economic, religious and political issues.

LATA DAKWANI

Hindutva. The word Hindutva was coined by V.D. Savarkar, a Maharashtrian revolutionary when he was detained by the British in 1923. In his book, Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?, he codified the Hindu national ideology. For Savarkar, the Hindus form a nation deriving from four criteria, the touchstones of the Hindutva identity: a sacred land which coincides with the ritual territory of the Vedas; a noble language, Sanskrit; an oligarchic people, the Aryan who were born in Hindustan at the dawn of time; and a culture in which religion is only one component.

The proponents of the Hindutva movement which has been resurgent in the 1980s-90s consider that the Indian culture is coextensive to Hindutva and, therefore, the religious minorities—mostly the Muslims and the Christians, their favourite targets—must pay allegiance to this so-called national identity and practice their religion in the private sphere only.

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Historiography, Pakistan in South Asian. The writing of history in Pakistan has to be situated in the broader context of South Asian historiography. A shared subcontinental history stretching back to six millennia has meshed uneasily with the narrower historiographical agendas of the two rival nation-states (India and Pakistan) that replaced the British Raj. The contested narratives of Indian, Pakistani and after 1971, Bangladeshi nationalisms continue to weigh heavily on the writing of officially-sponsored histories. Fortunately, South Asian historiography is not just a derivative of the nationalist projects of post-colonial states, allowing for some fine and illuminating
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When M.K. " Gandhi was assassinated in 1948, the Mahasabha was implicated in his murder. The Mahasabha's political wings - Jana Sangh and later, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) - have formed governments at the centre and has served as viable alternative to the Congress in post-Partition India. NEETI NAIR

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Before " Partition in 1947, the regions comprising Pakistan had a large proportion of Hindus, who accounted for about 24 per cent of the population in these areas. Most Hindus migrated to India at the time of Partition, thus, lowering their population status in Pakistan to approximately 15 per cent, which included Hindus in the then East Pakistan [Bangladesh]. Over the years, this number continued to dwindle. Those remaining now comprise of the poor in the rural areas with a large number of them working as bonded labour.

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Amir Ahmad was committed to Islamic ideology and socialism as a system and projected the idea of Pakistan as an Islamic state based on the Shari'a. He managed to form the Islamic Jamaat (Islamic Party) in 1941 as a cell within the Muslim League. But this resulted in him developing differences with the secular minded Mohammad Ali Jinnah. However, Amir Ahmad continued to support the AIML and provided financial support to Dawn, the print media organ of the Muslim League. At the time of Partition he worked tirelessly for the alleviation of the untold misery and suffering that had been unleashed by the violent transition. But after Partition he chose neither to live in India nor in Pakistan. He moved to Iraq where he settled and set up a small business.

In 1956 Amir Ahmad made a low profile visit to Pakistan and was distraught at the sectarian strife that had by this time taken a strong hold over the country. Realizing that Jinnah had been right upon his insistence of a secular Islamic state, he became a vocal champion of minority rights, and some form of Islamic socialism in the system of government of Pakistan. He subsequently left for England in 1968 where he became director of the Islamic Cultural Centre. While he was dying in England, he noted that he was being cared for by the very people against whose rule he had actively participated in India.

M. R. KAZMI

Majlis-i-Ahrar. Literally, 'congregation of free men', the Majlis-i-Ahrar came into existence on 29 December 1929 at the suggestion of the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Consisting mainly of Punjabi urban lower-middle classes, it was essentially a socially conservative anti-colonial party created to challenge the Muslim League. Amongst its objectives were: independence for India, better relations between communities, the establishment of an Islamic system in the country, and social, economic, educational and political development of the masses, with special emphasis on the upliftment of Muslims.

The Majlis presented the concept of Divine Rule, with an aim to create a classless society with full religious and cultural freedom. Identifying themselves with Islamic symbols, the Ahrars carried a red flag with a white crescent star. They also carried hatches and held their rallies with drum-beating and band-playing. The organization was divided into 'elite' and 'lower' groups. Their first and most important campaign was launched in 1931 for political reform in Kashmir, with 45,000 volunteers from Punjab alone entering Kashmir and courting arrests.

The Majlis had a cadre of orators led by Atullah Shah Bukhari. His idiom was religious and his sentiments anti-British. Another important feature was the Ahrar's espousal of the role of women in politics who proved their competency during the fundraising campaign for Kashmir.

Despite their contributions to the anti-colonial movement in the subcontinent, the Majlis-i-Ahrar is best remembered today for its trident opposition to the *Pakistan Movement and pejorative references for Mohammad Ali Jinnah as 'Kafir-i-Azam' (the great infidel). After the creation of Pakistan, the Ahrars were among the loudest proponents of an Islamic state and called for the expulsion of the heterodox Ahrad sect from the fold of Islam.

SAMINA AWAN

Majalis-e-Shura. The 1973 Constitution, as amended under General Ziaul Haq provided for a new name for the parliament. The name chosen was Majlis-e-Shura, as it came to be enshrined in the Eighth Constitutional Amendment of 1985. During Zia's rule, the function of the parliament was mainly as an advisory body.

The new name, Majlis-e-Shura, had a symbolic significance. In traditional Islamic theory and practice, the Amir (head) ruled with the aid of an advisory body called the Majlis-e-Shura. Zia used the Islamic overtones of this term to provide legitimacy to his power as a military ruler. Critics point out that the chosen name, since it merely serves as an advisory body, is diminutive of the power and prestige of the parliament which should have a sovereign status. MOHAMMAD WASEEM

Makran, Makran, the historic region of southwestern *Balochistan is now split between Pakistan and Iran. It was divided in 1871-72 by the Goldsmith Line, drawn by a joint British-Iranian commission—one-third of Makran was given to Iran.

Historically, the Makran region stretched roughly from Minab—east of Bandar Abbas to the River Hub in the northwest of Karachi. The Sihan range marked its northern borders with the Kharan, while the Arabian Sea constituted its southern limits. Makran has been mentioned in several ancient texts. It is referred to as Meluhhaka in Sumerian and Akkadian records (dating 3000-2000 BC), and as Maka in the Achaemenid inscriptions (c. 500 BC). Seleucid and Byzantine Greek sources record it as Makarene. Recent archaeological excavations have unearthed trade relations of Makrani proto-historical communities with the Iranian Plateau, Eastern Arabia, Central Asia, Eastern Balochistan and the Indus Valley. It enjoyed long-distance relations during the second half of the fourth millennium BC. Early Sassanian sources refer to a Shah, and later a king of Makran paying homage to King Narseh of Persia at his accession in AD 293. Hence, the kingdom of Makran then stretched from Kerman in Iran all the way to the port of Daihil in Sindh.

Muhammad Bin Qasim invaded Makran in AD 711, introducing Islam in a region where it was previously unequipped. The Ghaznavids in the 10th century and the Ghurids in the 12th century established a vassal emirate to gain access to the sea at Makran. Arab geographers mention a certain Isa Madan ruling over Makran from his capital at Kiz/Kij (modern Turbat) during the mid-10th century. Both Khudzlar and Kech are mentioned as capitals of Makran. Kech was the trading centre of the region and was rich in date palms. It was also the centre of power and administration. This is where Gwadar, the new deep-seaport of the country is situated.

The Hot tribe consolidated Makran into a strong kingdom and adopted the title of Malik (chief). Makran enjoyed complete independence until the 17th century when it became a vassal state of Nadir Shah Afshar of Iran for a short period. The Bulaidis then ruled over Makran for about a hundred years, giving the *Zilker sect a firm foothold in the area, until the Gichkis, who were also Zilkirs, usurped power in the 18th century. It was about this time that Nasir Khan I of Kalar (1749–99) managed to subdue the region after nine bloody expeditions, and consolidated his power over present-day Balochistan. Makran remained a vassal to the Khante of *Kalat. It was ruled by a governor appointed by him until the Goldsmith Line was drawn in 1871-72.

Makran had its own peculiar language, and people lived by trade and industry. Traders moved in all directions through land and sea routes. After Partition, Makran which was then a district of Kalat, was separated from it and declared a separate state by the Government of Pakistan in March 1948. Mir Bai Khan Gichki was nominated Wali (ruler) and held the title of Nawab. Gichki signed the merger document of Makran with Pakistan on 17 March 1946, and in 1952, Makran joined the states of Kalat, Kirthar and Lasbelas to form the Balochistan States Union. In 1955, under the *One Unit Scheme, Makran became an administrative district of Kalat. In 2000, when administrative units based on divisions were abolished, Makran ceased to function as a separate administrative unit.

BAADAL KHAN

Malaviya, Madan Mohan (1861–1946). Politician, educator and social worker, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya served as President of the *Indian National Congress (INC) in 1909, 1918, 1932 and 1933. He was also the co-founder of the *Hindu Mahasabha that was established in 1915. Malaviya's political career is witness to the intensely ambiguous relationship of Hindu communalism and Indian nationalism. A founding member of the Nationalist Party formed in 1924 that included Mohammad Ali *Jinnah and Motilal Nehru and aimed to establish a government in India comprising of Indians, Malaviya and the Punjab leader Lala Lajpat Rai split with this party to
Malihabadi, Joshua (1895–1982). Josh Malihabadi was called the 'Poet of Revolution' for expressing anti-British feelings prevailing in the subcontinent through his poetry. Initially a devoted and devout Muslim, which is reflected in his first poetic compilation *Rauh-i-Adab* published in 1920, by the time his next celebrated collection *Shah-e-Shahnam* which was published in 1933 Josh had undergone a transformation—he had become a skeptic and a socialist.

Malihabadi had identified with the Congress party and did not migrate to Pakistan at the time of partition. It was only in 1956 that he came to Pakistan upon the insistence of President Iskander Mirza, stirring up a controversy in both countries. But here he suffered from neglect by the bureaucracy and ended up living a life of interminable poverty. It was only as late as 1972, when the first Pakistan Peoples Party government came to power, that he was given a government appointment. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto himself would occasionally call on him. This situation changed with the coming of General Ziaul Haq into power. Josh was banned from the official media for expressing non-conformist views on state and religion. In retaliation, the National Press Club gave him honorary membership.

Although Josh was most popular for his poems, it was his elegies on Karbala and his Rubaiyat which earned him critical appreciation. He had left behind twenty-two collections of poetry, along with a daring and provocative autobiography.

Neeti Nair

Malik, Abdullah (1920–2003). Journalist, writer and political activist, Abdullah Malik was born in Lahore. He acquired his early education from the Mission High School and graduated from the Islamia College.

Attracted to leftist politics, Malik joined the Communist Party newspaper, the *Jang-i-Adab*. He also wrote treatises on capitalism and feudalism that were published. After working for a while for *Qaumi Jang* that was also translated in English as *People's War*, Malik joined in the agitational politics of the 'Majlis-i-Ahrar.' He attended the first Communist Party conference held in Bombay in 1943. On the instructions of the party hierarchy, Malik along with a few other members that included Duniyal Latifi, joined the 'All-India Muslim League (AIML). They were responsible for formulating the Punjab Muslim League's manifesto which promised radical agrarian reforms and complete nationalization of transport and industry.

After Partition, Malik chose to live in Pakistan. He was appointed editor of the government newspaper, *Majha-e-Rahat*. While he was working for the Urdu daily *Jinnah*, Malik was dismissed by Pakistan's military ruler General Yahya Khan for his severe criticism of the military action taken in East Pakistan, for which he was imprisoned and flogged.

Apart from working for several prestigious newspapers of the country that included the dailies, *Aasaad, Pakistan Times*, and *Auswa-i-Waqi*, Abdullah Malik was also a prolific writer. He wrote extensively on literature, history, politics and the independence movement.

Nadja Gani

Malik, Majeed, Jr. General Majeed Malik belonged to Chakwal district in northern Punjab. He joined politics after retirement from the army and became a prominent member of the PML-I and later PML-Q. After developing differences with the PML-Q party leader Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain on the issue of allocation of party tickets for District Nazim in the 2005 Local Bodies Elections, Majeed Malik left the party and withdrew from active politics at both local and national levels.

Mohammad Waseem

Mandam, Ifthikhar Hussain (1906–1969). Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mandam was born in Lahore. After graduating from the Government College Lahore, he joined the police service of Hyderabad (Deccan) state but left it to participate in the Muslim struggle for independence from the British colonialists. He joined the *All-India Muslim League and worked very enthusiastically—becoming president of the League at a very young age. A key aide to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, he led the Civil Disobedience Movement against the *Unionist government in Punjab in 1946.*

After Partition, Mandam became the Chief Minister of Punjab, a position that he occupied until 1949. He remained a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly from 1947–55, and from 1954–55 he was Governor of Sindh.

Hafeez Malik

Mandam, Shahnawaz Khan (1883–1942). Nawab Sir Shahnawaz Khan Mandam was the grandson of the ruling Jagirdar of Mandam in Punjab, Nawab Jamaluddin Khan, who had been treacherously deposed by the English East India Company when they annexed Punjab to their territories. Shahnawaz Khan became an open critic of the excesses committed by the British colonialists in India, particularly against its Muslim populace. Upon assuming the title of 'Nawab' in 1934, Mandam joined the *Unionist Party of Punjab but was soon dismayed at the prevailing internal strife within the party.*

Impressed by Allama Iqbal’s and Mohammad Ali Jinnah’s personalities and ideals, he joined the All-India Muslim League (AIML) in 1938 and became President of the Punjab Muslim League. Shahnawaz Khan Mandam played a pivotal role in organizing the historic 1940 Lahore session of the AIML in which the *Lahore Resolution was adopted. He remained committed to the Muslim League up until the time of his death.*

Nadja Gani

Mandal, Jogendra Nath (1906–1956). A politician from East Bengal, Jogendra Nath Mandal belonged to the scheduled Hindu caste. A strong critic of the *Indian National Congress (INC)—in his opinion the INC was not committed to welfare of the downtrodden—Mandal strongly supported the British proposal to grant *Separate Electorates to scheduled castes. Granting of Separate Electorates had been strongly criticized by the upper-caste dominated Congress party. Mandal was drawn towards Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the *All-India Muslim League. He felt that the AIML was more committed to the cause of the socially depressed, ethnic, and religious minorities. He supported the League’s opposition to any transfer of power to Indians without a sufficient share of power for Muslims and other minorities. When*
Rashid, Abdur (1889–1979). Justice Sardar Abdur Rashid administered the oath of office to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali *Jinnah as Governor General of Pakistan. He became Judge, and in 1946 Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, serving in this capacity till 1949. With the establishment of the Federal Court of Pakistan in 1949, Sardar Abdur Rashid was appointed the first Chief Justice of Pakistan (from 1949 to 1954).

ISHTAQA AHMED

Rashid, Noor Meen (1910-1975). An influential poet of modern Urdu poetry, Nazar Mohammed Rashid, popularly known as Noor Meen Rashid, started composing poetry while still a student. Although he had obtained an MA in Economics from the Government College, Lahore, and in spite of gaining recognition, he had to serve as a clerk in the office of the Commissioner, Multan Division. During this time, he was a very earnest and dedicated member of the militant and reformist political party the Khaksar Tehreek. He soon out grew out of this phase, becoming a skeptic in the bargain. Noor Meen Rashid subsequently joined the All-India Radio, working under his former professor Patras Bekhari who had become Director General of the organization. He was soon inducted into the Inter-Services Public Relations. After Partition, Noor Meen Rashid joined the Radio Pakistan and became Station Director, Peshawar. In 1952 he joined the United Nations, representing Pakistan as Information Officer. He retired in 1974 as Director, IRD.

Noor Meen Rashid was one of the pioneers of blank verse and vers libre in Urdu, and it was he who had to bear the brunt of the conservative and traditional onslaught for adopting a Western art form. Apart from critical attacks which only now seem ludicrous, he was parodied by humorists. N.M. Rashid transformed blank verse into abstract illuminations and formations, projecting the enigmatic, bizarre, and weird aspects of life, absorbing into poetry themes that had previously been the preserve of prose. His collections include: *Ma'wara*, *Iran Mein Ajniha*, *La Inzan*, and *Gusam ka Mumkin*. His essays in literary criticism were collected in volume form in 2002. M.R. RAZMI

Rashidi, Pir Ali Muhammad (1905–1987). A close relation of the Pir of *Pagar*, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi was born in Larkana, Sindh. Educated initially by local clerics and school teachers, he studied largely on his own initiative, and then followed parallel careers in journalism and politics. By the time he was fifteen, Rashidi was actively involved in writing. He went on to become editor and proprietor of several newspapers. He also remained active in politics for most of his life. In 1938, he joined the Sindh Muslim League, though in the run-up to independence, he became part of G.M. Syed's parallel League in Sindh. In the early 1950s, Rashidi served as information minister. His last political post was that of advisor in the government of Zulfiqar Ali *Bhutto in the early 1970s. Pir Ali Rashidi also represented Pakistan as Ambassador to the Philippines and China in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

SARAH ANSARI

Rashid, Rao (1926–). Born in village Kalanaut, district Rohtak in East Punjab, Rao Rashid passed his matriculation from his hometown. He went in 1942 to Aligarh Muslim University, from where he acquired his masters and LL.B degrees. As a student at Aligarh, Rao Rashid actively participated in the Pakistan Movement.

After Partition, Rao Rashid migrated to Pakistan and became a lecturer at Government College Sahiwal. In 1950 he entered the police service of Pakistan through a competitive examination, reaching the highest rung of the federal bureaucracy in a short time. He served as counsel for the Pakistan High Commission in London for five years. In 1976 Rao Rashid became a close aide of President Zulfikar Ali *Bhutto. When Bhutto was ousted in a military coup, Rao Rashid was also arrested and underwent detention for almost a year. He was dismissed from service after Bhutto's execution, although, later he was reinstated. During General Ziaul *Haq’s rule, Rao Rashid joined in the *Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. When Benazir *Bhutto became Prime Minister, he was inducted in the ministry as an advisor with the rank of federal minister.

Rao Rashid was a keen sportsman and polo player. He is leading a retired life in Lahore. His autobiography, *Roller Coaster: My Early Years*, was published in 2005. SALMA MAHMOOD

Rashtriya Swamyasvamai Sangh. Founded in 1925 by K.B. Hedgewar, the Rashtriya Swamyasvamai Sangh (RSS) [In Hindi: Association of National Voluntaries] was formed in the belief that the Hindus needed to strengthen themselves to oppose the threat from the Muslims and the British whom they considered as outsiders. The RSS is believed to be the ideological fountainhead of the Sangh Parivar (Family of Associations). It has been instrumental in spreading V.D. Savarkar's 1923 definition of a Hindu as expounded in his text, *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?* According to this text, a Hindu is one who considers 'Bharatvarsha' to be his fatherland and holy land.

The viable manifestations of an RSS Shiksha or branch include military-style trained recruits, a selective revival of age-old supposedly Hindu traditions, and indoctrination in a particular version of history. The consequences of the restricted definition of a Hindu contained in *Hindutva* were further delineated in the work of M.S. Golwalkar written in 1939: *We or our Nation* Defined. Golwalkar and other leaders of the RSS were deeply influenced by the rise of Nazism in Italy and Germany, and in his treatise states that the "foreign races in Hinduism must either 'loose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment—not even citizen's rights.'

In the 1940s, disenchantment with the All-India National Congress, anti-Muslim attitudes, and a strong belief in military strength combined to dramatically increase the strength of the RSS in areas where Hindus were a minority. In the Punjab alone the RSS membership increased from 14,000 to 46,000 in early 1946. They freely participated in the "Partition violence. Many were torn between dictates to protect minority Hindus in what became Pakistan and preserve in the creation of an Akhand (undivided) Hindustan, or to reconcile with the prospect of a divided India and thereby bring the Hindus residing in Pakistan to India.

In the aftermath of the assassination of Mahatma *Gandhi by a member of the Hindu Mahasabha—who was once a member of the RSS—the organization was banned. All government servants were forced to disengage themselves from membership in 'communal' organizations. Members of the RSS were also arrested during Indira *Gandhi’s emergency rule in 1975–76.

In recent years, with the formation of a Hindu nationalist party at the centre and a slow disper- sion of Hindutva ideas, ideologies espoused by the RSS are on the rise again.

NEETF NAIR

Rasul, Rangila. "Rangila Rasul" (colourful prophet) was the name of a pamphlet published by Mahashe Rajpal, a member of the *Arya Samaj in 1924. The pamphlet was deprecatory to the personage of Muhammad [prost] the Prophet of Islam, and caused outrage amongst the Muslim populace of British India. Rajpal was arrested under Section 153 of the Indian Penal Code for attempting to promote feelings of hatred and bigotry between different religious groups of His Majesty's subjects. Although convicted by the court of the City Magistrate in early 1927, Rajpal was acquitted by the High Court later the same year. His acquittal led to a storm of protests organized by the Ahmadis, Khilafat committees, and several Muslim organizations of Lahore that brought together various sections of Muslim public opinion. Protests against such writings reached the North-West Frontier Province [Khyber Pakhtunkhwa] and led to the short-term evacuation of a few hundred Hindus from tribal territories. In response to these agitations and the growing threat of disorder caused by the proliferation of such bigoted literature, the Indian Legislative Council finally amended the Indian Penal Code and passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act XXV, thereby, making it a
Razia, Razi (1936–). Razi Raza has studied jurisprudence from the Brasenose College, Oxford (1954–57). He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1958. This was the period when the first military regime under General Ayub Khan had been established in Pakistan. When Zia ul Haq "Bhutto developed differences with Ayub and quit the government, he formed his own political party, the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in 1967. His party attracted talented and earnest young men around him including Razi Raza, who became PPP's constitutional advisor. Because of his persuasive manner as well as his expertise in constitutional law, Rafi Raza accompanied Bhutto during his negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and General Yahya Khan in 1970.

When Bhutto came to power in 1970 Razi Raza was appointed Special Assistant. This post carried a cabinet rank—and in administrative terms—he served as deputy prime minister. He is known to have achieved a breakthrough when Pakistan's delegation decided to pack up during the Sino Summit. Raza also contributed to the framing of the 1973 Constitution. Political and bureaucratic pressures forced Razi Raza's resignation on 1 June 1973, but its acceptance was deferred till his election to the Senate of Pakistan. Thereafter, from 1974–77, he served as Minister for Production and Industries. His tenure saw the first effects of nationalization and also the coming into operation of the Pakistan Steel Mills in Karachi that had been set up with Russian assistance.


Regional Cooperation for Development. The Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) was established in July 1964 by Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan. Its purpose was to liberalize and promote trade between the three countries. The legal basis for the RCD was embodied in the 1977 Treaty of Izmit. But its objective to liberalize intra-regional trade failed due to its inability to provide a workable format for the expansion of trade and a mechanism for the mobilization of resources from within the region.

The RCD remained in operation until 1978 but thereafter lapsed into dormancy from 1979–84. Undoubtedly, political and economic instability in Iran following the 1979 Revolution and the ensuing Iran-Iraq war were major factors in the demise of the RCD. Recognizing the fact that facilitation of intra-regional trade is the keystone to regional economic self-reliance and independence, the RCD was revitalized by Iran, Turkey and Pakistan with a modified institutional structure in January 1985. However, the new organization, renamed as the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), did not begin to function in its present capacity until the 1990 amendments to the Treaty of Izmit. The altered circumstances of the region, mainly the post-war reconstruction of Iran and the emergence of the newly independent states of Central Asia and the Caucasus, added impetus to the revival of this regional organization. P.J. CHEEMA

Rehman, I.A. (1930–). A senior journalist and human rights activist, I.A. Rehman is known for his outspoken views. He served as editor-in-chief of the widely circulated English daily, The Pakistan Times from 1989–90. Since 1990 he has been serving as a director at the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.

During the turbulent years of 1970–71 that resulted in the breakup of Pakistan and the emergence of *Bangladesh, Rehman, in his capacity as managing editor of the Urdu daily, Azaal, opposed the military action taken by the West Pakistan forces in what was then East Pakistan. During the regime of the late military dictator General Ziaul Haq, I.A. Rehman worked as executive editor of the weekly magazine, Viewpoint, which took on an oppositional stance towards army rule.

Besides numerous articles and papers, I.A. Rehman has to his credit three books: *Jaahna as a Parliamentarian* (co-editor), *Aaj and Crop* of Pakistan, and Pakistan under Siege (collection of columns). He won the Nuremberg International Award for Peace and Human Rights in 2003, and the Maggays Award for Peace and International Understanding in 2004. KAMILA HYAT

Rizvi, Kamal Ahmed (1930–). Well known theatre and television actor, producer and writer, Kamal Ahmed Rizvi was born in Bhiw, India. At Partition, he migrated to Pakistan. Beginning his career as a journalist and writer, he soon found his aesthetic outlet in the theatre. Rizvi was deeply committed to this art form and worked hard to build up a theatre-minded audience in the country.

When in 1964 television was introduced in Pakistan, Rizvi gained instant success with his popular comedy series *Alif Num. It was primarily a two-man show with Kamal Ahmed Rizvi playing the role of 'Allan'; and Razi Khawar the role of 'Nannah'. The series was written, acted and directed by Kamal Ahmed Rizvi himself. His satires were usually anti-establishment and exposed the inherent hypocrisy prevalent in Pakistani society. He thus became a voice of the common man and a darling of the have-nots.

During his first visit to England in 1974 Kamal Ahmed Rizvi was commissioned to write a satirical series of plays in Urdu for BBC Television. Although his script of 13 episodes was bought by the channel, unfortunately the series was never aired. On his next trip to England in 1977, he also staged an Urdu play. Among his notable contributions to Urdu drama are the publications of his two volumes of plays: *Mushakabah Urdu Dramay*, which is a collection of selective plays written during the period between 1936–1960, and *Kamal Ahmed Rizvi Kay Panch Dramay*. Besides his popular *Alif Num series, Kamal Ahmed Rizvi has written over 150 plays for theatre and television, many of which he has produced and also performed in himself.
Salik

Abdus Salam died in Oxford after suffering from a debilitating illness. He was buried in Rabwah, the central city of Ahmadis in Pakistan. Because of his Ahmadi affiliation, Abdus Salam unfortunately does not receive the recognition that he deserves in his home country.

PERVEZ HOODHBOY

Salik, Abdul Majeed (1894–1959). Abdul Majeed Salik was an eminent Urdu journalist, poet, prose writer, orator and broadcaster. Before becoming editor of the Lahore based Urdu daily Inqlab, propagating the point of view of the Muslims of the subcontinent, Salik edited various monthly journals and magazines, including the prestigious Urdu daily Zamin Dar. A dedicated and independent minded writer, Majeed Salik struggled for the rights of the common man and freedom of expression. During the Indian non-cooperation movement against colonial rule in the 1920s, Salik served a one year prison sentence for writing an article considered seditious by the British government. Majeed Salik was closely associated with the poet-philosopher Allama *Iqbal. His books, Zikr-i-Iqbal, on the life of Iqbal earned him wide recognition. Abdul Majeed Salik’s last years were spent in purely literary pursuits.

NAZIA GHANI

Salimullah, Khwaja (1871–1915). Khwaja Salimullah was the fourth Nawab of Dacca [Dhaka] and a key founder of the *All-India Muslim League founded in 1906. Salimullah joined the judicial service as Deputy Magistrate in 1893 but resigned two years later and went into business in Mymensingh. Following his father’s death in 1901, he became the head of the Dacca Nawab Estate and inherited the title of ‘Nawab’.

In 1903–04 Nawab Salimullah became active in politics. He staunchly supported the British government’s decision to partition Bengal. Despite opposition from the *Indian National Congress, Nawab Salimullah managed to successfully mobilize Muslim public opinion for the creation of a new province. Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, accepted some of Salimullah’s recommendations in the partition plan. The partition of Bengal subsequently took place on 16 October 1905, with Dacca as the capital of the new province of East Bengal and Assam.

Nawab Salimullah was also instrumental in the formation of a political front, the Mohammadan Provincial Union, which became an important political platform for Bengali Muslims. He planned to create an all-India political party called Muslim All-India Confederacy in 1906. He was also a key patron of education for the Muslims of Bengal and in 1906 organized the East Bengal and Assam Provincial Educational Conference. He was elected as president of the organization at its first convention held in Dacca.

Nawab Salimullah died in Calcutta at an untimely age of forty-four. His grandson Khwaja *Nazimuddin became the second Governor General and later Prime Minister of Pakistan.

HAFeEZ MAIKe

Sanātān Dharm. Late 19th century Punjab witnessed several reform movements aimed at purging various religions of what were perceived to be later interpretations or accretions. The Sanātān Dharm (Sanskrit: ancient or eternal faith) represented the orthodox strand within a body of texts and practices identified as Hinduism. Their arch rivals were reformers belonging to the *Arya Samaj. The points of conflict between the Sanātān Dharmis and Aryas typically centred on issues such as the rejection of idol worship, the role of Brahmins, their understanding of caste, *Shuddhi and the reform of untouchables, the centrality of the Vedas, and the place of Purāṇas in Hindu scriptures. In the ensuing struggle for adherents, both Aryas and Sanātān Dharmis employed professional preachers who posed challenges to the other’s points of beliefs during public disputations or *vādakārī and created a network of local Sanātān Dharm and Arya Samaj organisations. As the Arya Samaj moved towards what were believed to be radical reforms such as the remarriage of widows, the Sanātān Dharmis felt more threatened. But despite the antagonism between Arya Samajis and Sanātān Dharmis, there remained substantial common ground between them. For instance, both were interested in the advancement of Sanskrit, and in the domain of famine relief, they cooperated to ‘save’ Hindu orphans from Christian missionaries.

In 1902 the Bharat Dharm Maha Mandal (Great Society for Indian Religion) was founded to unite the various Sanātān Dharm Sabhas (organizations) under one umbrella. The promotion of Hindu religious education in accordance with the Sanātān Dharm; the promotion of Sanskrit and Hindi literature; the introduction of select reforms in the management of Hindu temples and the support of Hindu educational institutions and publishing houses were among its aims.

NEFFI NAIR

Saraki Language. Saraki is the name given to mutually intelligible dialects of southern Punjab. Until the 1970 census in Pakistan these dialects were classified under Punjabi. Even now, being intelligible to Punjabi speakers and vice versa, most Punjabis consider Saraki to be a variety of Punjabi. Saraki is an ancient language and the first works in Punjabi, for instance those by Parid Ganjsakhar, are in this variety of the language. However, it shares some sounds and tonal, phonetic and phonological features—with Sindi.

Since the 1960s when the intelligentsia of southern Punjab chose the Saraki name, it is being standardized independently from Punjabi and is represented in the census of Pakistan as a separate language. Nearly 14 million people are estimated to speak the language. The intellectuals of this area to distinguish themselves from the politically dominant Punjabi elite use Saraki as an identity symbol. They emphasize similarities with the Sindhis while de-emphasizing continuities with the Punjabis in order to construct their distinctive linguistic identity. This is then used to protest the lack of development in the Saraki region, the distribution of land to non-local people and the settlement of immigrants there.

The movement gained momentum when the former state of Bahawalpur, which had been merged with the province of West Pakistan in 1954, was then merged with the Punjab after West Pakistan was broken up into constituent provinces in 1969. Public opinion in Bahawalpur wanted the former state to be a separate province. However, this demand was curbed in the first quarter of 1970 and Bahawalpur became part of the Punjab. This fed into the perception of injustice among the intelligentsia of southern Punjab. A number of Saraki cultural organizations were created and publications launched. While the movement has made only modest gains in the political sphere, it has been far more successful in the linguistic and cultural spheres. Saraki is now recognized as an independent language in both Pakistan and India.

TAReQ BAHAAN

Sarfraz, Zari (1923–2008). Sister of former NWFP [Khyber Pakhtunkhwa] Chief Minister, Mir Afzal Khan, Begum Zari Sarfaraz belonged to the Mardan district. A vivacious and multifaceted personality, she joined the Pakistan Movement and after Partition in 1947 assisted in rehabilitation work for refugees. Zari Sarfaraz joined the *Pakistan Muslim League and was elected to the National Assembly. While serving as federal minister for Women’s Development and head of the Commission for Women during General Ziaul Haq’s era, Zari Sarfaraz strove to put an end to discriminatory laws against women and recommended general measures for improving their lot. She was also active in the *All-Pakistan Women’s Association; the Pakistan Red Crescent Society; SOS Children’s Village; and her own family’s ZAMA Trust that handed out student scholarships.

Apart from her career in politics and social work, Begum Zari Sarfaraz was involved in the family business. She lived a full life until the age of 85 and passed away in Islamabad.

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Shirazmi Guradara Prabandhak Committee

However, after the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and later, the war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Shia/Sunni relations in Pakistan plummeted to alarming levels and have continued to deteriorate. Political parties have, for their own gains, added fuel to the fire and sectarian differences are vocally highlighted by them. Violent Shia-Sunni clashes over the years have resulted in countless unnecessary deaths. The situation remains volatile—mutual suspicion prevails—and the gap between both communities continues to widen.

NADIA GHANI

Shirazmi Guradara Prabandhak Committee

The Shirazmi Guradara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) was the chief management committee of Sikh Gurudwaras and shrines. It came into being as the result of the Gurudwara Reform Movement of 1920–25 started by the *Akali Dal (Army of Immortals),* the main political party of the Sikhs. This movement had begun as a non-violent agitation, demanding control of Sikh shrines in opposition to the British supported *Mahants* ( Custodians) who did not follow the *Khalas. *The Akali campaign was finally terminated by the drafting and passing of the Sikh Gurudwara Act, 1925. The effect of this Act was to make available to the SGPC and, thus, to the Akali Dal the enormous political and economic benefits that came from control of Gurudwaras. In the course of time the SGPC became the ‘authoritative voice’ of the Sikhs. As a democratic institution it has always represented the majority opinion. As such, it has laid the claim to represent the authority of the Guru Panth (global Sikh community), although it has been frequently challenged by Sikhs living outside the Punjab.

PASHAURA SINGH

Shoaib, Muhammad (1907–1997). A former civil servant and finance minister of Pakistan. Muhammad Shoaib was instrumental in formulating the economic policies of the Ayub *Khan* regime.

Shoaib worked as a civil servant for several years in various capacities, including as Controller of Military Finance. He also served internationally for six years in Washington DC, where he held the post of Vice President at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in the World Bank Group. Muhammad Shoaib served as Finance Minister under Iskander *Mirza and Ayub Khan,* from 1958–62 and then again from 1962–66. Under his stewardship, the nation adopted an economic policy that focused on industrialization and private enterprise, resulting in the formation of many new companies started by private investors, as well as government investment in key industries—through agencies like the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation—in various industries such as sugar mills, cement, shipyards and others. During his tenure the government also formed corporations to build infrastructure projects such as dams and roads. His policies have been criticized for exacerbating economic inequality within the country.

Muhammad Shoaib also sat along with then Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali *Butto* on the five-member Cabinet Committee tasked with reviewing the report of the Constitution Commission on changes to the constitution. The Cabinet Committee was the subject of much controversy as they approved the report—outlining changes to the constitution in May 1961— but announced that it would not be made public for ten months, at which point the constitution had already been approved. Detractors say this was intended to stifle debate on the reforms and prevent citizens from learning about them.

Muhammad Shoaib, when he announced his *Siyasat* has served as Special Adviser to the UN Secretary General and Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Asia.

PARIS ISLAM

Shradhâhând, Swami (1856–1926). Publicist for the *Arya Samaj, educationist and social reformer.* Munshi Ram became known as Swami Shradhâhând when he announced his *Sanyas* or renunciation from the social and ritual power structures of Hinduism in 1917. Shradhâhând was educated in Allahabad, Benares and Lahore. In 1888, he founded an Urdu weekly *Saddharampracharak* to popularize the Arya Hindu Mahasabha in campaigns for Sangeetan or strengthening and organizing the Hindu community. At the same time, his writings on Islam and his increasing involvement in the Shuddhi movement that involved the conversion of untouchables, Sikhs and Muslims into the fold of the *Arya Samaj* brought him an increasing number of enemies.

Swami Shradhâhând was assassinated in late 1926 by a Muslim named Abdur Rashid.

NEETI NAIR

Shuddhi. In ancient India, the term ‘Shuddhi’ (In Sanskrit: purification/organization) referred to the rites that would cleanse one’s body of pollution caused by everyday acts. It later developed into a Hindu movement that sought to convert those who had converted to other faiths back into the Hindu fold.

The first cases of reconversion occurred in 1877 during the lifetime of Swami Dayanday Saraswati, the founder of the *Arya Samaj. However the term Shuddhi was not employed and these instances were rare. In the late 1880s Punjabi *Arya Samajists* began to use Shuddhi to counter the proselytizing of Christian missionaries. Gradually Shuddhi was applied to the conversion of Hindus of persons belonging to other religions; the re-conversion of those who had converted to another religion and the reclamation or raising the status of the lower cases and untouchables.

The All-India Bharat Shuddhi Sabha was formed in 1909. Efforts to reconvert Malkana (Muslim) Rajputs in the first decade of the 20th century was met with stiff opposition from upper caste Rajputs who were persuaded to extend caste privileges to the Malkanas only after the Moplah riots of 1921.

Sangathan or organizing the Hindu community was a corollary of the Shuddhi movement. These two movements were accused of contributing towards already existing polarization of the peoples of the Indian subcontinent who were severely divided on religious and ethnic lines.

NEETI NAIR
Shriomani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee

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Muhammad Shoaib, when he announced his resignation, has served as Special Adviser to the UN Secretary General and Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Asia.

Paris Islam

Shraddhanand, Swami (1856–1926). Publicist for the *Arya Samaj, educator and social reformer. Munshi Ram became known as Swami Shraddhanand when he announced his Sanyas or renunciation from the social and ritual power structures of Hinduism in 1917. Shraddhanand was educated in Allahabad, Benares and Lahore. In 1888, he founded an Urdu weekly *Saddharam Pracharak* to popularize the Arya message. This was one of the first journals to switch to Hindi in the Nagari script in 1907. During the Arya Samaj split in 1893, Munshi Ram led the Vegetarian and Gurukul wing against the Meat eaters. In 1902, he established a Gurukul in Kangri near Hardwar that focused on Sanskrit and the study of the Vedas as well as English and Science. He was also closely associated with the establishment of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya High School for girls in Jallander. Shraddhanand wrote numerous pamphlets and treatises elaborating rules of the Arya Samaj and the teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati. He also established the newspapers *Shraddha* and *Tej* for which he wrote articles. Shraddhanand’s autobiography, *Kalantar Kaur bai Padshah* traces the Swami’s personal journey from a rather dissolute young man to a resolute Arya Samajist.

Swami Shraddhanand’s interactions with the British were forged through specific issues. In the immediate aftermath of the canal agitation of 1907, he directed a series of articles to the British government not to discriminate against the Arya Samajists on account of their presumed disloyalty. These were compiled into a book in 1910: *The Arya Samaj and its Detractors*. His growing friendship with C.P. Andrews enabled a better atmosphere to prevail between the Gurukul and the government. His active involvement with the Congress party stemmed from his admiration for M.K. Gandhi.

During the anti-Worlact Act agitations in 1919, Shraddhanand created history by becoming the only Hindu to address a mixed congregation of Hindus and Muslims from the pulpit of the Jama Masjid in Delhi. The memory of his address remained a source of honour and promise to Shraddhanand up until his last days. His uneasy relationship with the Congress is discussed in his articles to The Liberator. In 1922, Shraddhanand resigned from a Congress committee on untouchedness reform from their unbridled lukewarm attitude towards it. In his *Hindu Sangathan: Saviour of the Dying Race*, published in 1926, Shraddhanand associated the untouchedness reform with the need to strengthen the numbers of Hindus in India. He included the Hindu Mahasabha in campaigns for Sangeet or strengthening and organizing of the Hindu community. At the same time, his writings on Islam and his increasing involvement in the *Shuddhi* movement that involved the conversion of untouchables, Sikhs and Muslims into the fold of the Arya Samaj brought him an increasing number of enemies.

Swami Shraddhanand was assassinated in late 1926 by a Muslim named Abdul Rashid.

Neeti Nair

Shuddhi

In ancient India, the term ‘Shuddhi’ (in Sanskrit: purification/organization) referred to the rites that would cleanse one’s body of pollution caused by everyday acts. It later developed into a Hindu movement that strove to reconcile those who had converted to other faiths back into the Hindu fold.

The first cases of reconversion occurred in 1877 during the lifetime of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the *Arya Samaj*. However, the term Shuddhi was not employed and these instances were rare. In the late 1880s Punjabi Arya Samajists began to use Shuddhi to counter the proselytizing of Christian missionaries. Gradually Shuddhi was applied to the conversion of Hindus of persons belonging to other religions; the re-conversion of those who had converted to another religion and the reclamation or raising the status of the lower cases and untouchables.

The All-India Bharat Shuddhi Sabha was formed in 1909. Efforts to reconvert Malkana (Muslim) Rajputs in the first decade of the 20th century was met with stiff opposition from upper caste Rajputs who were persuaded to extend caste privileges to the Malkanas only after the Moplah riots of 1921.

Sangathan or organizing the Hindu community was a corollary of the Shuddhi movement. These two movements were accused of contributing towards already existing polarization of the peoples of the Indian subcontinent who were severely divided on religious and ethnic lines.

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