MPhil in Art & Design (Art History)

DECODING SOCIO-POLITICAL EVENTS OF PAKISTAN CONSIDERING ARTISTIC DISCOURSE

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CERTIFICATE

It is to hereby certify that the present research under the titled of "Decoding Socio-Political events of Pakistan considering Artistic Discourse" is an original work done by Sadia Safdar as partial fulfilment of the requirement of the MPhil Art & Design (Art History) degree at the Postgraduate Research Centre of Creative Arts, College of Art and Design, University of the Punjab, Lahore. I have personally gone through the raw data and certify the correctness and authenticity of all results reported herein. I further certify that the thesis data has not been used in part or full, in a manuscript already submitted or in the process of submission in partial fulfilment for the award of any other degree from any other institution or home or abroad. I also certify that the enclosed thesis has been prepared under my supervision and I endorse its evaluation for the award of MPhil degree through the official procedure of the university.

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ABSTRACT

Art has served as a fundamental form of expression for centuries. From early cave paintings to contemporary installations, art has expressed ideas, feelings, and observations using a wide range of materials. Creative expression has taken numerous forms in history, fulfilling multiple objectives such as religious, political, and social critique. Pakistan, since its inception in 1947, has experienced a tumultuous journey marked by diverse cultural, social, and political challenges. These challenges include issues such as political upheavals, religious tensions, gender disparities, and socioeconomic inequalities etc. Artists, as keen observers, and interpreters of their surroundings, have employed various mediums to capture these complexities and present them to the world through their art. Therefore, the socio-political artistic discourse of Pakistan has been creatively captured by contemporary artists, who have effectively communicated, critiqued, documented, inspired and conveyed their message. This thesis has explored the social and political narratives of Pakistan from 1947 to 2024 and has analysed the artworks of Pakistani artists that include different genres like painting, illustrations, installations, and mixed media. The study concludes that the evolution of Pakistan's artistic landscape is a complex narrative shaped by historical events, geopolitical consideration, internal dynamics, and war on terrorism among others. In short, Pakistan is a vibrant country that has faced significant social and political events and as a result, its artistic discourse is innovative, extensive and has continued to evolve.

Key words: Socio-Political Art, Artistic Discourse, Political Discourse, Pakistani Art, Pakistani Artist.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Art has consistently served as a potent reflection of society, functioning as a mirror that accurately portrays the diverse aspects of the human experience. Since humans are inherently social, they are unable to exist independently in their environment. Their observations, feelings, and experiences concerning society are conveyed through a variety of mediums, including writing, drawing, drama, and dance. People with artistic abilities are unique individuals, endowed by God with a passion for making a deep impact on the world around them, whether positive or negative. In their unique ways, they endeavour to understand their environment and influence the audience.

Pakistan is a nation with a diverse and significant political, social, and cultural legacy. Being a constituent of the Indian subcontinent, this region has a natural connection to ancient civilisations and has witnessed the reign of multiple dynasties and emperors. Each of these dynasties profoundly influenced the traditional heritage of Pakistan. Pakistani artists have employed their art to address various socio-political issues in the country, such as political instability, violence, ethnic conflicts, gender injustice, poverty, and several more. This form of art has also acclaimed foreign recognition as well. This research explores how Pakistani artists used their work as a medium of expression to represent social and political events of Pakistan. It examines the main social and political incidences that happened after independence up till now. This 76-year journey investigates the various ways in which artists use their work to demonstrate the various events taking place around them. The identification and comprehensive discussion with visuals, encompassing multiple points of view from artists and critics, led to the analysis of artworks.

Chapter 2 delves into the historical background of art in the subcontinent, tracing its evolution over thousands of years. It explored numerous artistic traditions, techniques, and cultural influences to comprehend the dynamics and influences of different styles that were prominent in the subcontinent. Chapter 3 extensively examines the impact of British influence on the art of the subcontinent and the artistic discourse surrounding the freedom struggle led by Muslims and Hindus. It portrays the struggle for freedom, using visually captivating features, as the quest for liberation in the Indian Subcontinent cannot be limited to a particular timeframe, individual, or institution. This outcome is undoubtedly the result of several

contributing circumstances that have been investigated and seen through the lens of paintings and posters.

Chapter 4 focuses on the art created during the partition era. It encompasses not only Muslim artists but also offers a thorough study on the migration of artists from both India and Pakistan. The division of the Indian subcontinent is a remarkable subject in various visual art forms, as it has substantial influence on both sides of the border and involves Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities. It is a prolific observation to understand how artists from both sides of the border have portrayed this event through their unique experiences and perspectives.

Since partition, the region of Kashmir has experienced persistent territorial dispute between India and Pakistan, leading to many wars and the ongoing curfew. Multiple endeavours at peace negotiations and global intervention have been undertaken to attain a durable resolution, however the issue remains unresolved. Chapter 5 not only focuses on the historical background of the Kashmir dispute but also on its prevailing condition. An analysis of Pakistan's significant social and political events (1947-2024), together with the corresponding artistic discussions, is documented in chapter 6 considering the chronology of the events. Chapter 6 is divided into four sections, each section comprises of two-decade period and thoroughly examines the political setup, social circumstances, its effects on the masses and finally the response of the artistic community on diversified events.

The objective of this thesis was to indulge in the socio-political artistic landscape of Pakistan, unravelling the hidden messages and symbolism embedded within the artworks. By analysing the works of Pakistani artists, across different genres including painting, illustrations, installations, and mixed media, this study decodes the visual language employed by these artists to represent the social and political discourse of Pakistan. This study is limited only to the social and political events of Pakistan and the response of Pakistani artists. To achieve this objective, this thesis has employed a multidisciplinary approach, drawing upon art criticism, political studies, and social sciences. It also incorporates qualitative analysis, the examination of artworks, interviews with artists and analysis on the development of the artistic discourse since birth of Pakistan. In short, by contextualizing the artworks within the socio-political milieu of Pakistan, this study is an attempt to unravel the underlying meanings, narratives, and subtext that contribute to the wider social and political discourse.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ARTISTIC DISCOURSE OF THE SUBCONTINENT

The art of the Indian subcontinent is a rich tapestry woven with centuries of cultural diversity, spiritual depth, and a kaleidoscope of vibrant expressions that reflect the multifaceted heritage of the region. Indian art refers to the artistic traditions of the Indian subcontinent, encompassing the present-day countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc. The term is also used interchangeably with the term "South Asian Art." The diverse range of art forms reflect the rich history, religious diversity, and cultural interactions that have characterized the subcontinent over the centuries. This area has been home to several ancient civilizations, including the Indus Valley Civilization. This civilization thrived around 2500 BCE and is considered one of the earliest urban communities in human history. The archaeological remnants of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, two prominent urban hubs of the Indus Valley, provide proof of the refined urban planning and extensive trade networks.

Over the years, this territory has experienced the emergence and decline of multiple empires and dynasties. The region was subject to the dominion of various empires, such as the Mauryan Empire, the Kushan Empire, and the Gupta Empire among several other. The region also emerged as a significant hub for commerce and cultural interaction along the renowned Silk Road, which facilitated connections between the Eastern and Western parts of the world. In the early 8th century, Arab Muslim armies led by Muhammad ibn Qasim arrived in the Indian subcontinent. This military invasion signified the initiation of Islam in the area. Afterwards, other Muslim dynasties, such as the Ghaznavids, Ghori's and Delhi Sultanate, exerted their control over different areas of the Indian peninsula. Thus, the artistic heritage and culture of the Indian subcontinent are a result of the region's religious and political diversity.

It is reasonable to assume that Indians have been creating some form of art since ancient times due to their strong inclination towards colour and design especially in the historical periods however there is no direct proof.[1] Despite the scarcity of early surviving pieces maybe due to natural degradation, some rock paintings from the Mesolithic period dating back to around 30,000 years have been found in the rock shelters of Bhimbetka in the Raisin area of

[1] Philip S. Rawson, *Indian painting* (New York: Universe Book, 1961), 17.

present-day Madhya Pradesh.[2] Bhimbetka consists of more than 750 rock shelters, with over a hundred murals showing animal and human figures in various colours such as green, red, white, brown, and black (Fig. 2.1). These paintings are based on four technical styles due to their colouring technique: Dry colour, wet transparent, wet opaque or oil tempera, and spray colour painting.[3] The largest group of caves have been discovered in Madhya Pradesh, but over the last few decades, notable centres have also been revealed in other parts of the country.



Figure 2.1: Paintings in rock shelter 8, Upper Paleo lithic period, Bhimbetka, India.
https://smarthistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/bhimbetka-1-scaled.jpg

The history of painting in the region may be traced back to at least the third millennium B.C. The oldest surviving evidence of painting is primarily found on pottery from the Harappan culture, dating from approximately 3000 to 1500 B.C. These artefacts have been unearthed at several locations spanning from Pakistan in the northwest to Maharashtra in the south.[4] The artworks are depicted in both monochrome and polychrome, with representations of animals, plants, composite creatures, and various geometric and decorative patterns (Fig. 2.2).

[2] "Bhimbetka Rock Shelters," New World Encyclopedia.
George Jotham Hagar, *The New World Encyclopedia: A Library of Reference* (London: Forgotten Books, 2018), 101.
[3] Lokesh Chandra Sharma, *A Brief History of Indian Painting* (Delhi: Goel Publishing House, 1980),10-11.
[4] Pratap Aditya Pal, *Indian Painting A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art* (Ahmedabad: Mappin Publishing, 1993), 16.



Figure 2.2: *Indus Valley clay vessel* decorated with Zebu bull, Tree of life and linear motifs in black/brown pigments. Mehrgarh culture, circa 3300-3000 B.C. Indus valley
https://bcgalleries.com.au/images/stories/virtuemart/product/x4921a.jpg

The motifs on the bronze age pottery are executed in a schematic manner, bearing a resemblance to the pottery ornamentation of ancient Mesopotamia and occasionally to the geometric style of pre-classical Greece. However, Indian designs seem to have a unique and interesting development. Their symbols are examples of a developing language of pictographs that might have functioned as a written alphabet, like the hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt and Chou China. The extensive remains of the Indus Valley civilization strangely did not produce any paintings, except for on some pottery pieces.[5] The Indus Valley civilization seem to have been wiped out approximately 1500 years before the birth of Christ and for over a thousand years, the art of India seemed to have vanished from view. Thus, this significant gap in our knowledge of Indian art remains unfilled.

Nevertheless, the region has a rich history of painting that can be divided into two separate categories i.e. murals and miniatures. Murals were created on sturdy surfaces like cave walls and rock shelters, whereas miniature paintings were small-scale artworks created independently or in the form of book pages. Mural paintings were utilized for embellishing the interiors of palaces and places of worship, and miniatures were used for illustrating passages in manuscripts, whether they were of a secular or religious nature.[6] Surviving examples of the earliest murals date back to early medieval period, approximately 6 century AD on various

[5] Roy C. Cravan, *A Concise History of Indian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 19.
[6] John Guy and Jorrit Britschgi, *Wonder of the Age: Master Painters of India, 1100–1900* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 17.

sites primarily located in caves and rock-cut chambers. Prime instances include the caves and rock shelters of Ajanta, Ellora, Bagh, Ravan Chhaya among others.[7] These numerous rock-cut caves served as a combination of Buddhist monasteries and shrines with exceptional examples of ancient art that included sculptures, wall murals, and ceiling paintings. Subsequent paintings in these caves demonstrate the evolution of Indian painting over a period of over six centuries. Despite their poor condition, one may observe their stylistic similarity to the narrative reliefs in early Buddhist monuments such as those found at Bharhut, Sanchi, and Amaravati. Most of the artwork in Ajanta caves portrays tales from the past lives of Buddha, together with other human characters, animals, and natural motifs (Fig. 2.3).



Figure 2.3: Ajanta Cave 1 *Maha Janaka Mural 2*
https://mapacademy.io/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/ajanta-cave-murals-3m.jpg

The Buddhist temples in eastern India were also adorned with intricately painted murals depicting sacred images. The monasteries *(mahaviharas)* offer valuable insights into the opulence of the medieval mural painting style. These monasteries were also known for their multistory libraries, considered as treasure homes of wisdom, and Buddhist knowledge. These libraries contained large quantities of both manuscripts and some of the finest paintings of the time. The murals in the Sumtsek Chapel at Alchi Monastery in Ladakh, dating back to

[7] Cravan, *A Concise History of Indian Art*, 23.

approximately 1200 are some of the most comprehensive surviving examples of mural painting (Fig. 2.4).[8]



Figure 2.4: *Prajnaparamita*, Sumtsek Chapel, Alchi monastery, Ladakh.
Mural painting on plaster, ca, 1200.
Source: Wonder of the Age by John Guy and Jorrit Britschgi.

Manuscript painting in the subcontinent encompasses various artistic practices. These include Pala Buddhist style in eastern India and Nepal, Jain manuscript in western and central India, Mughal and Rajasthani painting in northern and western India, Decani painting in southern India, and Pahari paintings located at the foothills of the Himalayas. Additionally, there existed smaller kingdoms that developed their own distinct styles of painting and workshops, which were usually influenced by the major schools. Miniature painting originated in the ninth century, around the time when Pala patronage supported the creation of palm leaf books. Starting in the 11th century, the practice of Jain manuscript also emerged in western and central India. The palm leaf paintings employed a restricted yet striking range of colors and employed inventive arrangements to juxtapose text with imagery (Fig. 2.5).[9]

[8] Guy and Britschgi, *Wonder of the Age: Master Painters of India, 1100–1900*, 22.
[9] John Guy, "Indian Painting from 1100 to 1500", in M.C. Beach, E. Fischer and B.N. Goswamy (eds.), Masters of Indian Painting, Zurich, Arti bus Asia, 2011: 15-28.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/342247707



Figure 2.5: *The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara* Expounding the Dharma to a Devotee: Folio from a Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita Sutra Manuscript Mahavihara Master early 12th century
https://collectionapi.metmuseum.org/api/collection/v1/iiif/74906/180703/main-image

The painting style found in these earliest surviving manuscripts is believed to reflect the conventions that were created in Indian temple and monastic mural painting, which are now nearly extinct. Therefore, these manuscript paintings offer a distinctive perspective on Indian painting style and subject matter. Their visual representations were based on two prototypes: sanctuary sculptures, which serve as a prime example of the intricate iconographic scheme delineated in the texts, and mural paintings from that era, that have been largely lost to antiquity.

For Buddhists, the written word had the same spiritual power as sculptures. Manuscripts were not only seen as sacred but were also revered as objects of worship. The long, narrow format of the texts was due to the shape of the leaves. The leaves were encased between wooden boards, with the inner surfaces occasionally adorned with depictions of deities or specific narratives, such as scenes from Buddha's life. Jain paintings and the early Hindu court paintings both used the same basic color palette, which consisted of yellow, red, green, black and brown. These colors were considered the basic colors in Indian art (Fig. 2.6).

> "One tradition that must be of great antiquity, but for which evidence survives only from around the tenth to eleventh century, is the production of palm-leaf manuscript editions of Jain scriptures, with painted illustrations on both the folios and the wooden cover (patli). The worship of the books of wisdom (Jnanapuja) was a central activity in temple ritual. Even today the recitation and worship of the Kalpa sutra manuscript forms an important part of the annual Paryushana festival celebrated by the Svetambara ("white-clad") Jains during the monsoon season."[10]

[10] John Guy, "Indian Painting from 1100 to 1500", in M.C. Beach, E. Fischer and B.N. Goswamy (eds.), Masters of Indian Painting, Zurich, Arti bus Asia, 2011: 15-28.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/342247707



Figure 2.6: One of a Pair of *Jain Manuscript Covers (Patli)*
India (Gujarat) early 12th century
https://collectionapi.metmuseum.org/api/collection/v1/iiif/74883/151858/main-image

None of the Buddhist paintings from this period bear an artist's signature or a scribal attribution. Initially texts were composed, leaving room for the artist to incorporate the painting, which often extended beyond the edges of the textual content. The Buddhist artists demonstrated a keen perception of line and form, and they executed their work with a self-assurance, were occasionally concise, and their approach indicates extensive familiarity with the traditions of their artistic style. The figures were depicted in vibrant colors applied in flat washes, with minimal shading and well-defined outlines. Artists of this era redefined the boundaries of miniature painting over the course of two centuries by reducing the dimensions of large-scale mural paintings to an average of 2 by 3 inches.[11]

In the last part of the 12th century, the practice of creating Buddhist monastic paintings abruptly ceased due to destructive wars carried out by the Sultanate of Bengal, resulting in the downfall of the monasteries in eastern India. Steven Kossak in his book states,

> "There is little evidence that Hindu manuscripts were produced before the fifteenth century, Buddhists sculptures as early as Gupta period (late third to fifth century) show deities holding manuscripts as attributes, indicating that in India the manuscript tradition is very old. The principal illustrated texts that survive from before the sixteenth century were made as religious donations or for religious use by the Buddhists and Jain communities. The vast majorities of the Buddhists manuscripts date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries; by the thirteenth century Buddhism had largely been extinguished in north India."[12]

With the destruction of monasteries, a vast accumulation of books and artistic expressions related to religious ceremonies and worship was lost. All Pala paintings whether it be palm leaf manuscript or cloth painting they have only survived outside eastern India particularly in Nepal and Tibet.[13] However, by late 14th century, paper emerged as a favored medium. Paper manuscripts, called codex were different from the palm leaf version because it

[11] Pratap Aditya Pal, *Indian Painting A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art* (Ahmedabad: Mappin Publishing, 1993), 46
[12] Steven Kossak, *Indian Court Painting, 16th-19th Century* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 4.
[13] Frances Watson, *India: A Concise history* (USA: Thames n Hudson, 1979), 56

offered the advantage of being available in several sizes and having the ability to accommodate a greater variety of colors. The palm leaf manuscripts varied in length from 10-12 inches, whereas the codices may measure up to a few feet. The previous elongated format of the manuscripts transformed into a more compressed rectangular shape that eventually proved to be an ideal for huge illustrations and intricate marginal designs (Fig. 2.7).



Figure 2.7: Devananda's Fourteen Auspicious Dreams Foretelling the Birth of Mahavira: Folio from a Kalpa sutra Manuscript
https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/as/original/DT6940.jpg

The illuminated manuscripts of western India throughout the 14th and 15th century showcased a stylistic evolution that had originated in the preceding four decades. The style can be characterized as Western Indian, as it is closely associated with Jain scriptures and cloth paintings, however it is not limited to Jain art alone. The Western Indian painting experienced significant transformations throughout the early half of the 15th century. These alterations primarily involved accentuation and ornamentation rather than substantial changes in style. These developments were somewhat influenced by the increasing trade connections between northern India and the Islamic societies of Mamluk Egypt and Timurid Iran.[14] Although Indian characteristics were very evident as has been said by John Guy, "By 1500, painting styles in India were on the verge of a revolution, influenced by the Sultanate kingdoms of northern India that had strong connections with the court ateliers of Iran, Egypt and Afghanistan."[15]

Indian painting during this phase was undergoing a period of transition and entering a new era. During the early sixteenth century, the painting style in northern India experienced unparalleled forces of transformation. These developments mostly resulted from the increasing

[14] Stuart Carry Welch, *India art and culture 1300-1900* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985),120.
[15] John Guy and Jorrit Britschgi, *Wonder of the Age: Master Painters of India, 1100–1900* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 65.

influence of Muslim invaders, specifically the Afghans and Turks, who successfully conquered a significant portion of northern India during the early 13th century. Later they solidified and extended their authority over the subsequent two centuries.[16] The rise of Muslim authority is characterised by the emergence of illuminated manuscripts, encompassing not only Quran but also a substantial collection of non-religious literary texts, originating mostly from Iran and to a lesser extent from Arab sources.

By 1500, painting techniques in India diversified into several types, influenced by artistic centers located in Delhi, Bengal, and the Mando Sultanate kingdoms in northern India. Whereas Ahmednagar, Bijapur, and Golconda in the sultanate states of the Deccan.[17] During the sultanate era, Delhi was the political capital for the Turkish sultans, mostly because of its advantageous location that provided access to the Ganges River as well as central and western India. During the reign of Sultan Iltutmish, the Sultanate of Delhi achieved the status of being India's largest and most influential domain. The Delhi sultanate maintained their position of dominance, as can be seen in the fortified city of *Tughluq Abad* constructed by the Tughlaq dynasty, as well as in the towns established by its successors, the Sayyid and Lodhi. During the reign of the Tughluq and Lodhi dynasties, numerous ateliers and workshops were initiated in the courts. These facilities were dedicated to copying the Persian and Arabic writings, following the artistic traditions of Iran (Fig. 2.8).[18]



Figure 2.8: *'Folio from a Khamsa'* (quintet) by Amir Khusraw Dihlavi ,1450. https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/folio-from-a-khamsa-quintet-by-amir-khusraw-dihlavi-d-1325-nizamuddin-awliya-with-three-attendants/NgEFKlfJNi5xfQ?hl=en

[16] Parul Pandya Dhar, *Indian Art History Changing Perspectives* (New Delhi: D. K. Print world (P) Ltd. And National Museum Institute, 1966), 87-88.
[17] Welch, *India art and culture 1300-1900*, 201.
[18] Pratap Aditya Pal, *Indian Painting A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art* (Ahmedabad: Mappin Publishing, 1993), 163.

The workshops of the Sultanate courts of Delhi and Bengal relied on imported models to guide their artists along with Indian artists, who were schooled in the Hindu and Jain traditions. The amalgamation of these indigenous Indian painting techniques with imported ones served as a catalyst for the revolutionary advancements that characterise the initial half of the 16th century (Fig. 2.9).

> "With their religion, the Muslims sultans also brought to India the arts of calligraphy and manuscript illumination that already by 1200 had reached impressive heights in Egypt and Iran. Although not much has survived from the first two centuries of Muslim rule, perhaps because of the destruction of Delhi by Timur in the late 14th century."[19]

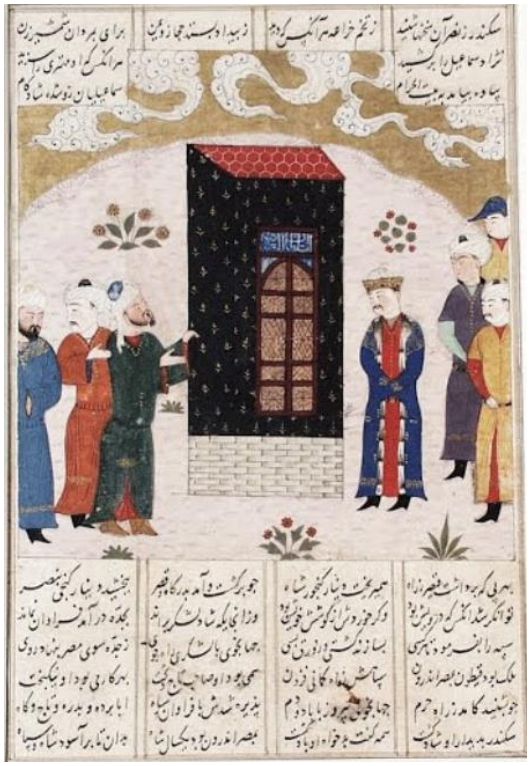


Figure 2.9: '*Iskandar at the Kaaba,'* page from a Manuscript of the Khamsa (Quintet) of Nizami (Iskandar Namah or Book of Alexender)
https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQX82XL22zp1_SL5FGXdcamWXJ7pc_-n9Sjsw&s

In the 16th century, a significant cultural event took place in the history of the subcontinent with the conquest of an Islamic dynasty of Turko-Mongol descent known as Mughals, who were direct descendants of Tamerlane and Genghis Khan. The Mughal courts so earned the reputation of being the most innovative and powerful centers in India. In 1526, Babur conquered the Lodhi Sultan of Delhi and established his rule over a large part of India. Following his demise, his son Humayun took over as ruler and ruled for eleven years till Sher Shah Suri forced him out of India. Humayun sought refuge at the Safavid court in Tabraiz,

[19] Welch, *India Art and Culture 1300-1900*, 258.

Persia, as Muslim courts placed great importance on the creation of manuscripts, thus Humayun became familiar with the unique characteristics of the Safavid court, such as intricate patterns, vibrant colors, meticulous craftsmanship, and a flattened perspective.

Upon his return to India, Humayun recaptured Delhi and brought with him two eminent painters, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdul Samad from Iran. These artists remained in the royal court for the rest of their lives, assisting Humayun in flourishing an atelier with hundreds of junior painters (Fig. 2.10). Art historian J. M. Rogers has commented in his book, "Considering Humayun's beleaguered state and the unlikelihood of his ever regaining a stable position in India, the employment of two… expensive painters while he was still in exile represented a considerable investment." [20]



Figure 2.10: *'Princes of the house of Timur,'* probably by Abd-as Samad Mughal, ca. 1545-50. Victoria Albert Museum. https://www.antarnaad.in/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/848px-Princes_of_the_House_of_Timur.jpg

After Humayun's death, his 12-year-old son Akbar (r 1556-1605) developed the empire. Akbar received training at the Tabriz court of Shah Tahmasp. He had a strong inclination toward paintings and emphasized that painting should have a significant role in his

[20] Surya Tubach, "The Astonishing Miniature Paintings of India's Empire," April 30, 2018, https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-astounding-miniature-paintings-indias-mughal-empire

own court. Despite being purportedly uneducated, he populated his court with writers and painters, fostered intellectual discourse, and financed grandiose architectural endeavors. Within a decade of his rise to power, Emperor Akbar had established a prestigious workshop for manuscript production at his newly built capital of Fatehpur Sikri.[21] The atelier's renowned products were large-format, multivolume manuscripts such as *Akbar Nama* (The history of Akbar) and *Hamza Nama* (Story of Prince Hamza), etc. *Hamza Nama* remains his most celebrated work, with 1400 illustrations, although today a small percentage of the original work remains, most of it has either been destroyed or repainted. The portraits were originally created and sketched by master artists and later were passed to junior artists for completion, therefore sometimes it was difficult to identify the distinct style of certain master (Fig. 2.11 & Fig. 2.12).



Figure 2.11: *'Akbar hunting tiger near Narwa,'* From a manuscript of Akbar-Nama, ca. 1590 .Victoria and Albert Museum. https://framemark.vam.ac.uk/collections/2009BX3672/full/1400,/0/default.jpg

[21] Maurice S. Dimand, "Mughal Painting under Akbar the Great." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 12, no. 2 (1953): 46–51. https://doi.org/10.2307/3257529.



Figure 2.12: *'The prophet Elias (Elijah) rescued Prince Nur ad-Dhar from drowning in a river*' Hamza Nama. https://islamicworld.britishmuseum.org/collection/RFM540

Akbar's atelier comprised of painters and assistants with diverse backgrounds, including individuals from Persian, Indian Muslim, and Hindu origins. Akbar's selection of themes for the paintings created at his workshop was also shaped by his broad-minded and acceptance towards religions apart from Islam, particularly Hinduism and Christianity (Fig. 2.13). The artists dedicated their time to create intricate illustrations of Persian love stories, Indian epics, depictions of courtly life, etc. Several Hindu epics, such as Harivansh, Mahabharata, and Ramayana, were translated into Persian (Fig. 2.14). [22]

[22] Annemarie Schimmel and Stuart Carry Welch, *Anvari's Divan: A Pocketbook for Akbar* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 35.

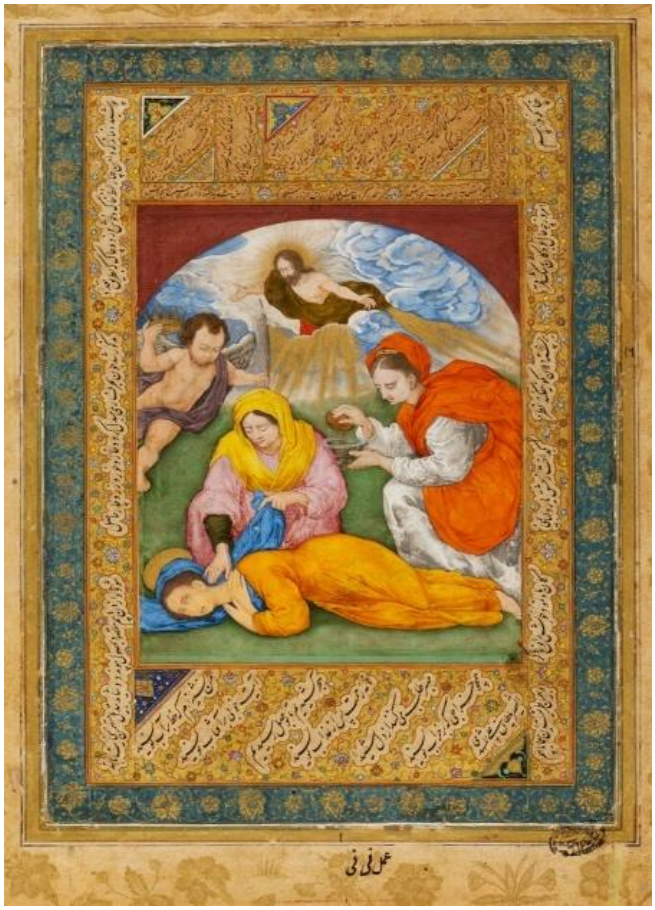


Figure 2.13: *'The Martyrdom of Saint Cecilia,'* opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, about 1600, Mughal. Museum no. IM.139A-1921. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQBIZOArfvGdof9W0wfn4V-FBGCrteBvCyiYQ&s



Figure 2.14: *'Rama Chastises the Dying Vali,'* Folio from a Ramayana (Adventure of Rama),ca 1595. https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQf0KIyLojFo5dsXPb3Ae1cXDFCaK56gtaN-A&s

Akbar exercised and promoted exceptional religious tolerance, resulting in an unparalleled state of peace throughout the empire. Moreover, seldom has there been an empire that exhibited such unwavering commitment to the arts. The Mughal manuscript art, supported by the affluent Mughal court, utilized high-grade paper that was brought from Persia and Italy. Colors were obtained from equally scarce and costly mineral sources, such as lapis lazuli, cinnabar and gold among others. Visual depictions of important scenes would be presented alongside the elegant Nastalik calligraphy. The paintings underwent a significant conceptual and aesthetic transformation from the Persian court in the subsequent period. The figures were rendered as three-dimensional with bodies and features that were more realistically depicted (Fig 2.15).



Figure 2.15: *'Prince With a Falcon,'* 1600-1605. Courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-astounding-miniature-paintings-indias-mughal-empire

Akbar was succeeded by his son Salim, who later assumed the title of Jahangir. He grew up under the influence of the productive phase of Akbar's workshop and consequently became a skilled and knowledgeable expert in the field of painting. He confidently asserted

that he was able to recognize the artistic style of any of the court artists, regardless of the size of their contribution.[23] Jahangir managed his own group of artists, in contrast to his father's preference for big manuscript projects dealing with historical or legendary occurrences, he preferred finely produced single pieces that documented his own experiences and preferences (Fig. 2.16). The outcome included more poetic composition, deeper characterization, more subdued and less artificial palette, exhibiting greater authenticity. The paintings created during Jahangir's reign were characterized by a unique subject matter that reflected his preferences, as he advocated for carefully conducted studies of animals and plants, portraiture that was characterized by both realism and psychological depth, and subjects that were influenced by European culture. The splendid drawings were attached to sheets embellished with extravagant artistic borders and then compiled into albums that were coated in leather, either ornamented with gold or imprinted with lacquer (Fig. 2.17).



Figure 2.16: *'Emperor Jahangir weighing his son Prince Khurram,'* (later crowned Shah Jahan), in gold in 1607, an album-painting in gouache on paper, from Tuzk-e-Jahangiri (Jahangir Nama) by artist Manohar, around AD 1615, Mughal dynasty, India. https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcR5A2I2SBhLaRFD59iyOEs4RW_9LvBoFYXXBQ&s

[23] Steven Kossak, *Indian Court Painting, 16th-19th Century* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 10

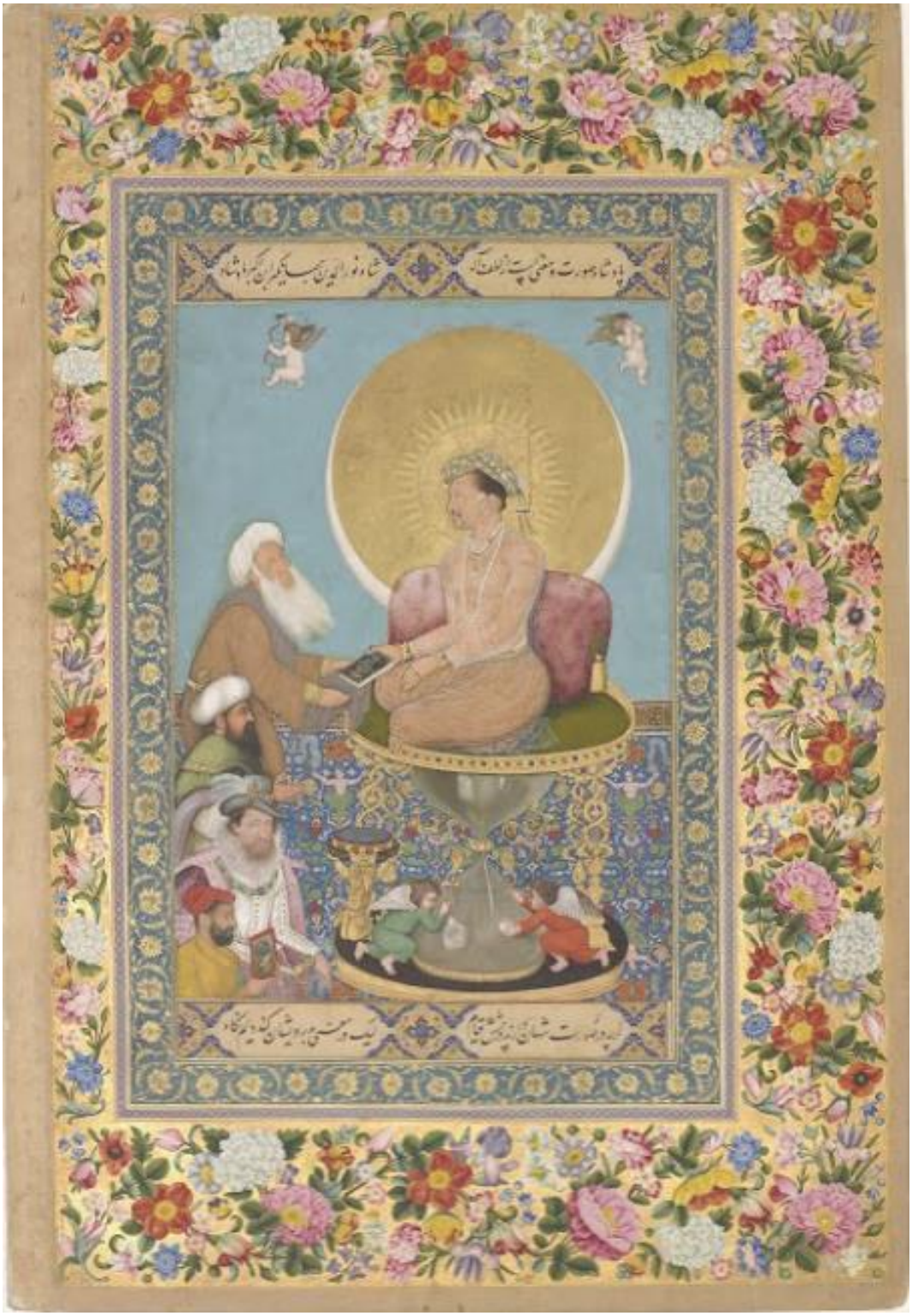


Figure 2.17: *'Jahangir receiving a mullah,'* 1620 ca. by Bichitr, an Indian painter during the Mughal period, patronized by the emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Amelia-Carolina-Sparavigna/publication/314534128/figure

In 1627, the Mughal throne was handed over to Jahangir's son Shah Jahan (r. 1627-58). He certainly had an appreciation for painting, but he appeared to be less focused on supporting it than his ancestors. He was more focused on architecture and collection of precious jewels (Fig. 2.18).



Figure 2.18: *'Shah Jahan on a Terrace, Holding a Pendant Set with His Portrait,'* Folio from the Shah Jahan Album. Painted by Chit Arman (Indian, active ca. 1627–70) https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/is/original/DP246547.jpg

Overall, there was a shift towards ornamental painting style, resulting in a decline in the intellectual exploration that characterized subjects during Jahangir's reign. Additionally, there was a decrease in the production of manuscripts. However, Shah Jahan requested the creation of an illustrated historical account of his reign, known as the *Pad-sha-Namah* (Fig. 2.19 & Fig. 2.20). Paintings from his reign exhibited a distinct formal format and immobile inclination yet were brilliantly executed. In contrast to the unconstrained depictions of landscapes and studies during Jahangir's rule, the portraits, courtly sceneries, and floral studies commissioned by Shah Jahan were more rigid, stylized, and characterized by formal, symmetrical compositions.[24]

[24] Kossak, *Indian Court Painting, 16th-19th Century*, 13.



Figure 2.19: '*Abd Al-Hamid Lahawri,'* Padshahnamah (The Book of Emperors) 1656-57.
Nastaliq calligraphy by Muhammad Amin Mashhadi.
https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcRZD1Fvi3_c_vswn8-c-hEOO_7CJV9mm_7w5A&s



Figure 2.20: *'The Battle of Shahbarghan,'* Folio from a Padshahnamah (Chronicle of the Emperor) 17th century.
Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper.
https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/is/original/DT8442.jpg

Shah Jahan's rule was abruptly ended in 1658 by his son Aurangzeb, when he unexpectedly imprisoned his father. The new emperor adhered to conventional Sunni doctrines, and his rule witnessed a decline in patronage of artistic endeavors. Although initially he showed interest in the royal atelier but later, he promptly disregarded it due to which several painters, who were denied commissions, sought alternative patronage (Fig. 2.21). Navina Najat Haider states,

> "Shah Jahan's third son and successor, Aurangzeb (later Emperor Alamgir, or "World Holder," (r.1658– 1707), was a less-active patron of the visual arts. His long tenure as prince and emperor is partly characterized by a drift toward austerity and orthodoxy, leading him to eventually banish painting and music at the court."[25]



Figure 2.21: '*Emperor Aurangzeb in a shaft of light*,' attributed by Hunhar ca.1660-63 with later floral border from St. Petersburg Album
https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/is/original/DT8442.jpg

His fundamentalist beliefs were quickly put into effect through a series of laws aimed at subduing the Hindu populace of India. These included a ban on the religious buildings of non-Muslims, the demolition of existing ones and the reinstatement of the *jizya*, although his primary effort was directed at expanding his authority.[26] During this era, the Mughal empire

[25] John Guy, and Navina Najat Haidar, *Indian Skies: The Howard Hodgkin Collection of Indian Court Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art), 13.
[26] Jizya is a tax levied on non- Muslims for their military protection by the faithful that had been abolished by Akbar one hundred years before.

experienced the initial stages of a decline in its geographical limits, as some regional governors began to secede from the empire under his rule.

The emperors who came after Aurangzeb had to struggle with the state's dwindling authority because of the frequent successions leading to their replacements. Thus, they were unable to dedicate adequate time to the creation of lavish paintings and publications, as their predecessors had done. The only exception to this was a revival that occurred during the reign of Bahadur Shah Zafar and Muhammad Shah (Fig. 2.22).



Figure 2.22: *'Muhammad Shah'* ca.1736.
https://framemark.vam.ac.uk/collections/2013GD6579/full/735,/0/default.jpg

The Persian warrior Nadir Shah's expedition in 1739 resulted in the devastation of the Mughal capital of Delhi, leading to an enormous migration of the city's population. Consequently, the artistic community permanently dispersed after this incident, as the demand for miniature paintings had declined to such an extent that painters were compelled to seek employment other than in the imperial court. The dispersion of artists coincided with the formation of remarkable ateliers at Rajasthani courts and the Punjab hills. This did not solely involve the introduction of late Mughal styles to specific Rajasthani courts, such as Malwa, Mewar, Marwar, Krishangarh, Bikaner, Bundi, and Kota. Instead, painters who were

knowledgeable about the Mughal style modified their aesthetic language, range of subjects, and artistic abilities to cater to the preferences of their Hindu patrons. Although, the Rajasthani atelier replicated the composition, color scheme, drawing, and even imperial images of Mughal paintings to an unparalleled extent.[27] Nevertheless, the manuscripts from this period covered a wide range of themes, including religious mythology, epic stories about folk heroes, etc. Works about the life of Krishna were highly esteemed and created in abundance within various royal courts (Fig. 2.23).

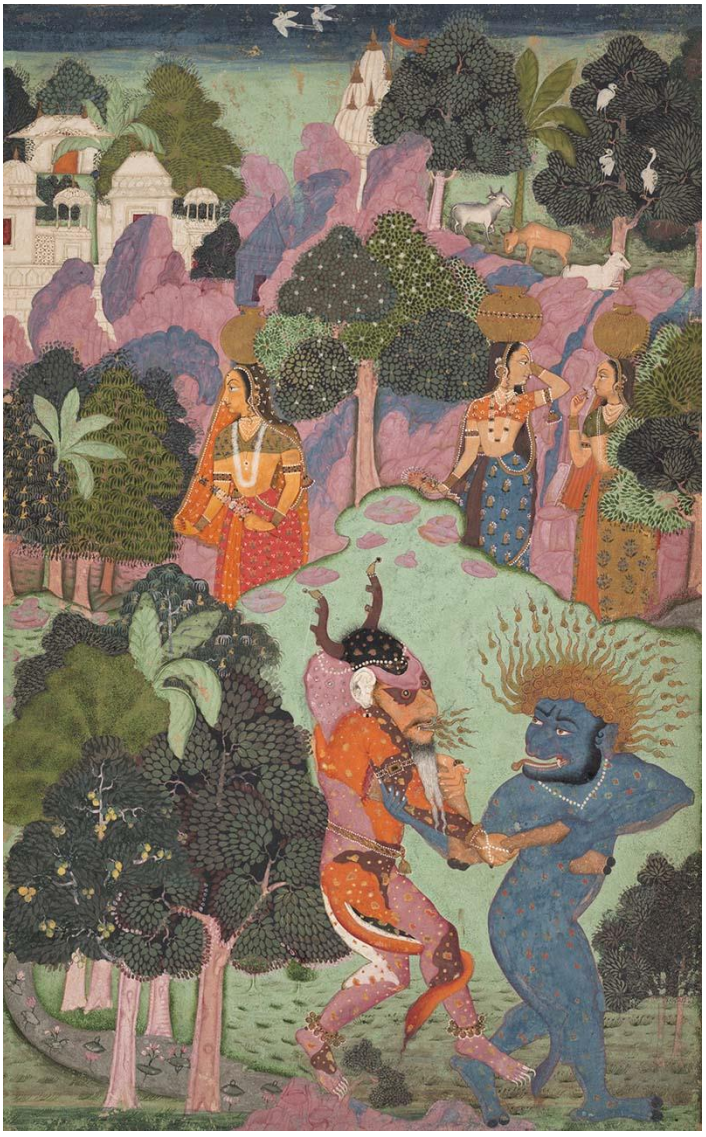


Figure 2.23: *'Demons Fighting Over an Animal Limb,'* Bikaner or the Deccan, Rajasthan, India; Late 17th century https://mapacademy.io/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/rajasthani-manuscript-painting-3s-1.jpg

The Rajput monarchs from Rajasthan founded few kingdoms in the late seventeenth century located around Himalayas, specifically in Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, and Jammu and

[27] John Guy and Jorrit Britschgi, *Wonder of the Age: Master Painters of India, 1100–1900* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 113.

Kashmir, which were collectively referred to as Punjab hills or *Pahari.*[28] The courts in Basohli, Mankot, Nurpur, Chamba, Kulu, Guler, and Kangra had a keen interest in manuscript painting. Artists like Nainsukh and Manaku were widely recognized for their contributions to the distinctive style of Pahari painting. The Pahari style spanned from bold vivid Basohli paintings from Jammu and Kashmir to the lyrical Kangra paintings which became symbolic of the style before other schools arose.[29]

The princely states in Rajasthan and the hilly regions of Punjab were the last remaining courts that existed during the 18th and early 19th centuries. These courts became an enticement for unemployed painters from the Mughal court. The Pahari painting style developed several schools, where a fusion of both Rajasthani and Mughal styles was apparent, as many painters originated from these regions. Nevertheless, most monarchs in these states were adherents of the Hindu faith, thus they actively encouraged artists to draw inspiration from sacred Hindu scriptures, including those that showcased Radha and Krishna, Gita Govinda and Bhagavata Purana (Fig. 2.24 & Fig. 2.25).

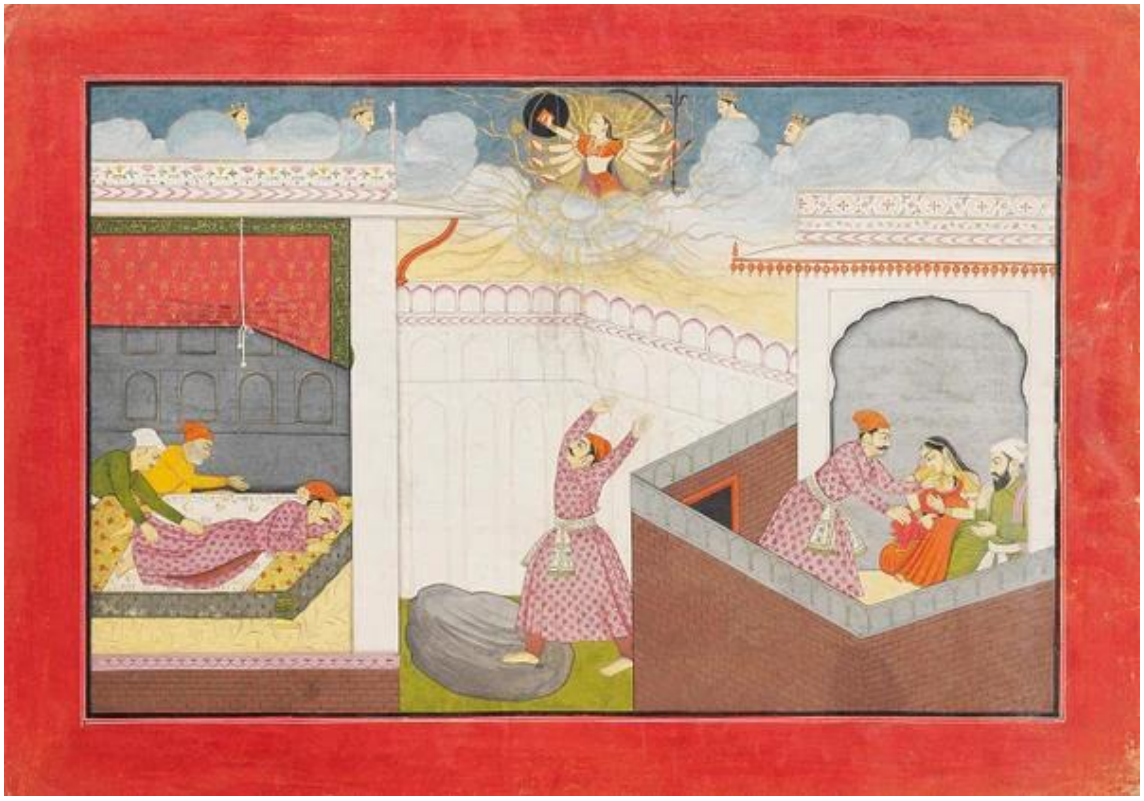


Figure 2.24: *'An illustration to the Bhagavata Purana: Durga's warning given to Kamsa,'* Pahari style, c.1760–65. https://www.christies.com/img/LotImages/2015/CKS/2015_CKS_11150_0054_000(an_illustration_to_the_bhagavata_purana_durgas_warning_given_to_kamsa110130).jpg?mode=max

[28] Pahar means hill and term Pahari refers to "of the mountains."
[29] B. N. Goswamy, and Eberhard Fischer. "Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India." *Artibus Asiae. Supplementum* 38 (1992): 3–391. https://doi.org/10.2307/1522698.

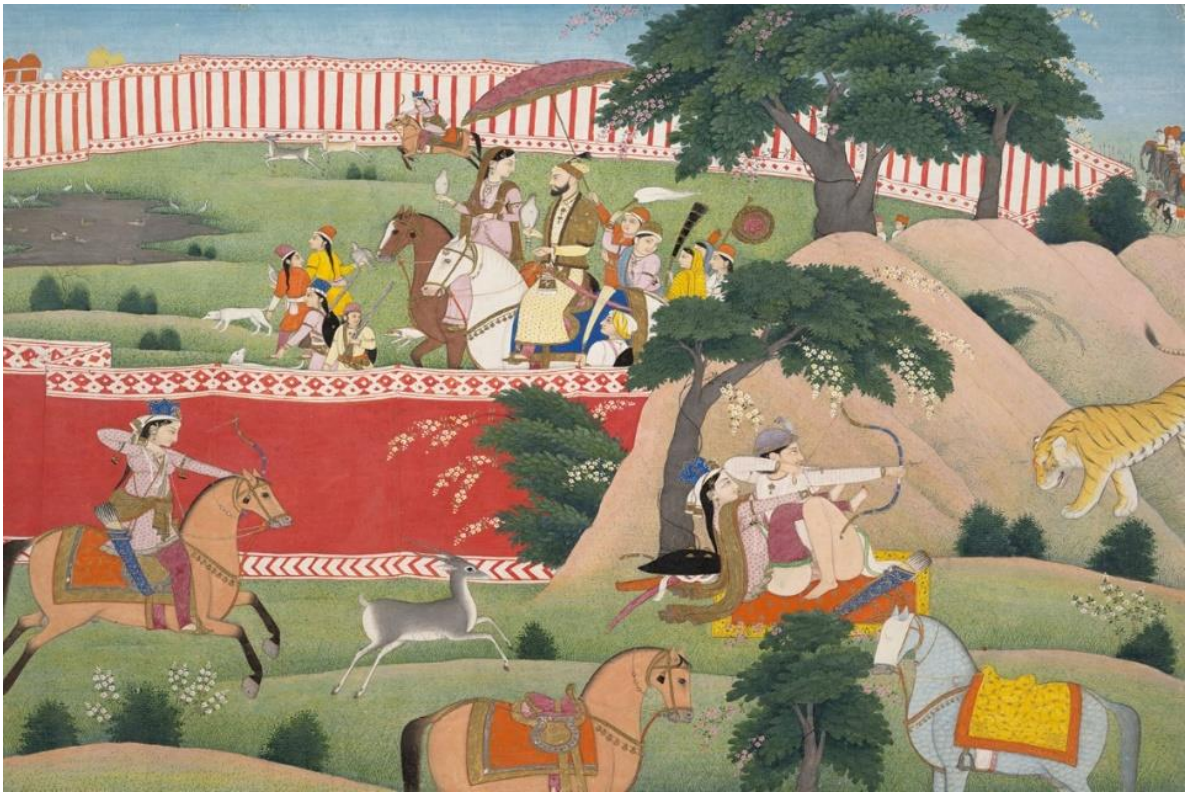


Figure 2.25: *'Pleasure of the hunt,'* Kangra, Punjab Hills North India; c.1800. The Met Museum of Art. https://mapacademy.io/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/pahari-pleasures-hunt-3l.jpg

When financial support from the royal family for Pahari manuscript painting ceased, several Pahari artists became part of either the Sikh or Rajasthani courts. However, a small number of artists persisted in practicing this art form in Kangra, yet the Punjab hills ceased to remain a prominent cultural center in the subsequent centuries.

During the mid-18th century, numerous Sikh groups were active in the Punjab region. Ranjit Singh assumed leadership in 1792 at the age of twelve following his father's demise. In 1799, he ended the dominance of the Afghans and established himself as the ruler of the Punjab, with Lahore as its capital. During the final decades of the 18th century, the prevailing anarchy in Punjab was not conducive to the establishment of arts. Some believe that Ranjit Singh showed little interest in painting, if not a clear dislike for it, which further impacted the development of the arts already hindered by other political circumstances (Fig. 2.26). Similar views were stated by Krishna Chaitanya in his book:

> "Ranjit Singh was no Aurangzeb with a pathological aversion to the arts. but preoccupied with carving out a realm from anarchy and then with stabilizing it, he did not establish and direct an atelier in the manner of Akbar or Sansar Chand of Kangra. since however the patronage was available, traditional painters could and did gravitate to his court."[30]

[30] Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Indian Painting, Volume 2* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1994), 6.

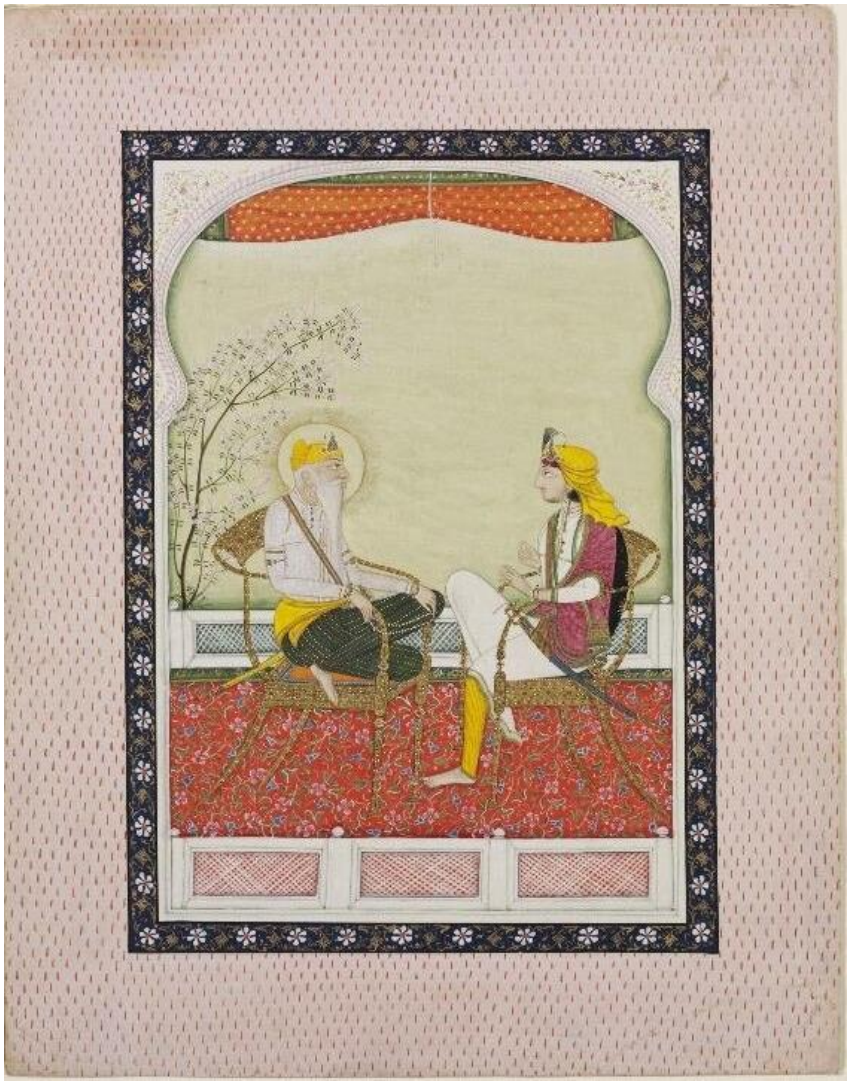


Figure 2.26: *'Ranjit Singh and Hira Singh.'* Artist unknown. Punjab. Ca.1838-1840. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper, Victoria, and Albert Museum. https://framemark.vam.ac.uk/collections/2014HC2430/full/1400,/0/default.jpg

Following the establishment of British rule over the subcontinent in 1858, profound societal transformations were witnessed in India, one notable transition occurred in the realm of art. During this period, there was a decrease in the support and sponsorship provided by the court to artists, which compelled them to adjust to the changing conditions. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the East India Company employed talented Indian artists from many communities to create paintings depicting Indian culture, as well as British nobility. As has been mentioned by Roy. C. Craven in his book,

> "After the demise of the Rajput Art centers and the complete domination of India by the British, miniature painting became a dead art. It is true that some petty rajas still maintained artists, but their productions were at best stiff, hollow copies of the past, and at worst were misunderstood interpretations of second-rate Western art."[31]

[31] Roy C. Cravan, *A Concise History of Indian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 243.

Some notable artists during this period included Ghulam Ali Khan of Delhi and Sewak Ram of Patna. Other artists like Bhawani Das and Shaikh Zain-ud-Din used art supplies that were imported from Britain to create works of art that had characteristics of traditional Indian painting. These characteristics included the use of delicate detailing, and this creative fusion came to be known as "Company Painting."[32] In short, the Company painting was a combination of European painting styles with existing Indian painting traditions. It merged the visual elements of Mughal and Rajput miniature painting with Western techniques like illusionism and the picturesque (Fig. 2.27).



Figure 2.27: *'View of a Mosque and Gateway at Motijhil.'* (Indian, active ca. 1814–23). https://collectionapi.metmuseum.org/api/collection/v1/iiif/454429/903256/main-image

Beside this, the artists who were engaged with the Company worked in a variety of styles that reflected their artistic training and individual approaches along with consideration towards their patrons for whom they worked. As Indian painters employed by the Company's patrons were divided into a specific group that adopted European creative methods and techniques, scholars have referred to these artists as 'Company painters' (so called after the east India Company).[33] Virginia Whiles has described the plight of the painters in the following words.

> "The loss of status suffered by miniature painters under colonial rule forced many of them to apply their practice to alternative surfaces from the traditional *Wasli* and thus their painting knowledge was used for decorative imagery on walls, furniture and objects."[34]

[32] Nageen Shaikh, "Path Finders: Pre-Partition Art in India," *Dawn,* April 12, 2020. https://www.dawn.com/news/1548446/discourse-the-path-finders
[33] Dr. Holly Shaffer, "Indian Artists and the British East India Company," Khan Academy, accessed November 20, https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-asia/south-asia/x97ec695a:1500-1850-deccan-south/a/indian-artists-and-the-british-east-india-company.
[34] Virginia Whiles, *Art and Polemic in Pakistan: Cultural Politics and Tradition in Contemporary Miniature Painting* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), 11.



Figure 2.28: Eight Men in Indian and Burmese Costume. Ca.1900 India, Delhi.
https://collectionapi.metmuseum.org/api/collection/v1/iiif/454038/866241/main-image

The Company's painting style, primarily flourished in major cities under British control such as Delhi, Lucknow, Varanasi, Kolkata, Patna among others. The Company Schools, supported by the East India Company and its administrators, established multiple centers throughout the continent with the aim to propagate academic art. The art institutes were established, first in Kolkata (1839, 1854), then in Chennai (1850), Mumbai (1856), and Lahore (1875) respectively.[35] In these institutions, the beginnings of new artistic genres such as nudes, realistic landscapes, and oil portraits began to take shape (Fig. 2.29).



Figure 2.29: *'Hoopoe on a Citrus Tree Branch;'* Company school, Calcutta, India, ; early 19th century.
https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcSrFi_1Yxwtq-j0KofYw5lC2P9BlSeweYfHmg&s

[35] Simone Wille, *Modern Art in Pakistan: History, Tradition, Place* (UK: Routledge,2015), 4-5.

During the British era the academic art was taught in art academies due to which Indian artists began to adopt realistic style and easel oil painting. The best known among these painters was Raja Ravi Varma.[36] He was a proponent of academic methods such as lithographic prints. His body of work is a perfect blend of European methods and a purely Indian sensibility, which is highly appreciated by art lovers around the world (Fig. 2.30). According to Atteqa Ali, Varma portrayed the Hindu pantheon as tangible, terrestrial beings. He painted in a typically Western, naturalistic style, but his subjects were always Indian, indicating his aim to establish a globally recognized art style for the subcontinent.[37]

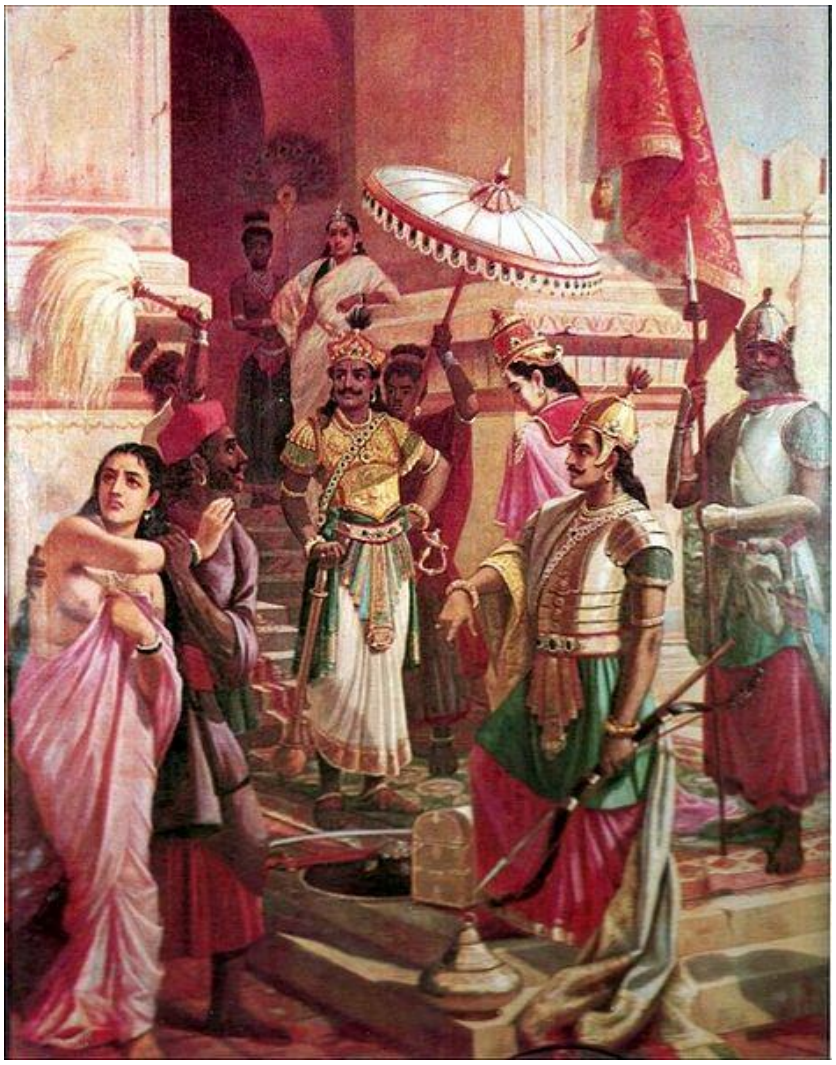


Figure 2.30: *'Victory of Meghanada'* by Raja Ravi Varma
https://uploads2.wikiart.org/images/raja-ravi-varma/victory-of-meghanada-1905.jpg

Like Ravi Varma, other artists also opted for a painting technique that originated in the Western world. They created artworks using oil paints and a naturalistic technique to depict

[36] Raja Ravi Varma was a famous Indian painter artist (born on April 29, 1848) and passed away on October 2, 1906.
[37] Atteqa Ali, "The Rise of Modernity in South Asia," *The Met*, October 12, 2020, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rmsa/hd_rmsa.htm

the human form and landscape. Allah Baksh[38] (1895–1978) depicted native themes in a manner characterised by a passionate and frequently intense style. Despite employing an academic approach, Baksh did not get any formal training at any art institution. Fyzee Rahmani (1886–1964) adopted a conventional Indian miniature style in his latter years, although his earlier work demonstrates the influence of European academic approach. Numerous individuals during the twentieth century also adopted Western style of painting, nevertheless, like Varma, they also frequently portrayed Indian themes.



Figure 2.31: *'Lady with a peacock by a pool'* by Ustad Allah Baksh.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2015_08/21/20/203807803/f065dbde-7c4b-4a6c-8820-8a11e316a6c5.Jpeg

At the end of the 19th century, traditional painting was vanishing at an alarming rate, and it was being succeeded with weaker works in a variety of styles, all of which were heavily influenced by Western art. Siva R. Kumar once stated, "Indian patrons began to lose faith in the value of their own culture and precipitated the decline of traditional Indian arts."[39] Thus, as the new century began, a backlash emerged, which came to be personified by what we today know as the "Bengal school" movement. After rediscovering the splendors of Indian art, the

[38] Ustad Allah Baksh (c. 1895 – 18 October 1978) was an artist and calligrapher who dedicated his life to the pursuit of aesthetics and classical landscape paintings. He created his work in British India prior to partition and in Pakistan following the division of the Indian subcontinent.
[39] Siva R. Kumar, "Modern Indian Art: A Brief Overview." *Art Journal* 58, no. 3 (1999): 14–21. https://doi.org/10.2307/777856.

school made a concerted effort to construct what it thought to be an authentically Indian art form that was inspired by the works that had been produced in the past.[40] As this innovation overwhelmed traditional approaches, a young artist Abanindranath Tagore[41] established the 'Bengal School of Art' to confront these new modes. Abanindranath Tagore studied at the Calcutta art school and was taught in British academic style, however he ultimately rejected the idea, including Ravi Varma's experimental approach (Fig. 2.32).[42]

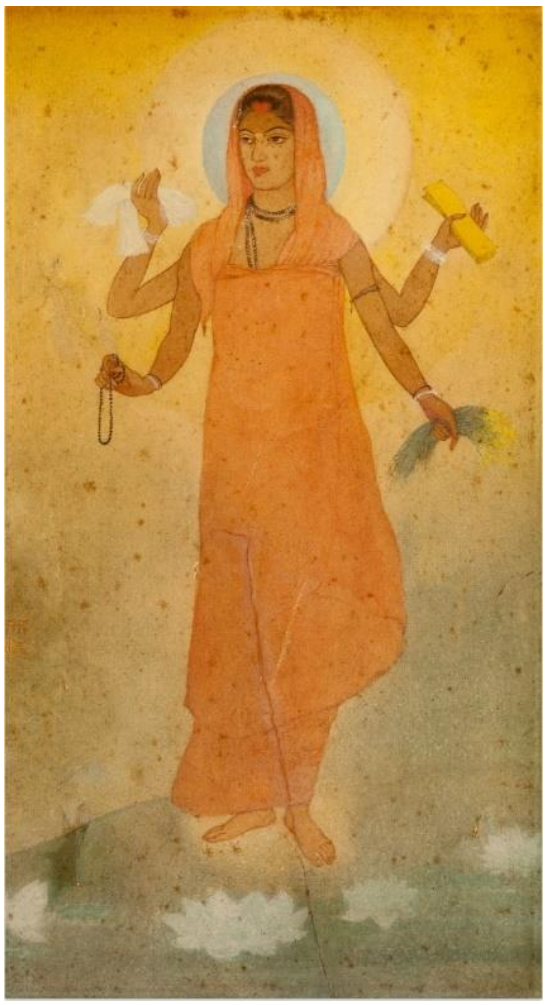


Figure 2.32: *'Bharat Mata'* by Abanindranath Tagore, 1905.
https://nageenshaikh.files.wordpress.com/2020/05/2.jpg?w=541&h=1024

The Bengal school was extremely influential in reshaping the current state and raising awareness among Indian artists of their own cultural identity. Numerous artists such as Nandalal Bose and Ananda Coomaraswamy became discontented with the rising emphasis on foreign art and joined the Bengal school to popularize historical and mythical themes once

[40] Iftikhar Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010),3
[41] Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951), the nephew of Nobel Laureate and poet Rabindranath Tagore.
[42] Partha Mitter, *Art, and Nationalism in Colonial India,1850–1922*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

more. These artists aimed to create a distinct Indian type of modern art that diverged from European influences. They sought inspiration from Hindu themes and sought to revive traditional art forms, such as the ancient paintings found at the Ajanta caves and Hindu temples. However, due to a lack of originality, the Bengal School model could not be sustained in the late 1920s.[43]

An 'Oriental' tradition of miniature paintings with layers of transparent washes began in Calcutta in the early twentieth century. An adapted version of this New Bengal School style gained popularity among Punjabi artists, but it was Abdur Rehman Chughtai's[44] distinct take on the tradition both technically and philosophically that gave the style its peculiar brilliance.[45] Chughtai had a unique painting style that was influenced by Mughal miniature painting, Islamic art traditions and some elements of Art Nouveau (Fig. 2.33).

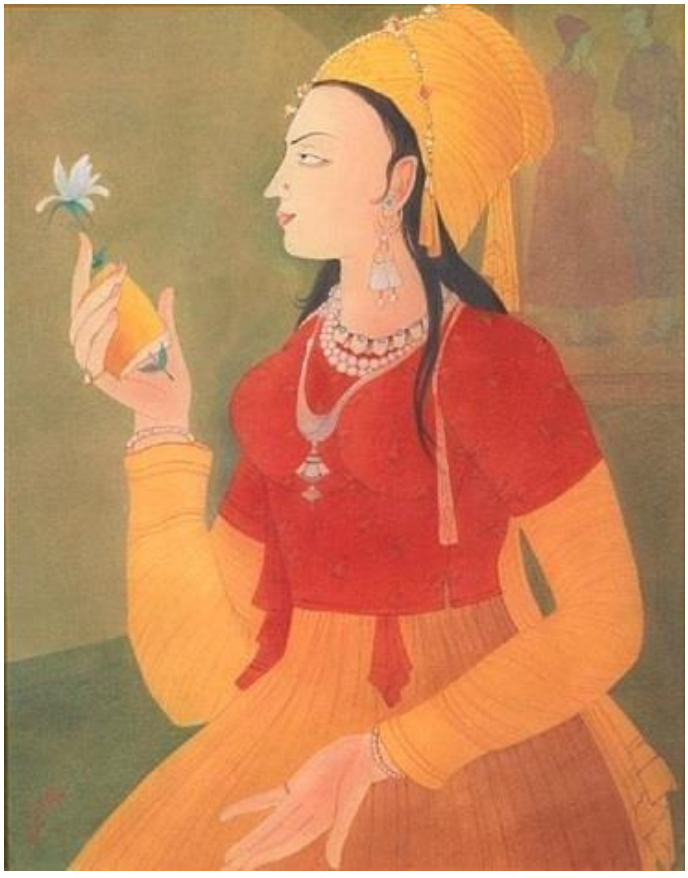


Figure 2.33: '*The Mughal Princess'* by Abdul Rehman Chughtai, ca 1930. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sadia-Sulaiman/publication/363684848/figure/fig1/AS:11431281099323484@1669246863161/The-Mughal-princess-by-Abdur-Rehman-Chughtai_W640.jpg

[43] Nageen Shaikh, "Path Finders: Pre-Partition Art in India," *Dawn,* April 12, 2020. https://www.dawn.com/news/1548446/discourse-the-path-finders

[44] Abdur Rahman Chughtai (1894–1975). He was born in Punjab, Pakistan, in 1894, and passed away in his hometown in 1975. He started painting at a young age and joined the Mayo School of Art in Lahore in 1911.Chughtai was considered the first significant modern Muslim artist from South Asia, and the national artist of Pakistan. He was given the title of Khan Bahadur in 1934, awarded Pakistan's Hilal-i-Imtiaz in 1960, and the Presidential Pride of Performance in 1968.

[45] Salwat Ali, "Discourse: Pakistan's Art Trajectories," *Dawn,* May 6, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1331439

Therefore, Indian subcontinent experienced a period of transformation at the start of the twentieth century. Indian nationalist leaders gradually and increasingly demanded freedom from the British colonizers. They advocated for their fellow Indians to depend on domestic items instead of those brought in by the colonial authorities. The *Swadeshi,* or self-reliance movement, was established to implement social, political, cultural, and economic changes that revived and reimagined traditions. Swadeshi fury was especially prevalent in Bengal's eastern division.[46]

It seems that art in the subcontinent underwent a transformation from the old visual culture of the Indus Valley to modern and postmodern ideology, influenced by both colonial and post-colonial inspirations. The British Raj era had a crucial role in not just bringing innovative methods and styles in South Asia, but also in creating educational art institutes. In summary, the history of painting in the Indian subcontinent is a multifaceted tapestry that has developed over millennia. As we contemplate this vibrant exploration of history, we are reminded of the significant influences that Indian painting has had on defining not just the creative scenery of the subcontinent but also on impacting and motivating artistic movements globally.

In the 1930s and '40s, India was on the verge of gaining independence from British domination. All Indians prepared to become citizens of a free country; nevertheless, as the years progressed towards the 1947 handover of authority from the colonial British administration, it became evident that India would become two nations, not one. Pakistan was progressively deliberated as a designated territory for Muslims in South Asia. There were differing opinions regarding the origins of the Muslim community in India. Some argued that Muslims had always been a separate and distinct group, while others believed that the British had intentionally used a strategy of "divide and rule" to create conflict between Hindus and Muslims. More recently, academics think that the community conflict came from current politics rather than any long-standing differences between religious communities.[47] The foundation of Pakistan emerged as the sole recourse to satisfy the demands put out by the political factions, namely the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, regardless of the underlying reasons.

[46] Atteqa Ali, "The Rise of Modernity in South Asia," *The Met*, October 12, 2020, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rmsa/hd_rmsa.htm
[47] Atteqa Ali, "Early Modernist and Indian Tradition," *The Met*, October 12, 2004, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/emit/hd_emit.htm

Chapter 3

FREEDOM STRUGGLE AND ITS ARTISTIC DISCOURSE

The struggle for independence in India was a significant and prolonged period in its history, spanning not just a few years but centuries. It was characterized by the courage and unwavering commitment of political leaders, pivotal role of women, and innumerable sacrifices by the freedom fighters, who ceaselessly fought for the nation's emancipation.

The emergence of Indian nationalist sentiment began during the latter part of the 19th century. The uprising of 1857 marked the deliberate initiation of the struggle for liberation from the oppressive colonial rule of the British Empire. The uprising of 1857 was also known as the ‘Sepoy Mutiny’ and ‘India's First War of Independence,’ which reflected the Britishers and Indian populations' perspective. While initially beginning as a mutiny, the revolt of 1857 swiftly expanded throughout the nation to overthrow foreign domination. The insurrection of 1857 was not successful, but it started the fire for independence, which finally resulted in a series of Indian national movements with the goal of ending British Raj in subcontinent.

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 with the primary objective of achieving more participation of Indians in the government under British administration. Over time, it transformed into a predominant political entity exclusively representing Hindus and advocating for a unified India rather than separate territories for Hindus and Muslims.

Muslim league was formed in an annual Conference of Muslim Education in 1906 and was held in Dhaka. Khawaja Salim suggested for the formation of a separate political party for the rights of Muslims. Mian Muhammad Shafi, proposed the name 'All-India Muslim League'. The conference unanimously passed the resolution, leading to the official establishment of Muslim League in Dhaka.[48]

The Indian subcontinent's fight for freedom saw the crucial involvement of Indian and Muslim leaders, whose combined endeavours opened the path to independence from British colonial domination. Muslim leaders played a significant role in expressing the desires of their community within the wider nationalist movements. Notable political leaders such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Allama Iqbal, Syed Ahmed Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali among others

[48] Mary Louise, *The All-India Muslim League, 1906-1947 : A study of leadership in the evolution of a nation* (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2013), 76.

championed Muslims' political rights and cultural distinctiveness, which eventually resulted in the need for a separate Muslim nation.

Syed Ahmad Khan[49] became a prominent figure in the Indian Muslim community following the War of Independence in 1857 (Fig. 3.1). He was a progressive Muslim leader in a time when society was predominantly traditional. He was acknowledged for introducing the two-nation theory, establishing the Aligarh Movement, and being one of the founding fathers of Pakistan. However, his contributions in offering a contemporary, scientific, and logical understanding of Islam and the Holy Quran, as well as his discussions on culture faced strong opposition from fundamentalists and critics, however these discussions laid the foundation for enlightenment and progress.

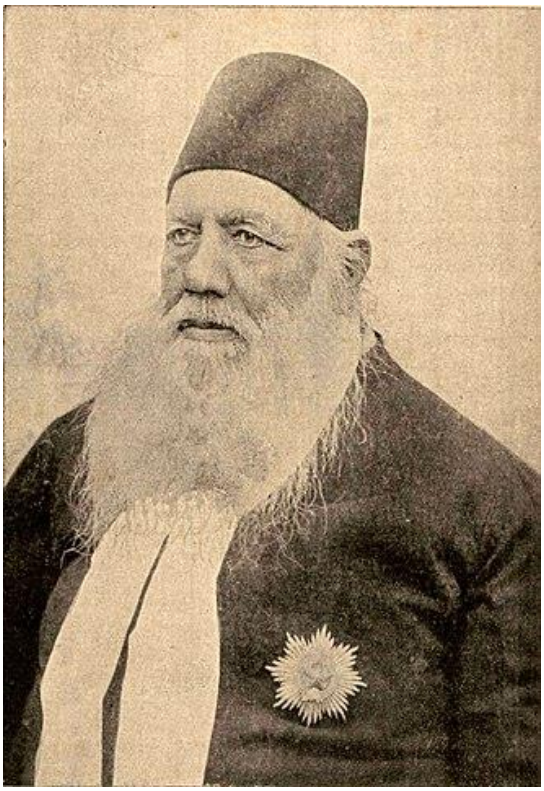


Figure 3.1: Syed Ahmed Khan.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1a/Syed_Ahmad_Khan_1907.jpg

Muhammad Iqbal[50] was an eminent poet, an exceptional scholar, and a talented philosopher (Fig. 3.2). Iqbal was the first politician to present the two-nation idea during the

[49] Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) was born in Delhi. He was born to Syed Muhammad Muttaqi and Aziz-un-Nisa. He commenced his professional journey in the service of the East India Company. Following the conclusion of the war in 1857, he embarked on a mission to advocate for educational reforms specifically targeted towards the Muslim population in India. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was bestowed as Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India in 1888.
[50] Muhammad Iqbal, better known as "Allamah Iqbal" or "Poet of the East," was a captivating figure in the Indian sub-continent throughout the 20th Century. Born in British India in 1875, he is now recognised as the "National Poet of Pakistan."

conference of the Muslim League in Allahabad in the year 1930. This theory eventually resulted in the foundation of Pakistan on August 14, 1947. Iqbal advocated the resurgence of Islamic philosophy and ideas in a solitary manner. He focused on the hardships faced by Muslims during his days and examined the challenges of Western philosophy from an Islamic perspective. The progressive school of thought highly valued his theory, but the conservative intellectuals of Islam rejected his revolutionary ideas.[51]



Figure 3.2: Allama Muhammad Iqbal in his honorary Doctorate robe, 1930.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/1827-3.jpg

Muhammad Ali Jinnah[52] was a prominent figure in the Muslim community of the subcontinent (Fig. 3.3). He played an important role in transforming the lives of Muslims by establishing a separate country for them. Initially he gained prominence within the 'Indian National Congress' by advocating for the unity of both communities. Later, disagreeing with the Hindu ideology he became part of All-India Muslim League and emerged as a prominent leader. He presented a comprehensive plan consisting of fourteen constitutional reforms aimed at protecting the rights of Muslims in India. Following this, Jinnah promoted the 'Two-Nation Theory,' which involved a desire to create a distinct nation that was followed by its approval known as Lahore resolution.

[51] Sara Rashid, "Allama Iqbal-Mufakir e Pakistan," Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334041368_Allama_Iqbal-Mufakir_e_Pakistan accessed May 06, 2024.
[52] Muhammad Ali Jinnah, born on December 25, 1876, and died on September 11, 1948, was a prominent lawyer, politician, statesman, and the one responsible for creating Pakistan. In Pakistan, he is widely recognised and formally referred to as *Quaid-e-Azam* ("Great Leader") and *Baba-e-Qaum* ("Father of the Nation").

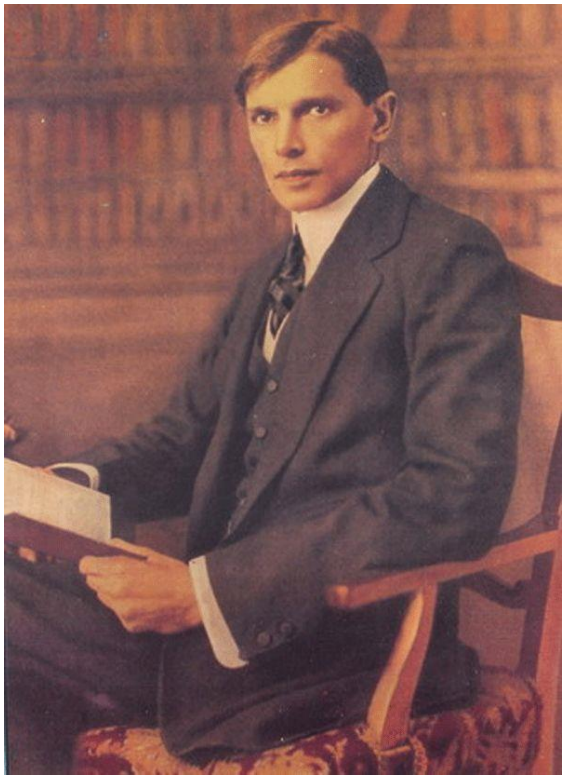


Figure 3.3: Muhammad Ali Jinnah.
http://pid.gov.pk/pid_beta/admin/uploads/profile/slider/slider11.jpg

Maulana Shaukat Ali joined this cause in 1936 and formed a strong political alliance with Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Between 1936 and 1938, he assisted Muhammad Ali Jinnah in promoting the Muslim League on several occasions. Additionally, he travelled to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and America, where he delivered speeches on the Indian freedom cause and Islam.

In addition to these prominent Muslim figures, Hindu leaders including Gandhi, Nehru, and Chandra Bose led various resistance movements. These struggles included working on non-violence strategy, used peaceful protests, and mass mobilisation to oppose the British power. Gandhi's ideology of *Ahimsa*, or nonviolence, mobilised the population and formed the foundation for the struggle of independence. The collaboration and dialogue between Indian and Muslim leaders, despite their differing ideologies and strategies, played a crucial role in promoting unity and solidarity against colonial oppression.

During the early 20th century, a multitude of struggles and movements were initiated to resist colonial domination (Fig. 3.4). Notable nationalist movements included, the *Swadeshi* Movement, Gadar Party Movement, Silk Letter Movement (Reshmi Rumal Tehreek), Home Rule Movement, Kheda Satyagraha, Ahmedabad Mill Strike, Khilafat, Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, and the Quit India Movement in 1942, etc.

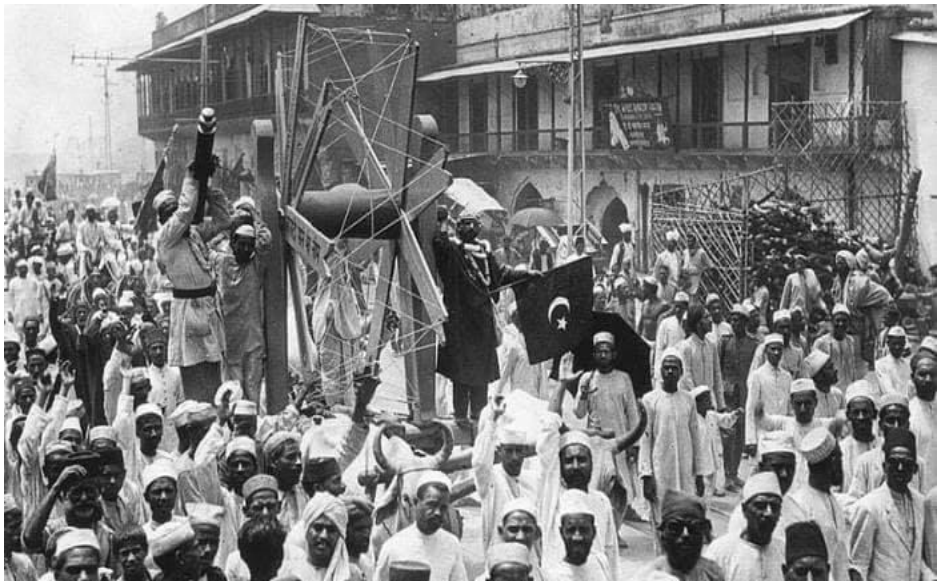


Figure 3.4: Protest during Swadeshi Movement, 1905.
https://learn.culturalindia.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/swadeshi-movement-5.jpg

The *Swadeshi* Movement, which was launched in 1905 in response to the British partition of Bengal, sought to boycott British goods in favour of Indian-made ones, instilling a spirit of nationalism and self-reliance. Muslim leaders supported the *Swadeshi* movement and a significant involvement from common and lower-class Muslims and important landowners like Nawab Salim Ullah of Dhaka, was observed. On September 23 of the same year, Hindu-Muslim students in Calcutta joined together and coordinated a rally with a crowd of ten thousand. During the rally, the Muslim *Swadeshi* Abdur Rasul proclaimed, "Both Hindus and Muhammadans here are citizens of the same motherland."[53]

To challenge British authority further in India, two movements were formed between 1919 and 1922: Non-Cooperation and the Khilafat Movement. The Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movement were founded in response to the growing discontent with British rule. Indian Muslims organised the Khilafat Movement to oppose the Allies' who overthrew the Ottoman Caliphate. It was initiated by Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali (commonly known as the Ali brothers), Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, and others to force the British administration to rectify their injustices (Fig. 3.5 & Fig. 3.6). This movement was a political protest with pan-Islamist objectives, aimed at reinstating the Khalifa, who had been suppressed and oppressed by Britain and its allies, in the Ottoman Khalifat between 1919 and 1922/24. A

[53] Natasha Eaton, "Swadeshi Colour: Artistic Production and Indian Nationalism, ca. 1905–ca. 1947," *The Art Bulletin* 95, no. 4 (2013): 623–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43188857.

notable aspect of this movement was that pre-partition India played the most active and visible role in supporting the cause.[54]



Figure 3.5: Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali (Ali brothers) Main leaders of Khilafat movement. https://discoverblog.s3.ap-south-1.amazonaws.com/discover/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/01140358/Shaukat-Ali-And-Mohammad-Ali-Jauhar-21e9124e.jpg.webp

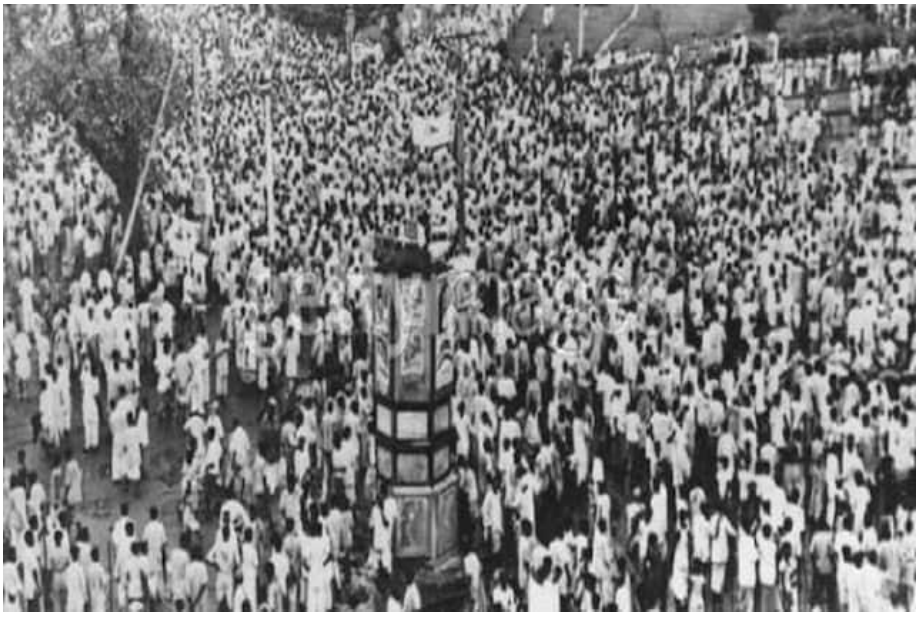


Figure: 3.6: Khilafat Movement Protest. https://images.news18.com/ibnlive/uploads/2020/07/1594022409_khilafat.jpg?impolicy=website&width=640&height=480

[54] Khalid Ali, *Ali's brothers: the life and times of Maulana Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2012), 9. https://archive.org/details/alibrotherslifet0000alik/page/n9/mode/2up

The Non-Cooperation Movement, led by Mahatma Gandhi advocated the Indians to refuse to comply with British authority. The Non-Cooperation movement derived its name from the strategies employed during its course (Fig. 3.7). The process started with the return of titles such as 'Sir,' that Indians had been granted by the colonial administration. Indians ceased to consider it respectable to accept titles from the government and to be linked with it.[55] Subsequently, most individuals had declined to use their right to vote during legislative elections. The imported fabric was burned in large fires and nationwide strikes were prevalent. The movement achieved enormous success, and the dismissals and apprehensions from administration proved futile in halting its progress.



Figure 3.7: Glimpse of non-cooperation movement.
https://leverageedu.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Non-Cooperation-Movement-1.jpg

During this time, Muslim League and Congress were unified and worked together to organise several political demonstrations. With the involvement of Hindus, the Khilafat Movement gained strength, and there was a chance of meeting with success. Muslims and Hindus continued their joint efforts against the British rule. However, the differences in ideologies widened, and several other events demonstrated that Hindu opposition to the British government was not sustainable. When the Khilafat Movement was close to success, Hindus, particularly Gandhi, abandoned it and left the Muslims alone, resulting in the movement's demise. Both these movements represented a dramatic turn towards widespread engagement towards the independence struggle.

[55] Sanjeev Kumar, "Gandhiji launched non cooperation movement aftermath of Jallianwala Bagh massacre," *International Journal of History* 2021; 3(1): 72-75. https://www.historyjournal.net/article/112/3-2-24-510.pdf

Another notable struggle was 'The Civil Disobedience Movement,' in 1930, which sought to fight the British laws and taxation. It included acts of disobedience, such as the 'Salt March'[56] and large protests, which had a profound impact on the imperial power. This march took place from March 12, 1930, to April 5, 1930, and was a direct-action campaign aimed at resisting taxes and protesting against the British salt monopoly.[57] Gandhi presented it as a matter of both social class and nationality, serving as a unifying factor for all the marginalised populations (Fig. 3.8). Gandhi recognised that enlisting the impoverished population of India in the nationalist movement was crucial to achieving the highly valued goal of independence.



Figure 3.8: Gandhi, at Dandi picking up salt at the beach at the end of the salt march, 6 April 1930
https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/5f7efe619be6a015067d7c0f/1604171417864-WBJZPZB2WTXSFP2P98JP/4.11-Gandhi-at-Dandi-beach-picking-up-salt.jpg?format=1500w

[56] The Salt march was also known as the Salt Satyagraha, Dandi March, and Dandi Satyagraha, under the leadership of Gandhi.
[57] D. R. Grover, *Civil Disobedience Movement in The Punjab 1930-1934*, (Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 2023, 6-8.

‘Quit India Movement’ was adopted during a conference convened by the Indian National Congress on August 8, 1942. Mahatma Gandhi initiated it in response to the unsuccessful Cripps mission. He came up with the slogan of “Do or Die” during his speech. But the term ‘Quit India’ was coined by Yousaf Meher Ally.[58] However, the All-India Muslim League recommended that Muslims should entirely abstain from participating in this movement. Quaid-e-Azam characterised the 'Quit India' campaign as equivalent to "imposing their demands through military force" and "a destructive civil war within a nation."[59] The movement was initiated independently, without any involvement or consultation with the Muslim League or any other non-Congress organisations. The invitation served as a spark, triggering the beginning of a civil conflict. Somehow all these campaigns did not have an immediate impact on India's independence, but they did play a crucial role in eventually achieving independence for the country. Furthermore, this fostered a conviction among British commanders that in any case Hindu and Muslims were determined to accomplish their anticipated objectives to attain full freedom.

3.1 Freedom Fighters

Individuals who altruistically offered their blood and even made the ultimate sacrifice of their life are known as freedom fighters. They are frequently overlooked in history as compared to well-known political figures. But in fact, they are the true contributors in a struggle. During different campaigns people from all regions of the country were united with a shared objective of attaining independence for India. However, it is impossible to create a comprehensive compilation encompassing all the names of Indian freedom fighters and their contributions to the struggle for independence. Some of the unsung Muslim heroes who made significant contributions includes Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haq, Muhammad Mian Mansoor Ansari, Yousaf Meher Ally, Fazl-E-Haq Khair Abadi, Sharfuddin Qadri, Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah Faizabadi, Abdul Hafiz Mohamed Barakatullah, Muhammad Ali, and Shaukat Ali (Ali Brothers), and many others (Fig. 3.9).

[58] Paul R. Greenough, “Political Mobilization and the Underground Literature of the Quit India Movement, 1942-44.” *Modern Asian Studies* 17, no. 3 (1983): 353–56. http://www.jstor.org/stable/312297.
[59] Staff reporter, “The Quaid-i-Azam and Quit India Movement,” *The Nation*, September 11, 2011, https://www.nation.com.pk/11-Sep-2011/the-quaidiazam-and-quit-india-movement



Figure 3.9: Muslim freedom fighters.
https://www.awazthevoice.in/upload/news/1660544119musalman.webp

Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah Faizabadi is acknowledged primarily for his prominent involvement in the Rebellion of 1857, particularly in the region of Awadh and in the subsequent seizure of Lucknow. G. B. Mallison, a British historian, characterises him as a formidable rival and an exceptional warrior during the First War of Independence.[60]

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was actively engaged in the movement for Indian Independence, and he endured prolonged imprisonment under the British government. In 1921, he became the first person in Indian History to advocate for 'Complete Independence'. He was well-known for coining the phrase "*Inqalab Zindabad*" (long live revolution), which gained immense popularity later. Yusuf Meher Ally was an eminent Indian patriot and prominent figure in the socialist movement. He secured the position of Mayor of Bombay in 1942 through an election. He was credited with inventing the phrases "Quit India Movement" and "Simon Go Back!"[61]

In addition to prominent Muslim independence fighters there were numerous Hindu freedom warriors who participated relentlessly and even sacrificed their lives for the cause. Notable names include, “Mangal Pandey, Bhagat Singh, Subhas Chandra Bose, Mahatma Gandhi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Sardar Vallabh

[60] George Bruce Mallison, History of the Indian mutiny, 1857-1858. (London : W.H. Allen and co,1878-80.), 183, https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.45581/page/n25/mode/2up
[61] Nikhat Ekbal, *Great Muslims of undivided India*, (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2009), 84-86. https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=zjWqXCOTehMC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Bhai Patel, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lal Lajpat Rai," among others who made significant contributions to the cause of freedom (Fig. 3.10).

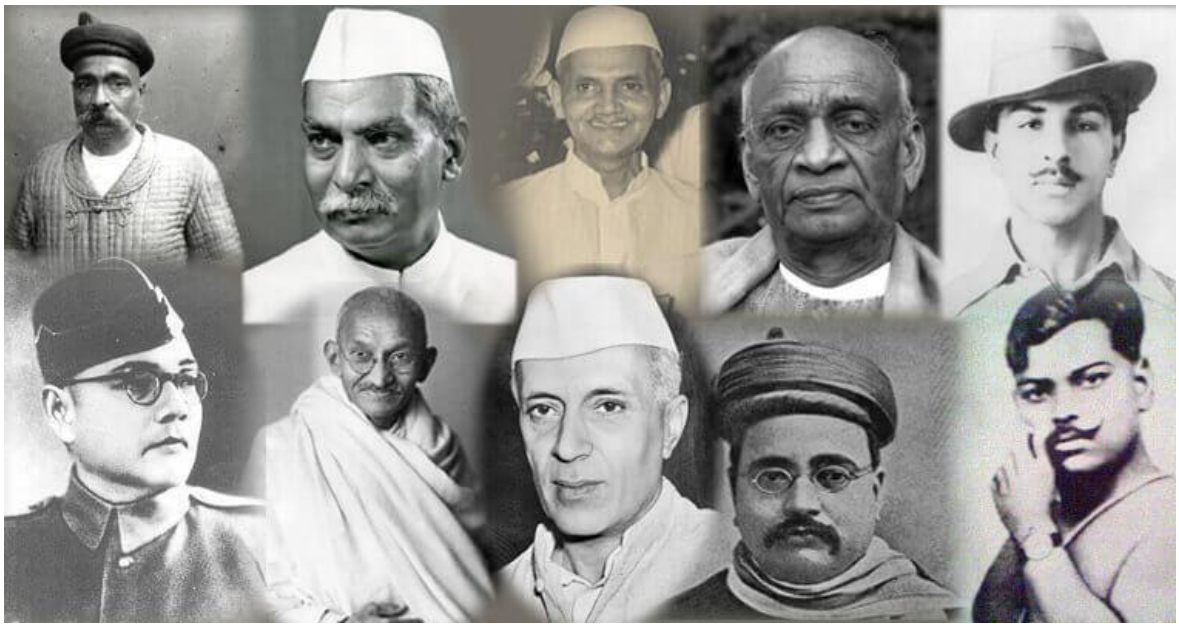


Figure 3.10: Hindu freedom fighters.
https://www.careerpower.in/images/freedom-fighters-of-india.jpg

Bhagat Singh was an insurgent nationalist. He visited Jallianwala Bagh, the place where General Dyer perpetrated a brutal massacre of unarmed civilians which deeply affected him. At the age of 14, he actively participated in different movements. Bhagat Singh's most revolutionary act was the assassination of J. P. Saunders in retaliation for the slaying of his leader, Lala Lajpat Rai. Bhagat Singh, along with his two associates Rajguru and Sukhdev were hanged to death because of their actions.

Subhas Chandra Bose was well known for the prestigious title of *'Netaji'*. His renowned slogans include, *"Tum Mujhe Khoon Do, Main Tumhe Aazadi Dunga"*[62] and *'Delhi Chalo'* (come to Delhi). He established the '*Azad Hind Fauj*' (Free India Army) and made significant contributions to India's fight for independence. He was recognised for his aggressive tactics and socialist principles, which he employed to achieve freedom.

Although most people associated with the independence struggle were male, but women also played an important role. There were several powerful and fierce women who battled valiantly to achieve independence. During this journey, they suffered imprisonment, assault, and gender discrimination. Despite all these difficulties women were seen actively

[62] Translated in English: "Give me Blood, and I will give you Freedom."

participating in politics and were thus setting examples for others. Sincere and devoted services of these ladies opened new avenues in the struggle for Pakistan. They were also successful in winning their right for vote. In short, Muslim women in the subcontinent performed active participation in different movements (Fig. 3.11).



Figure 3.11: Muslim League activists in Lahore, led by Jahanara Shahnawaz.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/role-of-women-in-pakistan-movement.jpg

Begum Hazrat Mahal, Abadi Bano *Begum*, Zubaida Dawoodi, Azizan, Asghari *Begum*, and Amjadi *Begum* among others were some of the women who were actively participating in the freedom struggle. Bi-Amma[63] was a pioneer who stepped into politics without hesitation and limitation even at the age of 73 (Fig. 3.12). She was a woman of courage, making a powerful appeal to the drooping spirit of the Indian masses. She actively advocated for Hindu-Muslim unity and participated in national freedom struggles. Bi Amma was accompanied by her daughter in laws (wife of Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and wife of Maulana Hasrat Mohani).[64]

[63] Abida Bano also called "Bi Amma", she was Mother of Maulana Mouhammad Ali Johar and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.
[64] Naumana Kiran, *People's Role in Struggle for Pakistani* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2021), 12, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/377956191_People's_Role_In_Struggle_For_Pakistan_-_NAUMANA_KIRAN



Figure 3.12: Picture of 'Bi Amma'
Book: Ali brothers : The life and times of Maulana Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

The Muslim League established the All-India Muslim Women's Subcommittee in 1934. Many women assumed leadership positions in the Muslim League by the mid-40s, organizing and campaigning in both urban and district settings (Fig. 3.13). Notable women who gained prominence during Pakistan Movement included "Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Begum* Salma Tassadduq Hussain, and *Begum* Fatima from Lahore, Shaista Ikramullah from Bengal, Zari Sarfraz from the former NWFP, and Lady Abdullah Haroon from Sindh."[65] However, Fatima Jinnah stands out among all these women, not because she was the sister of Jinnah but due to her own active participation as she helped Jinnah tirelessly throughout his struggles for freedom (Fig. 3.14). For her contribution, she was named *'Madar-e-Millat*, or Mother of the Nation, later in Pakistan.

[65] Dr. Dushka H. Saiyid, "Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement," *Youlin Magazine*, March 22, 2017, https://www.youlinmagazine.com/article/women-role-in-the-pakistan-movement/ODAw

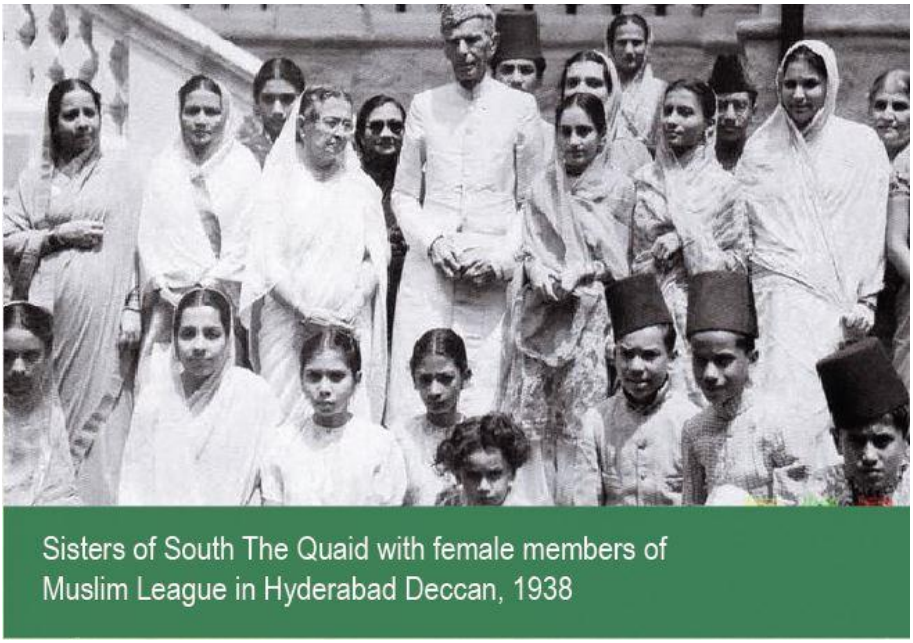


Figure 3.13: Quaid with female members of Muslim League, 1938.
https://hilal.gov.pk/uploads/gallery/09ccf3183d9e90e5ae1f425d5f9b2c00.jpg



Figure 3.14: Fatima Jinnah with Lady workers.
https://thefridaytimes.com/digital_images/large/2023-07-09/how-fatima-jinnah-became-madar-e-millat-1691650770-4669.jpg

In short, women and girls to a significant extent actively participated in the liberation movement. During the 1946 elections, there was a significant surge of women supporters of the Muslim League who actively toured through various regions of the country, inspiring, motivating, and engaging women for the struggle of an independent land.

Contrary to popular belief, a significant number of Muslim leaders during that period were against the concept of creating a separate nation and preferred to remain in India. In the 1940s, the Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah, sought to establish a separate nation for the Muslim population. However, they faced opposition from various Muslim groups, including the Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind (JUH) and Jamia Millia Islamia. Notable Muslim figures such as "Allah Bux Somroo, K. A. Hamied, Faqir of Ipi, Abdul Qayyum Ansari, Abul Kalam Azad," among others strongly opposed the dividing ideological efforts of the Muslim League to prevent the partition.

Abdul Qayyum Ansari, a prominent leader of the All-India Momin Conference, emerged as a key figure in Bihar, leading a movement against the partition. However, it is worth noting that most of his followers belonged to the rural community, who were unfortunately deprived of their voting rights during that period. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad implored Muslims to refrain from relocating to Pakistan and actively opposed its formation. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan strongly disagreed with the incorporation of his homeland into Pakistan and steadfastly supported the cause of India. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Asaf Ali, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, and other politicians endeavored to resist the partition and actively pursued the goal of fostering communal unity. Colonel Shah Nawaz Khan of Azad Hind Fauj relocated from Pakistan to India due to his opposition to the concept of a nation founded on religious beliefs.[66]

In short, India's path to independence was marked by a succession of conflicts, campaigns, military engagements, and rebellions, all of which were possible with the efforts and contributions of prominent freedom fighters. Both Muslims and Hindus participated collectively in the fight and struggle for independence, each advocating their respective reasons. Regrettably, it is an undeniable truth that in the historical accounts authored by Indian writers, Hindu leaders and liberation warriors are given greater prominence and acknowledgement as compared to Muslims.

3.2 Artistic Discourse of Freedom Struggle

To get insight into the events of the liberation struggle and its aftermath, it is essential to examine the artistic responses of that era. There is a limited but refined collection of art on this topic. This is ironic because the art from that period is often limited to posters of the leaders

[66] Dr Samsul Islam, *Muslims Against Partition of India — Revisiting the legacy of patriotic Muslims,* (New Delhi: Pharos Media, 2021).

and pictures of the rallies. The artistic representation of the freedom struggle serves as a striking example of the tenacity and determination of a nation longing for independence from the British Raj. Apart from regenerating the imagery there was another school of thought who gave a repulsive response towards acknowledging native art and craftsmanship, rather than showing appreciation and embracing alien concepts. These artworks demonstrate the collective strength and unwavering will of the people in their fight against colonial oppression. Amidst the nationwide resistance against British rule, art and literature emerged as powerful tools of defiance.

Most of the paintings referred belongs to panorama[67] paintings made by different British artists. These Panorama paintings were created shortly after the revolt of 1857 and during the height of British Raj. They fulfilled the purpose of visually depicting historical facts (Fig. 3.15). Panorama artists collaborated extensively with troops and officers of the East India Company who possessed fundamental drawing abilities. Most portrayals were either from media reports or were based on firsthand recollections of the witnesses. The panoramas portray the locations where the rebellious killings occurred, and these paintings were considered to be the most extensive and influential method of artistic expression of the rebellion.[68]

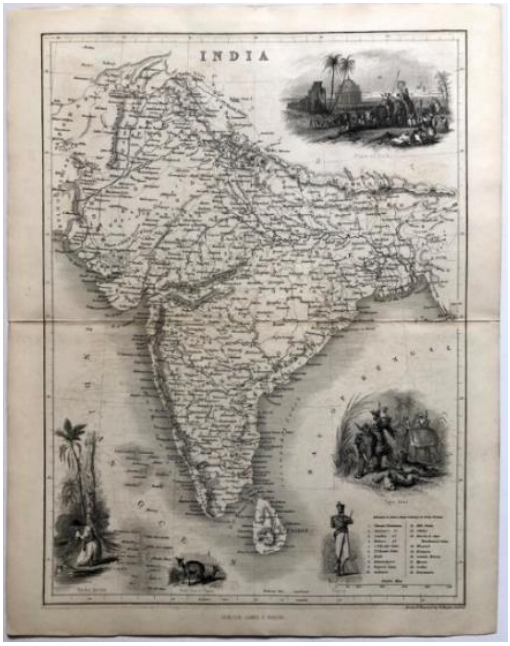


Figure 3.15: *'Map of India,'* Lithograph c. 1857.
https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/5a608e4e017db2e8dedb242b/1597219968622-YZKBK783QIDLWK8PVO8L/IMG_6845.JPG?format=750w

[67] The Panorama is an art form which encircles the spectator with an illusion of continuous space, often in a painted 360º format. Patented by Englishman Robert Barker in 1787, this spectacular visual entertainment flourished throughout the 19th century, mostly in Europe and the United States. The Panorama, Cyclorama, Diorama, Cosmorama, and other multitudinous variations on the sensational venue were popular places to spend leisure time and embark upon imagined travels to unfamiliar and significant places in space and time.
[68] "A Concise History of the Panorama," accessed May 5, 2024. https://panoramaonview.org/history

Apart from the oil paintings and water colour sketches, the collection includes coloured lithographs created by William Simpson, E. Walker, and other artists. The images showed the soldiers involved in combat with the rebel cavalry (Fig. 3.16 to Fig. 3.23).[69] Furthermore, all these examples completely prevented any chance of empathising with the oppressed Indians depicted in the painting. They solely presented the perspective of the Britishers. The splendid panorama paintings of the rebellion were created specifically to arouse feelings of patriotism, intensified nationalism, and egoism among middle-class English audiences. However, when examined through the lens of India, these paintings and prints would provide a profound understanding of the battle environments that will endure the future generations.



Figure 3.16: *'Hodson's Horse at Rhotuck,'* 1857.
https://www.nam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/styles/slice_lg/public/2017-06/173414_slide.jpg.webp?itok=JyrTYABO

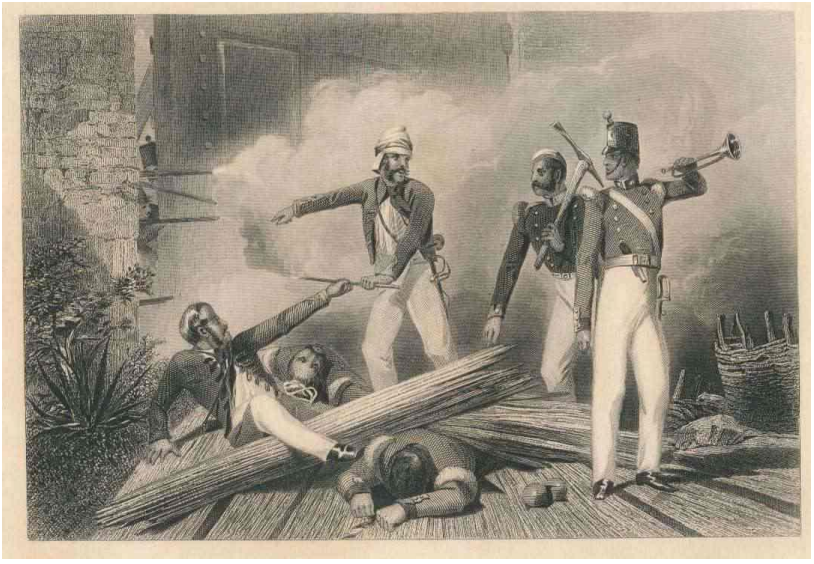


Figure 3.17: *'Blowing up of the Cashmere Gate at Delhi,'* 14 Sept. 1857 (steel engraving).
https://sc0.blr1.cdn.digitaloceanspaces.com/inline/dozfgrhior-1679372711.jpg

[69] Sonal, "Revolting cruelties: How panorama exhibitions about 1857 built support for colonial rule in Britain," Sroll Inn, April 16, 2023. https://scroll.in/article/1045951/revolting-cruelties-how-panorama-exhibitions-of-1857-built-support-for-colonial-rule-in-britain



Figure 3.18: *'Capture of Delhi,'* 1857.
Coloured lithograph by Bequet Freres, published by E Morier, Paris, 1858 (c).
https://collection.nam.ac.uk/images/960/13000-13999/13866.jpg



Figure 3.19: *'Rebel sepoys,'* 1857.
https://www.nam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/styles/slice_lg/public/2017-06/19546_slice.jpg.webp?itok=Tf-tjTxL



Figure 3.20:Surgeon Anthony Dickson Home and Assistant Surgeon William Bradshaw, 90th Regiment of Foot (Perthshire Volunteers) , Lucknow, 1857. Oil on canvas, by Louis William Desanges, 1860 (c). https://collection.nam.ac.uk/images/960/1015000-1015999/1015855.jpg



Figure 3.21: *'Indian troops allied to the British,'* 1857. https://www.nam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/styles/slice_lg/public/2017-07/173420_slice.jpg.webp?itok=-k9dOAe0



Figure 3.22: *'The Attack'.* Central India Horse, 1859. Watercolour by unknown artist, 1860. https://collection.nam.ac.uk/images/960/8000-8999/8162.jpg



Figure 3.23: '*Mutineers about to be blown from guns by the Bengal Horse Artillery,'* 1858
https://collection.nam.ac.uk/images/960/46000-46999/46384.jpg

It is an important fact that at the beginning of the 20th century, a series of incidents began to take place throughout the country involving Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh community. These incidents did not commence immediately; rather, it was the culmination of a series of incidents and decisions made by the British government that prompted resistance and agitation among the Indian populace. Art and artists of the Indian subcontinent played a crucial role throughout the independence struggle. There active role in freedom struggle, through various mediums is indispensable.

According to Michael Shank, arts can have a strong emotional impact and can bring about significant change, however, it should be carefully planned and organised in a strategic manner.[70] Protest art can be defined as art that emerges from social movements or activism and this kind of art practice has been employed to address a multitude of political and social concerns. Some notable examples of protest art include the use of posters, calendars, paintings, murals, etc.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 resulted in the uprise of a strong reaction from among the artists community; artists ventured into the political sphere and employed their art as a

[70] Mark Cartright, "Sepoy Mutiny," *World History Encyclopedia*, October 18, 2022, https://www.worldhistory.org/Sepoy_Mutiny/

means of political warfare. Another incident was the *Swadeshi* movement that involved two main actions: boycotting British-made items and promoting goods made in India. It also stressed on eliminating British Western literature and visual arts to create unique works specific to India. This ultimately led to the development of ancient Indian painting and prompted artists to adopt *swadeshi* as an ideology to rejuvenate Indian art. An effect of this was the establishment of the 'Bengal School of Art,' which was initiated by Abanindranath Tagore. The inception of this ideology witnessed an upsurge in the number of artists creating paintings to promote the concept of nation-building. As mentioned in previous chapter Abanindranath Tagore created various paintings with the intention of presenting a personified representation of the nation.

A painting titled, "*The Passing of Shah Jahan"* by Abanindranath Tagore is an example to rejuvenate tradition (Fig. 3.24). This painting is notable due to its ability to evoke the illustrious recent past of Indian history. Abanindranath has paid a tribute to the Mughal miniature tradition through this painting, evoking the grandeur of the Mughal rule. Other artists who made noteworthy contributions towards the native style were Rabindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Zain Ul Abedin, Amrita Shergil, Kumar Halder, Kalipada Ghosh, and Benode Behari Mukherji among others.

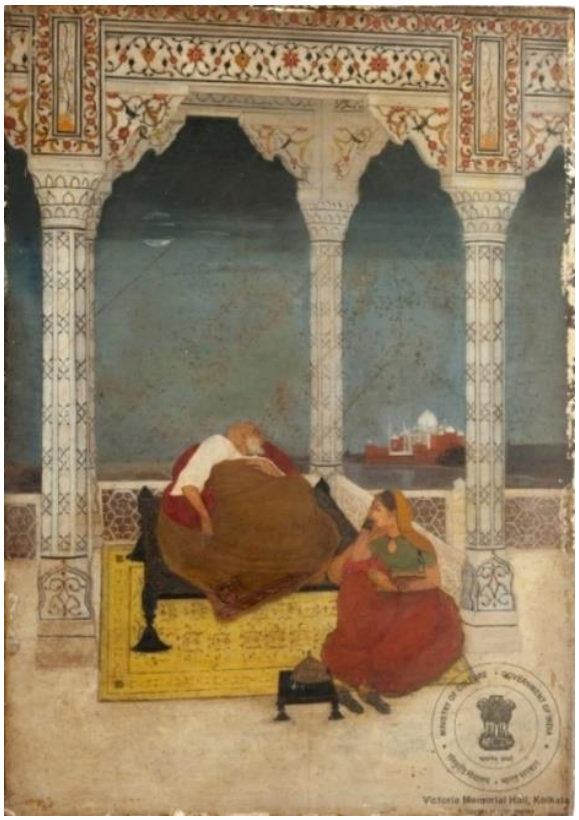


Figure 3.24: *'The Passing of Shah Jahan,'* by Abaningranath Tagore.
https://i.pinimg.com/originals/29/1e/2a/291e2ada63aea2e56b4fda982ae9acfa.jpg

During the agitation various sad incidents occurred that led to significant loss of lives, for example the 'Jallianwala Bagh Massacre,' in 1919 was one of them. In this incident English commander instructed his soldiers to shoot at a defenceless gathering of people who were confined within an enclosed garden during a Sikh celebration. The incident was widely condemned due to its extreme violence. A total of 379 individuals were killed, and more than 1,500 sustained injuries in the massacre.[71]

Jaswant Singh, a Sikh artist from Rawalpindi has depicted this horrific incident on a huge canvas, measuring 17.5 feet in length (Fig. 3.25 & Fig. 3.26). The Jallianwala Bagh Memorial in Amritsar houses this remarkable painting. The canvas portrays the harsh truth of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. This graphic depiction of General Dyer's soldiers indiscriminately shooting every Indian they saw has deeply affected the emotions of all visitors that visit the memorial, even in present times (Fig. 3.27).



Figure 3.25: '*Mural of 1919 Amritsar Massacre'* - Jallianwala Bagh by Jaswant Singh
https://www.worldhistory.org/img/r/p/1500x1500/16566.jpg.webp?v=1706639407

[71] Arsh Jain, "Jallianwala Bagh: A Hell Hole with Only One Exit," *Medium*, December 6, 2021, https://medium.com/@ArshJ/jallianwala-bagh-a-hell-hole-with-only-one-exit-fc66b6ff677e

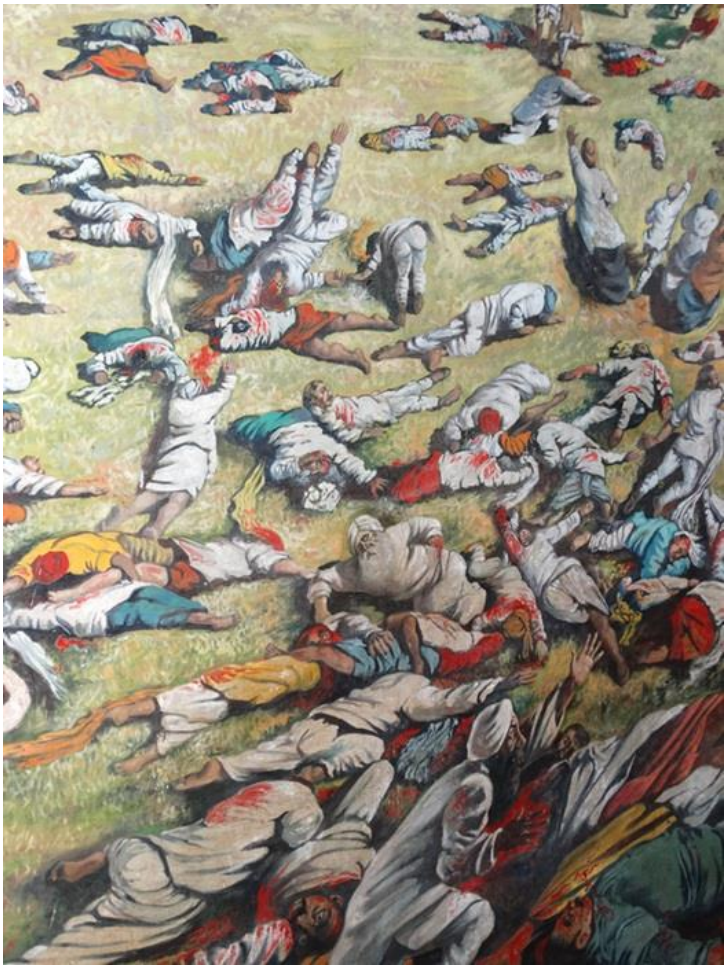


Figure 3.26: Detail of Mural Depicting 1919, Jallianwala Bagh-Amritsar. Jaswant Singh.
https://www.worldhistory.org/img/r/p/1500x1500/16566.jpg.webp?v=1706639407



Figure 3.27: *'Freedom movement'* - Jallianwala Bang. Artist unknown.
https://shaheed-smarak.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/23.jpg

The following artwork is a triptych by 'The Singh Twins' (Fig. 3.28 & Fig. 3.29).[72] It emphasises the significance of history and memory, particularly in relation to the enduring remembrance of governmental brutality against civilian protests and the valuable insights that may be derived from historical events. Additionally, it is an effective method to demonstrate how violent events have been deeply rooted in the city of Amritsar.



Figure 3.28: The 3 piece (triptych) mixed media: '*Jallianwala: Repression and Retribution'* by Singh Twins. https://www.theheritagelab.in/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/JALLIANWALA_WEB-scaled.jpeg



Figure 3.29: Detail of the Central Pannel of the triptychs. https://www.theheritagelab.in/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/JALLIANWALA_WEB-scaled.jpeg

[72] The Singh Twins (twin sisters Amrit Singh and Rabindra Kaur Singh) are British artists who work together on their artworks. Their work draws on both traditional Indian (in particular, Sikh) tradition, Western medieval illuminated manuscripts, and contemporary Western culture, often 'pop culture'. They combine traditions from both Eastern and Western art to make provocative and sharply political work.

In March 1930, Gandhi made a pledge to engage in satyagraha, a kind of nonviolent resistance, in response to the high salt taxes imposed on the common people. He expressed this commitment by embarking on a long journey starting from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi, a village. Upon arriving at the seashore, he violated the salt prohibition by heating saltwater and separating the salt from it. This march marked a pivotal moment in the history of the Indian independence struggle. Nandalal Bose,[73] an eminent nationalist artist and devoted admirer of Gandhi, immortalized the heroic march through his artworks (Figs. 3.30 & 3.31).

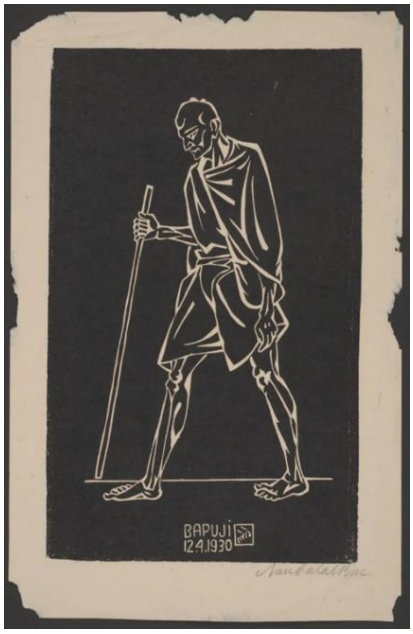


Figure 3.30: '*Mahatma Gandhi (Bapuji) Dandi March'* by Nandalal Bose
https://www.artfervour.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/689c7e_6230434e735b43ca89fbd2bd316ed4bdmv2.jpg

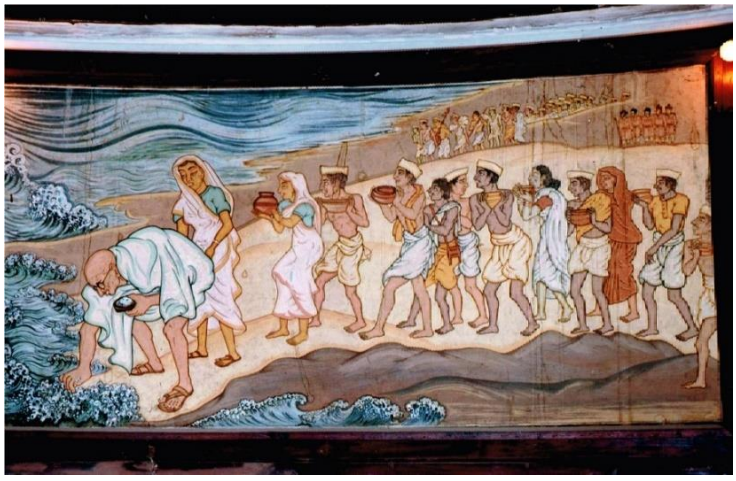


Figure 3.31: *'Dandi march'* by unknown artists.
https://shaheed-smarak.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/21.jpg

[73] Nandalal Bose (1882-1966) popularly known as the Master 'Moshai', was a disciple of Abanindranath Tagore. Nandalal was fascinated by the potential of folk art and indigenous modes of expression and inculcated them in his works although stylising them in a unique representation for depiction and narration of local life. He began his artistic career in the fervour of the Swadeshi movement, rejecting western colonial norms of art and taking inspiration from the ancient murals of Ajanta and Bagh caves as well as Mughal miniatures.

This artwork depicts an innovative leader who challenged traditional standards to improve the well-being of individuals. The black and white depiction of Gandhi carrying his stick symbolises the challenging times of the Indian liberation movement against the British, during which Bapu remained united with his fellow Indians.[74] In 1930, when Mahatma Gandhi was arrested for Salt Satyagraha, he devised a symbol that became symbolic of the nonviolent cause. He produced a monochromatic image of himself, depicting him standing still yet appearing to be in motion. In honour of the momentous occasion, Nandalal Bose created another watercolour masterpiece. This artwork depicts Mahatma Gandhi prominently carrying a walking stick in his right hand, his right foot is positioned in the front, and his head is slightly lowered, displaying a focused and determined attitude. The background displays the seventy-nine individuals who marched in unison with him (Fig. 3.32).

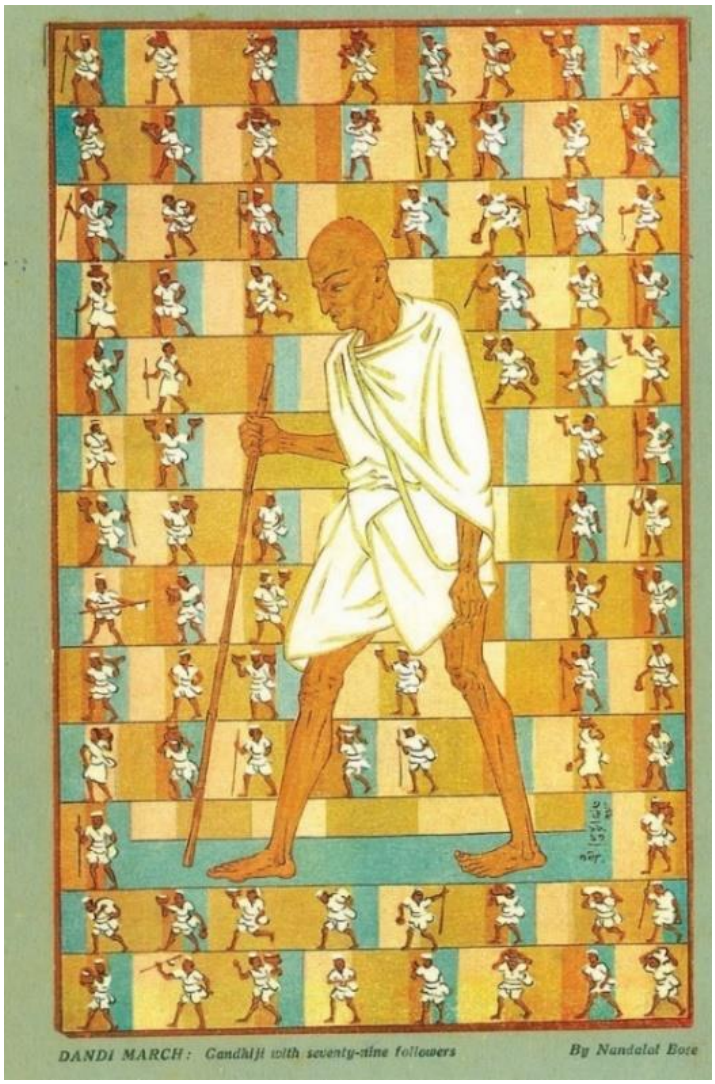


Figure 3.32: *'Dandi March: Gandhiji with seventy-nine followers,'* Nandalal Bose, 1930. https://amritmahotsav.nic.in/writereaddata/Portal/Images/5.5-Nandlal-Bose-variation-on-Dandi-.jpg

[74] Admin, "3 Indian Artists Who were integral to Freedom struggle," August 14, 2019, https://artfervour.com/3-indian-artists-who-were-integral-to-the-freedom-struggle/

Beside painting, Nandalal Bose made other significant artistic contributions to the Indian freedom movement. In 1938, Mahatma Gandhi requested Nandalal Bose to handle the decoration of the annual session of Congress in Haripur, a village in Gujarat. The creative brief mandated Bose to develop a product that would embody the local aesthetics and evoke a strong connection with the concept of India. As an integral part of the conference, Nandalal Bose produced posters on handmade paper using natural pigments (Fig. 3.33). These posters portrayed various subjects from indigenous lives and rural settings including animal rearing, child-nursing, and cooking. The posters played a significant and noticeable part in the meeting and were later recognized as the Haripur Posters.[75]



Figure 3.33: *'Spinning cotton' and 'A Dom warrior'* from Haripur Pannels.
https://www.theheritagelab.in/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/HaripuraPosters.jpg

Another crucial episode in India's struggle was 'Quit India Movement'. On August 8, Gandhi addressed a speech, urging his fellow citizens to perceive themselves as liberated from that very instant and to be ready to act according to their own moral judgement if their leaders were arrested. Babuji Shilpi, an artist based in Bombay, attended that session to document the intense and chaotic spirit of the occasion and she has portrayed the occasion with great precision. In the panel, a sizable audience can be seen gathered with a few individuals strategically perched on trees to gain an enhanced vantage point of Gandhi and the leaders positioned behind him (Fig. 3.34). Male and female volunteers were present to maintain a

[75] Surabhi Sharman, "Nationalism and Art in India," *The Heritage Lab,* September 10, 2018, https://www.theheritagelab.in/nationalism-art/

semblance of order. The area was predominantly covered with white khadi fabric, but there is also a separate group of individuals carrying umbrellas and displaying placards.



Figure 3.34: *'Untitled (Quit India),'* Babuji Shilpi, gouache, c. 1942.
https://rolibooks.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/10.3-BabujiShilpi_square_Quit_India.jpg

The *Shaheed-Smarak* or Martyrs'-Memorial Auditorium in Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, India, is adorned with ancient frescoes on its walls and dome. One of these frescoes, created by Beohar Rammanohar Sinha from Santiniketan but was originally from Jabalpur also depicts the Quit India Movement (Fig. 3.35).



Figure 3.35: *'The Quit India Movement mural,'* by Beohar Rammanohar Sinha, c. 1952, Jabalpur, India.
https://cdn.britannica.com/11/149611-050-7120E7F6/Mural-Quit-India-movement Beohar-Rammanohar-Sinha-1952.jpg

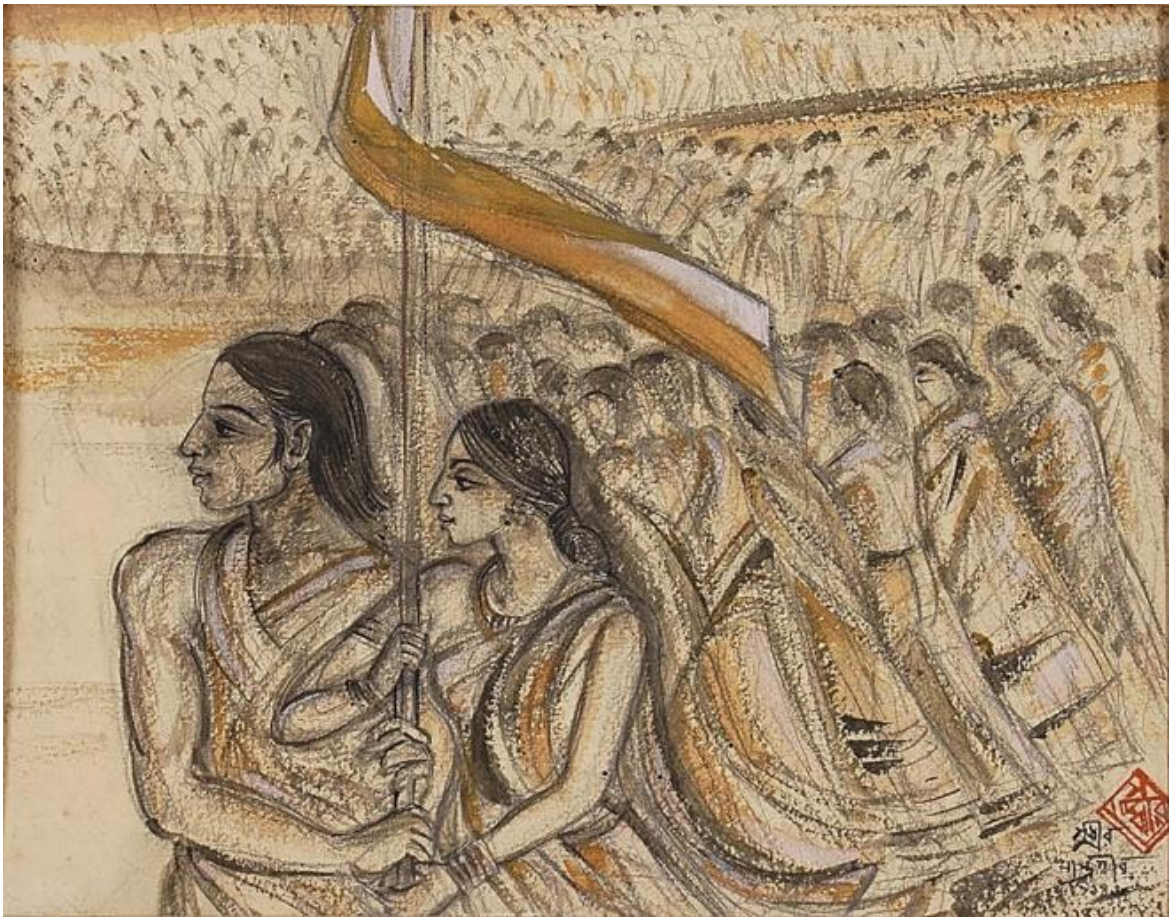


Figure 3.36: *Untitled* by Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir, 1946.
https://d197irk3q85upd.cloudfront.net/catalog/product/cache/663f6637478f19c4c86260959fb03860/k/h/khastgirs070.jpg

In addition to the commemoration of various resistance movements and protests, leaders and freedom fighters were also honoured individually. Artworks depicting liberation fighters generally encapsulate the fundamental qualities of courage and selflessness. Bhagat Singh[76] was one of the prominent revolutionary leaders. He was from a family that was involved in the struggle of freedom, thus he was captivated to India's independence movement from a young age. He was part of diffrent freedom movements and was deeply affected by the massacre of innocents in Bagh. In 1928, he murdered a British police officer by mistaken identity. Police was after him and he ultimately surrendered. At the age of 23, he was found guilty for the murder of British Police officcer and was hanged in Lahore Central Jail on March 23, 1931. He was honoured by Sikh artists Amar Singh and Shobha Singh in the form of portraits (Fig. 3.37 & Fig. 3.38).

[76] Bhagat Singh was born to a Sikh family on September 27, 1907, in Lyallpur district, Pakistan.

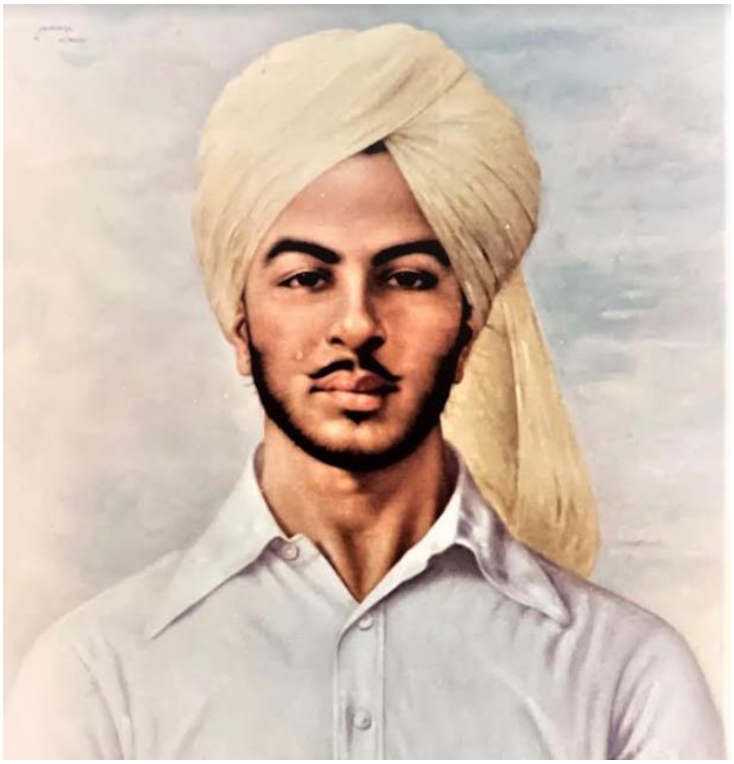


Figure 3.37: *'Bhagat Singh'* by Amar Singh, 1975.
https://www.newsclick.in/sites/default/files/styles/responsive_885/public/2022-04/BS.PNG?itok=kreTzxuB



Figure 3.38: *'Bhagat Singh'* image by Sobha Singh.
https://www.newsclick.in/sites/default/files/styles/responsive_885/public/2022-04/15.%20Bhagat%20Singh%20painting%20by%20Sobha%20Singh.jpg?itok=80t5nRiA

Printing gained immense popularity during the struggle for independencce. Soon, images of prominent political figures who had captivated the oppressed population in India and beyond, started appearing on posters, labels, and calendars. This medium was previously employed for the purpose of spreading information, providing amusement, promoting products, and influencing public opinion through persuasive communication. At that time the Indian print served as an integral component to uphold the robust legacy for independence because it was accessible to the general public. The inception of popular art occurred during the last years of the 19th century. This was catalysed by the advent of affordable printing technology (Fig. 3.39 to Fig. 3.46).[77]



Figure 3.39: *'When the Goal was in Sight, 1945.'* Sobha Singh. Offset print on paper, 33.0 x 47.5 cm. https://d197irk3q85upd.cloudfront.net/readtimeline/tmp/feature/poster2.jpg

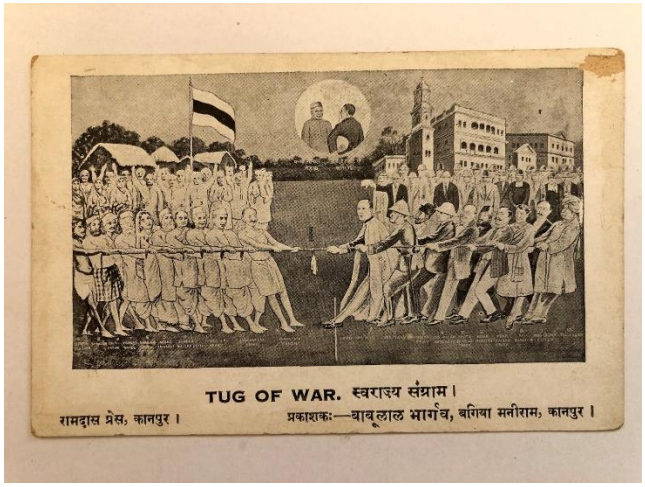


Figure 3.40: Postcard showing *'Tug of war'* between Indians and British. https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/5a608e4e017db2e8dedb242b/1597152818735-WUOYP0ARLC7N1HHZNSD7/IMG_6751.JPG?format=300w

[77] Ankan Kazi, "Partition and the Popular Art: A Conversation with Yousaf Saeed," *Dag World,* January 1, 2024. https://dagworld.com/partition-and-popular-art-a-conversation-with-yousuf-saeed.html

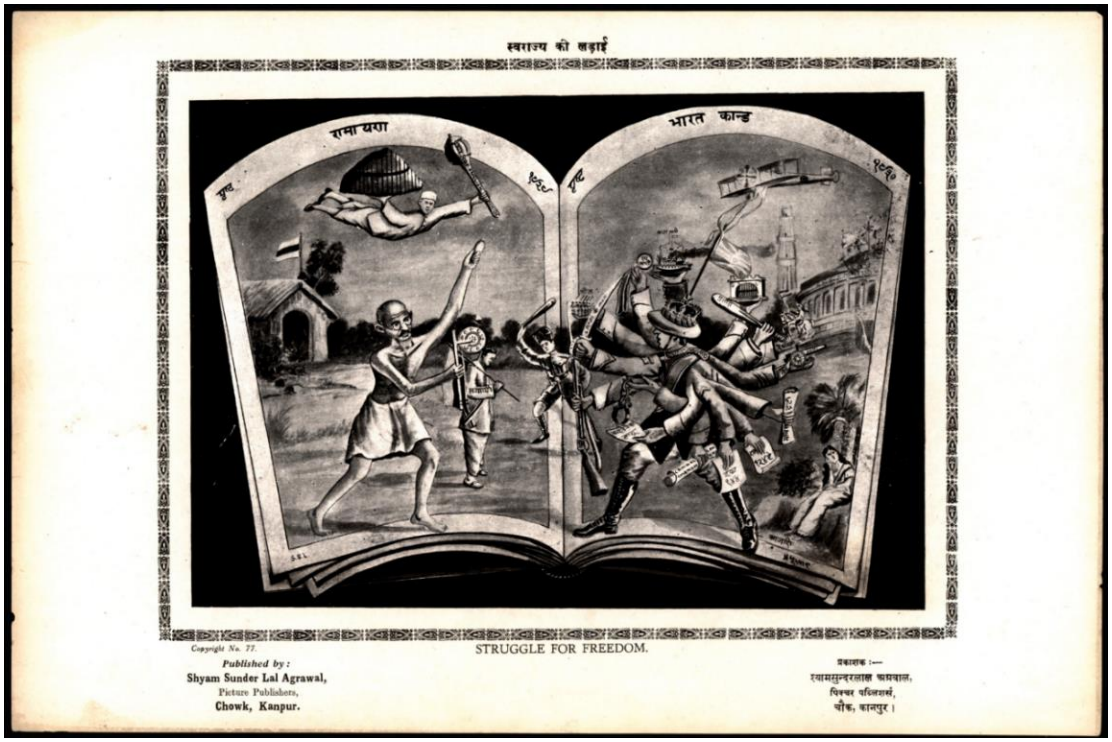


Figure 3.41: *"Struggle for Freedom" ("Swarajaya ki Ladai"),* by Prabhu Dayal, 1930, published by Shyam Sunder Lal Agarwal, Kanpur.
https://vinaylal.files.wordpress.com/2022/08/fig.-3-struggle-for-freedom-ramayana.jpg?w=2045

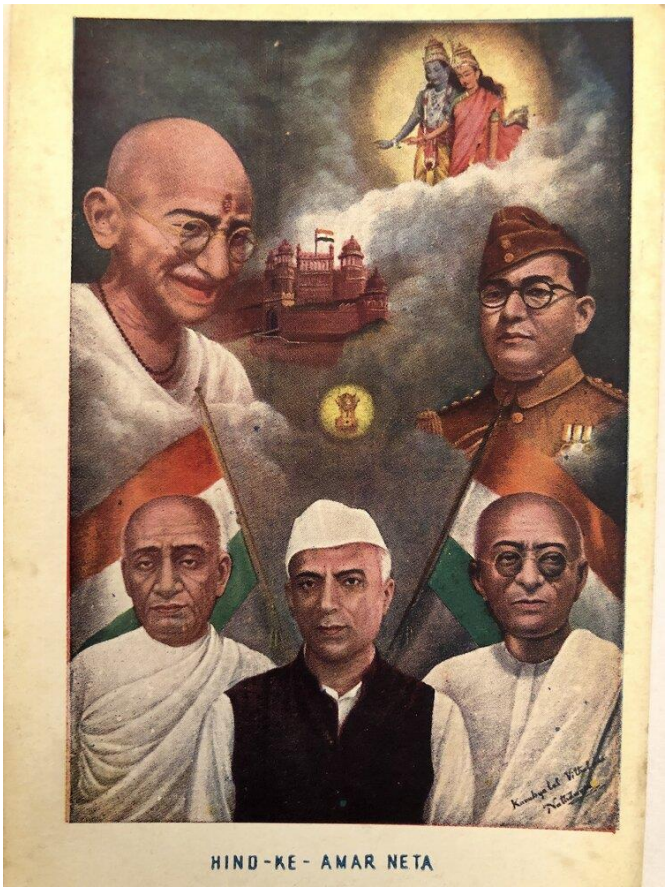


Figure 3.42: *'Hind ke Amar Neta'* Postcard of Indian Hindu Leaders.
https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/5a608e4e017db2e8dedb242b/1597149557476-UVLI9BS2NJLMUZ74JP74/IMG_6705.JPG?format=750w

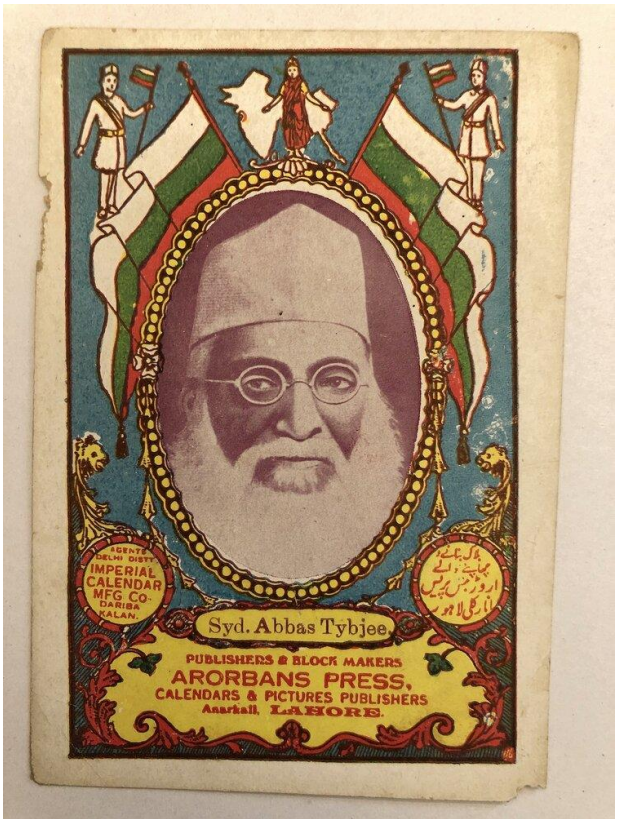


Figure 3.43: Postcard of *'Syed Abbas Tybjee.'*
https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/5a608e4e017db2e8dedb242b/1597149605844-ILTAXAW24KBNU2EJ5U8S/IMG_6712.JPG?format=750w

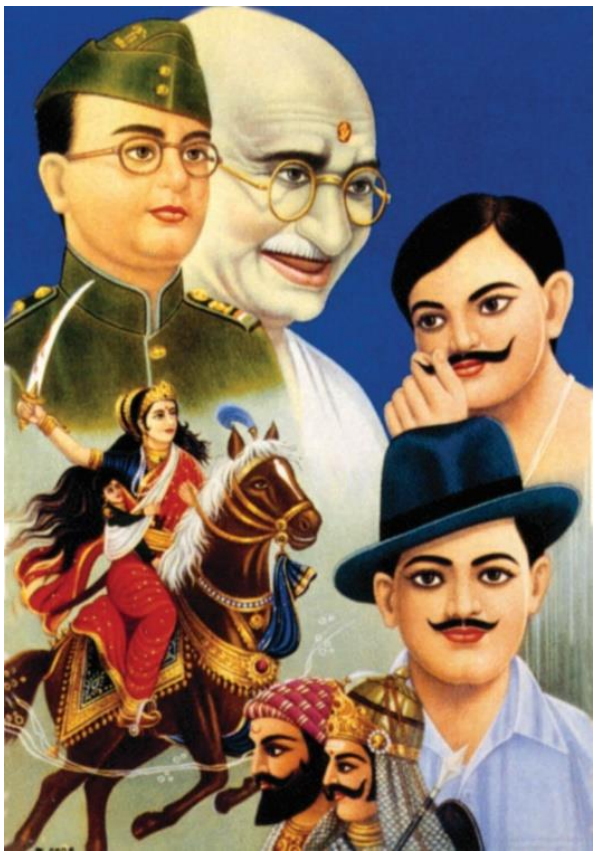


Figure 3.44: *'Bharat ke Veer'*, calendar art, date uncertain.
https://rolibooks.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/3.22-Bharat-ke-Veer-OSIANs-183-.jpg

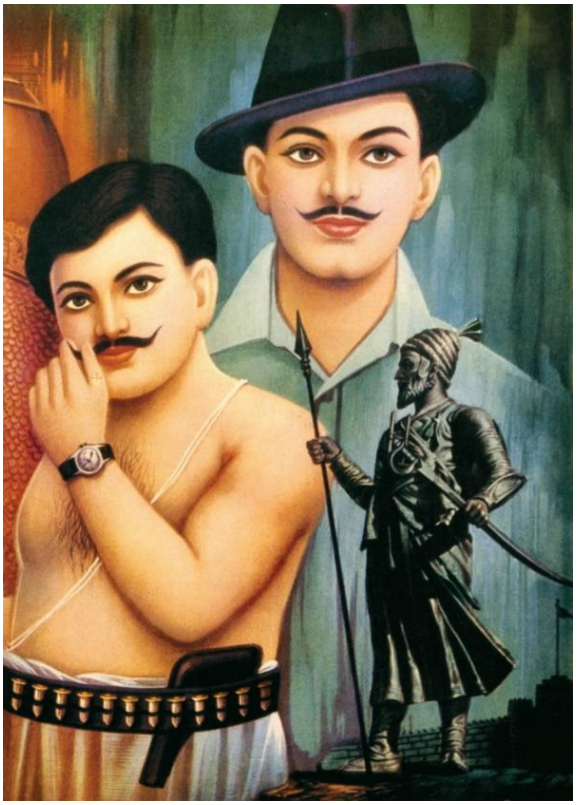


Figure 3.45: *'Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad and Shivaji,'* calendar, undated.
https://rolibooks.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/7.3-Bhagat-Azad-Shivaji-OSIANs-183-Top.jpg

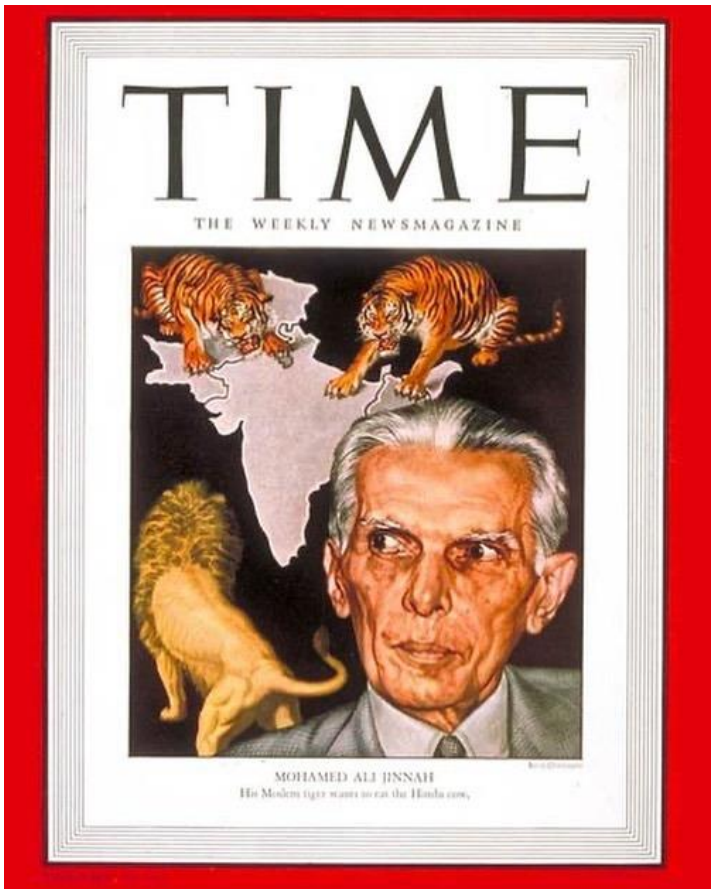


Figure 3.46: Cover page of Time Magazine, showing Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1946.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/25-december-birth-anniversary-of-quaid-i-azam.jpg

Various printing presses, such as the Ravi Varma Press, Chitrashala Press, Brijbasi & Sons, S. C. Banerjee & Co, Photo Service Company, Kwality Calendar Company, Modern Pictures Publishers, and numerous others, were located throughout India and produced a significant quantity of prints. The heroes of the independence movement were revered as quasi-deities. These items were sold at low prices in stores or were handed out on the streets and eventually this art was recognised as street art.

During the 1940s, Chittaprosad Bhattacharya[78] significantly contributed towards the emergence of revolutionary popular art in India. His iconic prints illustrated the indigenous resistance of the populaces against the foreign colonial authority. He meticulously recorded the grassroots of the movements, peasant conflicts, and urban opposition in West Bengal through his political cartoons and sketches. Through his linocuts, drawings, and posters, the artist continued to depict the voices of the oppressed. Some of his works serve as visual records of India's final phases of independence from colonialism, as well as the ongoing battle of the Indian people to liberate themselves (Fig. 3.47 to Fig. 3.51).



Figure 3.47: *'Untitled,'* Executed in 1947, circa late 1940s by Chittaprosad Bhattacharya. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_02/21/21/212301467/e9cd031a-fb5a-4b3a-8b91-1c4be0834d7d_570.Jpeg?w=768

[78] Chittaprosad Bhattacharya (1915-1978) was an Indian political artist of the mid-20th century. He preferred watercolour and printmaking. Chittaprosad satirized and sharply criticized the feudal and colonial systems in quickly drawn but masterful pen and ink sketches. He was also proficient at creating linocuts and woodcuts with obvious propagandistic intent. Since these cheaply made prints were created for the masses, rather than the art gallery, they were seldom signed or numbered.



Figure 3.48: *Untitled*, 1947 by Chittaprosad Bhattacharya. Graphite, brush, and ink on paper.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2012_02/29/08/083409436/45e4a1ed-94ae-4885-b329-7b5d2f7a94e6.Jpeg?w=768

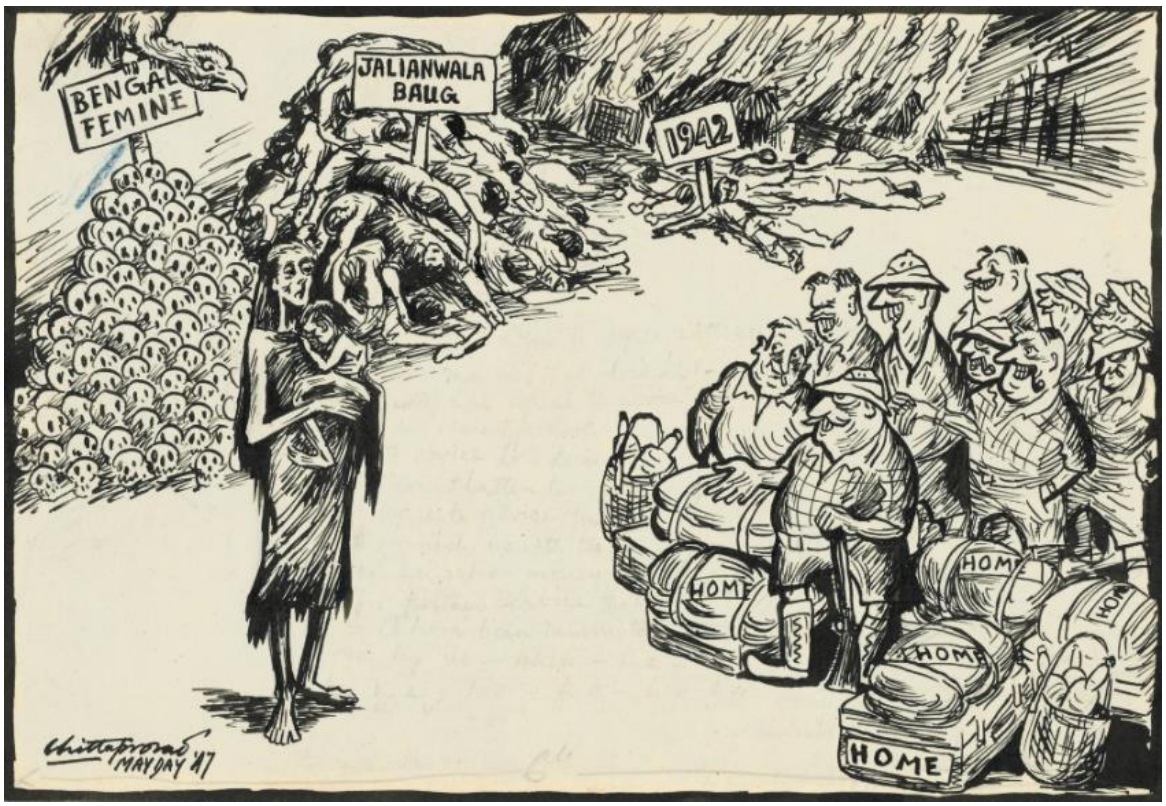


Figure 3.49: *'May Day'* by Chittaprosad Bhattacharya, 1947. Mixed media on paper.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_02/21/21/212254597/412393a8-a434-4bc4-b397-1152446703cf.Jpeg



Figure 3.50: *'Unity of Partition: Maulana Azad Versus Jinnah,'* by Chittaprosad Bhattacharya, 1946. Mixed media. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2017_06/29/06/063637997/a4870870-03cd-4374-9f39-98397cf65dc1.Jpeg

Chittaprosad's posters attracted the attention of the general secretary of the Communist Party of India (CPI), who encouraged him to participate in the party's cultural efforts. Chittaprosad was sent to the party's central office in Bombay during the early 1940s. Artists affiliated with the party and working with the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) created pamphlets to mobilize the public against fascist forces, colonial control, feudalism, and industrial capitalism.

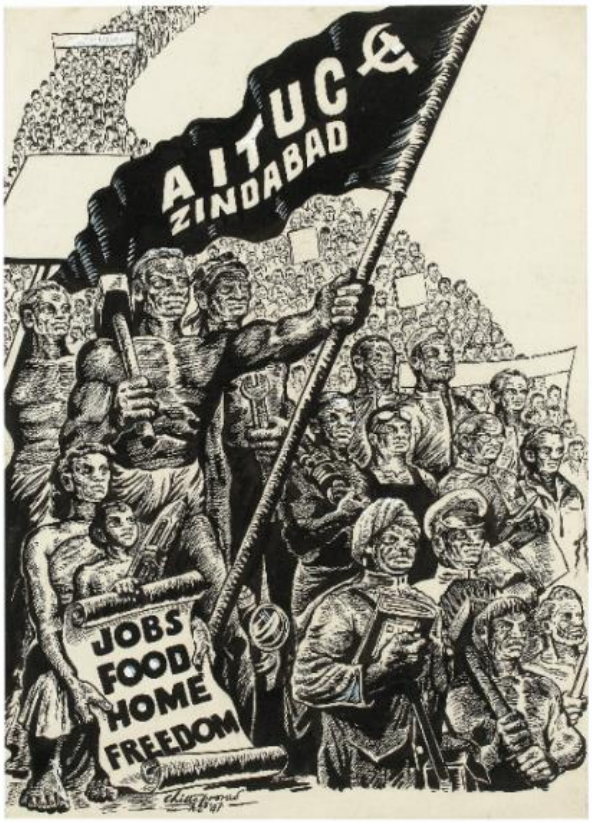


Figure 3.51: *Untitled (AITUC Zindabad; Chocolate; Anti-Communism; Bezwada),* 1945. Ink on paper. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_02/21/21/212150358/bc595a6b-2c6c-4110-bf47-56bea6d9256d.Jpeg.

To summarise, we may assert that art created during the period known as 'the freedom struggle' in India, provides a detailed account of the freedom struggle, building a narrative of history with a visually captivating interaction between text and photos. This unique approach offers a deeper understanding that cannot be achieved by traditional histories or photographs alone. The quest for liberation in the Indian Subcontinent cannot be limited to a particular time, individual, or institution. It was undeniably the result of numerous contributing elements. However, certain years, months, and days significantly influenced the formation of significant advancements. The early decades hold great significance in the various stages of India's liberation movement.

In short, the Indian Independence movement encompassed a sequence of endeavours with the ultimate objective of terminating British governance in India. The movement lasted for a duration of 90 years, starting from 1857 and ending in 1947. Amidst the nationwide resistance against British rule, art and literature emerged as powerful tools of defiance.

Chapter 4

PARTITION OF INDIAN SUBCONTINENT/ INDEPENDENCE OF PAKISTAN AND ITS ARTISTIC DISCOURSE

As described in the previous chapter, by the early 20th century the desire for self-rule and independence from foreign rule started among the people of the subcontinent. The Indian subcontinent saw a turbulent period in the 20th century, characterised by passionate campaigns for freedom and independence. Nevertheless, there was a substantial difference in the perspective of Hindu and Muslim Leaders. Both worked closely yet argued for their respective narratives; Hindu leaders desired a unified India, while Muslims demanded a separate homeland where they could live freely according to the Islamic rules.

The All-India Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah emerged as the primary advocate for the rights and political representation of Muslims (Fig. 4.1). The notion of an independent Muslim state did not emerge until 1930, when Allama Muhammed Iqbal introduced the concept. After a span of three years, a group of Indian students studying at the University of Cambridge put forth the suggestion of assigning the name "Pakistan" to the envisioned nation. Muslims began to seek their own country, and in 1940 the historic Lahore Resolution was passed, calling for the formation of a sovereign Muslim state.[79] According to James Wynbrand in March 1940 in Lahore, Jinnah said in a meeting: “Muslims are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. . . Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory, and their state.”[80]



Figure 4.1: All India Muslim League Working Committee, Lahore session, March 1940.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/eb/All_India_Muslim_League_Working_Committee_Lahore_1940.jpg

[79] Stephen Philip Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington, D.C: the Brookings institution, 2004), 43.
[80] James Wynbrand, *A brief history of Pakistan* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 151.

In a landmark speech in Lahore in 1940, Muhammad Ali Jinnah advocated for creating a distinct Muslim state on the Indian peninsula. According to Jinnah, they are two different nations, he stated.

> "Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literary traditions. They neither intermarry nor eat together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions."[81]

The concept known as the "Two Nation Theory" was coined as the officially recognised Pakistani narrative for the establishment of the state and played a pivotal role in shaping Pakistan's self-identity. Jinnah attempted to unite the diverse Muslim population spread over the region. This theory was not novel in any way, Sir Syed Ahmed propagated a variant of this theory by asserting that one nation must conquer and rule over another. In short, Jinnah practically employed the two-nation theory in support for the establishment of a separate state from India.[82] Jinnah had the opinion that freedom meant not only independence from the British but also the independence of the masses who were exploited in united India.

After second world war British acknowledged that they could no longer maintain control over India under the monarchy. They were aware that leaving India as a united nation would be unaffordable, given its vast people and economic resources, which could potentially make it a formidable global power capable of challenging the authority of the British and other Western nations in shaping world events. In March 1947, due to increase demand to exit from India, Lord Louis Mountbatten was sent to India to coordinate the British withdrawal. Mountbatten persuaded leaders to accept the creation of two new nations i.e., Pakistan and India with Muslim and Hindu majority respectively (Fig. 4.2). He appointed Cyril Radcliffe, a British lawyer who had never been to India, and had only a few weeks to divide and mark new nations borders. He was instructed to establish boundaries that upheld the dominance of religious majorities and emphasized the need of having borders that were physically connected. The delineation of the "Radcliffe Line" was a relatively straightforward task in regions where one religious group had a clear numerical advantage. However, Radcliffe encountered the challenge of religious communities being scattered over various parts of India. Partitioning

[81] Secunder Kermani, "How Jinnah's ideology shapes Pakistan's identity," *BBC News,* August 18, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-40961603
[82] Anwesh Satpathy, "Partition and the Ideological Roots of Pakistan," *WordPress,* February 22, 2023, https://nickledanddimed.com/2023/02/22/partition-and-the-ideological-roots-of-pakistan/ Partition and the Ideological roots of Pakistan

regions such as Bengal and Punjab, where the Hindu and Muslim populations were nearly equal, presented a significant challenge.[83]



Figure 4.2: Lord Louis Mountbatten (third from left) presents Britain's partition plan for India at a conference in New Delhi on June 3, 1947.
https://www.nation.com.pk/digital_images/large/2015-10-27/what-actually-happened-on-14th-august-1947-1445952097-8552.jpg

Ultimately, Radcliffe and his colleagues, who lacked proficiency in cartography or knowledge of Hindu-Muslim politics, divided the subcontinent into two parts and allocated almost equal portions to each newly formed nation. Consequently, Pakistan would not be a geographically continuous entity as most of its territory would be situated in the northwestern region of India, while a portion known as East Pakistan would be in Bengal to the west. The decision had significant consequences, as it left thousands of Hindus and Muslims in a nation that was not their intended destination and created a geographical separation of a thousand miles between Bengal and the rest of Pakistan.

After all these negotiations, Pakistan emerged on the map of Earth on August 14, 1947, and India on August 15, 1947. Pakistan and India were granted dominion status under the British crown, with the expectation that they would eventually achieve complete independence.

[83] Erin Blakemore, "Why the Partition of India and Pakistan still casts a long shadow over the region," *National Geographic*, August 2, 2022, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/partition-of-india-and-pakistan-history-legacy

Pakistan was formed from five British Indian provinces and several princely states (Fig. 4.3). As a result of the new territorial divisions, the provinces of Bengal and Punjab were partitioned, leading to the displacement of millions of individuals. Baluchistan, the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP), and Sindh were included within the territory of West Pakistan.[84]



Figure 4.3: The Map of Indian Subcontinent showing Partition.
Source: The Idea of Pakistan by Stephen Philip Cohen.

4.1 The Phenomenon of Mass Migration

Contrary to expectations, there were significant migrations of minorities after subcontinent was divided. The migration had significant consequences, as it not only resulted in the division of the Subcontinent, but also had a profound impact on the provinces with Muslim majority. The Muslim population residing in East Punjab and its neighbouring regions undertook migration to Pakistan by various means of transportation such as trains, trucks, on foot, and on planes (Fig. 4.4 & Fig. 4.5). Conversely, Hindus and Sikhs residing in West Punjab embarked on a migration journey in the opposite direction. The occurrence of violence was not limited solely to regions under direct British administration. The State Forces of the princely realms of Alwar and Bharatpur in Rajputana, as well as Kapurthala in Punjab, were responsible for instigating and actively participating in the mass expulsion and slaughter of Muslims.

[84] Stephen Philip Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington, D.C: the Brookings institution, 2004), 6.

Approximately 14 million individuals migrated over the period spanning from August to November of 1947. This migration is potentially characterized by a high level of violence. Approximately 600,000 individuals lost their lives, while several sustained injuries. Millions of individuals sought refuge to preserve their lives, as they faced the imminent threat of violent mobs indulging in acts of physical aggression.[85]



Figure 4.4: Migrants travelling via train (1947) by F.E.Chaudhry. The Citizen archive of Pakistan.
https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/1947-partition-refugees-travelling-via-train-f-e-chaudhry/HgF-9XTDAO-R3Q?hl=en



Figure 4.5: People migrating bare footed.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2016/08/57af4c412db6e.jpg

The estimated number of victims ranges from 250,000 to 2 million fatalities.[86] The precise numerical value will forever remain indeterminable. Though in all regions of the subcontinent,

[85] Omar Khalidi, "From Torrent to Trickle: Indian Muslim Migration to Pakistan, 1947—97." *Islamic Studies* 37, no. 3 (1998): 339–52. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20837002.
[86] Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst, 2006), 41.

migration continued to occur in a spontaneous manner resulting in the most significant refugee movement of the twentieth century (Fig. 4.6 & Fig. 4.7).[87]

> "By the time Pakistan conducted its first census in 1951, it determined some 14 million people had moved across the frontier: 8 million Muslims coming to Pakistan from India, and 6 million Hindus leaving Pakistan for India. Most of these people had to abandon all their possessions in their flight. No reliable survey of the number of people who lost their lives in the violence has ever been attempted, but it has been estimated that about 1 million people were killed. Additionally, as many as 50,000 Muslim and 33,000 non-Muslim women were abducted."[88]



Figure 4.6: Conditions at the time of migration by F. E. Chaudhry, The citizen Archive of Pakistan. https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/1947-partition-refugees-en-route-to-pakistan-f-e-chaudhry/awG12fS0Inp2bA?hl=en



Figure 4.7: 1947 Partition-Walton camp, Lahore by F. E. Chaudhry. https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/1947-partition-refugees-travelling-via-train-f-e-chaudhry

[87] Ian Talbot, "Legacies of the Partition for India and Pakistan." *Politeja,* no. 59 (2019): 7–25. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26916350.
[88] James Wynbrandt, *A brief history of Pakistan, foreword by Fawaz A. Gerges* (New York: Facts on file, 2009), 162.

Communities that had peacefully lived together for almost a thousand years engaged in horrible sectarian bloodshed. The divide between Hindus and Sikhs on one hand and Muslims on the other was both sudden and unexpected. There were incidents of murders, fires, harsh religious conversions, kidnapping, and extremely brutal sexual assault. Historian Yasmeen Khan states that individual murders were "savage and barbaric" acts, frequently characterized by disfigurement and dismemberment. It appeared that the intention was not alone to cause death, but also to inflict severe emotional and psychological harm to the individuals.[89] People went through numerous heinous scenes, such as trains carrying dead bodies, decapitated corpses, limbs strewn along the roadsides, and indiscriminate acts of rape and plunder.[90] In the book titled *"Midnight's Furies,"* Nisid Hajari presents the dramatic history of Partition and its subsequent consequences. He writes,

> "Gangs of killers set whole villages aflame, hacking to death men and children and the aged while carrying off young women to be raped. Some British soldiers and journalists who had witnessed the Nazi death camps claimed Partition's brutalities were worse: pregnant women had their breasts cut off and babies hacked out of their bellies; infants were found literally roasted on spits."[91]

However, the process of achieving independence was not without challenges. Millions of migrants were completely unprepared for the catastrophic event they encountered (Fig. 4.8 & Fig. 4.9). This violence targeted innocent civilians who were caught during religious and communal conflicts. Families suddenly found themselves uprooted, leaving behind their homes, possessions, and memories.



Figure 4.8: Dead bodies scattered everywhere.
https://www.ilmkiweb.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/peoples-dies-bodies-while-idia-pak-partition.jpg

[89] William Dalrymple, "The Great Divide: The violent legacy of Indian Partition," *The New Yorker,* June 22, 2015, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/06/29/the-great-divide-books-dalrymple
[90] C. Ryan Perkins, "1947 Partition of India & Pakistan", *Stanford libraries,* https://exhibits.stanford.edu/1947-partition/about/1947-partition-of-india-pakistan
[91] Nisid Hajari, *Midnight's Furies: The Deadly Legacy of India's Partition*,(United Kingdom: Amberley Publishing, 2017)



Figure 4.9: Unattended bodies being buried in combined massive grave.
https://www.ilmkiweb.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/tank-passed-on-muslims-bodies-218x300.jpg

According to the Pakistani historian Ayesha Jalal, partition is regarded as the most significant historical occurrence in South Asia during the twentieth century. In her writing, she believes that partition, which is a significant event that is not a starting point or an ending point, it has a strong impact on how the people and nations of postcolonial region perceive their history, current situation, and future.[92]

Despite the difficulties, Pakistan emerged as a new nation with its own flag, constitution, and government. Muslims in Pakistan celebrated their newfound independence with great fervor and unity. Streets adorned with Pakistani flags became vibrant avenues for joyous gatherings, as people dressed in traditional attire came together in towns and villages across the newly formed nation. Speeches were given by leaders emphasizing the significance of the moment. Mosques were decorated, and special prayers of gratitude were offered, acknowledging the fulfillment of their aspirations for a separate homeland (Fig. 4.10 to Fig. 4.12). Pakistan achieved its independence; however, the disorderly and unstable condition of the newly formed federation gave little reason for celebration.

[92] Irfan Aslam, "Ayesha Jalal debunks myths about Partition, religion," *Dawn*, Published March 20, 2022, https://www.dawn.com/news/1680811.



Figure 4.10: Pakistan Independence Day at Razmak, 15 August 1947. https://www.nam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2017-06/105834_half.jpg



Figure 4.11: People in the streets, 1947. https://media.licdn.com/dms/image/C4D12AQElLEgOItt5fQ/article-cover_image-shrink_720_1280/0/1628956128591?e=2147483647&v=beta&t=wOUowYEOht8bo3WXvQW7YxX5TKjMaxojDx1_5pj_96Y



Figure 4.12: Quaid-e- Azam addressing the nation. https://www.ilmkidunya.com/ckfinder/userfiles/images/separate-homeland.jpg

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was appointed as the nation's first governor-general. He decided the harbor city of Karachi as the capital of the new country. Jinnah's most trusted advisor and political partner, Liaquat Ali Khan, was selected as prime minister. The ceremony for the handover of power was held in Karachi. Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Lord Mountbatten both spoke before the Pakistani Constituent Assembly (Fig 4.13 & Fig. 4.14).



Figure 4.13: Jinnah's inaugural speech as first Governor General.
https://www.bl.uk/voices-of-partition/articles/media-reactions-to-partition

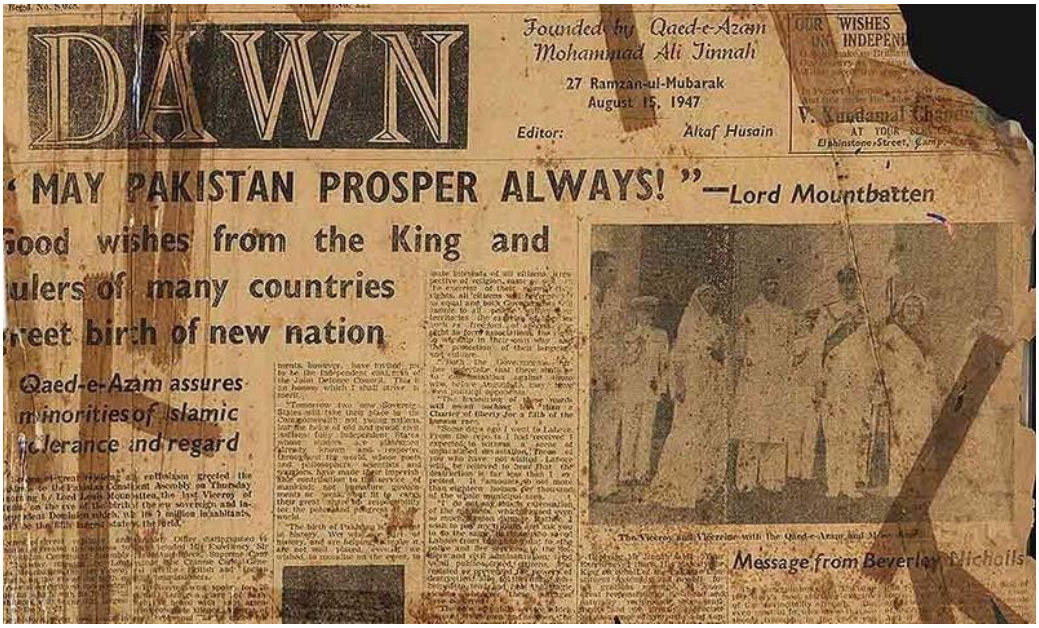


Figure 4.14: Muhammad Ali Jinnah was sworn in as the first governor general of the Muslim dominion of Pakistan in August 1947. Getty Images.
https://thenational-the-national-prod.cdn.arcpublishing.com/resizer/

Mountbatten paid tribute to Jinnah and extended King George VI's best wishes for the future of Pakistan (Fig 4.15). Jinnah, in his response, conveyed Pakistan's goodwill and affection

towards Britain and thanked Lord and Lady Mountbatten for their generosity. Jinnah also expressed his hope that citizens of Pakistan would treat other religions with tolerance and respect, referring to the ethical guidelines that Muslims have always adhered to. By doing so, Jinnah was making an indirect comment on the recent communal violence that had broken out as a direct result of the Partition. While addressing the constitution assembly, he said,

> "August 14 is the birthday of the independent and sovereign state of Pakistan, it marks the fulfillment of the destiny of the Muslim nation which made great sacrifices in the past few years to have its homeland." "No discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are all citizens and equal citizens of one state."[93]


DAWN

Founded by Qaed-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

27 Ramzan-ul-Mubarak
August 15, 1947

Editor: Altaf Husain

OUR WISHES ON INDEPEND

V. Kundamal Ghai
AT YOUR SE
Elphinstone Street, Camp.

' MAY PAKISTAN PROSPER ALWAYS! "—Lord Mountbatten

Good wishes from the King and
ulers of many countries
reet birth of new nation

Qaed-e-Azam assures
minorities of Islamic
clerance and regard

Message from Beverley Nicholls

Figure 4.15: Dawn newspaper on August 15, 1947.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2019/08/5d4e7311b4b30.jpg

The initial years were characterized by the difficult task of nation-building. The government had to establish institutions, formulate policies, and address the needs of a diverse population. Economic stability, infrastructure development, and the integration of millions of refugees were top priorities. The riots and sectarian conflict devastated infrastructure and property. Due to its large size, India received most resources in all sectors, leaving Pakistan with limited resources for survival and development. The economic condition was equally catastrophic. There was also a shortage of competent manpower to operate the railways, hospitals, offices and institutes. Pakistan also lacked any industrial sector.

[93] Mina Aldrouby, "Pakistan Independence Day: Celebrating the birth of a homeland," *The National News,* August 14, 2023, https://www.thenationalnews.com/mena/2023/08/14/pakistan-independence-day-celebrating-the-birth-of-a-homeland/

Apart from monetary funds and infrastructure, the primary issues faced by the country were the settlement of the "Refugees, The Indus Water and The Accession of Princely States." Kashmir was the final and highly disputed among the princely states that led towards unrest in the region. When examining the Kashmir issue, it is important to consider many variables that shaped the historical backdrop of Kashmir. These aspects will be thoroughly explored in Chapter 5.

In short, apart from all these circumstances and lack of resources as compared to India the newly formed state of Pakistan had a high spirit and also had sincere people like Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan among others. Jinnah played a significant role in the struggle and creation of Pakistan while serving this country till his death. His close associate, Liaqat Ali Khan accompanied him in this struggle. However, it is worth noting that neither of these individuals lived long after the newly formed nation. Both individuals experienced premature demises, resulting in a state of political turmoil within the nation. Jinnah died from illness on September 11, 1948 (Fig. 4.16), and Khan was assassinated at a political gathering in Rawalpindi on October 17, 1951. Jinnah's death had a profound impact on the young nation, and it marked the end of an era in Pakistan's history. Pakistan declared a period of official mourning to honour the memory of Jinnah. The news of his death was met with profound sadness, and people from all walks of life mourned his passing. His funeral procession in Karachi was attended by hundreds of thousands of people who gathered to pay him respect for the last time.



Figure 4.16: Funeral of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.
https://storyofpakistan.com/wp-content/uploads/2003/06/Quaidsfuneral1.jpg

4.2 Migration of Artists within Subcontinent

Amid the political unrest and millions of people migrating in large numbers, there was also a notable migration of artists. This migration of artists in 1947 was not merely a physical relocation but a profound disruption to the cultural fabric of the region. Artists, writers, and intellectuals found themselves uprooted from their homes, communities, and creative environments and struggled to establish themselves in unknown territories.

Several artists belonging to the non-Muslims communities in Pakistan faced instability, causing them to flee to India to escape violence. In contrast, Muslim artists from India chose to relocate to Pakistan's newly established areas, such as Punjab, Sindh, and Bengal, in search of sanctuary and a sense of belonging in a country they saw as their own. The third group of artists were those who already lived in areas that became a part of Pakistan, so they continued their practice in their homeland.

The first set of artists who were born in present day Pakistan but migrated to India included S. L. Parasher, P. N. Mago, Satish Gujral, Krishan Khana, Amar Nath Sehgal, Dhanraj Bhagat among others. For S. L. Parasher[94] migration was a painful experience, the circumstances underwent a significant transformation, compelling him and his family to relocate to India. He left behind all his sculptures and paintings at his Lahore apartment and arrived in India empty-handed, except for a newspaper clipping that had Rabindranath Tagore's sketch on it and that he had made in Lahore.

His initial employment in India involved serving as a supervisor at a refugee camp located in Baldev Nagar, Ambala. This task involved conducting patrols throughout the camp where refugees were residing.[95] He witnessed and recorded the prevailing atmosphere of detachment, bewilderment, apprehension, and distress among individuals residing in these camps through a series of sketches.

As Parasher was deeply affected by this period of his life, he subsequently created sculptures and no-spot sketches that vividly depicted the atrocities of the Partition (Fig. 4.17 & Fig. 4.18). The artist's paintings convey intense and vivid experiences of the tragic times, leading him to adopt a documentary approach in his art.

[94] Sardari Lal Parasher, born in 1904 in Gujranwala, West Punjab (now present-day Pakistan), and died in 1990 in New Delhi. He was a painter, etcher, muralist, sculptor, and writer. His works demonstrate his flexibility. His early style was realistic but later, he turned to symbolism and spirituality for inspiration.
[95] Kamayani Kumar, "Mediating Partition through Visual Culture Our torn sky." Accessed March 12, 2024. https://www.academia.edu/36289948/Mediating_Partition_through_Visual_Culture_Our_torn_sky



Figure 4.17: *A sculpture* by S. L. Parasher, while his stay at the refugee camp in Baldev Nagar, Ambala.
http://www.imgrum.org/user/partitionmuseum/3497128151/1566545348243402212_349712815.



Figure 4.18: *'Cry'* by S. L. Parasher.
https://www.thebeacon.in/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Heavy-Despair.jpg

Pran Nath Mago[96] was a highly skilled painter, art critic, and art historian from Lahore. To him, Lahore represented more than just a city; it embodied a rich culture and tradition that proved difficult to erase from his memory once he relocated to Delhi following the split. His artworks depicting the events of 1947 were deeply moving and melancholic narratives of human anguish and distress (Fig 4.19).

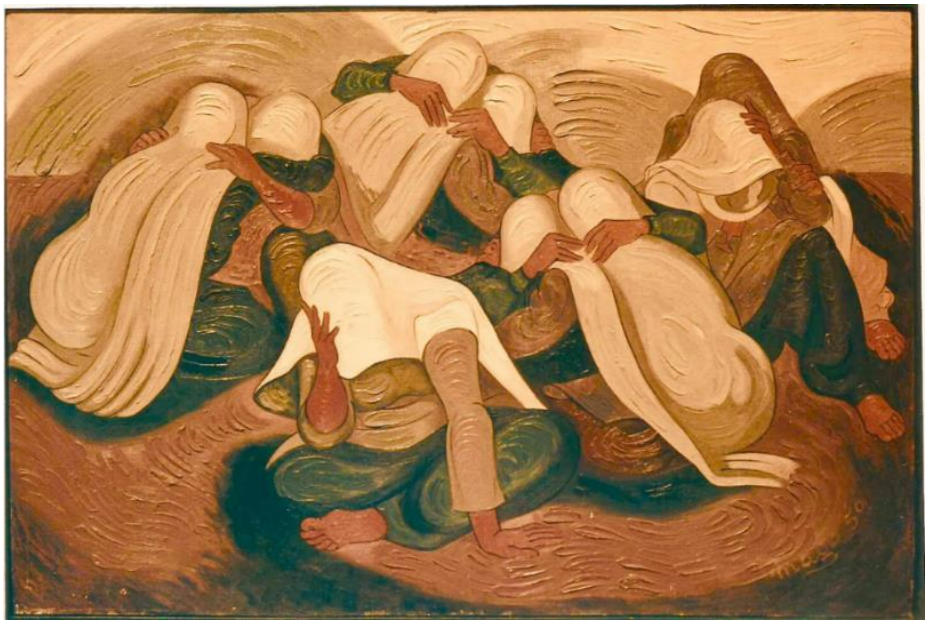


Figure 4.19: *"Mourners"* by P. N. Mago, 1950.
https://miro.medium.com/v2/resize:fit:1400/format:webp/1*K-LsQ_VRpypQbMBJXJyz1w.jpeg

Another eminent artist at the time of partition who got affected by the migration was Satish Gujral.[97] Gujral's interest was developed in the creative arts while he was healing from a childhood swimming accident that deprived him of his hearing and speech. His family left Lahore for Shimla at the time of partition. His firsthand experience with the brutality and trauma of Partition profoundly imprinted his memories, which he later conveyed in his partition paintings series. His *"Partition Series"* remains the most important work in the artist's career, attracting the attention of several art critics and historians, and thus established Gujral as a "genius" in his first show in New Delhi in 1952.[98] This series in 1952 captured the sadness and trauma associated with this historic event. Gujral's utilization of deep earth and metallic colours in these paintings played a crucial role in representing his personal experience about the incident. In an interview given to a news paper he narrated, "This experience sunk in me so

[96] Pran Nath Mago (1923–2006) born on 23 august in Gujar khan, a small town near Rawalpindi district, Punjab. He was a multifaceted individual who excelled as an artist, advocate for handicrafts, educator, critic, curator, and writer.
[97] Satish Gujral, (1925-2020) born on 25 December 1925 in Jhelum, pre-partition Punjab, is widely recognised for his exceptional skills as a painter, sculptor, muralist, and architect. He studied at Mayo School of Art in Lahore and briefly at Sir J. J. School of Art in Bombay.
[98] Tanuja Bhakuni, "Satish Gujral's Partition Series, Delhi 1952," *Art and Photography, History* , October 5, 2022, https://zikredilli.com/delhi-depository/f/satish-gujrals-partition-series-delhi-1952

deep that after Partition when I began to paint without any conscious effort, this human suffering, this brutality of man to man, became my theme."[99]



Figure 4.20: *'Wail'* by Satish Gujral from Partion Series. https://img1.wsimg.com/isteam/ip/63b04b47-d65a-4207-a58c-3e58f38419ef/images%20-%202022-08-14T215735.246.jpeg/:/cr=t:0%25,l:0%25,w:100%25,h:100%25/rs=w:1280

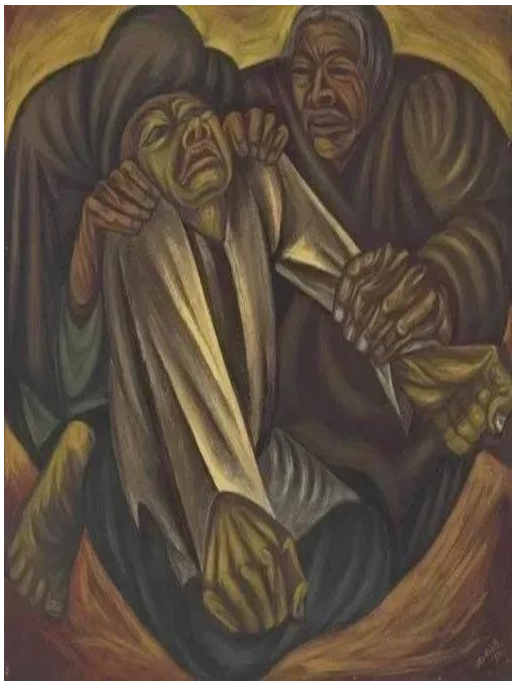


Figure 4.21: *'Despair'* by Satish Gujral from Partion Series. https://img1.wsimg.com/isteam/ip/63b04b47-d65a-4207-a58c-3e58f38419ef/images%20-%202022-08-14T215735.246.jpeg/:/cr=t:0%25,l:0%25,w:100%25,h:100%25/rs=w:1280

[99] Rana Siddiqui Zaman, "Satish Gujral: a man of colours, textures, love, longing, humour and home," *National Heral,* March 28, 2020. https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/india/satish-gujral-a-man-of-colours-textures-love-longing-humour-and-home

Most of the artists who witnessed the division were not passive observers, but active participants in the profound changes that were occurring around them. Khrishan Khana's[100] family was also among those families who were settled in present day Pakistan but later moved to Shimla (India) at the time of partition. Khanna was profoundly impacted by both the transformation in his personal life and the socio-political turmoil that prevailed in his surroundings. His initial creations consist of replicas of the scenes deeply engraved in his memory of that time (Fig. 4.22). In short, Khanna's work portrays historical moments in the same way that photographs do, although the artist's technique is far from photorealistic.



Figure 4.22: *'Memory of the partition 1947'* by Krishan Khana, charcoal on canvas. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2024_03/14/21/215423887/krishen-khanna-memory-of-the-partition-1-QDPTJ.Jpeg?w=768

Khanna's portrait of a falconer with his bird of prey was among the works that he created when he was 22 years old and was inspired by the journey that his family carried out during the Partition (Fig. 4.23). Another remarkable work was *'Exodus'*, a huge artwork that portrays the sudden and substantial migration of individuals from Pakistan to India. It was an incident that profoundly affected him, causing him to endure agony and terror, ultimately serves as a recurring theme in his body of work (Fig. 4.24).

[100] Krishan Khanna was born in 1925 in Faisalabad, Punjab, and was raised in Lahore, which is now located in present-day Pakistan. He was member of the Bombay Progressive Artists' Group (PAG). He is a self-taught painter and sculptor using graphite, charcoal, and oil paints as his preferred mediums. His artworks have effectively depicted the societal and political atmosphere of the country starting from the 1940s and continuing into the 1950s and beyond.



Figure 4.23: *'Falconer,'* by Krishan Khana.
https://images.livemint.com/rf/Image-621x414/LiveMint/Period2/2016/11/09/Photos/Processed/falcon-kiyE--621x414@LiveMint.jpg



Figure 4.24: *'Exodus,'* by Krishan Khana 2007, oil on canvas.
https://mediacloud.saffronart.com/exhibition/2010/kk01/krisenk_10ret5620_big.jpg

Another notable individual who was brought up in present-day Pakistan but moved to India after the partition was Amar Nath Sehgal.[101] Like the millions who were displaced from their ancestral homes, he too was among them. Sehgal directly witnessed all the atrocities of the division. The division had a profound and enduring effect on him, which was later reflected in his artworks that vividly depict the horrors he witnessed (Fig. 4.25). Sehgal was deeply affected by the upheaval of partition, to the extent that he could not detach himself from the anguish and distress of his surroundings. Sehgal's sculptures embody his subconscious mind, the terrifying experiences he had experienced, and the restless nights he had endured. This experience stayed with him for the rest of his life.



Figure 4.25: *'Anguished Cries,'* 1959, by Amar Nath Segal. Medium: Bronze
https://www.artnet.com/artists/amar-nath-sehgal/anguished-cries-ZvSb7t3Ksz8AD5AdXoXQ1A2

The sculpture, titled "Anguished Cries", is regarded as the artist's most recognizable work. The original bronze sculpture was first revealed at the Berlin Wall in 1971, and another version was subsequently exhibited in Vienna. The artwork portrays the anguish experienced

[101] Amar Nath Sehgal born in Campbellpur, a cantonment in Attock District, Pakistan, on February 5, 1922. He began his engineering career before turning his attention to the arts. He joined the Mayo School of Art and the Lahore School of Fine Arts. Following that, he spent three years studying Art Education at New York University. He was an artist renowned for his versatility, has produced sculptures, paintings, poems, graphics, and tapestries, among other works.

by victims of violence following the Partition, with the screaming faces symbolizing the hardships endured by those who were displaced and grieved. Artist Amar Nath has stated,

> "My nerves were shattered and observed the holocaust, with millions killed and several more millions uprooted from their ancestral hearths and homes, on both sides of borders, to seek refuge, solace, security, and peacekeeping their bodies and soul together."[102]

Similarly, his painting "Untitled" portrays the echo of screams and cries for help, while showcasing women and children who were killed (Fig. 4.26).

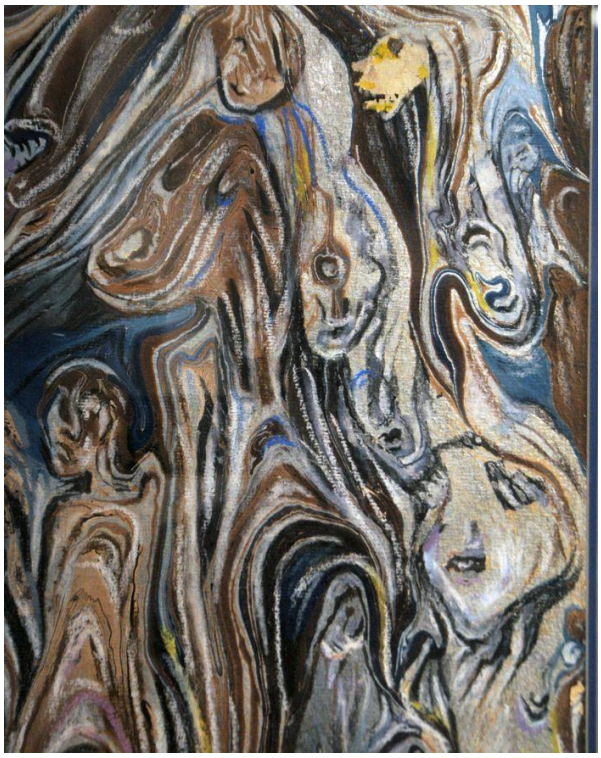


Figure 4.26: *'Untitled'* by Amar Nath Sehgal.
https://englishtribuneimages.blob.core.windows.net/gallary-content/2022/11/2022_11$largeimg_1979754326.jpg

In addition to the artists that fled to India, there were numerous Muslim artists who relocated to present-day Pakistan. Among those artists were Sadequain, Khalid Iqbal, Shakir Ali, Salima Hashmi, Bashir Mirza, Jamil Naqsh , Ali Imam among others.

Syed Ahmed Sadequain Naqvi was born in 1930 in Amroha, India. However, after completing his early education, he moved to Delhi and started employment as a calligrapher-copyist at All India Radio. He was employed at this location till 1946 prior to completing his studies at the University of Agra in 1948. Sadequain migrated to Pakistan after the partition. Little is known of his early life but he gained fame and state recognition around 1950's in the

[102] Harsh Kumar & Nirupama Singh, "Impression of Partition on Amar Nath Sehgal's Creations," Accessed March 20, 2023. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369418132_IMPRESSION_OF_PARTITION_ON_AMAR_NATH_SEHGAL'S_CREATIONS

newly created Pakistan. His artworks provide insightful interpretations of the human condition considering his socio-political views (Fig. 4.27).[103]

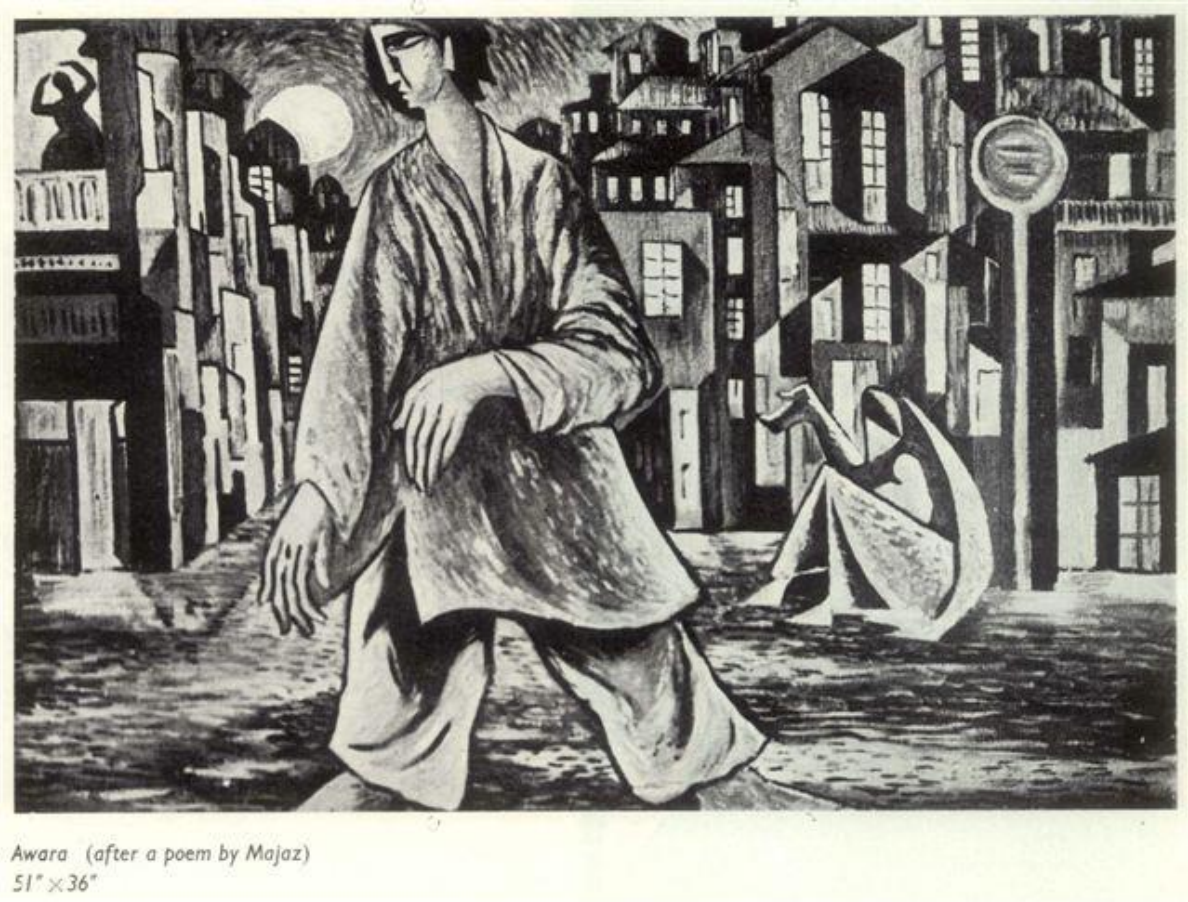


Figure 4.27: *'Awara,'* by Sadequain 1950.
https://sadequainfoundation.com/wp-content/gallery/paintings/illustration-of-awara-by-majaz-1950s.jpg

Shakir Ali[104] was born in British India but after completing his formal education from abroad he opted to reside in Lahore, Pakistan. Before settling in Pakistan, he travelled to Paris to receive professional training from a renowned French teacher and artist. There, he began to establish his own style and affinity for cubism. Upon his return to Pakistan, he started to work as an art educator in Mayo School of Art. He is recognized as an artist who pioneered cubism in Pakistan, hence laying the foundation for the evolution of modernism in Pakistani art (Fig. 4.28 & Fig. 4.29).

[103] Salman Ahmad, "The Many shades of Sadequain," *The News Encore*, June 26, 2022.
https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/968834-the-many-shades-of-sadequain
[104] Shakir Ali (1916-1975) born in Rampur, Utter Pradesh in 1916, obtained his formal and academic art training at the J. J. School of Art in Bombay and the Slade School of Art in London. Subsequently, he pursued his studies under the guidance of Andre L'Hote in Paris and Prague, before relocating to Pakistan. In 1966, he was awarded the prestigious President Pride of Performance Award by the Pakistani government. He became the first Pakistani Principal of Mayo School of Art from 1961-1973. Shakir Ali played a key role in changing the name of Mayo school of Art to National College of Arts.



Figure: 4.28: *'Still life with a yellow mug,'* by Shakir Ali, 1928.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2019_12/04/11/114213542/c7fb29c5-bd3f-4896-80ce-4635a6908039_570.Jpeg



Figure 4.29: *'Musician,'* by Shakir Ali, 1959.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2018_10/03/15/155516888/2ca18ea2-6c5f-480b-b596-2730be5a47e3.Jpeg?w=768

Ali Imam,[105] was another pioneering Pakistani artist who was born in Narsingpur, Madhya Pradesh. Following the year 1947, Ali Imam travelled to Lahore and subsequently to Rawalpindi. He ultimately completed his studies at Gordon College, Rawalpindi in 1949.

Imam is known for his role in leading the modernist movement in Karachi and he played a significant role as a curator, dealer, mentor to artists, buyer, and collector. He was also attracted to politics and became a member of the Communist Party of Pakistan. Due to his political activities, he was sent to jail three times but in 1952, he voluntarily left the party, however throughout this period his painting process remained continuous. The subject matter of his paintings revolved around ordinary individuals from the working class and the rural lifestyle (Fig. 4.30).

[105] Ali Imam (1924-2002) born in Narsingpur, Madhya Pradesh in 1924. In the early 1940s, he attended evening classes at the Nagpur School of Art and the Sir J.J. School of Arts in Bombay. Later, in 1946, he successfully finished his intermediate studies in Allahabad. He served as the principal of the Central Institute of Arts and Crafts (CIAC).

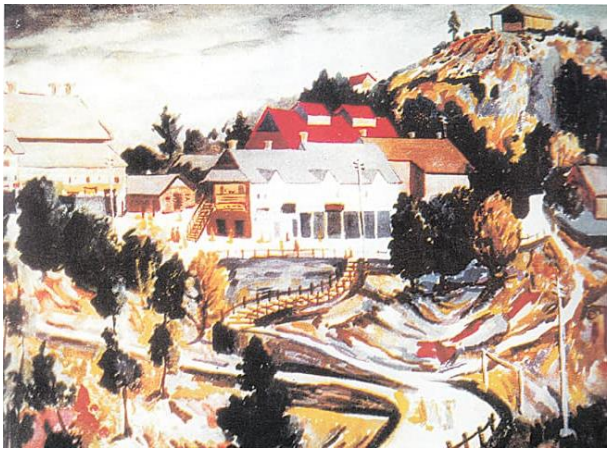


Figure 4.30: *'Muree Hills,'* by Ali Imam, 1950.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/2223-4.jpg

Similarly, Salima Hashmi[106] an eminent artist of subcontinent was born in 1942 in New Delhi. After the partition she moved with her family to Lahore. She has been actively involved in various aspects of the art scene in Pakistan. Hashmi's artwork predominantly revolves around gender issues, politics, and identity (Fig. 4.31). She consistently employs her writing abilities to promote awareness about women's potential and contributions towards art. However, she has also expressed her rage and disappointment over years considering the conflict between India and Pakistan.[107]



Figure 4.31: *'Zones of Dreams'* by Salima Hashmi.
https://vaslart.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/16-2.jpg

[106] Salima Hashmi excels in the fields of painting, art education, writing, and curating. She received her education at the National College of Arts (NCA) in Lahore, the Bath Academy of Art in the United Kingdom, and the Rhode Island School of Design in the United States of America.
[107] Eeman Tariq, "Salima Hashmi: A Trailblazer in Art, Literature and Activism" *Arts Help*, accessed April 3, 2024. https://www.artshelp.com/salima-hashmi-a-trailblazer-in-art-literature-and-activism/

The movement and displacement of artists happened not only in India and Pakistan, but also in the Bengal region. The division of Bengal in 1947 led to the formation of two separate entities: East Pakistan and the Indian state of West Bengal. This incident had a significant impact on the region's social, cultural, and political perspectives. As a result of the repeated conflicts, religious uprisings, and multiple occurrences of division in the years 1905, 1947, and later in 1971 in Bangladesh, artists from both West Bengal and Bangladesh started exploring the concepts of home and identity.

Struggling with poverty, malnutrition, and the catastrophic effects of war, several artists at the time rejected the lyrical and romanticism of the Bengal school of painting, which showed "beauty" in all its forms. They were obligated to develop a visual language that reflected the society's sorrow, pain, and calamity. Six painters who shared similar interests founded the Calcutta group.[108]

Paritosh Sen[109] was among the founding members of this group. Paritosh Sen was born in Dhaka and moved to Calcutta after the partition of Bengal. His artistic expression is shaped by his familiarity with Western Modern art and exhibits elements of cubism. He employs two-dimensional, organised surfaces while still managing to generate the illusion of fullness (Fig. 4.32).

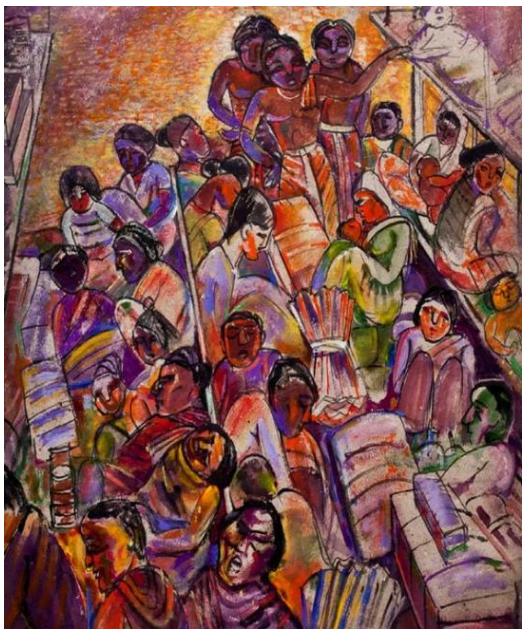


Figure 4.32: *'Refugees'* by Paritosh Sen, 1947.
https://i0.wp.com/www.abirpothi.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/Image_03-2.jpg?ssl=1

[108] Prachi Sahasrabudhe, "Echoes of Suffering and Resilience: Artistic Responses to the 1947 Partition in Bengal" 26/09/2023. https://abirpothi.com/partition-and-its-artistic-expression-responses-to-the-partition-in-bengal/
[109] Paritosh Sen (Born: 18 October 1919 Died: 22 October 2008) was painter, illustrator, and writer. Paritosh Sen has a Diploma in Fine Arts from the Government College of Arts and Crafts, Chennai.

The paintings he creates are recognised for their prominent lines and daring stylized brushstrokes. While colour holds significance in his paintings, it is the human form, conveying a multitude of emotions, that takes precedence in his art. Paritosh Sen's art has recurring themes of human feeling and sympathy for the oppressed, which can be traced back to his youth.

Zainul Abedin[110] was another renowned artist in undivided Bengal. Following the partition he along with numerous other artists, moved to the Islamic state of East Pakistan. Abedin frequently centred his work on themes of hardship and anguish, as exemplified by his highly regarded *"Famine Sketches."*[111] These sketches vividly captured the devastating Bengal Famine of 1943-1944 (Fig. 4.33). Abedin's response to the Bengal Famine, characterized by its emotional intensity and remarkable visual style, solidified his position as one of the most significant painters of his time. In the 1950s and '60s, he became more aware of his origins and started exploring the traditional arts and crafts of rural Bengal. He aimed to preserve the cultural expressions of ethnic identities while incorporating the visual style of modernism (Fig. 4.34 & Fig. 4.35). In addition, he demonstrated a keen interest in marginalised communities, such as the indigenous Santhal people, as well as refugees residing in the Palestinian camps of Syria and Jordan.



Figure 4.33: *'Bengal famine,'* by Zainul Abedin, 1943.
https://bengalfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/ZA_07.jpg

[110] Zainul Abedin, born in 1914 in Mymensingh and died in 1976. He was an influential painter, cultural organiser, and educator. He is widely regarded as the pioneer of contemporary art in Bangladesh. Abedin, a Muslim instructor at the Calcutta Art School, relocated to East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) during the division of India. He implemented art instruction into the public school system and co-founded the Faculty of Fine Arts at Dhaka University. Abedin, a staunch advocate for Bengali culture, actively participated in both the Bengali Language Movement and the Bangladesh Liberation War.

[111] Lotte Hoek & Sanjukta Sunderason, "Journeying through modernism: Travels and transits of East Pakistani artists in post-imperial London," *British Art Studies*, (13), (2019). https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-13/hoek-sunderason



Figure 4.34: *'Untitled,'* by Zainul Abedin, 1959. Water colour on paper.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2014_01/20/10/100502510/a25355e1-e53c-49eb-aae7-ad19e2366b59.Jpeg?w=768



Figure 4.35: *'Labourers'* by Zainul Abedin.
https://bengalfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/ZA_15.jpg

Jogen Chowdhury[112] was raised in an East Bengal town and later migrated to west Bengal with his family. His life was shaped by the ensuing events of Partition, displacement from a pleasant home to a difficult upbringing in a Kolkata refugee camp. The stress and hardships of refugee life had a tremendous impact on him, as can be seen in several of his

[112] Jogen Chowdhury is an Indian Asian Modern & Contemporary artist who was born in 1939. He is renowned for his ink, watercolour, and pastel-based paintings.

works. His work *'Partition 1947'* stands out among his other expressionistic work due to its explicit reference to the Partition (Fig. 4.36). Though it was rendered in 2017, the artwork still pays homage to the anguish and suffering of the people.[113] The artwork symbolizes the 1947 Bengal division and has incorporated filtered and visual elements that depict the sorrow and distress experienced by the displaced people.

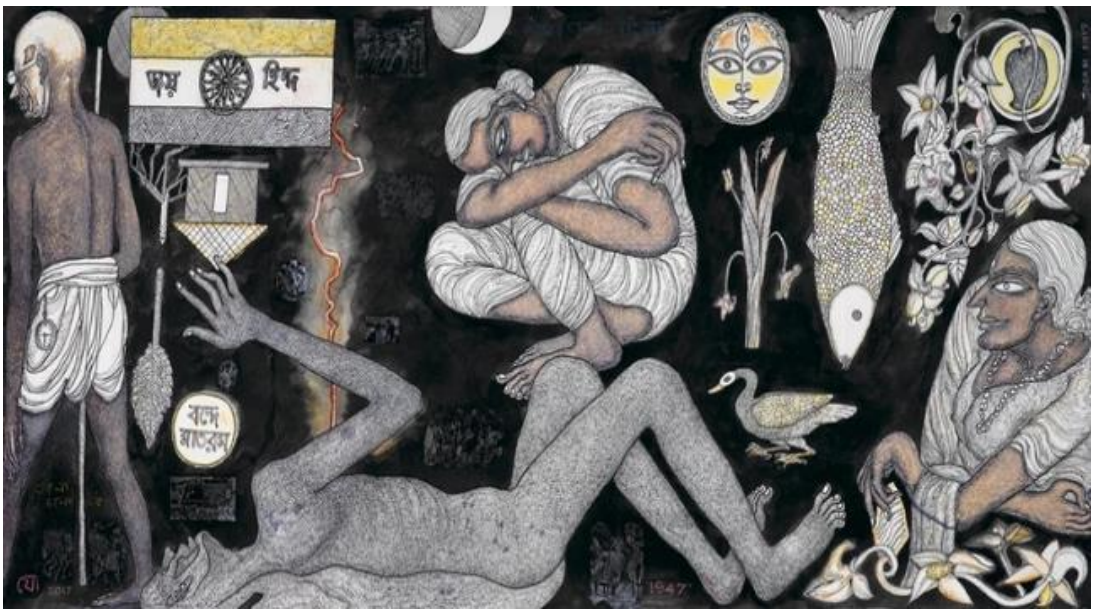


Figure 4.36: *'Partition 1947,'* by Jogen Chowdhury, mixed media, 2017. https://takeonartmagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/1.-Jogen-Chowdhury-Partition-1947-Pen-and-Ink-Mixed-Media-on-Paper-40-x-86-inches-2017-e1673002975981.jpg

Some Muslim artists were already residing in the Muslim majority regions that eventually became Pakistan and includes acclaimed and well-established artists such as Ustad Bashir Uddin, Abdul Rehman Chughtai, Allah Baksh, Ahmed Pervaiz, Zubaida Agha among others. Abdul Rehman Chughtai[114] was born in 'Mohallah Chabuk Sawaran' in Lahore, Punjab. He gained recognition for his paintings that drew inspiration from a diverse range of sources, such as traditional Mughal miniatures, motifs of Art Nouveau and Islamic style painting.[115]

Chughtai gained widespread recognition for his portraits, which portray individuals in a flat visual space, painted with vivid golds and pastels, and adorned with symbolic imagery. His artistic approach was distinguished by the simplification of shapes into bright areas of colour, uncomplicated arrangements, and precise drawing skills. He preferred creating portraits

[113] Soumik Nandy Majumdar, "Partition and Departure: The Memory Trope in the Works of Jogen Chowdhury and Ganesh Haloi," *Take on Art,* https://takeonartmagazine.com/essays/partition-and-departure-the-memory-trope-in-the-works-of-jogen-chowdhury-and-ganesh-haloi/

[114] Abdur Rahman Chughtai (1894–1975) born in Lahore, Punjab. He is recognised as "the first significant Modern Muslim artist from South Asia". He holds the title of "National artist of Pakistan". In 1934, he was bestowed with the prestigious title of "Khan Bahadur" by Indian government. In 1960, he was honoured with Pakistan's Hilal-i-Imtiaz, and in 1968, he received the Presidential medal for Pride of Performance.

[115] Marcella Nesom Sirhandi, *Contemporary Painting in Pakistan* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 34.

and illustrations that were inspired by heroes and heroines from Islamic history, Hindu mythology, folktales, and the Mughal dynasty (Fig 4.37 to Fig. 4.40).

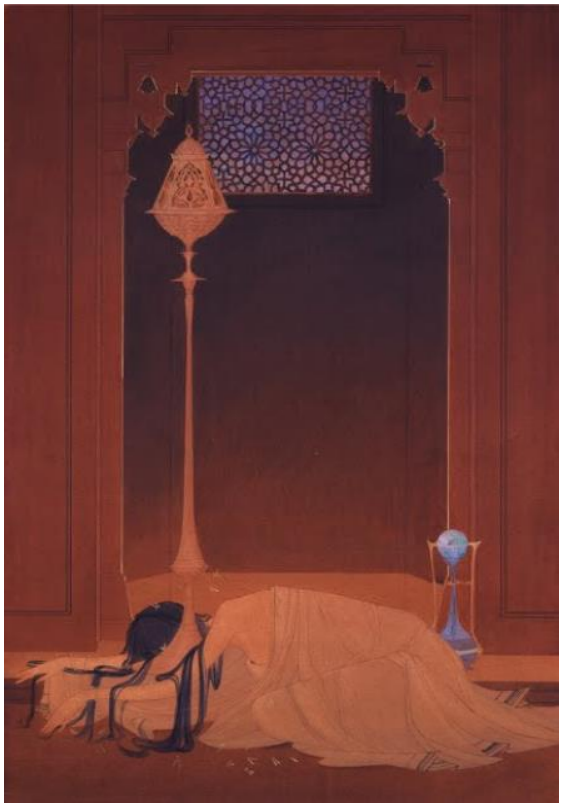


Figure 4.37: '*The extinguished flame'* by Abdul Rehman Chughtai, 1920. https://www.desiblitz.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Abdur-Rahman-Chughtai_-The-Paintings-of-a-Pakistani-Pioneer-7.jpg



Figure 4.38: *'Arjuna as a Victor,'* 1930. By Abdul Rehman Chughtai https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/08/55d4c7cfb3c55.jpg?r=268064006



Figure 4.39: *'Omer Khayyam'* by Abdul Rehman Chughtai, Etching on paper. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2023_09/06/08/080723457/abdur-rahman-chughtai-omar-khayyam-6QESW-570.Jpeg?w=768



Figure 4.40: *'A Flower for a prince at his feet'* by Abdul Rehman Chughtai, 1938. Watercolour. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2015_12/16/10/104005170/8fed7e44-1122-4cfd-af8f-d6da3c334c3c.Jpeg?w=768

Ustad Allah Baksh[116] was born in Wazirabad, Punjab and is known as a self-taught artist because he did not receive any professional training from any art institution. He acquired fundamental painting knowledge in Lahore from Ustad Abdullah, who was a renowned figure in the traditional Mughal style of miniature painting. Baksh was also highly interested in Western style of painting, particularly in its use of accurate perspective and proportion, which is demonstrated in his work through his great appreciation for realism (Fig. 4.41).



Figure 4.41: *'Before the temple,'* by Allah Baksh, Early 1920.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2017_06/30/01/014838863/4d7df85f-9cf2-4de6-ac03-ab8613126f07.Jpeg

His primary medium of choice was oil, and he worked on larger canvases. However, he also engaged in artistic exploration by experimenting with many other mediums. He has expertise in watercolours, pen and ink, tempera colours, pencil, and acrylics. Occasionally, he merges several mediums to create inventive textures. Thematically, Allah Baksh drew inspiration from his immediate environment, while his landscape paintings were heavily influenced by Western classical art. The artist also resided in Bombay for some years, experiencing recognition for his collection of works inspired by Hindu mythology and others (Fig. 4.42 to Fig. 4.45). From 1937 to 1947, he dedicated a significant portion of his time to creating paintings solely for the Maharaja of Patiala. His artistic style was greatly influenced

[116] Ustad Allah Baksh (Born in 1895 – died 18 October 1978) also known as Allah Bux, was a Pakistani artist, calligrapher, and classical landscape painter. He was awarded Pride of Performance by Pakistani Government in 1963.

by this time in these locations, yet he eventually returned to his hometown of Lahore with change in subject matter.



Figure 4.42: *'Untitled'* (Krishna in contemplation) by Allah Baksh, 1930. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2019_02/24/15/155827898/3f0f1cf0-5c7b-436a-bc39-533b48407747.Jpeg



Figure 4.43: *'Radha and cupid'* by Allah Baksh. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2017_06/30/01/014839520/76e3ef47-133e-4b75-906f-46ec8fb17f07.Jpeg



Figure 4.44: *'Untitled' (Mythological scene)* by Allah Baksh.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2010_03/07/0005/813838/129122933542907348_76b3f5e3-59b1-400c-9a7e-c167026d41de_61111.Jpeg?w=768



Figure 4.45: *'The Moonlight Meeting'* by Allah Baksh.
https://d197irk3q85upd.cloudfront.net/catalog/product/cache/8fd32159def894f636bbf0d2929b2395/b/u/buxallah0001ny.jpg

In simple words, the migration of subcontinent not only impacted the general population but also profoundly affected the artists community. This is portrayed in the artworks produced following the division. Those who directly experienced the events have a distinct perspective as compared to those who did not endure the migration challenges.

4.3 Art Scenario of Pakistan after Independence and During Early Years

While studying the historical background of the subcontinent and specially the art practices of the early pre-independence years, one discovers the painting traditions that Pakistan inherited and the cultural and political context in which the later styles developed.

Various methodologies and aesthetics were prevalent during the early era, due to the current social and political conditions of the country. Senior artists with established careers in pre-partition India valued tradition; those exposed to Western forms under the British Raj pursued Victorian academic Naturalism, whereas younger painters preferred the novelty of 20th century modernism. These painting trajectories also established the character of art legacies and the amount to which they were used, modified, or abandoned in favour of new trends.

After Pakistan gained independence, Muslim artists rejected the pre-existing visual language that had been developed over centuries of coexistence to pursue their own unique artistic identities. Earlier painters grappled with concerns of identity and deliberately rejected practically all the common visual representations that could be traced back to the shared identity of the Indian subcontinent. The pursuit of identity and genuine narratives in Pakistan's artistic practice has resulted in the division of the art movement into two distinct categories, namely "Traditionalism" and "Regional Modernism".[117]

The best examples of traditionalists were Abdul Rahman Chughtai, Ustad Allah Baksh and Fyzee Rehman. Chughtai initially adhered to traditional themes and images but later changed his style, as he shifted his focus from illustrating Hindu/Buddhist subjects and Ghalib's poetry to visually interpreting Allama Iqbal's poetry and philosophical reflections, which had served as inspiration for Pakistan's cause.[118] The collection of works titled Aml-i-Chughtai was his greatest work after partition (Fig. 4.46 & Fig. 4.47).

Chughtai's subsequent paintings depicted intricate arabesque interiors, where the feminine figures were adorned with intricate and ornate layers of clothes. The subsequent

[117] Kanwal Syed and Sarena Abdullah, "Chronicling Pakistan's Art Movements from Traditional to Contemporary: 1960–2011," *ResearchGate,* accessed Nov 08, 2023. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/284970164_Chronicling_Pakistan's_Art_Movements_from_Traditional_to_Contemporary_1960-2011.
[118] Salwat Ali, "Discourse: Pakistan's Art Trajectories," *Dawn*, May 6, 2017. https://www.dawn.com/news/1331439/discourse-pakistans-art-trajectories

artworks deviated from narrative elements and instead established an imagist aesthetic realm reminiscent of the classical Urdu ghazal, or lyric poetry (Fig. 4.48 to Fig. 4.50).[119]

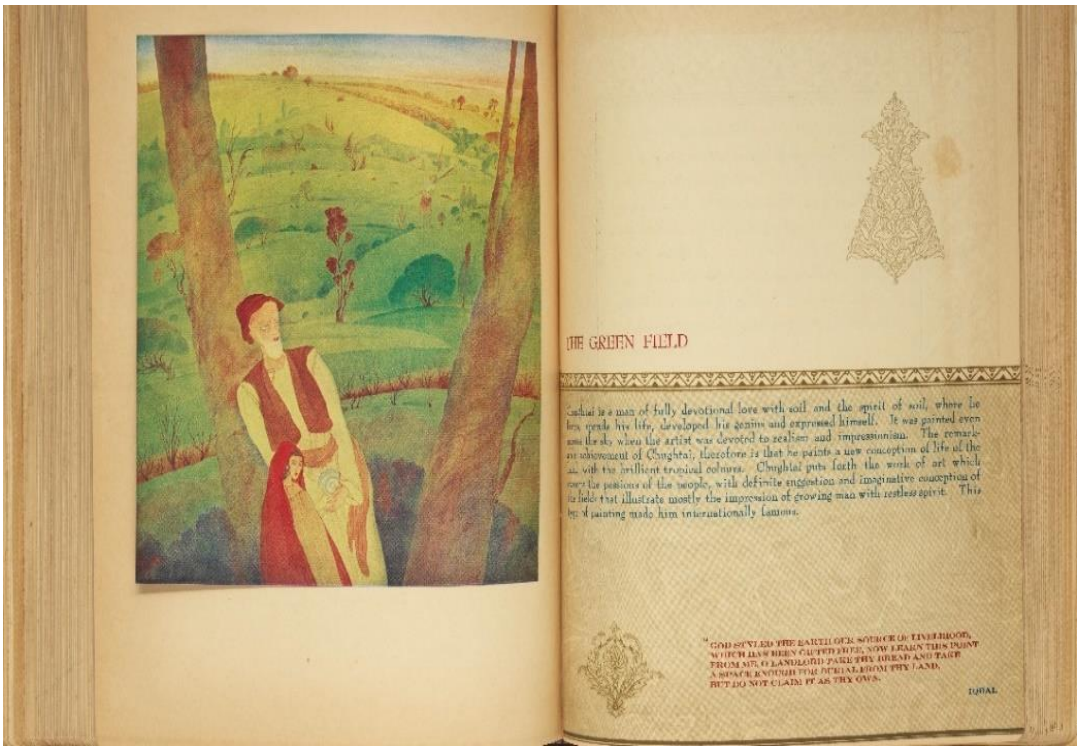


Figure 4.46: *'Folio from Aml-e- Chughtai.'* Poet of the East: Lahore, 1962.
https://img1.bonhams.com/image?src=Images/live/2023-05/05/25340806-1-13.jpg

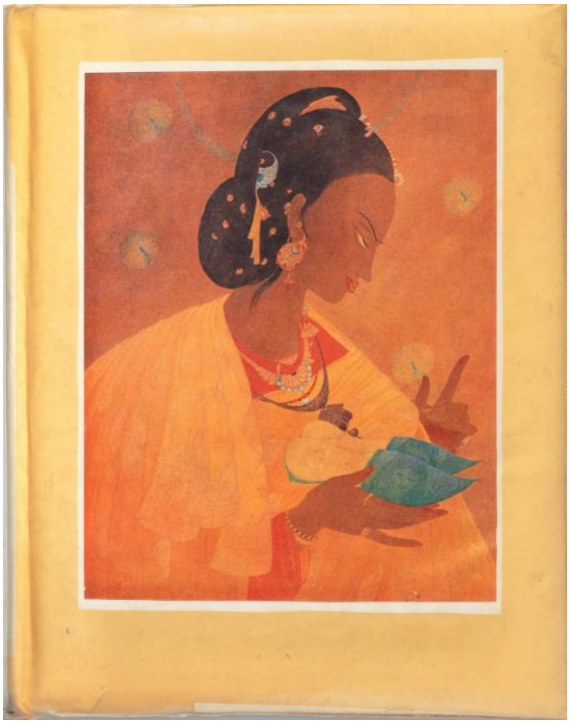


Figure 4.47: *'Amal-e-Chughtai'* by Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2023_05/17/13/134812268/abdur-rahman-chughtai-poet-of-the-east-a-YZRU5.Jpeg

[119] Iftikhar Dadi, "A brief history of Pakistani art and the people who shaped it." *Scroll,* Sep 14, 2017, https://scroll.in/magazine/850531/a-brief-history-of-pakistani-art-and-the-people-who-shaped-it



Figure 4.48: *'The Tutor'* Gouche on card by Abdul Rehman Chughtai.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2021_09/01/06/063605151/9e6772c1-d458-470a-af24-bbd76fd16363_570.Jpeg?w=768



Figure 4.49: *'The Old Musician,'* by Abdul Rehman Chughtai, 1950 -1960.
https://d7hftxdivxxvm.cloudfront.net/?height=800&quality=85&resize_to=fit&src=https%3A%2F%2Fd32dm0rphc51dk.cloudfront.net%2FgHv8FF7eOhUoOlPRoTV_8Q%2Fnormalized.jpg&width=499



Figure 4.50: *'Usha' (First Rays of the morning sun),*by Abdul Rehman Chughtai, 1967.
https://artlogic-res.cloudinary.com/w_1600,h_1600,c_limit,f_auto,fl_lossy,q_auto/artlogicstorage/grosvenorgallery/images/view/470bcac624e07ef7dc0a6ca94171cc23j/grosvenorgallery-abdur-rahman-chughtai-usha-first-rays-of-the-morning-sun-c.1967.jpg

In addition to his literary works, Chughtai was also engaged in the creation of fiction and critique, along with designing stamps, coins, and book covers. Chughtai is one of the few artists, who received recognition and awards at the national level, both from the Indian government before partition and from the Pakistani government after partition. In 1948, he designed the first ever postage stamp for Pakistan, which received recognition from Quaid-e-Azam (Fig. 4.51).



Figure 4.51: *'First postal stamp of Pakistan'* designed by Abdul Rehman Chughtai, 1948.
https://blog.chughtaimuseum.com/wp-content/uploads/First-Postal-Stamp.jpg

As mentioned earlier another notable artist from Lahore, who was resident of Pakistan and remained in Pakistan was Ustad Allah Baksh. He was a specialist in creating academic Hindu mythological paintings but later shifted his subject matter towards indigenous themes and Punjabi landscapes. He was recognised as a man who immortalized the rural life of Punjab (Fig. 4.52 to Fig. 4.55).



Figure 4.52: *'Potato Harvest'* by Ustad Allah Baksh. 1968.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2017_05/09/03/034128961/4553cbff-e10e-4ed1-8b64-e665b7956a4b.Jpeg



Figure 4.53: *'Cows in landscape,'* by Allah Baksh. Watercolour on paper.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2018_10/03/15/155515691/5324eb0f-7116-430f-98a0-f21a2859bc24.Jpeg?w=768



Figure 4.54: *'Untitled (Village girls),'* by Allah Baksh, 1950.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2018_08/17/13/135050564/621d39af-cdac-4643-ab92-5b8c27246509_570.Jpeg?w=768



Figure 4.55: *'Heer Ranjha,'* by Allah Baksh, 1960. Oil on canvas.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2010_09/14/0013/955204/129287977317849204_90adbe4c-4bf4-4ee1-ba60-c8b8553f60e4_176082.Jpeg?w=768

According to Nadeem Alam he also transitioned from painting vibrant landscapes of the Punjab plains to depicting the rugged surfaces and towering skyline of the mountains. His artistic approach of depicting mountains is both romantic and characterised by a strong

surrealistic style. This is particularly evident when he paints them from a wide-angle perspective, encompassing the entire mountain as his sole subject (Fig. 4.56 & Fig. 4.57).[120]



Figure 4.56: *'Landscape with shepherd and flock'* by Allah Baksh, 1952.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2016_05/13/10/104347558/bbdd90be-8880-4841-b767-12e429429cc8.Jpeg



Figure 4.57: *'Untitled (Landscape)'* by Allah Baksh, 1960.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_09/02/18/180526917/d734ae57-389d-49f3-9920-484324cd2917.Jpeg

Unfortunately, no school in Pakistan emerged after the style of Allah Baksh and Chughtai, as they were unable to establish a lineage of their artistic style in the subsequent generation. One possible explanation is that their subjects became irrelevant following the establishment of Pakistan when large numbers of Muslims migrated from India under hard

[120] Nadeem Alam, "The Ustad of Ustads," *Dawn*, July 26, 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1195894

circumstances. Moreover, during this time, the political and socio-economic conditions were also in a state of confusion, and it was a time when individuals were vigorously striving to ensure their own survival. It is a well-known fact that art flourishs well in times of affluence, as it is fundamentally connected to the aesthetic sensitivity of individuals and thrives in conditions of tranquilly and wealth.[121]

Secondly there were limited resources for art education during that time, only two institutions were working in Lahore i.e., Mayo School of Arts and the Fine Arts department at the University of the Punjab, while Karachi and East Pakistan had no art institutions at all.[122] However, over the course of two decades significant institutional advancements were made to encourage the growth of modern art. In 1958, the Mayo School of Art underwent an upgrade and was transformed into the National College of Arts (NCA), which facilitated a stronger emphasis on the instruction of contemporary art. Under the leadership of artist Shakir Ali, NCA emerged as the primary catalyst for the development of modernism in West Pakistan.

Anna Molka Ahmed[123] acquired her expertise in painting, sculpture, and design studies in London. In 1939 she chose Pakistan as her permanent residence and after partition chose to remain in Lahore. Before partition in 1940, she assumed the pioneering role in art education at University of the Punjab. She was assigned to lead the Arts and Craft department, which was the first of its kind to be open to female students. The aftermath of partition resulted in a significant decline in the student population, leaving only 5 or 6 students. Anna made extraordinary efforts to revive art education. She would tour universities in search of aspiring artists, persuading both the students and their parents about the prospects of pursuing a career in painting. In addition, she implemented art courses in many institutions and this effort of hers is a notable contribution.

Ahmed also provided valuable insights and made significant contributions by serving as the dean of the Fine Arts Department later at University of Punjab for a significant period. During the 1950s, she organised multiple exhibits and published a groundbreaking series of catalogues that focused on rising artists of the era (Fig. 4.58).

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[121] Sadia Arshad, "Artists who created art movements in Pakistan," *Asian Academic Research Journal of Social Science and Humanities,* Volume 3, Issue 5, May 2016, ISSN: 2278-859X

[122] Iftikhar Dadi, "Art in Pakistan the First Decades," *Academia,* accessed March 5, 2024. https://www.academia.edu/10607258/Art_in_Pakistan_The_First_Decades

[123] Anna Molka Ahmed (13 August 1917 – 9 September 1995) was well known as Pakistani expressionist painter and a pioneer of fine arts in the country following its independence in 1947. Anna Molka Ahmed was born in London, England to Jewish parents She converted to Islam at the age of 18 in 1935 before marrying Sheikh Ahmed. She obtained a scholarship at the Royal Academy of Art after studying painting, sculpture, and design at St. Martin School of Arts in London. She was awarded the Tamgha-e-Imtiaz in 1963, the Pride of Performance in 1979, and the Quaid-i Azam Award in 1982.



Figure 4.58: *'A Sindhi woman and child near Thatta,'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, 1946. https://www.artnet.com/artists/anna-molka-ahmed/a-sindhi-woman-and-child-near-thatta-7_4cjL96YD0x1odR4ElM8A2

During this time in 1949, Zainul Abedin established the Government Institute of Arts in East Pakistan. This institution rapidly became a significant centre for artistic education. Artistic societies and councils were established in Karachi, Dhaka, and Lahore during the 1950s. Prominent institutions included the Karachi Arts Council, Alhamra Ats Council in Lahore, and the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Rawalpindi.[124]

A group of painters that diverged from the classicists and embraced a novel approach were known as "Regional Modernists". These artists created works that focused on regional and local themes and drew inspiration from international art.[125] The founder of this approach was Shakir Ali and Anna Molka Ahmed. Both got the chance to study abroad and later served in their homeland as art instructors and helped in flourishing the art scene of Pakistan.

Anna as part of this group was also engaged in significant writing, offering critiques on artists from throughout the world. She desired an academic atmosphere conducive to the intellectual development of art students. Her significance in the art history of Pakistan cannot be underestimated, as she played a pivotal role in inspiring an entire generation of female artists

[124] Iftikhar Dadi, "Art in Pakistan the First Decades," *Academia,* accessed March 5, 2024. https://www.academia.edu/10607258/Art_in_Pakistan_The_First_Decades

[125] Kanwal Syed and Sarena Abdullah, "Chronicling Pakistan's Art Movements from Traditional to Contemporary: 1960–2011," *ResearchGate,* accessed Nov 08, 2023. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/284970164_Chronicling_Pakistan's_Art_Movements_from_Traditional_to_Contemporary_1960-2011.

to engage in formal artistic practice within institutions across the country. According to the artist herself, "A country cannot progress without art, which expresses feeling, opinion, taste of society and people."[126] Her artistic style was characterised by the influence of expressionism, which was evident in her use of vibrant colours, thick paint, and impasto technique (Fig. 4.59 to Fig. 4.62).



Figure 4.59: *'Begger Women,'* by Anna Molka Ahmed.
https://www.artnet.com/WebServices/images/ll00221lld2o0GFgYjY42CfDrCWQFHPKczNuD/anna-molka-ahmed-beggar-woman.jpg

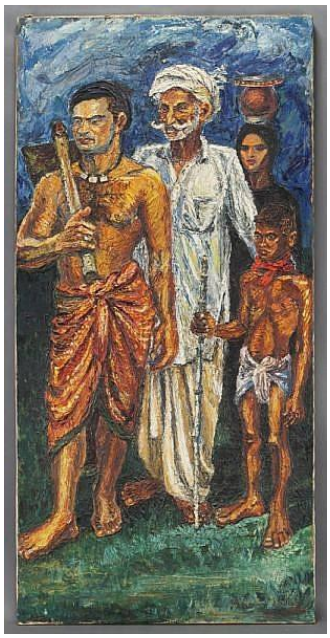


Figure 4.60: *'Villagers,'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, 1966.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2012_09/21/15/155436749/b3259322-0140-4186-9ee8-5dc140681e86_570.Jpeg

[126] Qareena Toor, "The legacy of artist Anna Molka Ahmed," *Medium,* July 12, 2023.
https://qareenanajib.medium.com/the-legacy-of-artist-anna-molka-ahmed-59f2e67f310a

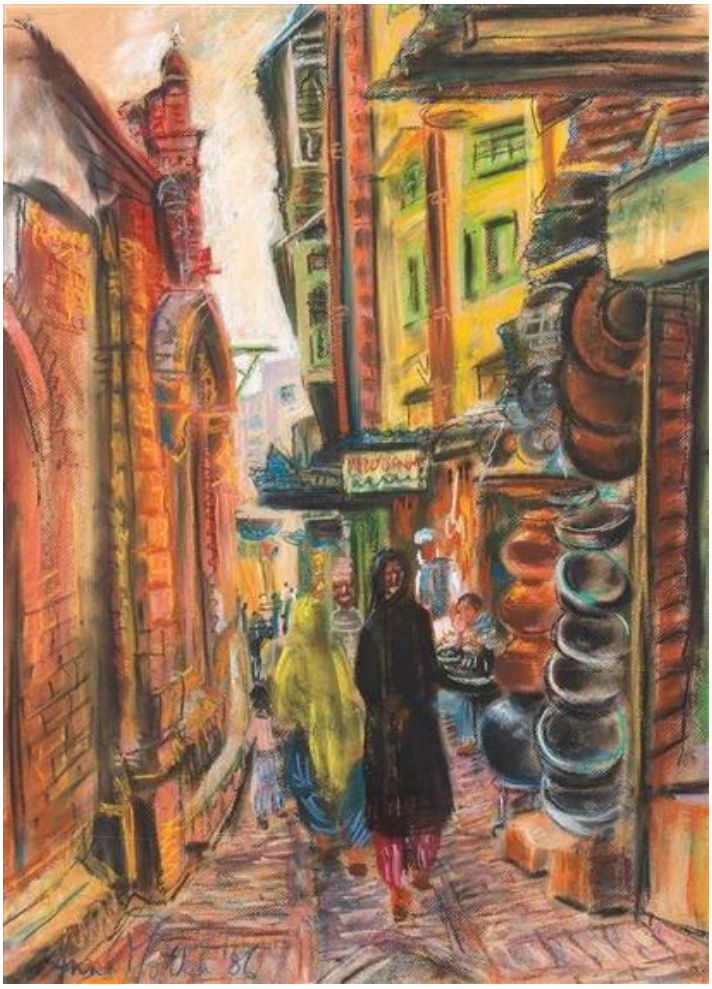


Figure 4.61: '*Market Street'* by Anna Molka Ahmed. https://www.artnet.com/WebServices/images/ll00251lldOUbJFgOKECfDrCWQFHPKcyQxF/anna-molka-ahmed-market-street.jpg



Figure 4.62: *'Landscape'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, 1970. https://www.artnet.com/WebServices/images/ll00013lld8ZOGFgOKECfDrCWQFHPKcptBC/anna-molka-ahmed-landscape.jpg

She skilfully combined her European influences and painted a diverse range of subjects. She depicted various aspects of her life, created dreamlike representations of mythology, and portrayed dystopian scenes from her imagination (Fig. 4.63 & Fig. 4.64).

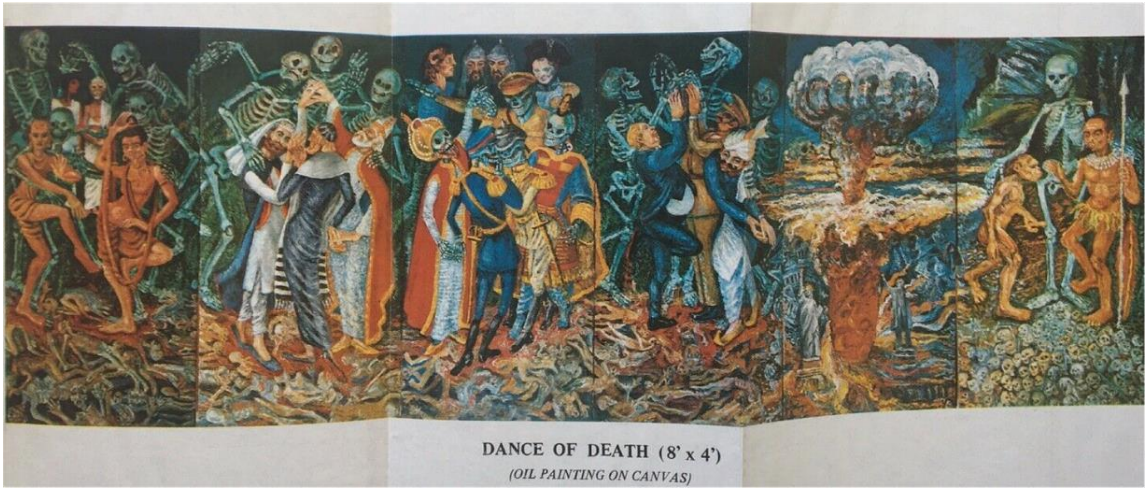


Figure 4.63: '*Dance of death'* by Anna Molka, Lahore Museum.
https://miro.medium.com/v2/resize:fit:1100/format:webp/1*F6ZTvoKOoUL6iFcyMmadaQ@2x.jpeg

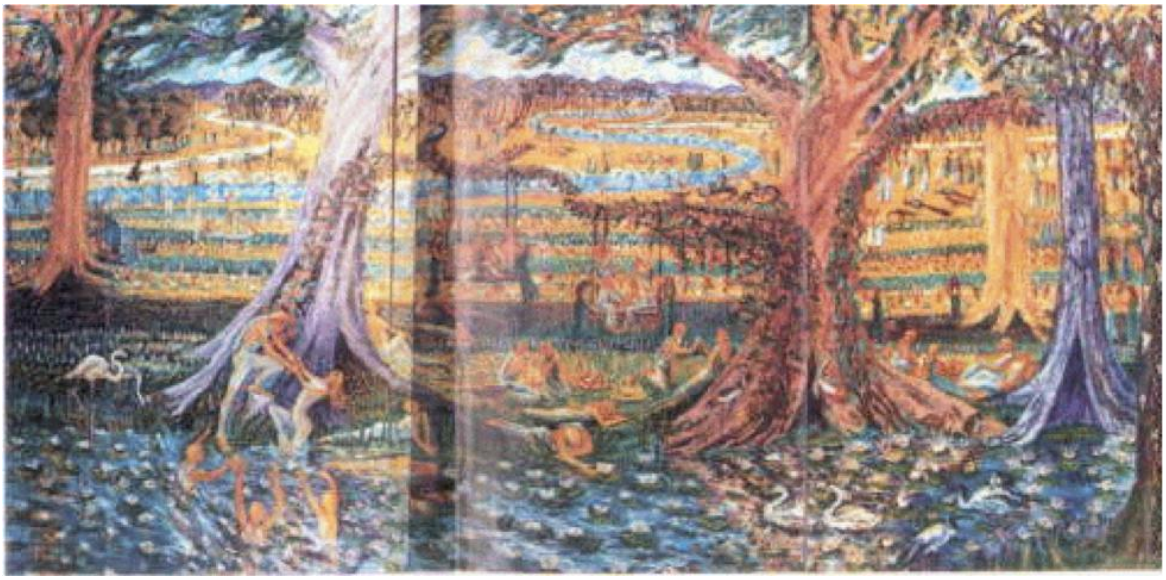


Figure 4.64: '*Heaven,'* by Anna Molka Ahmed.
https://cdn.substack.com/image/fetch/w_1456,c_limit,f_auto,q_auto:good,fl_progressive:steep

Shakir Ali is considered as the 'Father of Modern art' because he played a key role in becoming an academic inspiration for the development and evolution of modern art in Pakistan and was also part of the group with Molka. As an art educator, he cultivated and motivated many aspiring painters, such as Jamil Naqsh, Ahmed Pervaiz, and Bashir Mirza, who later achieved great success in their own artistic careers. Shakir Ali emerged as a contemporary painter more influenced by the abstract style of expression, but his colour scheme remained predominantly red, orange, and blue and was of indigenous origin (Fig. 4.65 to 4.67).



Figure 4.65: '*The Mingling of Soul and the meaning of love*,' by Shakir Ali.
https://www.observerbd.com/2019/07/17/observerbd.com_1563382859.jpg

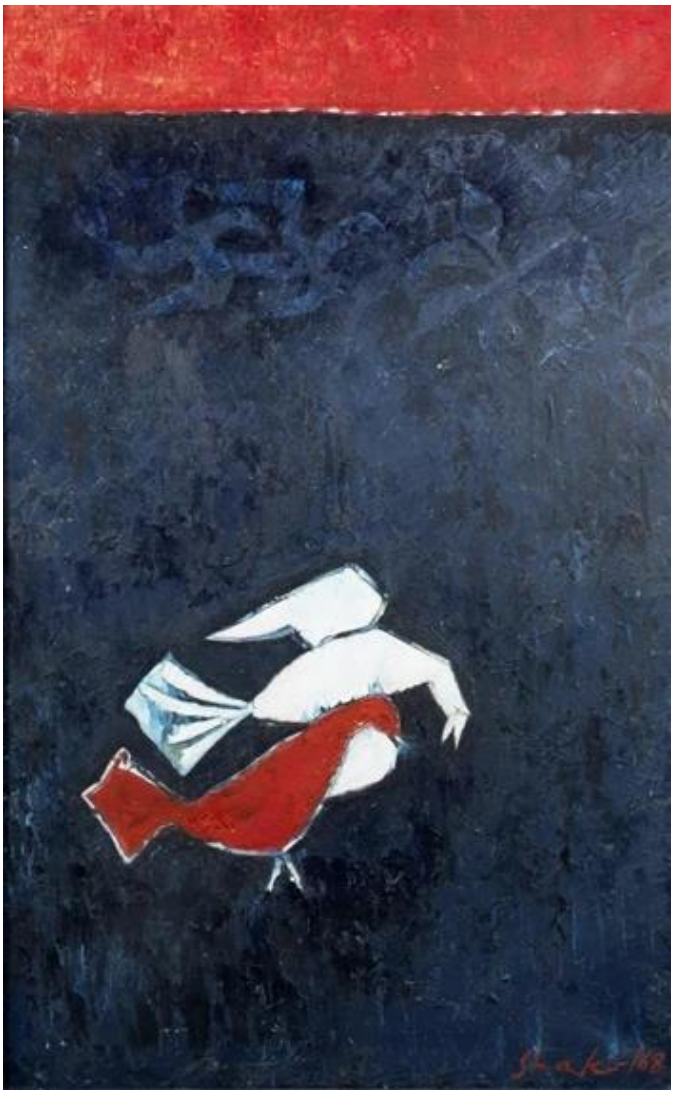


Figure 4.66: *'Untitled (Birds)'* by Shakir Ali, 1968.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2015_05/25/00/005322269/3b25bea2-cea5-485f-a858-4d1f7b3497cc_570.Jpeg



Figure 4.67: *'Untitled (Bottle and Space),'* by Shakir Ali, 1973.
https://images1.bonhams.com/image?src=Images/live/2008-01/17/7599016-2-1.jpg&width=640&height=480&autosizefit=1

Ali's later works exhibit his diversion from his early inclination of Cubism towards his personal efforts to portray the notion of infinity in art. He started to distance himself from the direct influence of Cubism and as a result his artworks shifted away from what is commonly referred to as 'pictorial' Cubism, towards abstract composition. Akbar Naqvi has commented on his work in the following words.

> "The choice of vertical panels toward the end of his life was a kind of *alif* (first Urdu Alphabet) which, as the symbol of the Divine, gave us intuitive access into the realm of the incomprehensible that we must articulate as best as we can. This was the period when Shakir Ali moved from a painterly Minimalism to a spiritual poverty of the senses."[127]

4.4 Artistic Discourse of Partition by Pakistani Artists

There is hardly any visual representation in the early period after partition by Pakistani artists that can be attributed to the theme of partition of the Indian subcontinent and its terrifying consequences. It seems that artists of that era were either unable or chose not to depict the emotional and human dimensions of this catastrophic event in their work. But after almost two decades since partition, this devastating event was depicted in enormously huge paintings by Jimmy Engineer.[128]

[127] Akbar Naqvi, *Image, and Identity: Fifty Years of Painting and Sculpture in Pakistan* (Oxford: 1998,) pp. 248-49.
[128] Jimmy Engineer is an artist, and social worker and born on August 13, 1954, in Baluchistan, Pakistan.

Jimmy is renowned for his enormous and detailed artworks, particularly his series on the partition of India. In this series he has portrayed the long and treacherous journey undertaken by refugees as they crossed borders on foot or in overcrowded trains and carts (Fig. 4.68). The artist claims that visuals related to partition use to come in his dreams and prevented him from sleeping and persisted during his waking moments, prompting him to express them through painting.[129] These dreams motivated him to delve into the tragic history of partition and depict human suffering on his canvas. In this series, he has shown makeshift refugee camps where displaced families sought shelter. These paintings also convey a sense of desolation and the difficult living conditions that were faced by refugees. These images highlight the exhaustion, fear, and uncertainty experienced during these arduous treks. According to the artist, "There was a fire in me to paint massive things, I wanted to paint for people to remember that pain and agony, for them to understand that these things should not happen again." "I wanted to honour those men, women and children who died, who never even saw the flag of our country."[130]



Figure 4.68: *'Flag of Independence 1947,'* by Jimmy Engineer, 1982. http://www.jimmyengineer.com/gallery/galleries/1%20-%20Paintings/Partition%201947/1-%20A%20Flag%20of%20Independance.jpg

[129] P. J. Mir (@ PJ Mir Official), "Exclusive Interview with Jimmy Engineer a Pakistani Artist, Social Worker, Philanthropist & Stamp Designer," Facebook, May 8, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/pjmirofficial/videos/exclusive-interview-with-jimmy-engineer-a-pakistani-artist-social-worker-philant/1209843673091579/
[130] Smriti Daniel, "Jimmy Engineer: Painting the Partition," *Sunday Times Sri Lanka*, November 18, 2012. https://smritidaniel.com/2012/11/29/jimmy-engineer-painting-the-partition/

His examplery painting *"Refugees Resting Under a Tree in 1947"* is on a huge canvas measuring 7 feet by 5 feet and was created in 1977 (Fig. 4.69 & Fig. 4.70). To fully appreciate this artwork, the observer needs to observe the numerous individuals in action, with each part depicting its own distinct situation. The scene depicts an elderly gentleman being assisted to stand by a father who is carrying a child on his shoulders. A lady holds her son tightly, her eyes filled with terror. Another individual carries an injured man, while a man navigates through the crowd with his cart. Lastly, someone proudly carries the Pakistani flag as they walk.



Figure 4.69: '*Refugees resting under the tree in 1947,'* by Jimmy Engineer, 1977. http://www.jimmyengineer.com/gallery/galleries/1%20-%20Paintings/Partition%201947/1-B%20Refugees%20under%20the%20tree.jpg



Figure 4.70: Detail from the painting by Jimmy Engineer https://www.theheritagelab.in/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Partition4.png

Jimmy has used vibrant hues and intricate brushwork to depict the massive crowds of migrants, highlighting the disorder, disorientation, and desperation that characterized the migration. Broken homes, torn flags, and shattered landscapes have served as evocative metaphors for the nation's shattered state, frequently used to symbolize the suffering and loss associated with mass migration. He has also concentrated on individual portraits of migrants, capturing their facial expressions and body language to convey their determination and perseverance in the face of hardships (Fig. 4.71 & Fig. 4.72).



Figure 4.71: *'Detail of memories of 1947 Partition of India,'* by Jimmy Engineer. http://www.jimmyengineer.com/gallery/galleries/1%20-%20Paintings/Partition%201947/22-C%20%20Memories%20of%201947.jpg

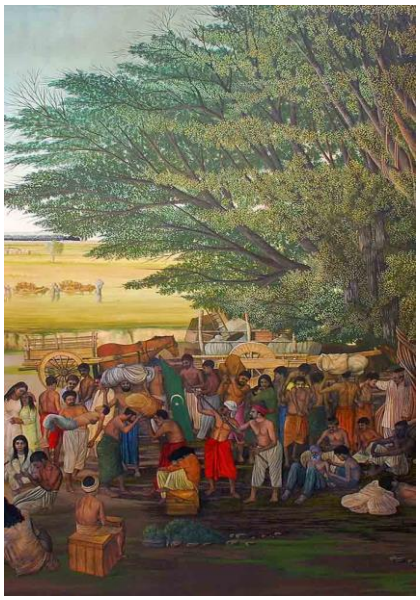


Figure 4.72: Detail of *'Last Burning Train 1947'* by Jimmy Engineer. http://www.jimmyengineer.com/gallery/galleries/1%20-%20Paintings/Partition%201947/23-B%20Burning%20Train%20in%201947%20%20Detail.jpg

The pain of losing family members or being unable to locate them was a constant source of anguish. Another artist who attempted to paint this extremely difficult and painful subject in 1970 on a huge canvas was M. Turab (1907-77). He has very skillfully composed scores of figures in the painting and has been able to adjust thousands in the background. The murderous assaults and the savage brutality have been made visible with painful realism. Fire and smoke fill the distant horizon, and a railway train is shown being attacked, which was a common occurrence in those days (Fig. 4.73).[131] Along with the loss of homes and belongings, many refugees experienced economic dispossession, as they had to leave behind their livelihoods, farms, and businesses and had to start anew in an unfamiliar land with little to no resources.



Figure 4.73: '*The blood-stained migration from India to Pakistan*,' by M.Turab.
Book: Painters of Pakistan by S. Amjad Ali

The psychological trauma inflicted by the migration was profound. Survivors and their descendants had to carry the scars of the partition with memories of the violence and loss that continued to shape their lives and identities. A wood print by Mehboob Ali is one such example which portrays refugees leaving behind their homes, belongings, and livelihoods. According to the artist *"Ujalay ka Safar"* (literally translates to) "the journey from darkness into light," depicts a procession of individuals carrying their possessions as they make their way from the shadows into the light. They are illustrated using a color contrast of yellow and black (Fig. 4.74). As the travelers make their way from the shadows into the light, the last image of the

[131] S. Amjad Ali, *Painters of Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2000), 257.

print features a miniature mosque, which represents their destination i.e., Pakistan, on the path to righteousness and Islam.[132]

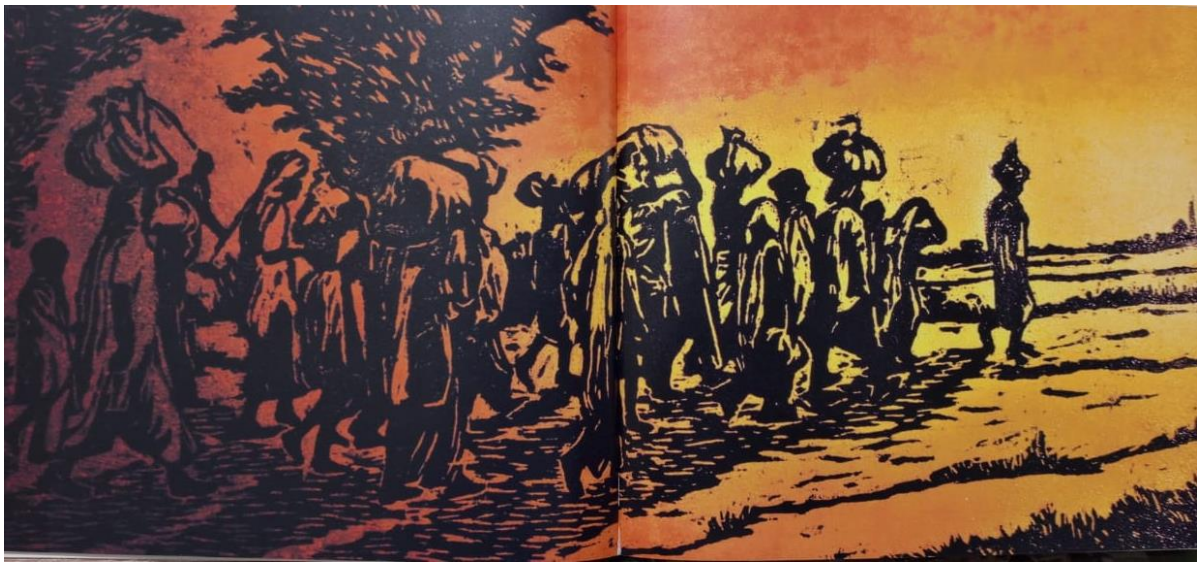


Figure 4.74: '*Ujalay ka Safar*,' (Glimpse of 1947 freedom struggle) Woodcut print by Mehboob Ali.
Book: Five Decades of Excellence: Mehboob Ali, by Shaukat Mehmood.

Mehboob Ali is the only artist in Pakistan who has spent four decades producing a wide variety of prints. No other printmaker in Pakistan has ever produced such a large body of work over such a prolonged period. He has developed new methods, adjusted existing ones and has conducted studies on the methodological variation and color schemes that can be used in wood cut printing.[133]

These paintings serve as vivid visual recordings of a significant time in history, allowing viewers to connect emotionally with the experiences of people who lived through the times of partition. They allow us to remember and reflect on the human cost of such incidents, and the long-term influence they have had on the lives of millions. They also add to a greater historical and cultural understanding of partition and the formation of Pakistan.

4.5 Partition a Recurring Theme

Contemporary artists who lived through the partition times continue to draw artistic inspiration from the themes of separation and displacement. One of the reasons might be that due to their experience, they had first-hand knowledge of all the catastrophic incidents. Unfortunately, there were several artists whose families relocated during the migration process; however, these artists were young at that time and their families were unable to adjust in the

[132] Author, telephonic conversation, October 27, 2023.
[133] Shaukat Mehmood, *Five Decades of Excellence: Mehboob Ali,* (Pakistan: Chughtai Public Library, 2021),10.

new land, therefore they chose to settle abroad. Sayed Haider Raza, Tyeb Mehta, Sadanand K. Bakri, M. F. Husain, Mohan Samant, Anwar Jalal Shamza, and Zarina Hashmi were among the artists who relocated from their homeland to foreign countries due to various reasons.

Among these artists Anwar Jalal Shamza and Zarina Hashmi were those who settled abroad but have explored the concepts of homecoming and displacement through their artworks specifically in abstraction. Initially the painters after partition were residing in Pakistan, however later they travelled to distinct European locations, nevertheless each has effectively conveyed the sentiment of longing for their homeland. They have continuously yearned for a home and have conveyed this sentiment of nostalgia and a quest for self-identity through their artistic expressions. Anwar Jalal's[134] artistic expression was predominantly characterised by the utilisation of geometric shapes and structures (Fig. 4.75). He simplified the architectural design and surroundings of various structures by using basic shapes. This technique intentionally obscures any specific identification or recognition of the represented land.

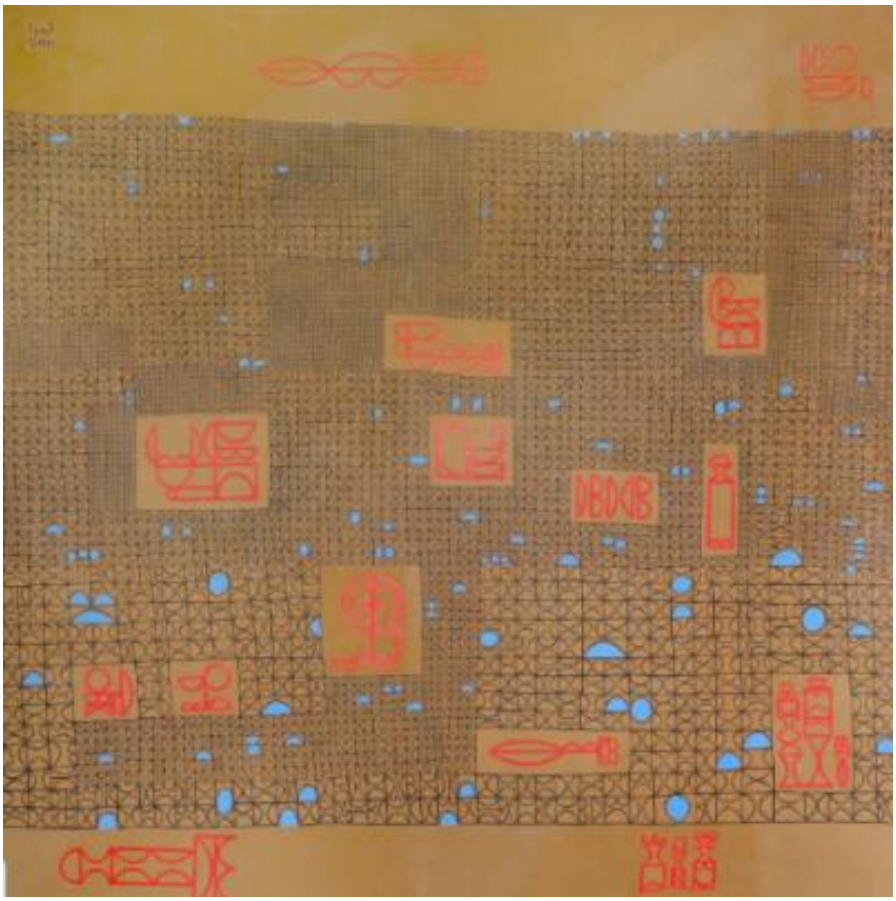


Figure 4.75: *'Love letter 2,'* 1969 by Anwar Jalal Shamza.
https://halesgallery.com/artists/90-anwar-jalal-shemza/works/9971-anwar-jalal-shemza-love-letter-2-1969/

[134] Anwar Jalal Shamza, born in 1928 in Shimla, India and passed away in 1985 in Stafford, UK, was the child of Kashmiri and Punjabi parents. His family migrated to Pakistan when the Partition took place between 1947 and 1950. Shamza completed his education at Mayo School of Arts in Lahore and graduated in 1947. In 1956, having already distinguished himself as an artist and writer in Pakistan, he moved to England for further studies at Slade School of Fine Art.

During his stay in London, Jalal experienced an existential crisis and deliberately destroyed all his prior work to start anew, seeking a voice that would better reflect his identity. The artist's drawings and paintings show a sense of belonging, which is influenced by his frequent transitions between India, Pakistan, and England. Although Shamza had resided in England for more than twenty years, he expressed a longing to go back to his ancestral home in the foothills of Kashmir, during his later years.

Zarina Hashmi[135] saw the atrocities of the India-Pakistan partition when she was just 10 years old. Her family was compelled to abandon their ancestral home due to the partition and the ensuing religious conflicts. They were forced to relocate to Karachi in search of a secure environment. Her extensive collection of artworks has focused on the theme of home, identity, and belonging. Hashmi once stated,

> "The partition of India and Pakistan did affect the fabric of life for millions of people. There was an exchange of populations, and millions lost homes and families in the ensuing ethnic violence. I was ten years old when the partition took place. I only witnessed this event from this side, and after sixty years there are still aftershocks."[136]

Zarina, being a migratory artist, has had a diverse range of experiences. She learned the Japanese woodblock technique and screen printing during her visits to Bangkok, Paris, and Germany. Later she established herself in New York, however, she consistently yearned for her homeland and has conveyed this emotion through her artistic endeavours.

Zarina mostly employs intaglio, woodblock, lithography, and silkscreen techniques on handmade paper to create visually stunning graphic images. Her work is characterized by minimalistic and distinct outlines with the inclusion of Urdu inscriptions that frequently enhance her designs.[137] She created a well-known series of 36 woodcuts in 1999 called '*Home is A Foreign Place.*' In this series, she selected specific terms that were connected to her recollections of her childhood home such as, "threshold," "courtyard," "entrance," "rain," and "hot breeze."[138] The artworks incorporated recurring elements of home, maps, and borders, effectively reflecting the agony caused by partition and the following displacement that many individuals were compelled to endure (Fig. 4.76 & Fig. 4.77).

[135] Zarina Hashmi was born on July 16th, 1937, in Aligarh, Utter Pradesh, India. She died in April 2020 at the age of 83 in London.
[136] Allegra Pesenti, "A Conversation with Zarina 9/30/12," The artist Zarina and curator Allegra Pesenti for a conversation in the galleries of the exhibition "Zarina: Paper-Like Skin." (1 hour, 12min.) https://hammer.ucla.edu/programs-events/2012/09/a-conversation-with-zarina
[137] Vazira Fazila &Yacoobali Zamindar, "Zarina's 'Dark Roads': Exile, Statelessness and the Tenacity of Nostalgia," *Third Text Online,* November 28, 2018, http://www.thirdtext.org/zamindar-zarina
[138] Sridevi Nambiar, "Zarina Hashmi and the idea of home," September 16, 2021, https://sarmaya.in/spotlight/zarina-hashmi-and-the-idea-of-home/

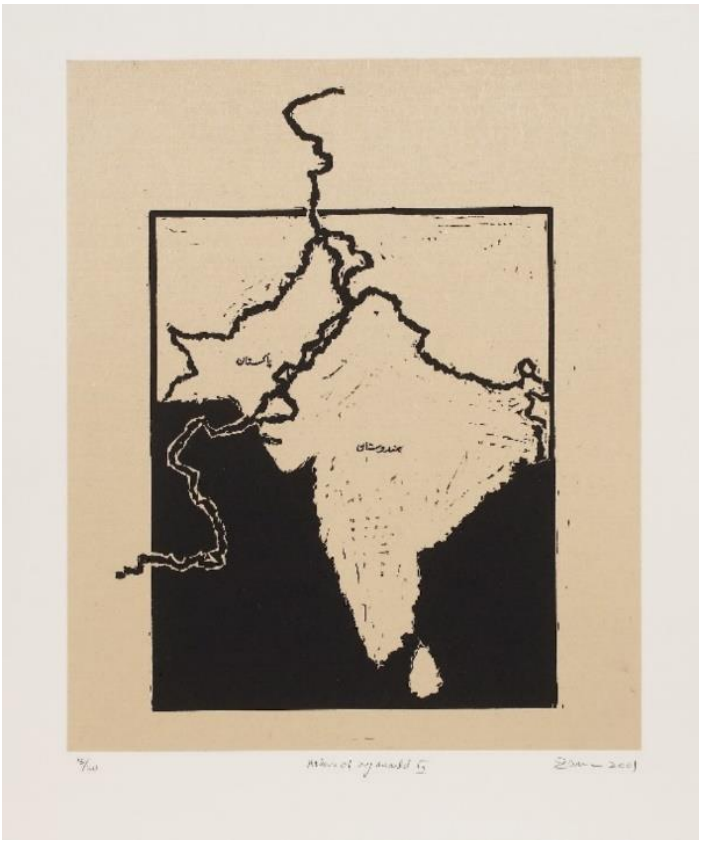


Figure 4.76: *'Atlas of My World,'* 2001, woodcuts with Urdu text printed in black on handmade paper. https://i.ibb.co/xGwdLMF/ZH-Atlas-of-my-World-IV-2001-cropped.jpg

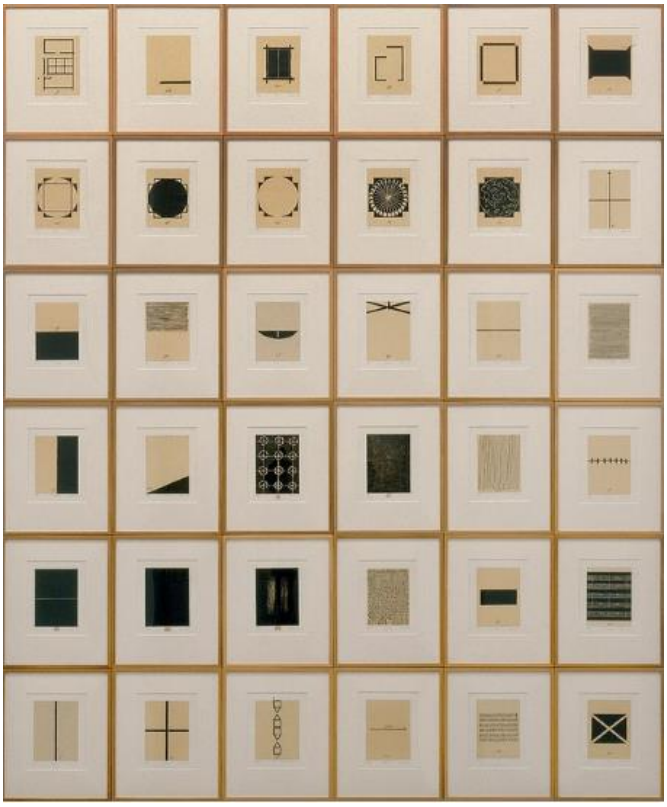


Figure 4.77: *'Home is a foreign place'* woodcut prints on paper by Zarina, 1999. https://www.metmuseum.org/-/media/images/about-the-met/collection-areas/modern/zarinahashmi/01_zarina_hifp_1520x1865.jpg?as=1&mh=3730&mw=3040&sc_lang=en&hash=548326271D1443F31E6C80E79E90B090

Initially, the responsibility of chronicling this period of history rested upon those individuals who had witnessed the partition, while many were unable to discuss it, yet a few managed to document their observations with meticulousness. Undoubtedly, eyewitness reports of partition provided comprehensive and detailed information, however with the passage of time and physical distance provided an advantage of enabling a more objective perspective. Salima Hashmi, a Pakistani artist and activist has commented on the enduring allure of this recurring subject matter, and she says, "The issue of Partition keeps re-emerging with the third and fourth generation today. Even though they don't have those immediate memories, they do carry the stories that were handed down to them."[139]

Secondly, artists from both countries have collaborated in combined projects in recent years to examine the diverse effects of partition through different artistic genres. These collaborative endeavours are effective in promoting reconciliation and facilitating discussion and understanding amongst communities that have been separated for many years. Pakistani and Indian artists have utilised art to explore and understand the intricate aspects of partition, focusing on subjects such as the experience of loss, displacement, identity, and resilience. These initiatives go beyond political lines and create a space for empathy and contemplation through combined exhibitions of paintings, sculptures, and installations, as well as collaborative performances and video projects. Through collectively addressing the enduring consequences of division, artists strive to reconcile past traumas, unite fragmented communities, and create a future characterised by tranquilly and unity for future generations.

One such example is *"Postcards from Home"* in 2015, by Manisha Gera Baswani. She conceived her partition project, during her second trip to Pakistan. She enlisted artist acquaintances on both sides of the border to produce 47 postcards. Each postcard featured a portrait of the artist with their story of partition (Fig. 4.78 & Fig. 4.79). Postcards from Home is one of various initiatives that have been gathering stories from Partition to create a flourishing archive of the interconnected history of two nations perpetually at conflict with one another. An additional example includes, *"1947 Partition Archive",* which serves as the most extensive collection of interviews about the partition.

[139] Noor Anand Chawla, "More Than 75 Years Later, Partition's Painful Legacy Persists for Artists," *Art News,* July 21, 2023, https://www.artnews.com/art-news/artists/partition-legacy-artists-respond-1234675074/

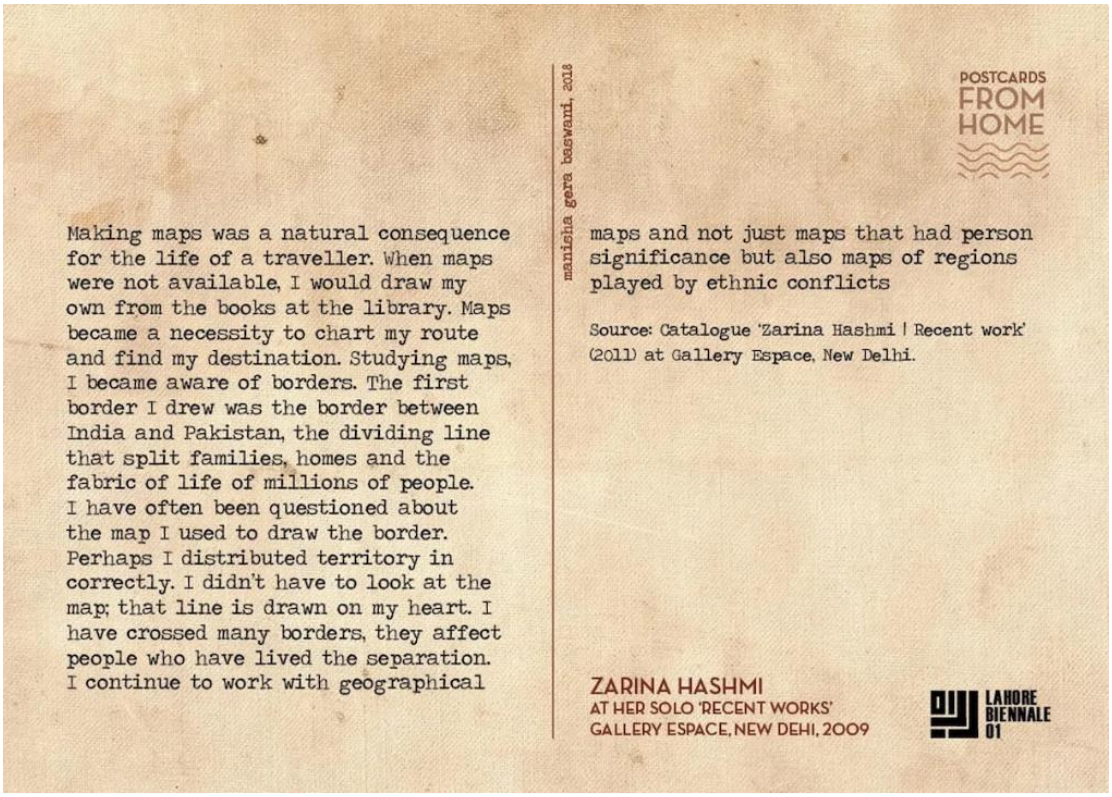


Figure 4.78: Zarina's contribution to the *'Postcards from Home'* initiative by Manisha Gera Baswani. https://www.artnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Zarina-Hashmi-Text-Image.jpg

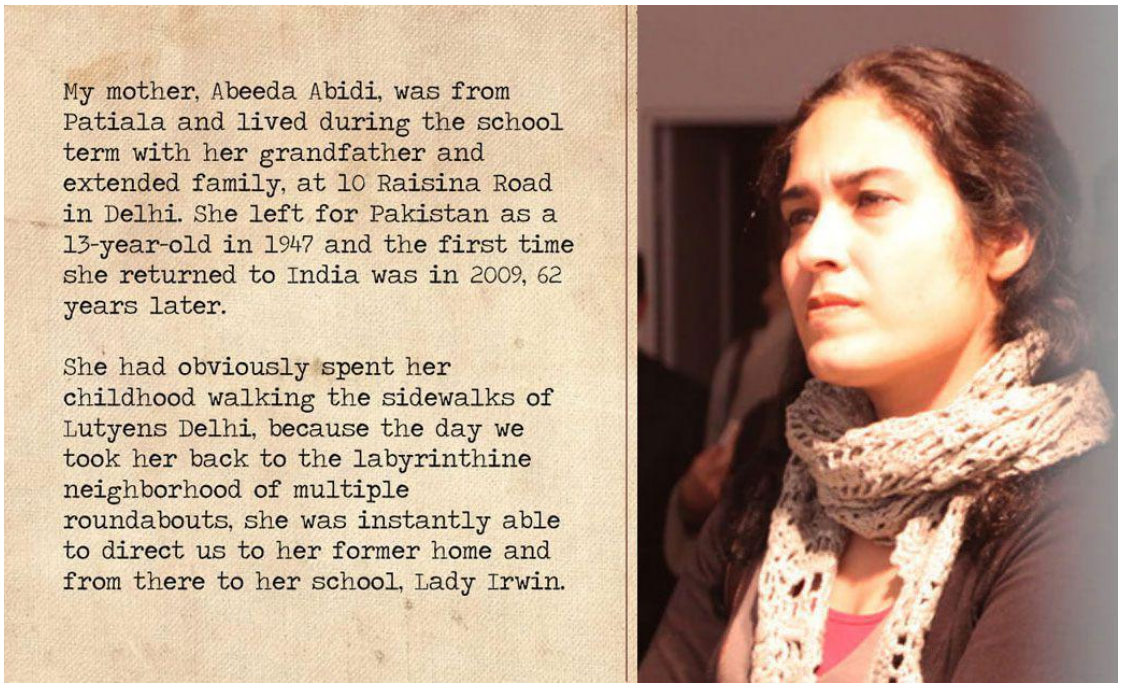


Figure 4.79: *'Post card'* of artist Bani Abidi. https://sc0.blr1.digitaloceanspaces.com/large/879362-bexrdolmpu-1526559169.jpg

Salima Hashmi has curated two shows centred around the Indian Partition in the recent years. An exemplary show named *"The Night Bitten Dawn"* took place in January 2016, in Delhi. The Gujral Foundation and the Devi Art Foundation facilitated a collaboration between

artists from India and Pakistan. It was an attempt to reinterpret the poem *Subh-e-Azadi*[140] written by her father Faiz Ahmed Faiz.[141] This exhibition offered a fresh perspective on the partition of India, reimagined after nearly seven decades. Hashmi asserts that this poem is the most effective means to visualise the actual consequences of the year 1947. In her introductory talk about the exhibition, she said, "The exhibition was an attempt to reinterpret the 'Dawn of Freedom' long after the trauma and grief has gone away. The artists used Faiz's poem as an inspiration to reinvent their perception and experience of the Indian partition."[142]

The poetry served as a source of motivation for the artists to reimagine their understanding and encounter with the Indian partition. They examined lasting themes related to the Indian partition, such as homelessness, sorrow, division, brutality, assault and dishonour. The exhibition presented the creations of 25 artists hailing from various post-partition generations and regions across Pakistan and India (Fig. 4.80 to 4.85).



Figure 4.80: *'Bloodlines'* by Iftikhar Dadi & Nalini Milani.
https://gujralfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/2016_Devi-Art_IDMN-scaled.jpg

[140] *Subh-e-Azadi* (Meaning: Dawn of freedom or Morning of freedom) is an Urdu language poem written by Faiz Ahmed Faiz in 1947.
[141] Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-1984) was a renowned Pakistani poet and writer known for his contributions to Punjabi and Urdu literature. Faiz was a highly acclaimed, renowned, and famous Urdu writer during his era. In addition to his literary pursuits, he has been characterised as a person with extensive expertise, having held positions as an educator, military official, journalist, labour union member, and broadcaster.
[142] Salima Hashmi, "This Night Bitten Dawn," accessed 25 April 2024. https://gujralfoundation.org/show-item/this-night-bitten-dawn/



Figure 4.81: View of instillation at the exhibition in Delhi, 2016.
https://gujralfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/2016_Devi-Art_AZ-1-scaled.jpg



Figure 4.82: *'Silence (Blood wedding),'* by Anita Dobe.
https://gujralfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/The-night-bitten-dawn-1.png



Figure 4.83: *'Vaila K'Vaila'* (Timed -Untimed) by Resham Sayed
https://deviartfoundation.org/exhibitions/this-night-bitten-dawn-2016/



Figure 4.84: *'Letters from Home.'* by Zarina Hashmi.
https://deviartfoundation.org/exhibitions/this-night-bitten-dawn-2016/

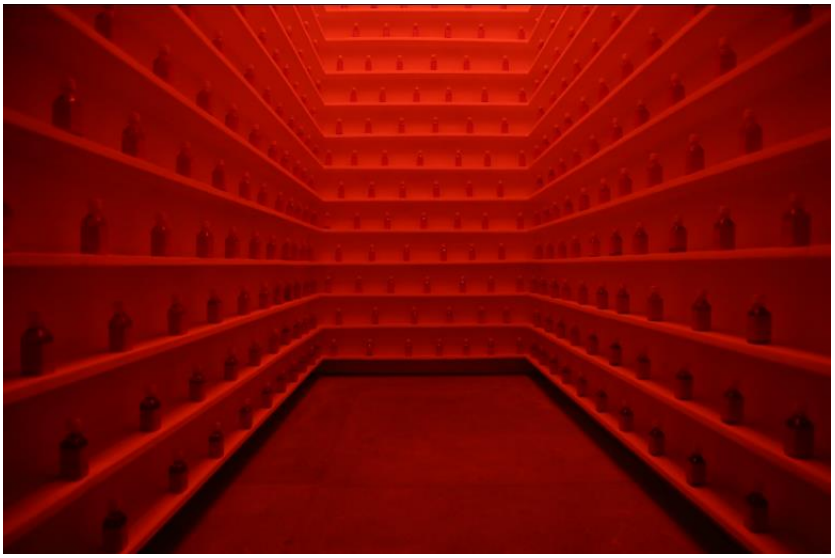


Figure 4.85: *'Blame.'* By Shilpa Gupta.
https://deviartfoundation.org/exhibitions/this-night-bitten-dawn-2016/

A similar exhibition took place in June 2018 at the Aicon Gallery in New York also curated by Salima Hashmi. The event was titled, *"Pale Sentinels: Metaphors for Dialogues"*. The exhibition's title was again derived from a poem *Zindaan ke aik subh*[143] by Faiz Ahmed Faiz, which describes daybreak in prison. Renowned Pakistani painters such as Waqas Khan, Ghulam Mohammad, Saba Qazilbash, and Faiza Butt showcased their artworks alongside Indian artists like Shilpa Gupta, Priya Ravesh Mehra, Nilima Sheikh among others.[144] Apart from artworks, souvenirs, autobiographies, and other memories from the separation were also part of the exhibition (Fig 4.86 to Fig. 4.95).

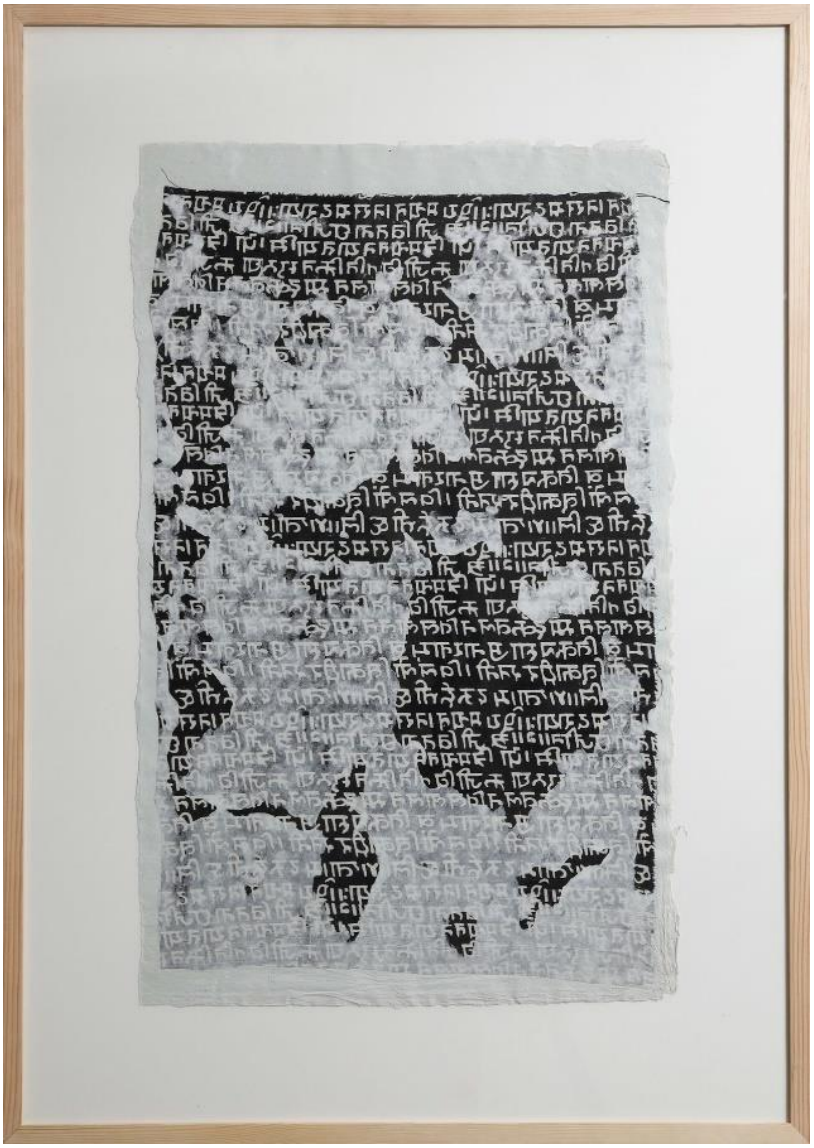


Figure 4.86: '*Invisible/Visible 1,'* by Priya Ravish Mehra, 2017. Paper pulp on printed textile. https://img.artlogic.net/w_1500,h_850,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/41264b8e498ef764ff89f38b33f0164c.jpeg

[143] *Zindaan ke aik subh* (one morning of prison) is an Urdu Language poem written by famous poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz during his imprisonment.
[144] Salima Hashmi, "Pale Sentinels: Metaphors for Dialogues. A tribute to Priya Ravish Mehra," accessed April 23, 2024, https://www.aicon.art/exhibitions/pale-sentinels-metaphors-for-dialogues/selected-works



Figure 4.87: *Untitled,* Ghulam Mohammad, 2018. Iranian ink and paper collage on Wasli.
https://img.artlogic.net/w_1500,h_850,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/2fb5acc4c989ace04a72c188e785a62b.jpeg



Figure 4.88: *'I will meet you yet again' (Mein Tenu Phir Milangi*), by Shahnaz Ismail, 2018, *Rafoogari* and screen print on hand woven Pashm wool darned with cotton and silk fabric.
https://img.artlogic.net/w_1500,h_850,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/41264b8e498ef764ff89f38b33f0164c.jpeg



Figure 4.89: Glimpse of the exhibition at Aicon Art Gallery https://img.artlogic.net/w_3000,h_1700,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/6277c1cbc5119eae00a243ca78656ce2.jpeg



Figure 4.90: View of the exhibition.
https://img.artlogic.net/w_3000,h_1700,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/5db55895abbf2703f03f5aafc0c6539f.jpeg

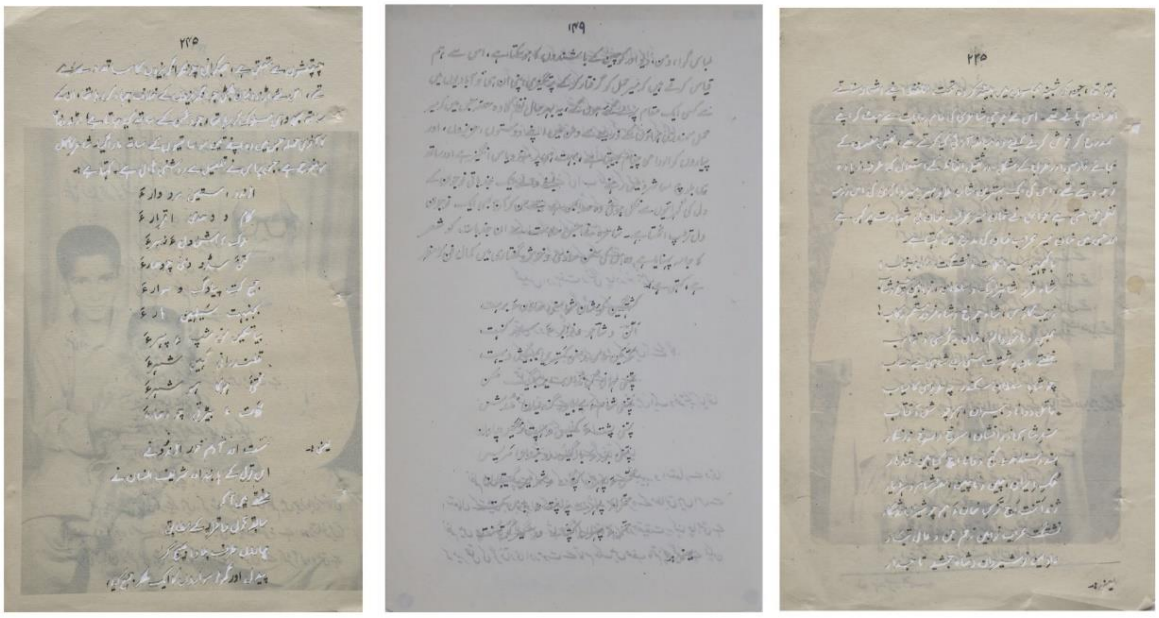


Figure: 4.91: '*Yaad Dasht'* (triptych) by Ghulam Mohammad, 2018, Perforated pages, 14 x 12 in each. https://img.artlogic.net/w_1500,h_850,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/e3c6683abed4ee5bc52f49efe8c64aa4.jpeg

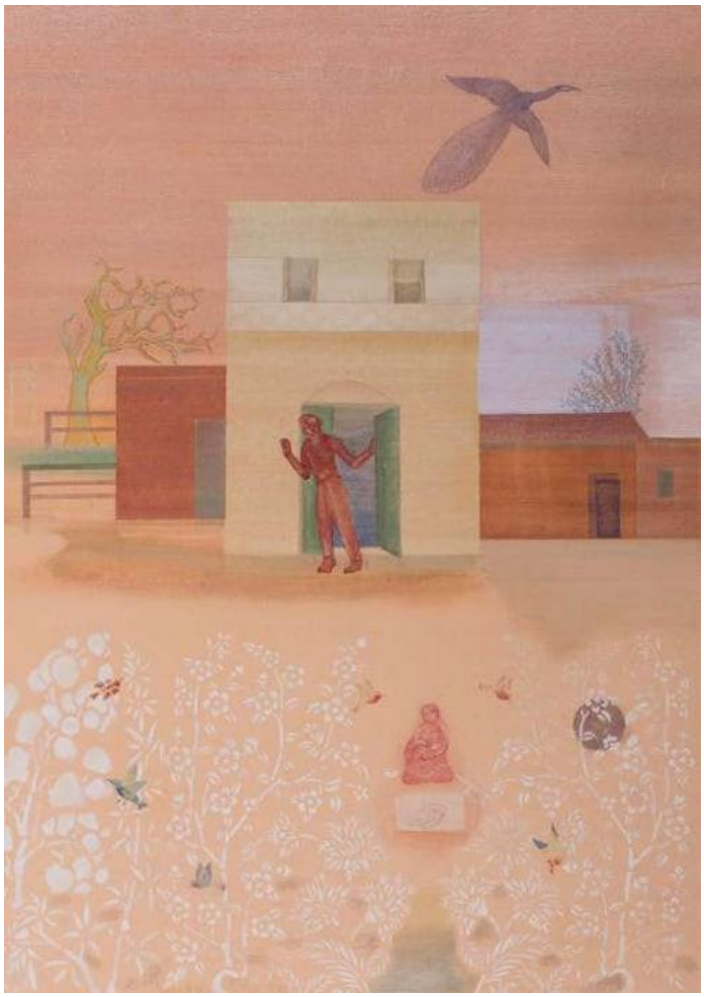


Figure 4.92: *'Departure,'* by Nilima Sheikh, 2018. Mixed Tempera on Sanganer paper, 19 x 13.3 in https://img.artlogic.net/w_1800,h_1800,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/0d895d5157fdba8ce82db5d9a840bbe4.jpeg

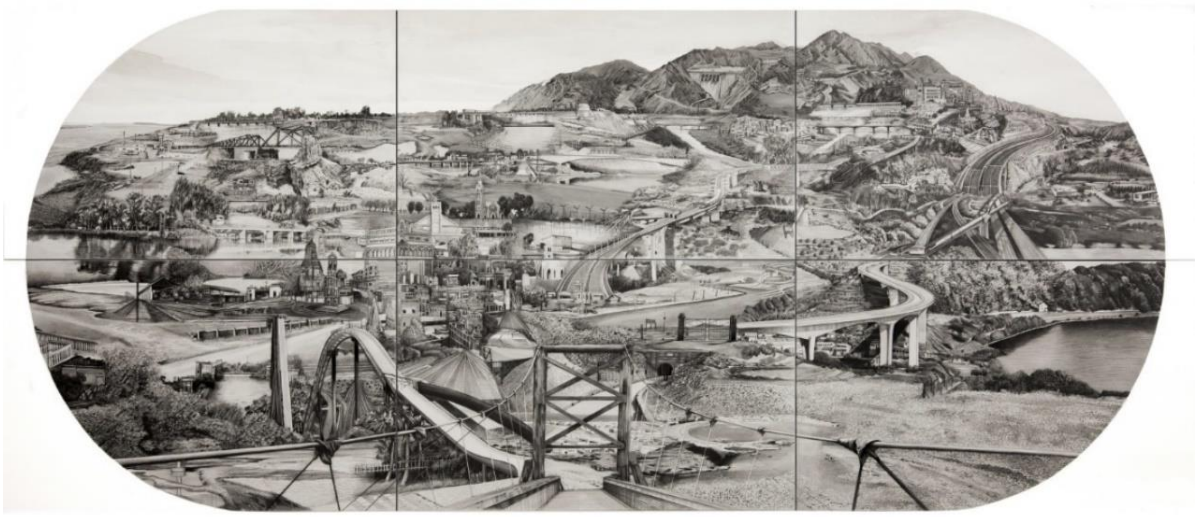


Figure 4.93: '*Sialkot to Jammu*,' by Saba Qizilbash, 2018. Graphite and wash on water colour board.
https://img.artlogic.net/w_1500,h_850,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/856f4abb07fe7e3ddd946f0a93429170.jpeg



Figure 4.94: '*Enemy Properties 2*,' Saba Qizilbash, 2018. Graphite and epoxy on paper, mounted on wood.
https://img.artlogic.net/w_1800,h_1800,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/b8c65b863b90786a4416856035823dc2.jpeg



Figure 4.95: '*My Love Plays in Heavenly Ways,'* by Faiza Butt, 2018. Acrylic glazes on marble paper.
https://img.artlogic.net/w_1500,h_850,c_limit/exhibit-e/65b96d8b105ea3d323069fd9/6c6f5e81d274519027b500d76572b3da.jpeg

In short, artists in both India and Pakistan have drawn inspiration from the partition, interpreting and expressing its impact on them in diverse ways. Some artists have demonstrated this phenomenon by portraying the situations as visual documentation, while others have expressed their sorrow and empathy in abstraction. The partition of the Indian subcontinent is a prevalent subject in all forms of visual arts, as it impacted both sides of the nation, including Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities. Artists from both sides of the border perceive this event with their own unique perspective.

After seventy-six years, the consequences of the partition still affect us, however, art provides an opportunity for us to establish a bond with those who have suffered during those harsh times. Art produced in response to the partition can serve as a dynamic repository, enabling viewers to contemplate and connect with their past experiences.

Chapter 5

THE DISPUTED TERRITORY OF KASHMIR

Kashmir's geographical location makes it strategically valuable due to its position among nations that include India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, China, and quite close to Russia. Currently, Kashmir is divided into two separate regions; Jammu and Kashmir is in the western part, whereas Ladakh is situated in the eastern part. Before its partition into two union territories, Jammu and Kashmir comprised an independent nation, with Gilgit-Baltistan to the north, Aksai Chin to the east, and Azad Kashmir to the west serving as its borders. Jammu and Kashmir had two capital cities: Srinagar, for summer season May to October, and Jammu: for winter season from November to April (Fig. 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Map of Kashmir before Partition.
https://static.cambridge.org/content/id/urn%3Acambridge.org%3Aid%3Abook%3A9781316855607/resource/name/firstPage-9781316855607map1_pxi-xi_CBO.jpg

As a crossroad of numerous civilizations, Kashmir's history is recognised for its novel heritage via interaction and exchange with other cultures, resulting in a unique harmonious mosaic of Kashmiri culture that incorporates Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. Kashmir has witnessed the

ascendence and decline of various empires and dynasties, including the Sultans, Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs, Dogras, and the British.

Kashmir was under the rule of the Sikh Empire before the year 1846. After the British successfully defeated the Sikhs, they subsequently transferred the ownership of Kashmir to Gulab Singh of Jammu for a sum of Rs. 7.5 million as per the terms of the Treaty of Amritsar. Gulab Singh, the Maharaja, entered into a distinct agreement with the British, which bestowed upon him the status of an independent and self-governing monarch of Kashmir. Gulab Singh passed away in 1857 and was followed by Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Partab Singh, and Hari Singh. Prem Nath Bajaj, a historian hailing from Kashmir has expressed the following viewpoint regarding this matter.

> "While making the transfer, the British authorities in India did not so much as ascertain the views of the people of Kashmir on the subject. They did not consult even one of their leaders. It was altogether a sordid shameful affair devoid of all sense of fairness . . . and equality. Two million people in the Valley and Gilgit were sold like sheep and cattle to an alien adventurer and the sale was made behind their backs. The treaty, consisting of ten articles, makes no mention whatsoever of the rights, interests, or the future of the people."[145]

The Dogra era was characterised by despotism and sectarianism, limiting the freedom of expression and speech. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah served as the first president of the Kashmir Conference, founded in 1932. In 1939, the Muslim conference was changed into a National conference to include non-Muslim Kashmiris. In the mid-1940s, Kashmir's politics was tumultuous due to Sheikh Abdullah's close relationship with the Congress. The National Conference lost favour among Muslims during a period of strong Hindu-Muslim identity. Sheikh Abdullah strongly opposed Muhammad Ali Jinnah's recommendation to divide the National Conference into a Muslim conference and cease alliance with Congress. Nehru and Muslim leaders visited Kashmir to promote the image of the Congress as a national party supported by enlightened Muslims. Sheikh Abdullah spearheaded the "Quit Kashmir Movement" in 1946, challenging the ethical and political validity of the Amritsar Treaty. Congress leaders and mainstream Kashmiri Pandits from the National Conference criticised this campaign.[146] The division between the ML and the National Conference harmed the state's interests. Sheikh forcefully criticized Mohammad Ali Jinnah's suggestion to keep Kashmir

[145] M.K. Raina, "Nau Bahar ich Shaan Paida Kar: An Overview of the Progressive Movement in Kashmir" *Social Scientist*, Vol. 48, No. 7/8 (566-567) (July–August 2020), pp. 81-100 https://www.jstor.org/stable/26978889

[146] Safeer Ahmed Khan, "Jammu and Kashmir on the Eve of Partition-A Study of Political Conditions," DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.23318.80966 (https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331284937_Jammu_and_Kashmir_on_the_Eve_of_Partition-A_Study_of_Political_Conditions)

separate from the Congress, stating that they could not ally with people who supported and defended the rulers of princely states. The National Conference strongly criticized the Pakistan Resolution and Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory, dismissing it as mere emotional slogans.

At the time of Partition, the most ignited subject that created multiple repercussions and uncertainty in the region was the decision regarding princely states. The fate of the Princely States was left ambiguous. There were around 560 semi-autonomous princely states, with some falling under Pakistan and others under India. Lord Mountbatten, the final viceroy, said that the states would have the right to decide which nation to align with. However, at the time of independence, four regions in India had not yet finalized their decision: Junagadh and Jodhpur in the northwest, Hyderabad in the southeast, and Kashmir in the north. The initial three regions were predominantly Hindu with Muslim rulers, but Kashmir had a Muslim majority and a Hindu monarch. Kashmir was the final and highly disputed among the princely republics that maintained their independence. From this point onwards a genuine narrative of dispute began to unfold, which till today remains unsolved and a subject of disagreement between Pakistan and India.

Maharaja Hari Singh expressed support for independence, but Mountbatten advised him to align with one of the newly formed states by mid-August 1947. The Maharaja attempted to establish non-intervention agreements with Pakistan and India during the time of transition. Pakistan agreed, but India refused. The local Muslim population expressed their desire to become a constituent part of Pakistan. In August, a large-scale demonstration was organized against India. The Hindu soldiers started shooting at the demonstration, resulting in the deaths of several hundred individuals. The action resulted in a revolution in Poonch, where it proclaimed itself as "*Azad Kashmir*" (Free Kashmir). The insurrection led to a Muslim guerrilla war against the Maharaja, and Pakistan halted supply shipments to the state. On October 23, 1947, 5,000 Pashtun tribesmen (Afridi, Waziri, and Mahsud) from the NWFP crossed the border into Kashmir (Fig. 5.2).

The Maharaja hastily retreated to his winter palace in Jammu, which led the prime minister of Kashmir to appeal for the intervention of Indian troops to halt the assault. Nehru consented on the condition that the Maharaja would include Kashmir in India. On October 26th, the Maharaja gave consent and Kashmir became a part of India. The following day, India transported troops to Srinagar to combat Pashtun tribesmen. Pakistan was deeply enraged by the invasion and subsequent occupation by Indian troops, which they regarded as a forced

takeover (Fig. 5.3 & Fig. 5.4). Following a significant attack, Indian forces caused the Pashtun fighters to flee across the Pakistani border.



Figure 5.2: Tribal irregulars from the Northwest Frontier bound for Kashmir, 1947.
https://www.nam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2017-06/105833_half.jpg



Figure 5.3: Kashmir War 1947 - 1948.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/08/War1947-48.jpg/405px-War1947-48.jpg



Figure 5.4: Convoy heading toward Kashmir.
https://media.gettyimages.com/id/613475330/photo

Pakistan demanded a cease-fire from the UN Security Council so that Kashmiris may hold a referendum or vote on which state to join. Meanwhile, the United Nations issued a resolution calling for a plebiscite to determine Kashmir's final status, which both countries supported. However, the referendum was never held due to microaggressions and insecurity on the part of both parties. The warlike scenario has exposed the region to global interference, and Pakistan often raises the Kashmir issue at UN meetings. Kashmir today is divided into two regions, one under Pakistani administration and one under Indian control (Fig. 5.5). The two countries often accuse one another of starting the conflict and claim authority over the whole region of Kashmir. This is a decades-long blame game in which accusation is transferred from one country to another whenever it is beneficial.[147]

> "The ceasefire line (renamed the line of control in 1972) gave India sixty-three percent of the territory of the original princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, including the Kashmir Valley, Ladakh, and most of Jammu (now the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir). Pakistan gained a part of Jammu (now Azad Kashmir in Pakistan) and the remote areas of Gilgit and Baltistan (now the Northern Areas of Pakistan). The contours of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan had been laid out."[148]

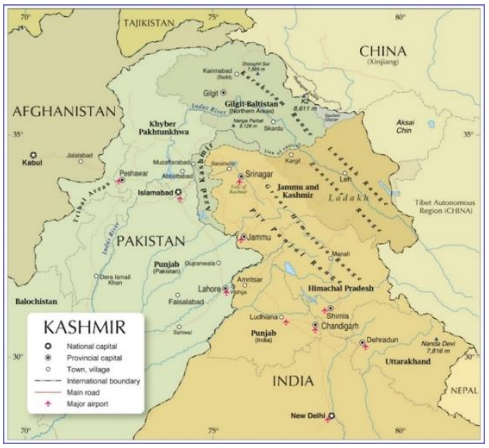


Figure 5.5: Current Map of Kashmir.
https://www.nationsonline.org/maps/Kashmir-political-map.jpg

[147] Tanvee Sherawat, "The 1947-1948 India-Pakistan war: What do we see today? ," *Nickeled and Dimed* February 9, 2022. https://nickledanddimed.com/2022/02/09/the-1947-1948-india-pakistan-war-what-do-we-see-today%EF%BF%BC/
[148] Chitralekha Zutshi, "India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Issue: 1947 and Beyond," *Association for Asian Studies*, September 20, 2009. https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaa/archives/india-pakistan-and-the-kashmir-issue-1947-and-beyond/

India and Pakistan undeniably have a painful and disputed past, and the events of the 1947-48 battle significantly influenced policy decisions in both countries. The confrontation had immediate implications including unexpected consequences that sprang from an escalated territorial dispute. The dispute led to the involvement of external parties, which intensified the competition and deepened the religious gap between Hindus and Muslims. It also created a legacy of failed negotiations and a lack of mutual consent between the two nations.

5.1 Kashmir Through the Lens of British Artists

Jammu & Kashmir, a territory renowned for its picturesque landscapes and diverse cultural heritage, possesses a legacy abundant in artistic expression and traditional customs. Situated in the northernmost region of the Indian subcontinent, this area has served as a meeting point for historical trade routes, resulting in a distinct cultural identity influenced by South and Central Asian elements. Painting has been especially prominent among the various forms of artistic expression since it encapsulates the spirit of the region's abundant folklore, religious variety and magnificent natural environment.

The art of painting in Jammu & Kashmir acts as a narrative instrument, documenting the beauty of the heavenly land, life of its people rather than being solely a means of aesthetic expression. The development of different painting styles in Kashmir are a result of the historical and political changes in the region, which were initiated by both local rulers and external benefactors. Rather than delving into the details about the historical background of the painting tradition of Kashmir region, which has already been discussed in the preceding chapter, let’s proceed towards the depiction of the Kashmir valley during the colonial era and then towards the contemporary artists.

In the early nineteenth century, British artists Thomas and William Daniell,[149] embarked on a mission to document India. In doing so, they fulfilled an imperialistic desire to explore the vast expanse of the British Empire. They were the first artists who got the permission of East India Company to visit India. Their presumably ordinary landscapes were interpreted and held in high regard in Britain, which were a result of their adventurous expeditions and earned Thomas the title of "artist-adventurer" (Fig. 5.6 & Fig. 5.7).[150]

[149] Thomas Daniell (1749 –1840) was an English landscape painter who also painted Orientalist themes. He spent seven years in India, accompanied by his nephew William and published several series of aquatints of the country. William Daniell (1769–1837) was an English landscape and marine painter, and printmaker, notable for his work in aquatint.
[150] David Arnold, “The art of conquest: Images of India on the verge of British rule, as seen by two travellers,” *Scroll,* October 21, 2022. https://scroll.in/article/1035118/the-art-of-conquest-images-of-india-on-the-verge-of-british-rule-as-seen-by-two-travellers



Figure 5.6: *'Rope Bridge over the Alakananda at Srinagar,'* Garhwal. 1808. Thomas Daniell. https://d3d00swyhr67nd.cloudfront.net/w944h944/collection/CDNII/BRL/CDNII_BRL_F577-001.jpg



Figure 5.7: *'Scene in the Himalayas,'* by William Daniel, 1810. https://d3d00swyhr67nd.cloudfront.net/w1200h1200/collection/WYR/CMBC/WYR_CMBC_1974_495-001.jpg

Hermann and Robert, two brothers and few other artists were also commissioned by East India Company around 1854 - 1857 to visit India. The brothers travelled farther than anyone else in the Western Himalayas and seemed to measure and gather all they could to finish a magnetic survey of the nation and obtain a comprehensive image of India. During the

trip, 749 representations were created, and this picture of an Old Poplar tree was one of them (Fig. 5.8). Upon their return, along with the drawings, 340 containers of materials were also sent to England as apart of their interrogation (Fig. 5.9 to Fig. 5.21).

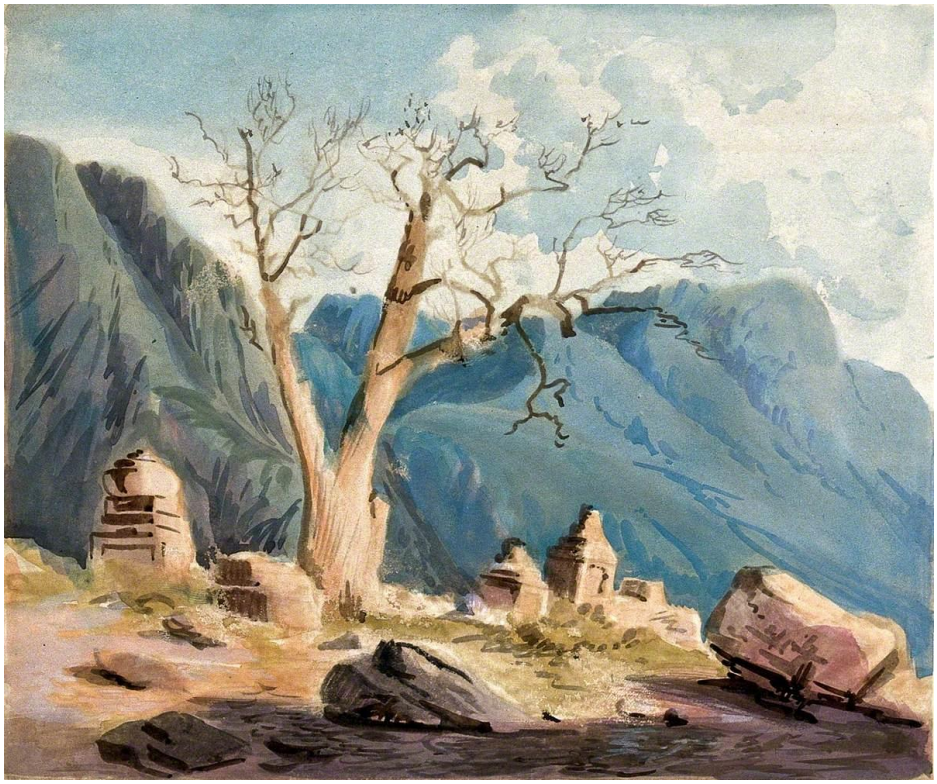


Figure 5.8: *'Old Poplar Tree'* (Populus Euphrasica) with Stone Monuments in Ladák, Kashmir. Hermann von Schlagintweit. https://d3d00swyhr67nd.cloudfront.net/w1200h1200/collection/CDN/WELL/CDN_WELL_21740i-001.jpg



Figure 5.9: *'Valley of Kashmir,'* by Robert S. Duncanson, 1864. https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/RobertS.DuncansonValeofKashmir.jpeg?resize=876%2C571&ssl=1



Figure 5.10: *'Valley of Kashmir,'* by Robert S. Duncanson 1870.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2013/09/ValeofKashmirRobertScottDuncanson1870AD.jpg?resize=525%2C274&ssl=1

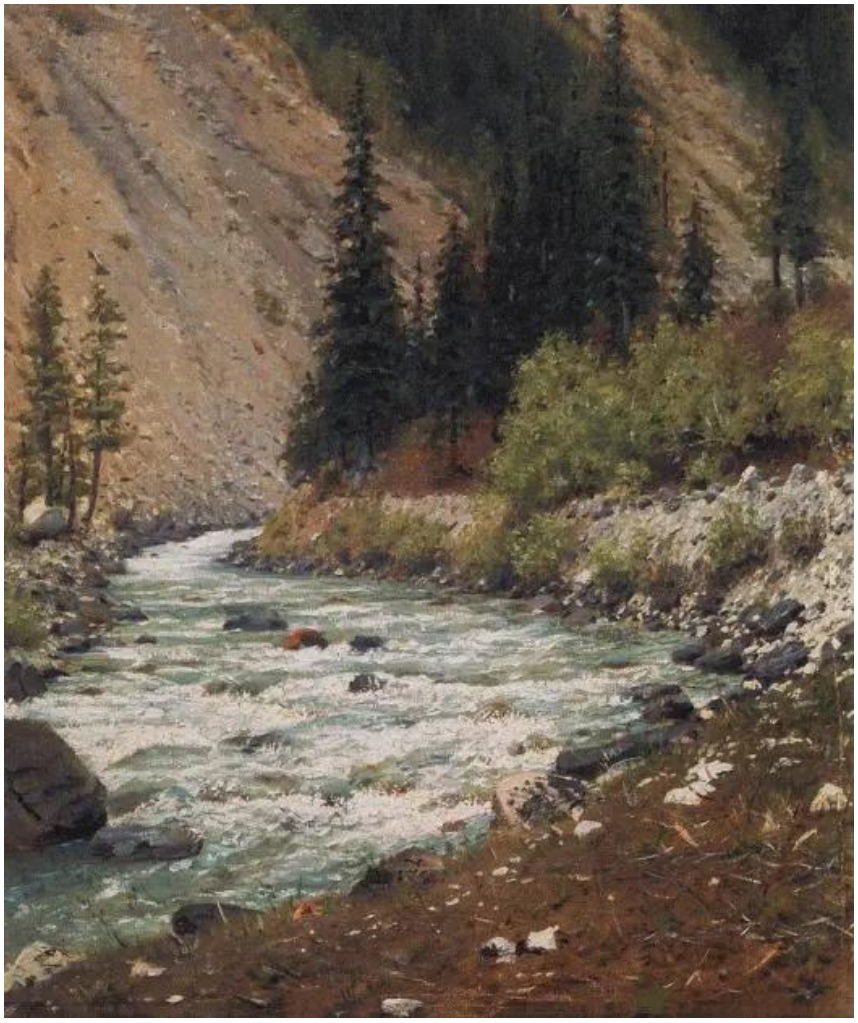


Figure 5.11: *'Mountain Stream in Kashmir,'* by V. V. Vereshchagin, 1885.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2013/07/mountain-stream-in-kashmir-1875_V.V.Vereshchagin...jpg?resize=525%2C627&ssl=1



Figure 5.12: *'A Hill Woman from Ladakh, Cooking Her Food'* by Gertrude Ellen Burrard. 1893. https://d3d00swyhr67nd.cloudfront.net/h300/collection/LW/NARM/LW_NARM_42119-001.jpg

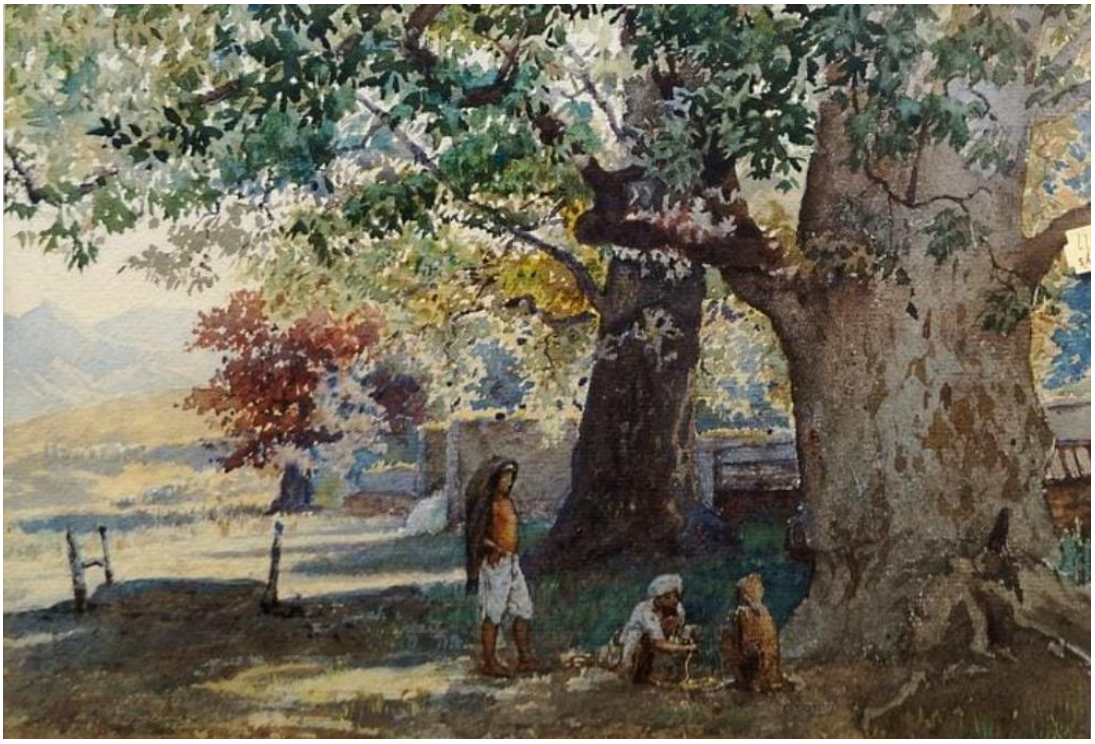


Figure 5.13: *'Untitled (View of Kashmir),'* by Herbert Arnould Olivier R.I. 1884 Watercolour on paper. https://artlogic-res.cloudinary.com/w_1200,c_limit,f_auto,fl_lossy,q_auto/artlogicstorage/grosvenorgallery/images/view/643e12858bdccbbeb8817a1f9a116aafj.jpg



Figure 5.14: *'The First Glimpse of the Vale of Kashmir from the Tonga road at Baramulla,'* 1892.
By Captain Frederick William John Shore. Oil on canvas.
https://artlogicres.cloudinary.com/w_1200,c_limit,f_auto,fl_lossy,q_auto/artlogicstorage/grosvenorgallery/images/view/edd6ababf634223eac4843a54bd7a3f2j.jpg



Figure 5.15: *'Flotilla at Baramulla, Kashmir,'* 1892. Oil on canvas. By Captain Frederick William John Shore.
https://artlogicres.cloudinary.com/w_1200,c_limit,f_auto,fl_lossy,q_auto/artlogicstorage/grosvenorgallery/images/view/7421e0a74858d48bdec4df1439e34c1fj.jpg

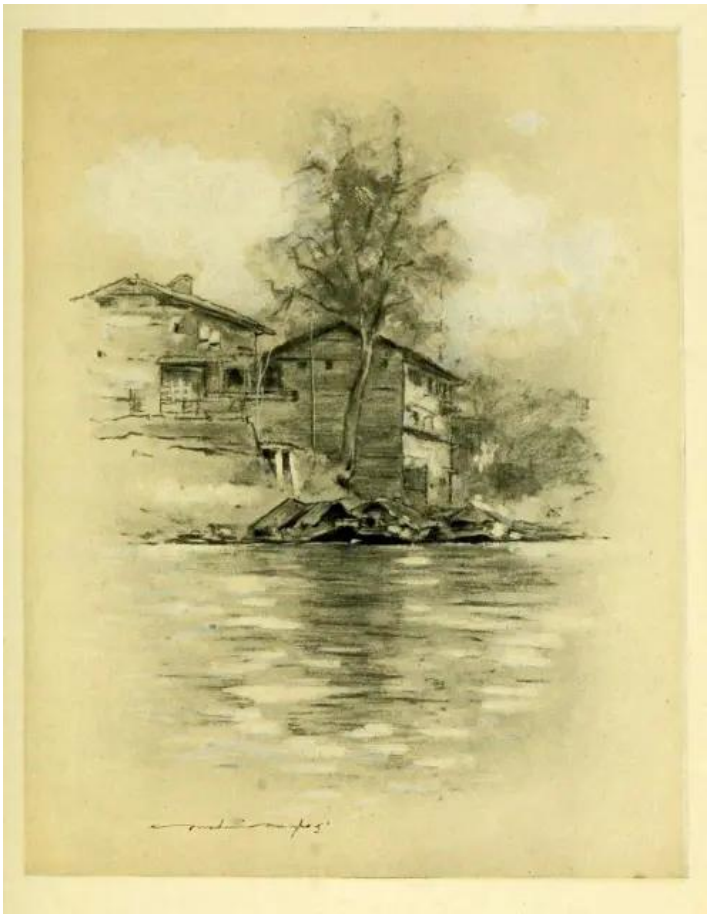


Figure 5.16: *'Jhelum'* by Mortimer Menpes, 1902. From publication: 'World pictures; being a record in colour' (1902). https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2012/09/JhelumbyMenpesMortimer.jpg?resize=494%2C640&ssl=1

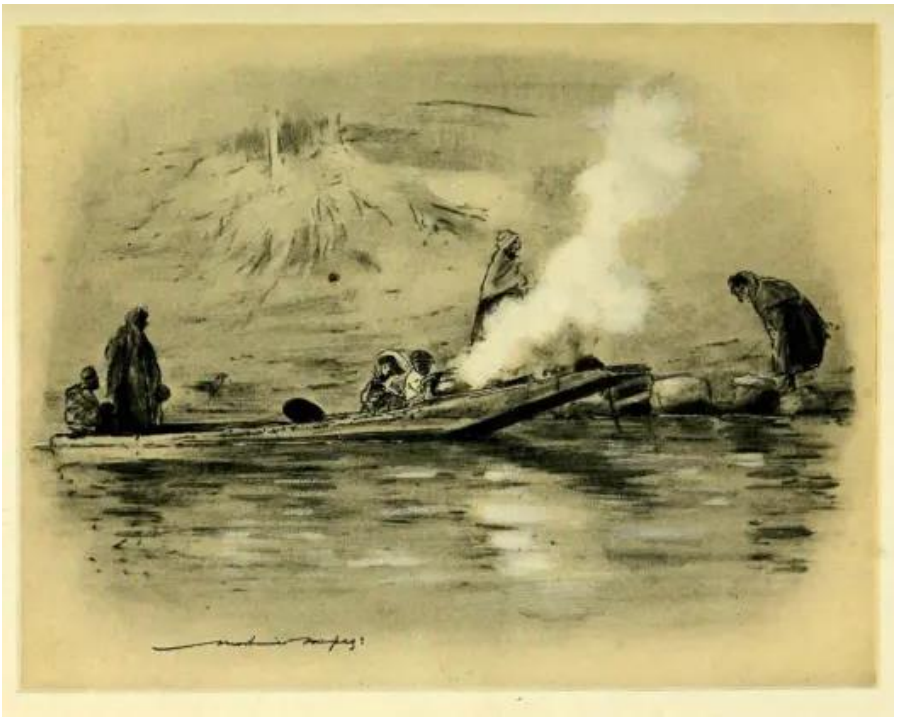


Figure 5.17: *'Kashmir,'* by Mortimer Menpes, 1902. From publication: 'World pictures; being a record in colour' (1902). https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2012/09/KashmirbyMenpesMortimer.jpg?resize=525%2C420&ssl=1



Figure 5.18: *'Dwellings of Jhelum,'* by Mortimer Menpes, 1902.
From publication: 'World pictures; being a record in colour' (1902).
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2012/09/SrinagarriverhousesbyMenpesMortimer.jpg?resize=525%2C410&ssl=1

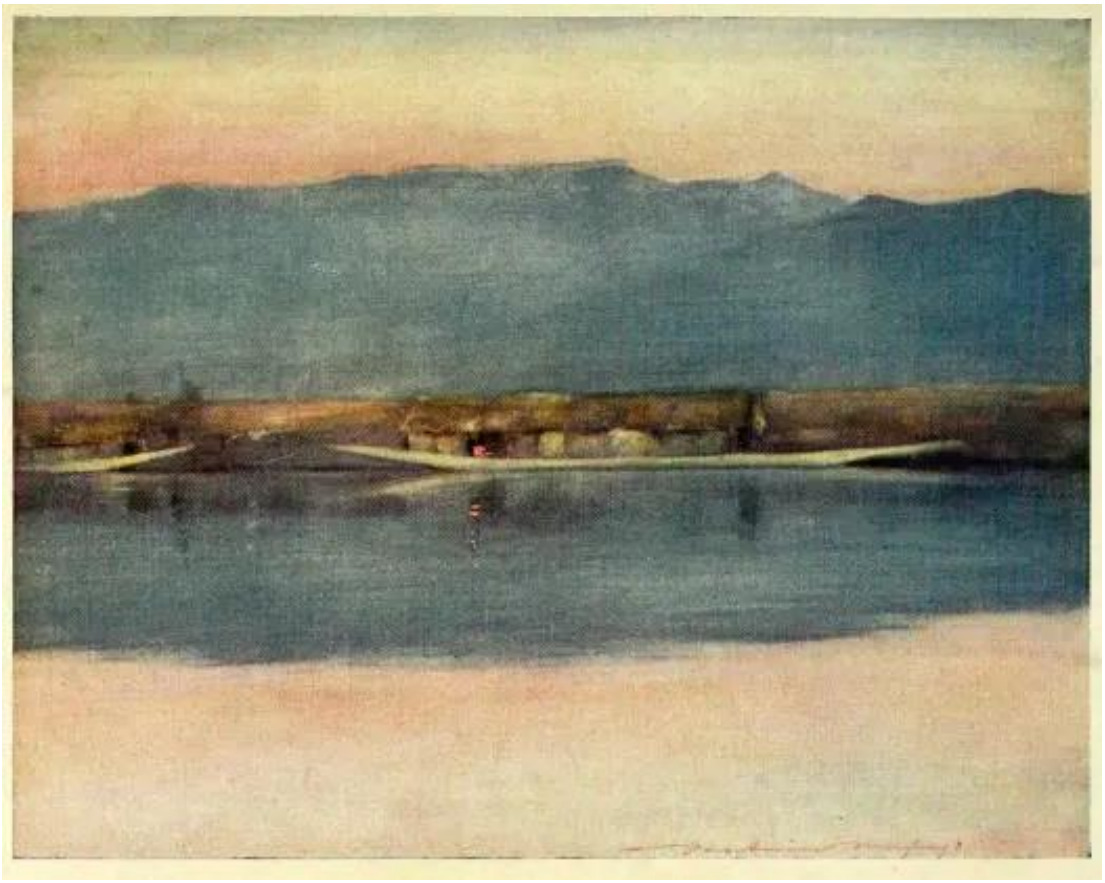


Figure 5.19: *'Sopora,'* by Mortimer Menpes, 1902.
From publication: 'World pictures; being a record in colour' (1902).
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2012/09/SoporbyMenpesMortimer.jpg?resize=525%2C418&ssl=1



Figure 5.20: *'Dal Lake,'* Kashmir 1916, Charles William Bartlett
https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1940.832



Figure 5.21: *'Lamayuru: Ladakh,'* by Nicholas Roerich, 1947.
https://uploads7.wikiart.org/images/nicholas-roerich/lamayuru-ladakh-1947.jpg

As, Kashmir is situated in the heart of the Himalayas, thus it is renowned for its breathtaking landscapes. The British artists' portrayal of Kashmir was a harmonised one, providing a soft image that leaves room for creative interpretation. Vibrant pools of colour decorate the rocky landscape, lending an air of tranquil surrealism. There remains optimism that this strategy can correct the pervasive colonial viewpoint in India. As described by the

Daniell brothers, many of these landscapes in Oriental Scenery depicted India as a ruined civilization. The portrayal of ruins in a landscape was a visual representation that had a strong European influence. These vistas often evoked regretful reflections and melancholy emotions. The ruins conveyed a universal concept - the unavoidable decline of civilizations, the temporary existence of earthly grandeur, and the vulnerability of human endeavours.[151]

Apart from the scenic beauty of Kashmir, Moritime Memphis[152] and other artists also portrayed the common people of Kashmir. The depiction of Kashmiri girls in portraiture and different tasks showcased their beauty. These images also provide an understanding of the apparel and styling aesthetics that were prevalent at that time (Fig. 5.22 to Fig. 5.27).



Figure 5.22: *'Dogra Solider.'*
From publication: 'The Durbar' (1903) by Mortimer Menpes and text by Dorothy Menpes.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2012/09/DograSoldierby MenpesMortimer.jpg?resize=502%2C640&ssl=1

[151] David Arnold, "The art of conquest: Images of India on the verge of British rule, as seen by two travellers," *Scroll,* October 21, 2022. https://scroll.in/article/1035118/the-art-of-conquest-images-of-india-on-the-verge-of-british-rule-as-seen-by-two-travellers

[152] Mortimer Luddington Menpes (22 February 1855 – 1 April 1938) was an Australian-born painter, author, printmaker, and illustrator.

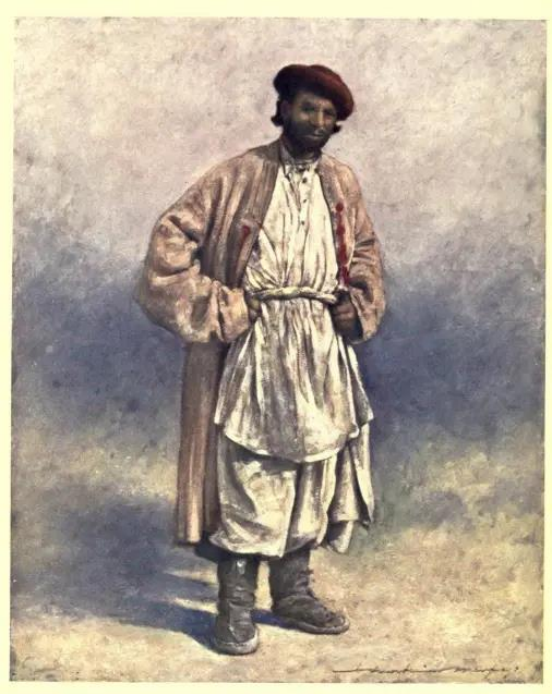


Figure 5.23: *'A Hindu Shepherd.'*
From publication: 'The Durbar' (1903) by Mortimer Menpes and text by Dorothy Menpes.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2012/09/HindushepherdMenpesMortimer.jpg?resize=506%2C640&ssl=1



Figure 5.24: *'Kashmiri Pandit.'*
From publication: 'The Durbar' (1903) by Mortimer Menpes and text by Dorothy Menpes.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2012/09/kashmiripunditbyMenpesMortimer.jpg?resize=508%2C640&ssl=1



Figure 5.25: *'Natch Girl of Kashmir.'*
From publication: 'The Durbar' (1903) by Mortimer Menpes and text by Dorothy Menpes.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2012/09/KashmiriDancinggirlbyMenpesMortimer.jpg?resize=498%2C640&ssl=1



Figure 5.26: *'Two Nath Girls,'* by William Carpenter.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2011/06/kashmiri_natch_girls_william_carpenter.jpg?resize=525%2C368&ssl=1



Figure 5.27: *'A Beauty of the Valley'* by G. Hadenfeldt,
From: 'The Charm of Kashmir' (1920) by V.C. Scott O'connor.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2011/06/the_beauty_of_the_valley.jpg?resize=432%2C640&ssl=1

5.2 Kashmir Through the Lens of Other Artists

In 1947, during a time when geographical boundaries were being redefined in this region, a team of artists set out on a quest to challenge the conventional style of art. The "Progressive Painters Group of Bombay" was established by six aspiring artists. The artists included in this group were F. N. Souza, S. H. Raza, K. H. Ara, M. F. Husain, S. K. Bakre, and H. A. Gade. Simultaneously, three emerging artists from Kashmir also embraced this Progressive movement. Some artists from Bombay group supported these progressive artists and their movement in Kashmir. Kashmir Progressive group included three prominent local artists; Som Nath Butt, Trilok Kaul, and P. N. Kachru. These artists were commonly recognized as 'Trio' and initiated the Modern Art movement in the Kashmir valley. They later worked in

various positions and capacities at the Jammu and Kashmir Government-established School of Design (Fig. 5.28 to Fig. 5.33).



Figure 5.28: *'Village scene'* by Trilok Kaul, 1948.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2011/12/25E22580259CVILLAGESCENE25E22580259DApaintingbyTrilokKaul_1950.jpg?resize=525%2C381&ssl=1



Figure 5.29: *'Pink and Green'* by Trilok Kaul, 1950.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2011/12/25E22580259CPINKANDGREEN25E22580259DApaintingbyTrilokKaul_1950.jpg?resize=525%2C356&ssl=1



Figure 5.30: *'Winter Landscape'* by S. N. Butt, 1950.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2011/12/WINTERLANDSCAPE25E22580259DApaintingbyS.N.Butt_1950.jpg?resize=525%2C377&ssl=1



Figure 5.31: *'Landscape'* by Edna Bellefontaine, 1949.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2011/12/paintingbyamemberoftheKashmirProgressiveArtists25E225802599Association_1950s.jpg?resize=525%2C326&ssl=1



Figure 5.32: *'The Boiler'* by P. N. Kachru, 1950.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2011/12/25E22580259CTHEBOILER25E22580259DbyP.N.Kachru_1950.jpg?resize=468%2C640&ssl=1



Figure 5.33: *'Two Flowers'* by S. N. Butt, 1950.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2011/12/TWOFLOWERS25E22580259DApaintingbyS.N.Butt_1950.jpg?resize=476%2C640&ssl=1

Syed Haider Raza's journey to Kashmir also served as a catalyst for the establishment of the Progressive Artists Association. He made pioneering work by teaching several young Kashmiri artists about modern art trends. In May 1949, this society presented its inaugural art show in Srinagar. In October 1949, this organisation hosted a significant art show in Delhi as well. Two progressive groups from Bombay and Kashmir continued to motivate and influence each other for a long period. They explored the Mystic symbolism in their artworks, deriving inspiration from Kashmir (Fig. 5.34 to Fig. 5.38).



Figure 5.34: *'Kashmir landscape'* by Syed Haider Raza, 1948.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_07/29/20/201342838/ba43dfe8-4a02-46e6-984c-20cfdb4a8c8a.Jpeg?w=768



Figure 5.35: *'Kashmir Valley'* by S. H. Raza, 1949.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2012/02/KashmirbySHRAZA.png.jpg?resize=525%2C395&ssl=1



Figure 5.36: *'Untitled,'* 1949.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2017_02/10/12/123356796/3fd79540-7c74-4c38-b170-5658b5f143dd_570.Jpeg?w=480



Figure 5.37: *'Kashmir'* by Hari Ambadas Gade. 1950.
https://mediacloud.saffronart.com/exhibition/2003/works%20on%20paper%202003/pw03_gadeha19_big.jpg

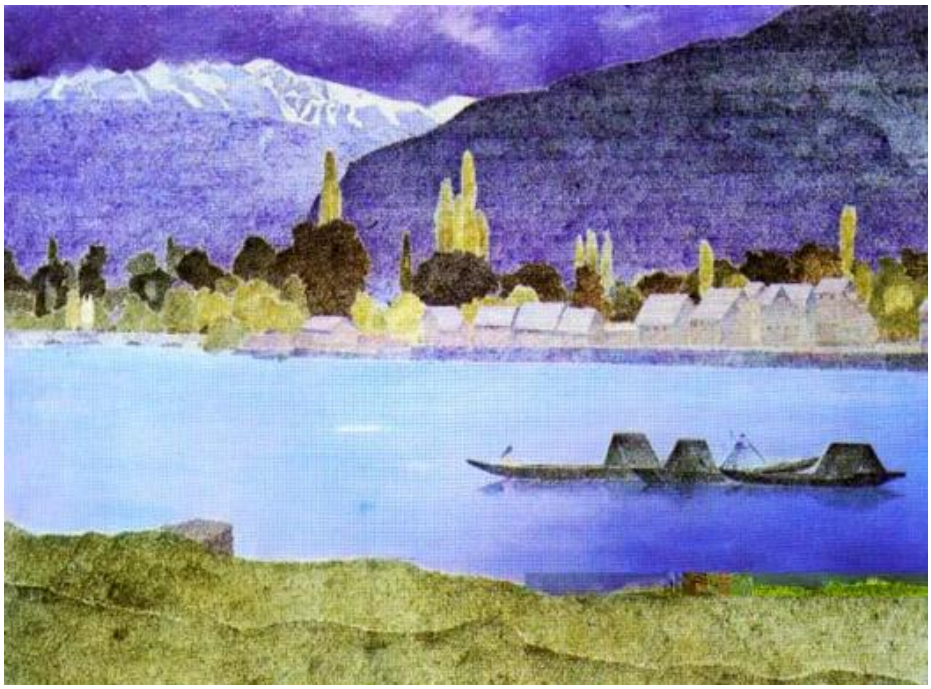


Figure 5.38: *'Gandhar Bal Kashmir'* by N. S. Bendre.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2012/02/gandharbal-kashmir_by_ns_bendre.jpg?resize=525%2C386&ssl=1

In 1947, Sheikh Abdullah established a cultural centre to promote art in Kashmir. Prominent artists hailing from various regions of India were extended invitations to showcase their work at the contemplated exhibition. Brij Mohan Anand was also invited by the Kashmiri Sahayak Sabha of Punjab. He travelled extensively throughout Kashmir during his stay, where he created sketches and paintings. His collection was later displayed in the exhibition. The exhibition was formally opened by Sheikh Abdullah at the Hadow Memorial College Premises in Shiekh Bagh, Srinagar, in September 1948. However, the visitors were deeply offended by his nude artwork, prompting him to retrieve his work and depart, however several of his artworks symbolised Kashmiri culture (Fig. 5.39 to Fig. 5.41).

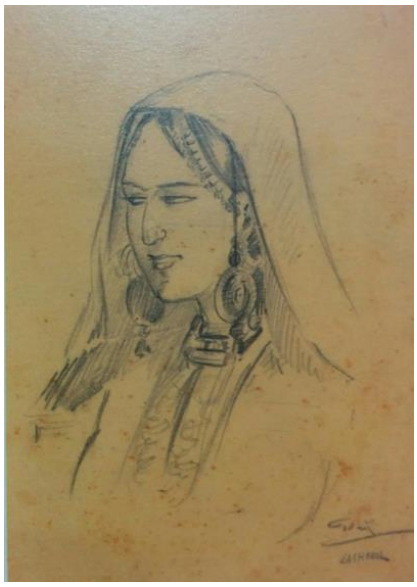


Figure 5.39: *'Kashmiri Muslim Women,'* 1948.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Screen2BShot2B2017-02-032Bat2B9.34.132BAM.png?resize=480%2C640&ssl=1

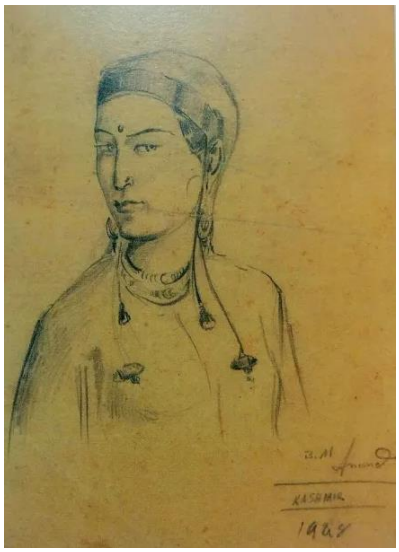


Figure 5.40: Pandit Women, 1948.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wpcontent/uploads/2017/02/16143800_1355855291138591_7648966366474113978_o.jpg?resize=462%2C640&ssl=1



Figure 3.41: *'ChashmaShahi,'* by Brij Mohan, 1948.
https://i0.wp.com/searchkashmir.org//wp-content/uploads/2017/02/16403384_1363775663679887_9032964107083363609_o.jpg?resize=525%2C425&ssl=1

In addition to portraying the picturesque landscapes of Kashmir and its cultural splendor, the painters were also influenced by the political unrest. This not only propelled them towards the progressive movement but also motivated them to create protesting images. A classic example of this is the artwork depicting Zunni Gujjar[153] created by Shobha Singh, a young and forward-thinking artist of the time (Fig. 5.42).

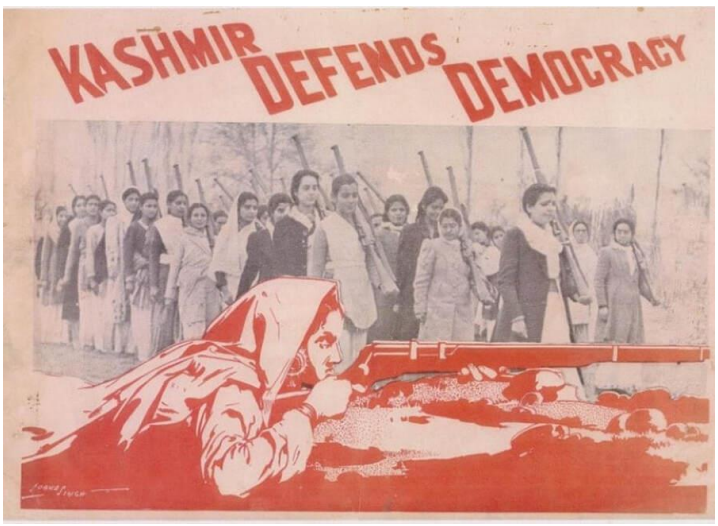


Figure 5.42: *'Kashmir Defends Democracy'*, 1948 - artwork by Sobha Singh, posted courtesy of the Sobha Singh Art Gallery, Andretta, India.
https://www.andrewwhitehead.net/uploads/3/5/0/5/3505647/editor/baramulla-kashmir-defends-democracy.jpg?1616331927

[153] Zuni (or Zoni or Zoon) Gujjari was born about 1912 into a milk-selling family, and her name implies that she was a Muslim from the marginalised Gujjar community. She actively participated as a National Conference militant who confronted the maharaja's security troops on the streets. She became known as 'Zuni Mujahid' in honour of her record as a freedom fighter.

The poster cover depicted above originates from a publication issued in 1948 by the Kashmir Bureau of Information in Delhi. The design was intriguing and influenced by communist ideals. Zuni Gujjari is seen on the ground, aiming a rifle, and is depicted with red colour by the artist Shobha Singh. The monochromatic photograph portrays the Women's Self Defence organization; a female force primarily composed of Communist sympathizers of the National Conference during the period of October - November 1947. In the picture Kashmiri women of different religions can be seen parading with guns to safeguard their honour and defend themselves from the invading troops.[154] Gujjari did not hold any official leadership position in the National Conference, neither was involved in formulating strategies, nor participated in committees. She attained an iconic status due to the fervour of her activity and her representation of underprivileged Kashmiris, whom the National Conference aimed to develop in order to establish local political supremacy. She actively participated in the Quit Kashmir campaign, disseminating pamphlets, and delivering speeches to protest against the princely rule in Kashmir. Gujjari served as the prototype for depicting the female form on the front cover of the New Kashmir manifesto and draft constitution, officially recognized by the National Conference in 1944. This depicts a politically confident Kashmiri woman hoisting the flag of the National Conference (Fig. 5.43).[155]

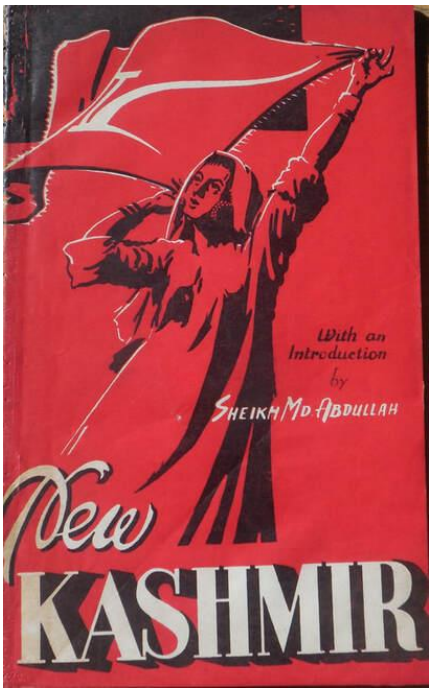


Figure 5.43: The *'New Kashmir'* manifesto, adopted in 1944.
https://www.andrewwhitehead.net/uploads/3/5/0/5/3505647/published/new-kashmir.jpg?1616342085

[154] Andrew Whitehead, 'I shall paint my nails with the blood of those that covet me': Kashmir's Women's Militia and Independence-era Nationalism, History Workshop Journal, 2022; dbac004, https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbac004
[155] Andrew Whitehead, "Looking for Zuni Gujjari," *History Workshop*, June 7, 2022. https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/womens-history/looking-for-zuni-gujjari/

Another painting advocating Kashmir's struggle accurately depicts the people of Kashmir protesting against the invaders for their freedom, however the artist is unknown (Fig. 5.44).



Figure 5.44: *'Volunteers fighting the Kabailis.'* Artist unknown, 1948.
https://www.indiandefencereview.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/1948_war.jpg

The following print is by Chittaprosad, one of the great communist artists of that time (Fig. 5.45). He once wrote about his work, "In my artwork, I represent the tradition of moralists and political reformers." [156]



Figure 5.45: *'Quit Kashmir'* by Chittaprosad, 1946.
https://f3b9m7v4.rocketcdn.me/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Chittaprosad-Quit-Kashmir-1946.jpg

[156] Vijay Prashad, "History often proceeds by jumps and zigzags: The Thirty-Third Newsletter," *Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research*, August 15, 2019. https://thetricontinental.org/newsletterissue/history-often-proceeds-by-jumps-and-zig-zags-the-thirty-third-newsletter-2019/

Kashmir, with its worldly beauty, has long captivated the imagination of artists seeking to capture its soul in paintings. These painters weather local or foreigners, bring viewers into a world of unsurpassed splendour with their vibrant colour strokes and meticulous details. They represent spectacular Himalayan peaks shrouded in immaculate snow, towering over lush valleys filled with flowering saffron fields and pink and white orchards. The artists' works captures Kashmir's rich cultural tapestry by depicting the landscapes and beautiful people. Each brushstroke exemplifies Kashmir's deep fascination, enabling visitors to immerse themselves in its timeless splendour.

Kashmir, an area renowned for its abundant cultural heritage, produced works of art that exemplify the region's distinctive fusion of influences and exceptional craftsmanship. The artistic ability of Kashmiris significantly influenced the visual and cultural milieu of the region, a process that was profoundly impacted by the succession of rulers and the repercussions of the Indo-Pakistan partition. These artists were more than just creators; they were also integral to Kashmiri society's socio-religious fabric, leaving an indelible mark that continues to inspire and enchant the world today.

Despite multiple diplomatic efforts and interventions throughout the decades, the Kashmir issue, a long-standing, and extremely complicated dispute, has yet to be resolved. Since the partition this region has seen chronic territorial disputes between India and Pakistan, resulting in multiple wars and ongoing military conflicts. Various attempts at peace discussions and international intervention have been made to achieve a long-term settlement. But all have failed owing to the entrenched positions and mutual distrust among both parties. This chapter has focused on the very first conflict of 1948, while subsequent chapters will delve into the wars of 1965 and 1999 Kargil War.

Furthermore, the Kashmiri people's ambitions and grievances calls for greater autonomy or independence. A referendum is important for upholding the fundamental right to exercise freedom of choice in the region. The plebiscite is not a promise given by India, but rather a right acquired by the people of Kashmir through resistance, which is also recognised by the UN. Despite the passage of time and the shifting geopolitical landscape, Kashmir’s conflict remains a volatile flashpoint in South Asia. Thus, it emphasises the importance of a comprehensive and inclusive peace process that should focus on the dispute's historical, political, and humanitarian components.

Chapter 6

SOCIO-POLITICAL EVENTS OF PAKISTAN AND THEIR ARTISTIC DISCOURCE

6.1 Socio-Political Events of Pakistan in Early Decades (1950's and 1960's) and its Artistic Discourse

In the early 1950s, Pakistan was dealing with the complicated challenges of state-building and national identity creation. The nascent country had substantial political instability, characterized by frequent leadership transitions and the struggle to develop a strong democratic framework. Economically, Pakistan was working to improve its infrastructure and industrial base despite limited resources and the task to accommodate a vast number of refugees from India. Pakistan also had to face a full-fledge war with India, a strategically vulnerable northern border, series of economic crises and the trouble of equally allocating its limited resources. The government was thinking about the ideal economic system to run the country and to what extent religion should influence the state and government affairs. Similarly, the country also struggled ccollectively when establishing unity among its numerous ethnic and linguistic groups while dealing with the aftermath of colonial authority. Despite these challenges, the local public and government displayed unwavering will and optimism in confronting the obstacles, diligently working towards the improvement of the country. This time was marked by optimism and determination as Pakistan sought to assert its sovereignty and carve out a unique position on the global stage.

The early politicians, religious figures, intellectuals, artists, and society at large devoted most of their time and efforts to pondering and grappling with a multitude of contradictory and ambiguous notions regarding Pakistani nationhood. In its early years, Pakistan struggled to establish a cohesive national identity and construct a democratic framework to accommodate its linguistically diverse population. Pakistan hosted over 20 distinct languages and 300 distinct variants. Official languages were Urdu and English, but Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu, Baluchi, and Seraiki were also considered primary languages. However, the presence of many ethnic groups led to ongoing regional conflicts and multiple unsuccessful attempts to create a constitution.

The language dispute erupted in 1952, becoming one of the causes of early hostilities. There were violent riots in East Pakistan as the politicians and intellectuals from this wing demanded the recognition of Bengali as a national language (Fig. 6.1). A significant number

of demonstrators lost their lives during this violent unrest. In 1954, Bengali was officially recognised as a national language, alongside Urdu.[157]

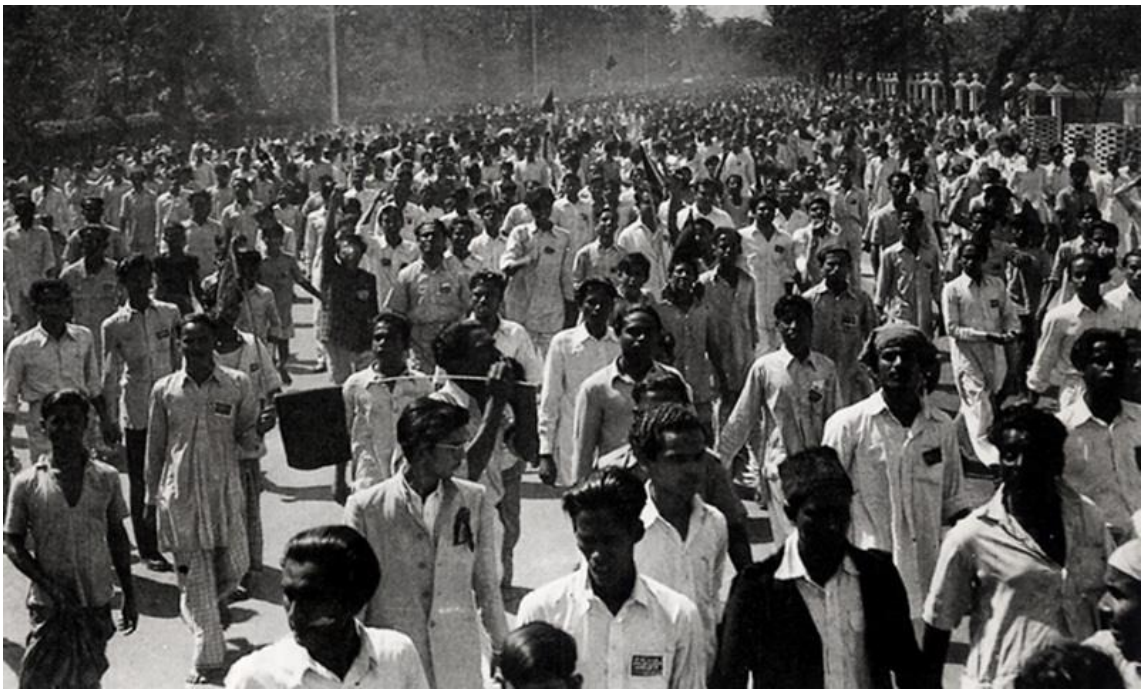


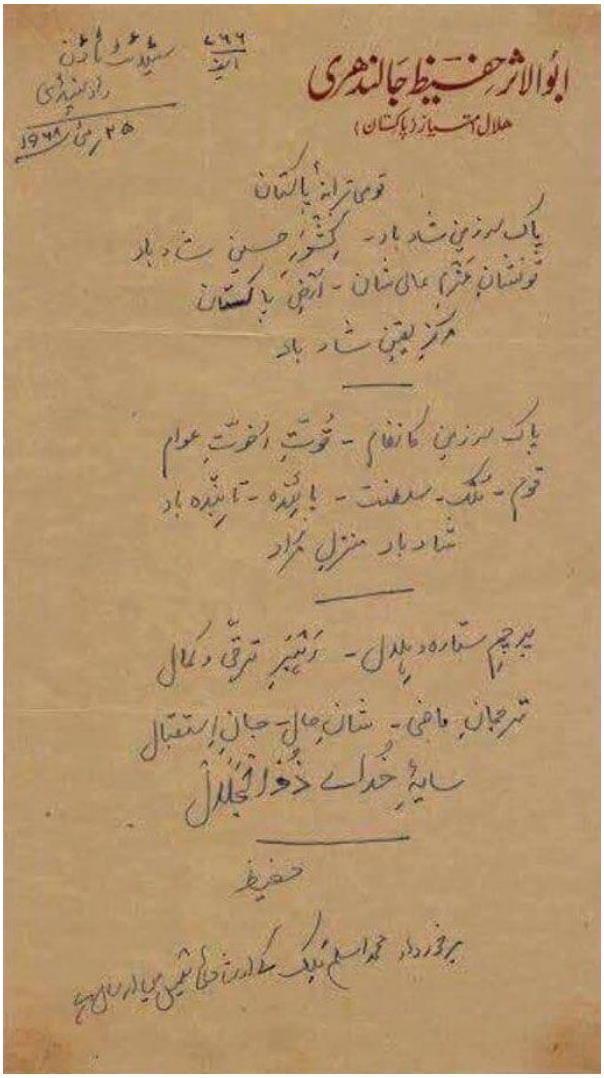
Figure 6.1: College students at a rally in Dhaka (East Pakistan) protesting the West Pakistan's 'discriminatory attitude towards the Bengali language and culture.' (1953). https://i.dawn.com/large/2014/05/53860e778bcbe.jpg?r=598884789

In the early years Pakistan adopted the 1935 Indian Constitution as an interim constitution, with minor revisions. The Interim Constitution established a powerful central authority, a governor-general with non-renewable powers, known as the Constituent Assembly, that began working on the new constitution.[158] The Committee, led by Liaquat Ali Khan, presented its initial report on September 28, 1950. This report was only accepted partially due to its provision of equal representation for both wings, despite the East Wing having a larger population. Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din presented the second draft on December 22, 1952, and this draft also became a subject of criticism from both political factions due to unequal allocation.[159] Thus, the framing of the constitution proved to be a difficult undertaking that was often delayed for various reasons during the next seven years.

In addition to political developments, the country also experienced significant initiatives in other sectors. A huge natural gas reservoir was discovered in the Bugti tribal

[157] Nadeem F. Paracha, "A look at some of the historic moments that have shaped Pakistan," *Dawn*, January 12, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1307767.
[158][158] Dr. Syed Jaffer Ahmed, "Enter the invisible oligarchy," *Dawn,* August 25, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1353861.
[159] Tahir Kamran, "Early Phase of Electoral Politics in Pakistan: 1950s," *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies* Vol. 24, No.2, July-December 2009, pp. 257-282.

region, situated in Sui. At that time, it was the biggest gas field in Pakistan and the sixth largest globally. In April 1954 Urdu was declared the national language and on August 7, the government of Pakistan selected the National Anthem, which was authored by Hafeez Jalandhari[160] (Fig. 6.2) and its music was composed by Ahmed G. Chagla. Jalandhari was a keen participant of the freedom movement not through fighting or protesting but by using the power of his pen, thus promoting the cause of Pakistan through his various writings. He is also the author of Kashmir's anthem "*Watan Hamara Azad Kashmir*" (Our Homeland Free Kashmir), and he also wrote several patriotic songs during the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War.[161]


ابوالاثر حفیظ جالندھری

(ہلال امتیاز و پاکستان)

قومی ترانہ پاکستان

پاک سرزمین شاد باد - کشور حسین شاد باد

تو نشان عزم عالی شان - ارض پاکستان

مرکز یقین شاد باد

پاک سرزمین کا نظام - قوت اخوت عوام

قوم - ملک - سلطنت - پائندہ - تابندہ باد

شاد باد منزل مراد

پرچم ستارہ و ہلال - رہبر ترقی و کمال

ترجمان ماضی - شان حال - جان استقبال

سایۂ خدائے ذوالجلال

حفیظ

Figure 6.2: National Anthem of Pakistan by Hafeez Jalandhari, 1948.
https://i.pinimg.com/564x/ad/0c/39/ad0c393be7dab67e35502405d99a4739.jpg

[160] Hafeez Jalandhari was born in Jalandhar on January 14, 1900, and moved to Lahore after independence. The Government of Pakistan bestowed the Hilal-e-Imtiaz and Pride of Performance upon him in recognition of his literary and patriotic contributions to Pakistan. He died on December 21, 1982, at the age of 82 years. First, he was buried in Model town and later his remains were shifted in tomb near Minar-e-Pakistan. Government of Pakistan issued a postal stamp in his honour in 2001.

[161] Akhtar Baluch, "The seven long years when Pakistan did not sing its national anthem," *Dawn,* August 14, 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1200428.

On October 24, 1954, Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad disbanded the Assembly, seeing that his authority was eroding. After the provinces in the West Wing were abolished and merged into a single unit, new elections were held on June 21, 1955, to elect 40 members from each wing. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, the newly elected Prime Minister, took on the duty of drafting the constitution and formed a special committee to do so. The committee delivered the draft bill to Pakistan's Constituent Assembly on January 9, 1956; however, the Bengali leaders opposed the bill and Maulana Bhashani, the Awami League's leader in East Pakistan, even threatened and demanded independence or autonomy.[162]

Despite their opposition the constitution was implemented on March 23, 1956, based on the Indian Act of 1935, which stated that Pakistan was no more a dominion and was formally proclaimed as the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan". In the transitory National Assembly, which replaced the Constituent Assembly, Governor-General Iskander Mirza took the oath of office as an inaugural President of Pakistan (Fig. 6.3).



Figure 6.3: Pakistan became a Republic on March 23, 1956, under Prime Minister Chaudhri Mohammad Ali (extreme left).
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/08/59a006ddcd647.jpg

[162] Shahid Hussain Raja, "Constitution-Making in Pakistan during the 1950s: Causes of Delay," *Medium*, March 2, 2022, https://shahidhraja.medium.com/constitution-making-in-pakistan-during-1950s-causes-of-delay-562376c7ba4

The 1956 constitution was not practically successful due to the absence of any elections, although the project did not fail; rather, it became obsolete due to a lack of implementation. It was subsequently abolished after roughly two years on October 7, 1958, when assemblies were dismissed, and military rule was imposed by Iskander Mirza (Fig. 6.4). The constitution was suspended, and the name of country was altered from 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' to 'Republic of Pakistan.' Therefore, all the attempts to create a mutually agreed-upon agreement were unsuccessful, undermining the fundamental unity of the country as a nation-state.


DAWN

KARACHI

CONSTITUTION ABROGATED

Martial Law all over the country

POLITICAL PARTIES ABOLISHED

Parliament, legislatures and cabinets dismissed

PRESIDENT MIRZA

ALL GOVERNMENT OFFERS REJECTED

1,500 more to join

GEN. AYUB

Martial Law Administrator's proclamation

DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS ORDERED

President's directive to meet food shortage

First priority to agriculture

RECOMMENDATION OF NEC

FANS

COLONY

luxury lush luxury fed

Figure 6.4: Front Page of Dawn. October 7, 1958.
https://miro.medium.com/v2/format:webp/0*cwV8lnqvGAmsnmtc.jpg

In 1958, the President and Army Chief enforced the military rule in response to escalating internal conflicts within the Muslim League, claiming mismanagement and corruption in institutions, and the rise of ethnic violence that endangered national peace. Ayub eventually ousted the prime minister from power and established absolute control as the first ever military ruler. Ayub's dictatorship implemented a period of political and economic stability primarily through proactive state-supported capitalism, a robust partnership with the US, and a firm suppression of all political activities.

Historians widely believe that the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly was a significant turning point in Pakistan's transition towards authoritarian governance. Ayesha Jalal has conducted a comprehensive examination of the factors that led to the emergence of military governance. She highlighted that the significant enhancement that the army and bureaucracy obtained was the result of the support provided by the United States.[163] This supplied funding to the unelected elements of the state to help and develop. Simultaneously, a reason and

[163] Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), 44.

justification for political intervention was offered as a necessity to protect the Cold War alliance against political opposition.

In 1960, Ayub Khan created a Constitution Commission, led by Justice Shahab-ud-Din, to investigate the causes for the failure of parliamentary system in Pakistan and provide proposals for a new constitution. The Commission submitted its report after careful deliberation and consultation. Ayub Khan expressed dissatisfaction with the report and subsequently subjected it to scrutiny by multiple committees. Consequently, the constitution, which was officially announced on March 1st, 1962, and put into effect on June 8th, 1962, completely differed from the one proposed by Shahab-Ud-Din's Commission (Fig. 6.5). This constitution was distinct as no Assembly approved it as it lacked people's participation.[164]



Figure 6.5: Ayub Khan makes the inaugural address at the West Pakistan Basic Democracy Convention on January 29, 1962, at the Punjab Assembly building in Lahore. Governor of West Pakistan, Malik Amir Mohammad Khan Kalabagh, is seated at his right. (Courtesy: Ayub Khan Archives/Tahir Ayub Collection).
https://i.dawn.com/large/2022/08/62f8664e2d163.jpg

Pakistan saw significant economic expansion from 1960 to 1966. Ayub Khan initiated decade-long development initiatives in multiple institutions across the main cities of both sides of Pakistan. Pakistan made significant advancements in agriculture and bolstered the domestic

[164] Khalid Riaz, "Constitution of 1962," https://khalidriazblog.wordpress.com/2016/09/27/the-constitution-of-1962-2/

sector, resulting in a sense of satisfaction among the populace as they observed an apparently seamless trajectory for their future.[165] As stated by Wyne Wilcox in his article:

> "Ayub's leadership has provided Pakistan with a coherent public policy and relative political stability for nearly half of its twenty-one-year history. Pakistan's developers have garnered a wary world's admiration through their unsuspected entrepreneurial boldness and substantial foreign aid. Pakistan's foreign policy managers have established an unprecedented posture of affinity and multiple coordination with Washington, Peking, and Moscow."[166]

Some of the landmark projects included the shifting of capital from Karachi to Islamabad, and construction of "*Minar-e- Pakistan*" (Tower of Pakistan), etc..[167] It was constructed in the 1960s at Minto Park, which was later renamed Iqbal Park (Fig. 6.6). This monument was constructed on the location where the resolution of Lahore was initiated by the All-India Muslim League on March 23rd, 1940. The foundation of this tower was laid on March 23rd, 1960, and the construction process lasted for a duration of eight years and was successfully concluded in the year 1968.



Figure 6.6: Minar-e-Pakistan Under construction.
https://thefridaytimes.com/digital_images/large/2015-03-27/the-making-of-minar-e-pakistan-lahore-circa-1965-1687350828-4527.jpg

[165] Asif Jah, "Ayub era-the first economic stability phase of Pakistan," *Daily Times*, June 22, 2020, https://dailytimes.com.pk/630063/ayub-era-the-first-economic-stability-phase-of-pakistan/
[166] Wayne Wilcox, "Pakistan: A Decade of Ayub." Asian Survey 9, no. 2 (1969): 87–93. https://doi.org/10.2307/2642306.
[167] Minar-e Pakistan meanings Tower of Pakistan in English. Also called Lahore Tower as it was constructed where the Lahore resolution was passed in 1940. It was planned and supervised by Nasiruddin Murat-Khan, an architect and engineer from Daghestan, Russia. The structural design was provided by Abdur Rehman Khan Niazi, a civil engineer from Lahore.

Pakistan's first television station was debuted in 1964. It was in a small bungalow-style facility in Lahore (Fig. 6.7). It was established with the help of specialists from a Japanese company. Nippon and Pakistani industrialist Syed Wajid Ali owned most of the project. The station was known as PTV (Pakistan Television Corporation), and trial programmes were established in Rawalpindi and Karachi centres.



Figure 6.7: Pakistan Television (PTV) first station, 1964.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/01/58760f6580610.jpg

In 1960s PIA (Pakistan International Airlines) became one of the fastest-expanding airlines. It was also the first airline to introduce in-flight entertainment. The outfits of stewardesses and air hostesses were specially designed by Pierre Cardin, a well-known French fashion designer (Fig. 6.8). PIA continued to function successfully, staying in the top five worldwide airlines throughout the 1970s. But unfortunately, it began to decline in the late 1980s.[168]



Figure 6.8: Pakistani Airline Airhostesses, PIA, on the runway of the Karachi airport in 1965.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/01/587611a47139f.jpg

[168] Ihsan Ullah and Hafsa Hina, "State-owned Enterprises not Burden: A Case Study of Pakistan International Airline," *Pakistan Journal of Economic Studies*, https://journals.iub.edu.pk/index.php/pjesVol. 5, No. 2, December2022, Pages: 377-387.

Another important development during the 1960's is the construction of the Mangla Dam.[169] Mangla dam, like Tarbela dam, was constructed as part of the replacement projects outlined in the Indus Water Basin Treaty. This treaty was signed between head of states of Pakistan and India on September 19, 1960, in Karachi. According to the agreement, two Dams were to be constructed to reduce the shortcoming and strengthen the irrigation system, one was Mangla Dam, and the other was Tarbela Dam. The project was completed in 1967 and is Pakistan's inaugural massive multipurpose project that consists of water storage facilities and four power producing units, each with a capacity of 100 MW.[170] Mangla dam is situated on river Jhelum in the Mirpur district of Azad Kashmir, Pakistan (Fig. 6.9). At the outskirts of the dam there is a village named Mangla from which the name was derived.

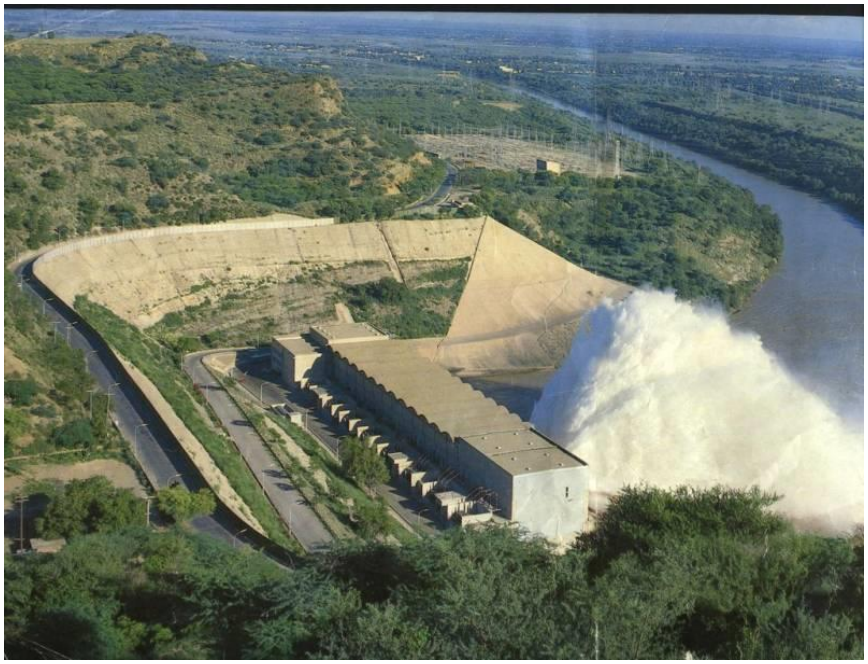


Figure 6.9: Ariel View of Mangla Dam.
https://www.nation.com.pk/print_images/large/2016-03-26/mangla-dam-past-present-future-1458991840-9214.jpg

War of 1965

Despite all these developments, Ayub Khan's rule started to deteriorate rapidly especially after engaging in a military conflict with India in 1965 that eventually served as a major cause of setback for Ayub Khan's regime. Pakistan experienced early success in the conflict, when its military and air force successfully captured significant areas of land. The

[169] The Mangla Dam, located on the Jhelum River about 30 kilometres from Jhelum, is the world's sixth largest dam. Binnie & Partners of London designed and oversaw the project, while Mangla Dam Contractors built it. Mangla Dam was constructed at a cost of Rs. 15.587 billion with the funding being provided by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

[170] Mushtaq Ahmed, " Mangla Dam: Past, Present and future," *The Nation*, March 26, 2016. https://www.nation.com.pk/26-Mar-2016/mangla-dam-past-present-future.

1965 war was the second military confrontation between India and Pakistan on the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir (Fig. 6.10).[171] Though these wars failed to resolve the dispute, however it resulted in the deep involvement of both United States and the Soviet Union in the following years.



Figure 6.10: Ariel View of Chamb Sector, 1965.
https://ispr.gov.pk/images/gallery/1965-war/1965%20war%20(6).jpg

Pakistan initiated an operation intending to secretly deploy forces in Kashmir to incite an insurrection against Indian forces. The expedition ultimately proved unsuccessful, leading to a full-scale armed clash between both countries. On September 6, India launched an attack across the international boundary, sparking a full-scale war (Fig. 6.11 & 6.12). On September 8, India attacked Sialkot, employing its armoured division and strike forces. The Pakistan Air Force (PAF) also played an important role during this war, as it was the first time that the air forces of both countries confronted. Despite their diminutive stature, PAF pilots demonstrated impressive proficiency, shooting down Indian fighter planes.

[171] John David Young, "The Historical Background of the 1965 Kashmir War: 1961-1964" (January 19, 2021). Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3715933



Figure 6.11: A PAF squadron ready to take off.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/09/55e9d51153a5a.jpg?r=1877903028



Figure 6.12: Indian Army Truck, a jeep with a trailer and AMX tank abandoned in the middle of the river Ravi.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/09/55e9d5c3b3397.jpg?r=682039733

The conflict persisted for 17 days and resulted in significant losses of lives from both sides (Fig. 6.13). The war also saw the most significant deployment of armoured vehicles and the largest tank fight since World War II. The war concluded due to diplomatic foreign intervention after a truce was imposed by the United Nations to end the conflict, however both the nations asserted triumph (Fig. 6.14 & 6.15). The defence of Lahore was successful and there were no significant geographical changes as stipulated in the Tashkent Declaration, which aimed to formally terminate the conflict on January 10, 1966, in Tashkent, Uzbek Soviet

Socialist Republic.[172] However, in an article by Sumit Ganguly he asserts that the damages of this war were significantly higher for both sides than those during the first conflict. Some 3000 casualties were sustained by India, including 70 aircraft and approximately 190 tanks. Pakistan's fatalities were also substantial, loosing approximately 20 aircraft, 200 tanks, and 3800 soldiers.[173]



Figure 6.13: A Kashmiri village destroyed during the war.
https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/976/cpsprodpb/13B2C/production/_85348608_gettyimages-3268034.jpg.webp



Figure 6.14 & 6.15: Pakistani soldiers celebrating after hoisting a Pakistani flag on an Indian check post, while on right, Indian flag is being replaced by the Pakistani one.
https://i1.tribune.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/11.jpg

Even after the fight concluded, several Pakistanis were frustrated because the battle did not result in significant territory gains or a clear resolution to the Kashmir issue. Pakistan's

[172] Zubeida Hasan. "The India Pakistan War-A Summary Account," *Pakistan Horizon* 18, no. 4 (1965): 344–56. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41393247.
[173] Sumit Ganguly, "Wars without End: The Indo-Pakistani Conflict." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 541* (1995): 167–78. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1048283.

leadership, under President Ayub Khan, faced internal challenges in dealing with the aftermath of the war. Navigating public opinion was crucial, as some saw the Tashkent Agreement as a compromise that fell short of Pakistan's Kashmir demands. Defence and foreign policy objectives were reevaluated because of the war's failure to conclude and the appearance of a military deadlock. In the years after 1965, Pakistan focused on rebuilding its economy and modernising its military. The war's lessons prompted a shift in approach, with a greater emphasis on diplomatic routes for resolving the Kashmir problem. Pakistan attempted to win over other countries by emphasising the rights of the Kashmiri people and their right to self-determination.

Another significant event that occurred in 1965 was the presidential election. Fatima Jinnah emerged from her voluntary withdrawal from politics to contest the presidential race against the military president Ayub Khan. She expressed doubt about the legitimacy of the Presidential system and argued that it should be eliminated and restored with the previous Parliamentary System. Fatima Jinnah's campaign focused on promoting democracy, upholding civil rights, and advocating for social justice (Fig. 6.16). Her campaign instilled hope in the people of Pakistan from both East and West sides. Her election symbol was a Lantern which is symbolic to a source of light, as she was at that time against the military government. The presidential elections took place on January 2, 1965. It was widely known that Fatima Jinnah would have emerged victorious if the election had been conducted in a just and unbiased manner, however she was defeated.[174]

Fatima Jinnah deliberately chose to align herself with the correct side of historical events by opposing autocracy and advocating for democracy and the principles of legal governance. During this process she encountered assaults on her integrity and loyalty. She was labelled as an Indian agent, betrayer, elderly woman, and was even accused of being associated with Ahmadiyya. However, she courageously refuted these accusations and defended her integrity and reputation. She was determined and rational, firmly believing that education and economic development within an indigenous framework are vital for Pakistan's success as a nation. Despite her defeat she was hopeful for lying the ground for democracy. She was restricted to address the nation, and her speeches were censored during broadcasting on Radio Pakistan.

[174] Nadeem F. Paracha, "Smokers' Corner: Democratic Origins," *Dawn*, January 14, 2018, https://www.dawn.com/news/1382840/smokers-corner-democratic-origins



Figure 6.16: Fatima Jinnah addressing to election rally in East Pakistan, 1965.
https://thefridaytimes.com/digital_images/large/2023-07-09/how-fatima-jinnah-became-madar-e-millat-1691650770-4669.jpg

Fatima Jinnah passed away on July 9, 1967, at Mohatta Palace in Karachi and is buried adjacent to Quaid-e-Azam in his mausoleum (Fig. 6.17). The abrupt demise of mother of the nation sparked speculation over the underlying cause of her death. The official declaration indicated that the cause of death was natural, namely related to heart failure. However, her family members demanded an inquiry from the government which was never initiated.



Figure 6.17: Urdu newspaper *Jang* on July 10, 1967.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/01/54c37ae4541b4.jpg?r=1000176897

Downfall of Ayub Khan's era can be mostly attributed to his political shortcomings. His era is renowned for its economic expansion and progress; however, this assertion is frequently subject to criticism. The economic growth was not a substantial one as it heavily

relied on foreign assistance and borrowing. The period of progress he oversaw was unable to improve people's lives due to economic inequality and the persistent increase in prices. Additionally, the basic democracy system proved to be a complete failure.[175]

During these years another political party started to emerge and gained momentum and was led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a foreign minister in Ayub's regime. The foundation of the party was laid in 1967 and was known as Pakistani Peoples Party; a political party that advocated for progressive policies, democratic socialism, social liberalism, and democratic values. Bhutto made efforts to engage with the individuals whom the government had disregarded, with the aim of motivating them to participate in a rebellion against Ayub Khan and his pro-Western principles. He achieved widespread support throughout west Pakistan due to his proficiency in communication and establishing a connection with local people and demonstrating empathy with them. Furthermore, the participation of intellectuals and journalists was observed alongside the protests from students, peasants, and industrial workers. The widespread movements from these diverse groups of protestors, served as a symbol for the transformation of the existing system. Bhutto played a significant role in mobilising many people by effectively addressing the nation's interests (Fig. 6.18).

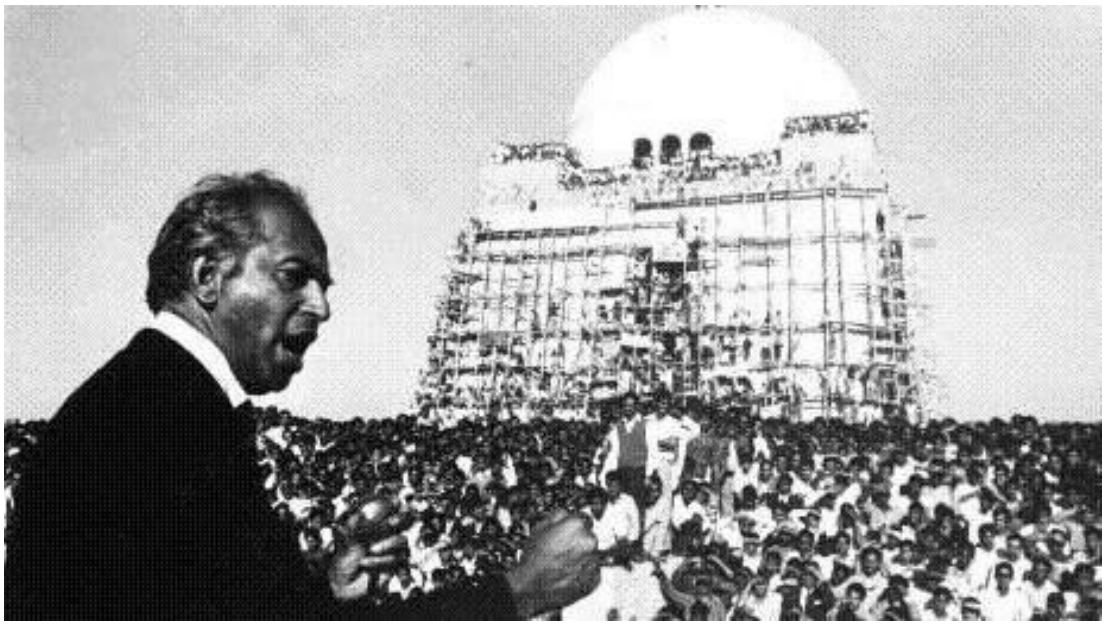


Figure 6.18: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at Mizar-e-Quaid in Karachi, 1969.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ed/Ali_Bhutto_Karachi_1969.jpg

On the other hand, in East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujib-Ur-Rehman was rapidly becoming the primary representative of East Pakistani nationalism. He gained popularity after he

[175] Wayne Wilcox, "Pakistan in 1969: Once again at the Starting Point," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 10, No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1969: Part II (Feb. 1970), pp. 73-81 (9 pages), https://doi.org/10.2307/2642241

introduced his Six-Agenda Programme in 1966, which advocated for greater autonomy for provinces and democracy. Following a prolonged period of protests and acts of violence, the army issued a demand for the president to resign, Ayub Khan accepted the pressure and relinquished authority to the army head, Yahya Khan. Furthermore, on March 25, 1969, Yahya declared that the government would conduct an election in 1970, marking the first election since Pakistan gained independence in 1947.

The fall of East Pakistan occurred two years after Ayub's downfall, but he was instrumental in laying the groundwork for it. East Pakistan was deliberately hindered in terms of economic growth and developmental efforts. The major components of Pakistani exports were rice, tea, and jute from East Pakistan. However, East Pakistan did not receive a fair portion of the wealth generated from these exports. Central Punjab and Karachi experienced significantly more development than East Pakistan, which made East Pakistani's feel historically exploited and deprived, because of the Green Revolution and capitalism's locational logic. All these elements contributed to the partition of East Pakistan that will be examined in the next decades of 70's and 80's.

Artistic Discourse of Socio-Political Events of 50's and 60's

The 1950s and 1960s marked an important turning point in South Asian history when India and Pakistan emerged as new post-colonial nations. During this period, Pakistani art went through major changes in both art education and practice, paving way for the nation to appear in South Asia's cultural and artistic landscape. President Ayub Khan established a National Commission on Education three months after assuming power. The commission's objective was to create a strategy for the "re-organization and re-orientation of the existing educational system in order to create a national system that more accurately reflects our spiritual, moral, and cultural values."[176]

In Pakistan's nationalist art history, contemporary art began with a departure from traditional painting styles that were popular among the population. The younger generation of artists rejected the traditionalist approach, deeming it outdated and incompatible with the contemporary era. In this quest for change in style and to find out a new identity in the newly established country artists started to lean towards western ideology.

[176] Nadeem Tarar, "Aesthetic Modernism in the Post-Colony: The Making of a National College of Art in Pakistan (1950–1960s)," *International Journal of Art & Design Education*.(2008) 27. 332 - 345. 10.1111/j.1476-8070.2008.00587.x.

Artists like Shakir Ali, Anna Molka Ahmed, Zain ul Abedin, Zubaida Agha, Colin David, Sadequain, Ismail Gul gee, Ahmed Pervaiz, Bashir Mirza, Jamil Naqsh among others were already working during this era and had established themselves as renowned artists. A new group was initiated, named "The Lahore Group," that was pivotal in developing contemporary Pakistani art by promoting experimentation in the Modern idiom. This informal group comprised of Ahmed Parvez, Anwar Jalal Shamza, Ali Imam, Moyen Najmi, Sheikh Safdar, and Qutub Sheikh. But before this group started to convert into a movement it lost its spirit due to political interference.

It is widely known that during the division in 1947, a considerable number of British individuals chose to remain in the region. These primarily consisted of military commanders who arrived as a part of the division of the British Indian Army. Indeed, the initial three Commanders of the Pakistan Army were British. Nevertheless, individuals in the military were not the sole ones who dedicated their lives to Pakistan. An artist, who has been overlooked by time, remained in Pakistan, and utilized his talents in a distinctive manner. Hal Bevan Petman[177] was a British artist born in Scotland. He shifted to the subcontinent during 1930's and after partition choose to live in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. He served as an official employed artist of the army and lived mostly in Rawalpindi and frequently visited Quetta. Bevan-Petman remained in Pakistan and pursued a career in painting while also successfully obtaining compensation from the Government during General Ayub Khan's regime. He was basically a portrait painter with a photographic and commercial touch.[178] Omitting his name from the list of artists from the early decades of Pakistan would be unfair, as he played a vital role in depicting various aspects of Pakistan through his exceptional artistic abilities. This included creating portraits of notable officials, landscapes, the Mangla dam, and war scenes from 1965 etc.

According to Quddus Mirza, Petman has portrayed the era of 1950's, '60s, and '70s in a great manner through his dynamic personality and artworks but unfortunately that portrayal has disappeared from our cultural existence. The way he had studied and depicted ladies in traditional clothing was a unique endeavour, because he was a foreigner living in the region for

[177] Henry Charles Bevan Petman was born in 1894 in Gloucestershire, England. Petman left for India in 1921 where he established himself as a portraitist to the wealthy and well connected. Between 1921 and 1935, he led a peripatetic life, painting constantly and acquiring both friendships and commissions on the way. Hal opted for Pakistan in 1947, making the Rawalpindi Club his perch. It is reported that the Bevan-Pitman family migrated to the Indian subcontinent and were involved in a wide range of enterprises, including ownership of several mines in what is now known as Baluchistan. Following the partition of India, the Government of Pakistan assumed control of the mines held by his family. Petman died in 1980 and is buried in the Rawalpindi Christian cemetery.

[178] Abid Hussain Qureshi, *Art of Pakistan: Indigenous Elements and western Influences* (Lahore: PWCS, 2017), 307.

a long time. He has depicted Pakistani's as subjects renowned in the world for their civility, enjoyment, and diversity; distinguished by the harmonious coexistence of various nationalities and religions.[179] Ijaz ul Hassan, in his book *Painting in Pakistan*, describes Petman as a skilled artist who consistently created impressive artworks on demand. However, most of his time was dedicated to fulfilling commissions for his customers, in a pleasing and well-deserved manner.[180]

Mangla Dam, Minar-e-Pakistan and PIA

The artistic portrayal of Mangla Dam by Petman depicts the immense scale of Mangla dam on the Jhelum River, hence honouring this significant undertaking (Fig. 6.19).



Figure 6.19: *'The Damming of the Jhelum River at Mangla West'* (1965). Hal Bevan Petman. https://scontent.flhe38-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t

Apart from Petman, Mangla Dam's creation and hardships were also depicted by another great artist of that era, Syed Ahmed Sadequain Naqvi.[181] His mural shown below is

[179] Quddus Mirza, "Mirrors in a Museum," *The News Encore*, February 02, 2020. https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/606429-mirrors-in-a-museum.
[180] Ijaz ul Hassan, *Painting in Pakistan*, (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd, 1991), 96.
[181] Syed Sadequain Ahmed Naqvi (30 June 1930 – 10 February 1987), was a Pakistani artist. He is best known for his skills as a calligrapher and a painter. He was also a poet, writing hundreds of rubaiyat in the style of Omar Khayyam and Sarmad Kashani. In late 1940s he joined the Progressive Writers' and Artists Movement. His monumental murals, almost thirty-five, adorn the halls of State Bank, Frere Hall Karachi; Lahore Museum; Punjab University; Mangla Dam; Aligarh Muslim University; Banaras Hindu University; Indian Institute of Geological Sciences; Islamic Institute in Delhi, and Abu Dhabi Powerhouse, among others.

appropriately named "*The Saga of Labour*", created in the year 1967 and is considered as one of his most impactful creations. It is a massive mural that measures 200×30 feet and is in the Powerhouse of Mangla Dam (Fig. 6.20). He accomplished it within an astonishing timeframe of three months, during which he toiled tirelessly day and night.

The artwork portrays the vital role of both women and men working in the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy. Paradoxically, the dam's construction was financed by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank throughout the 1960s and was carried out by engineering contractors from Britain and the United States. The consequences of the event led to the local community in Mangla being displaced, losing their means of making a living and becoming homeless. It depicts the hardships of labourers and workers, as they were struggling with the powerful force of nature (Fig. 6.21 & 6.22).



Figure 6.20: *'Mural Displayed in Powerhouse Hall.'*
Source: Book: Art of Pakistan by Abid Husain Qureshi.

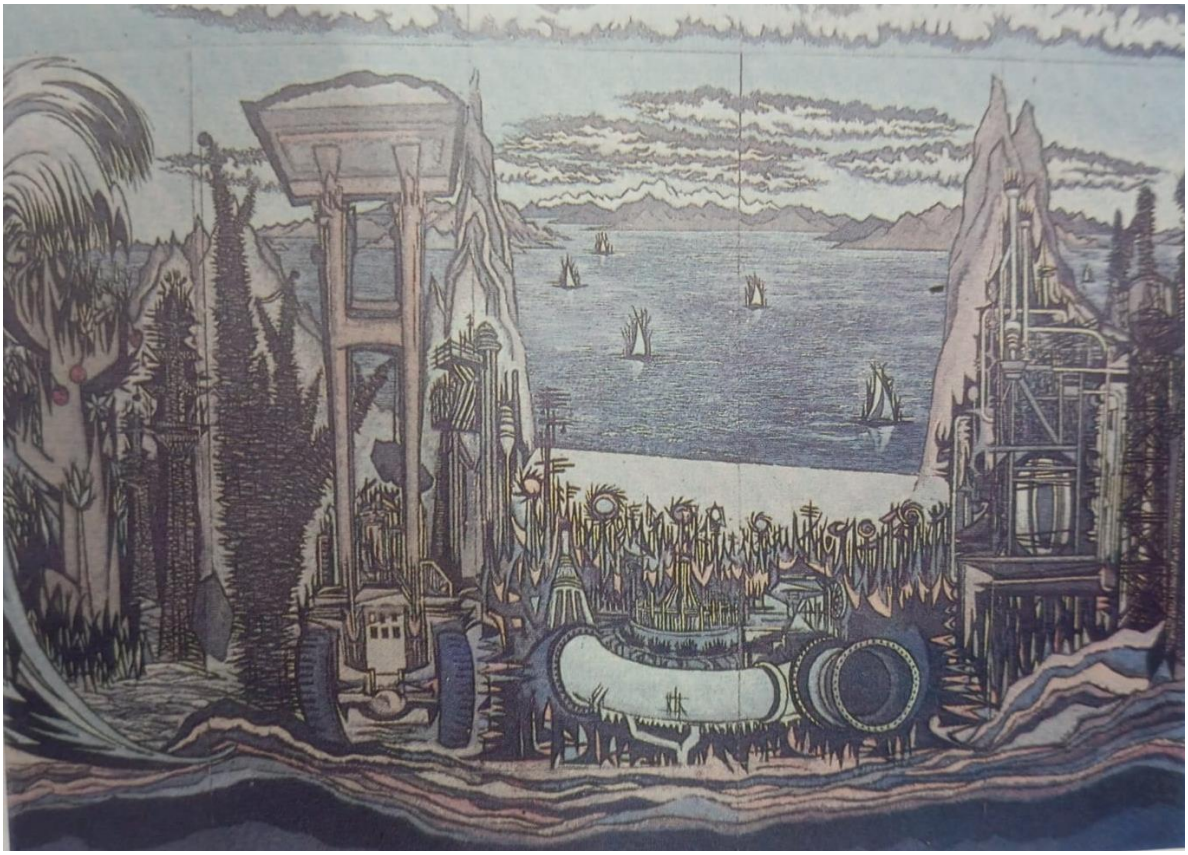


Figure 6.21: *'Saga of Labour'* (Detail 1) by Sadequain, 1967.
Source: Book: "Art of Pakistan by Abid Husain Qureshi."

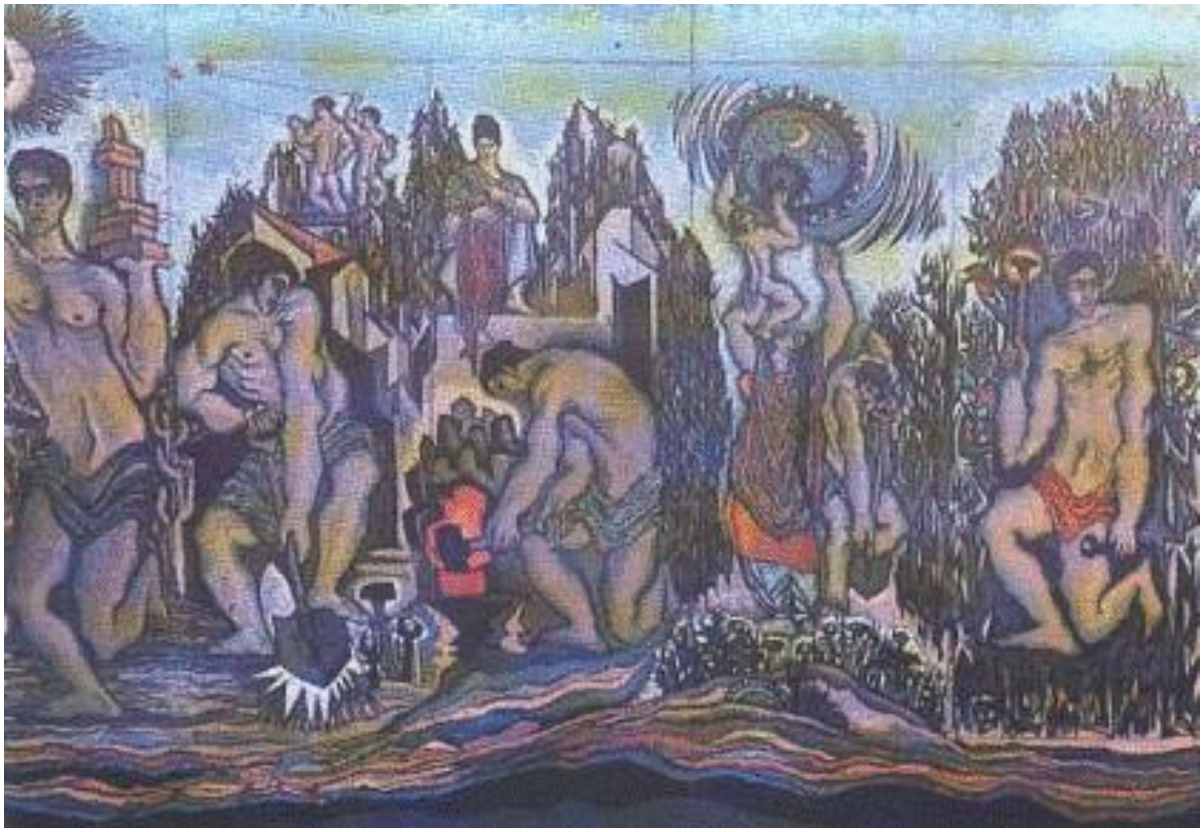


Figure 6.22: *'Saga of Labour'* (Detail 2) by Sadequain, 1967.
Source: Book: "Art of Pakistan by Abid Husain Qureshi."

However, there is a variation in the portrayal of subject matter by both artists. One artist has captured a photographic image of the site. At the same time, the other has provided us with a better understanding of the challenges the labourers and workers faced, and how they completed this project in just four years.

During the same period that the dam was being constructed, Minar e Pakistan was also underway. It showed the Pakistani people's resilience and aspirations, serving as a reminder of the country's foundation and its journey towards independence. It was a significant milestone in the national history of Pakistan but unfortunately there is not much artistic appreciation of this monument. Although it symbolizes national pride and identity, there is regrettably a lack of artistic representation of Minar e Pakistan. However, it is present as illustrative art on almost everything, including badges, flags, and stamps, and is referred to as "patriotic" during the Independence celebrations. It also serves as a symbol of Lahore along with the other historical buildings of Mughal era. It was depicted in the backdrop of Muhammad Javed's[182] paintings, serving as an emblem of Lahore (Fig. 6.23 & 6.24). Younger artists who work online have showed their affiliation with this national monument in recent years (Fig. 6.25 & 6.26).



Figure 6.23: Section of *"Lahore Through Ages"* by Muhammad Javed, 1972.
Oil on Canvas/Palette Knife. Collection: Governor house, Punjab.
Book: Art in Pakistan: Traditions and Trends by Ashfaq Rasheed.

[182] Muhammad Javed born in 1942, Sheikhupura, Punjab. He graduated in Fine Art (Painting) from National College of Arts in 1962 and contributed a lot in the art-scene of Pakistan during his 6 decades of professional career. Muhammad Javed has developed a signature style since the 1970s that incorporates elements of modern Pakistani art.

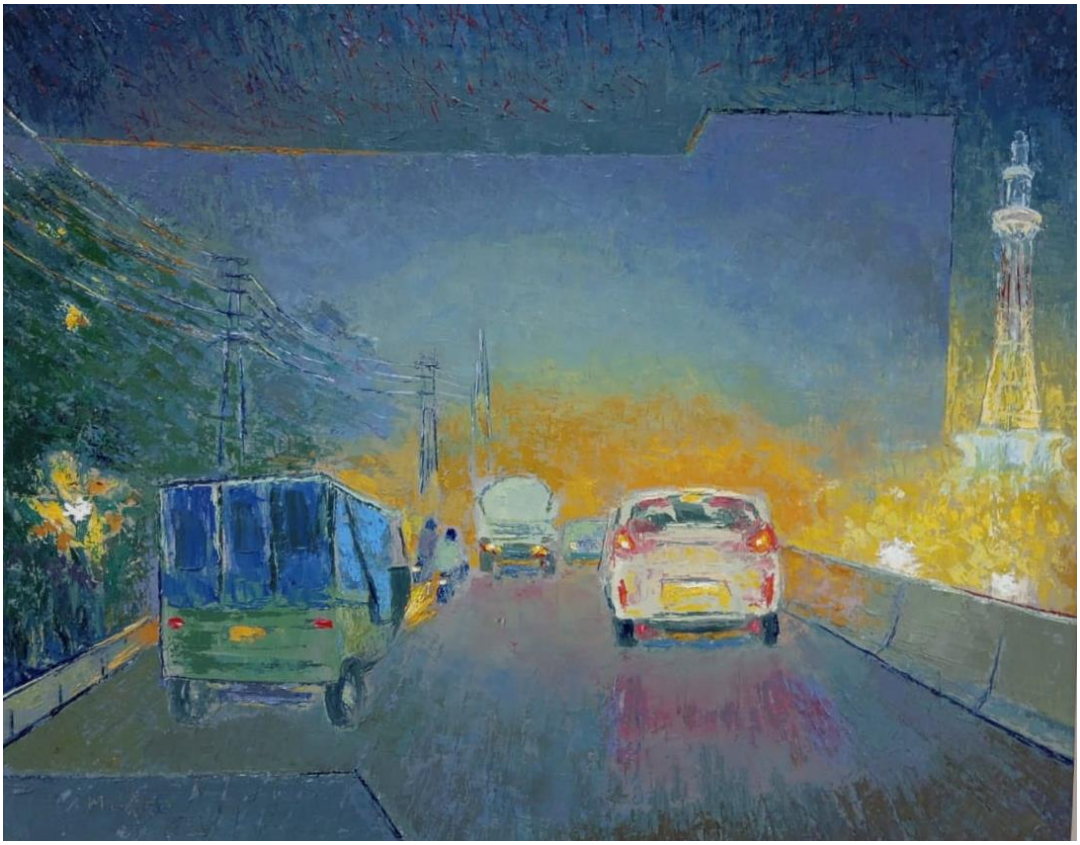


Figure 6.24: *'Mystic Lahore'* by Muhammad Javed, 2024. Oil on Board/Palate Knife.
Source: Coopra Art Gallery.



Figure 6.25: *'Minar-e-Pakistan'* by Sher Khan 2015.
https://tuuum.com/media/artworks/art6047dfebf3e93bb4599d2f73ba1c74b6.jpg

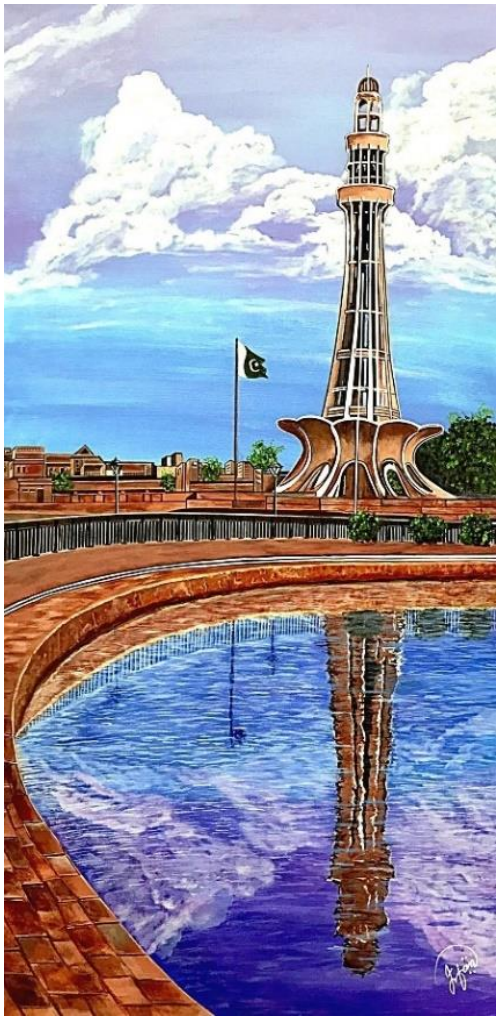


Figure 6.26: *'Minar-e- Pakistan,'* Irfan Murtaza, 2020.
https://www.artbyirfanmurtaza.com/pictures/

Air transport played an important role in the early years. Muhammad Ali Jinnah realised that with the development of Pakistan's two wings, separated by 1100 miles, a fast and effective mode of transportation was required. Pakistan International Airlines was a significant success in its early years, in contrast to the current condition of the airline industry. PIA was the first airline to establish a new route using contemporary aircraft. The first airline to provide in-flight videos to passengers in both First and Economy class.[183] The PIA booklet published in March 1958, was designed to provide passengers with valuable information regarding aviation travel (Fig. 6.27). On February 6, 1962, Pakistan International Airlines took the first inaugural jet flight to Dhaka, shown in the old First Day Cover from Pakistan Posts & Telegraphs. It also features a collection of four Pakistani postage stamps commemorating the inaugural jet flight between Karachi and Dhaka (Fig. 6.28). PIA's initial logo, a winged Bengal tiger, is depicted on the vintage luggage label from the early 1950s (Fig. 6.29).

[183] "History," Pakistan International Airlines, accessed May 20, 2024, https://piac.com.pk/corporate/about-us/history



Figure 6.27: *'PIA Booklet cover design,'* 1958
https://historyofpia.com/booklet_memo1.jpg



Figure 6.28: Cover of *'Karachi Dhakka first flight.'*
https://historyofpia.com/cover_dacca_memo7.jpg



Figure 6.29: *'PIA Baggage Label'* (Abbas Ali Collection)
https://historyofpia.com/label_tiger_memo15.gif

The following images show the work of Ali Mazher, he may not be a professional artist, yet he engages in aviation art as a passionate pursuit (Fig. 6.30 & 6.31) According to his statement regarding his aviation art, he creates artwork for individual collectors and fighter squadrons working for the Pakistan Air Force. The sketch of a PIA Boeing 777 represents his initial endeavour to accurately depict a commercial jet. Mazher Ali gifted this exquisite artwork to Capt. Nadeem Soofi of PIA during a flight on a PIA Boeing 777 from Houston to Karachi in December 2004.[184]



Figure 6.30: Boeing 777-240ER (Copyright © Ali Mazhar)
https://historyofpia.com/777_art7.jpg



Figure 6.31: McDonnell Douglas DC-10-30, 2006. (Copyright © Ali Mazhar)
https://historyofpia.com/dc10_art8.jpg

[184] Karlene Petitt, "An aviator's journey continues ... Changing the world one word at a time." July 7, 2017, https://karlenepetitt.blogspot.com/2017/07/ali-mazhar.html

War of 1965

Pakistan engaged in a military conflict with India over the territorial dispute of Kashmir in 1965. Renowned artists such as Hal Bevan Petman and Anna Molka depicted the horrors of war with their skilled brushwork (Fig. 6.32 & 6.33). They have portrayed the war scenes in their own unique styles, and have paid tribute to the soldiers, who received martyrdom and played a crucial role for the defence of their country.



Figure 6.32: *'Battle on the River Ravi'* by Hal Bevan Petman, 1965.
Oil on canvas Collection of Retd. Fadhil Yusufzai.



Figure 6.33: *'Battle of tanks in Chawinda'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, 1965.
Source: Tahira Ahmed.

In addition to these artists, aviation artists have also played a crucial role in documenting the enormous contributions of the Pakistan Air Force and its aircraft during the war. Pakistan has been a primary hub for research and development in the sector of Aviation Art in South Asia and the Middle East. Nevertheless, because of the somewhat restricted nature of aviation, the most captivating artworks were naturally centred around the Pakistan Air Force (PAF) and its numerous noteworthy achievements.[185] Group Captain Syed Masood Akhtar Hussaini[186] is a retired officer and is widely acknowledged as an exceptional aviation artist. He has created various paintings that portray the rich history of the Pakistan Air Force and war scenes that have been successful in capturing the true essence of the events.

The renowned aviation artist stated that he has been creating paintings for the air force, with a particular emphasis on the significant events throughout the country's dramatic military history. Hussaini acknowledges that being a painter and a pilot are distinct fields but affirms that painting is the sole means of safeguarding an aerial combat. Hussaini stated that during aerial conflict, there is no presence of anybody to document or video the events, but art can provide live coverage of the battles. He stated that despite the widespread use of cameras, the pilot remains the sole witness to the actual incident during combat (Fig. 6.34).[187]



Figure 6.34: *'Battle scene of PAF F-104'* by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/f/f/1/ff125df4ca82b84a3e5f0ad18d86b6d754ec977d.jpg

[185] Haris Masood Zuberi, "The Art of Flying," *Tribune*, August 14, 2011, https://tribune.com.pk/story/227847/the-art-of-flying
[186] Syed Masood Akhtar Hussaini is retired Group Captain from Pakistan Air Force. He has created almost 350 paintings that portrays the rich history of PAF. He has received Tamgha-e-Bisalat and Pride of Performance from Pakistan government for the acknowledgement of his work. he is a member of American Society of Aviation Art.
[187] Tauseef Razi Malik, "A stroll through the PAF museum: When a soldier takes up brushes, art happens," *Dawn*, February 3, 2018, https://www.dawn.com/news/1386928.

The painting shows the encounter and surrender of Indian Fighter Squadron led by Squadron Leader Brij Pal Singh Sikand to a Pakistani Air Force F-104 fighter during a military engagement. It was the most extraordinary occurrence during the 1965 conflict. This painting depicts the moment when he successfully lands his Gnat aircraft at Pasrur, an airport in Pakistan located near Gujranwala. Flight Lieutenant Hakimullah, who eventually became the Air Chief, piloted the PAF F-104 aircraft.

On September 6, 1965, six F-86s from No. 19 Squadron assaulted the Indian army's advancing columns at Wagah. In 20 minutes of battle, the Grand Trunk Road was covered with flaming tanks (Fig. 6.35). Sajjad Haider, the squadron leader, led the formation, which included flight lieutenants M. Akbar, Dilawar Hussain, Ghani Akbar, and flying officers Khalid Latif and Arshad Chaudhry. The PAF employed 5 rockets for the first time in combat, and they had a catastrophic impact on the enemy armour. Various airstrikes were skilfully depicted by Akhtar Hussaini (Fig. 6.36 to Fig. 6.45).



Figure 6.35: *'Strike on Grand Trunk Road'* by F-86s by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/7/d/6/7d68d434d629dc2cb61f81441981e49d2129ed9c.jpg



Figure 6.36: *'Pathankot Strike'* by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/f/8/6/f86386799aa37d3610d2461d698d6d07b01d7114.jpg



Figure 6.37: *'Strike on IAF Kalaikunda bomber station in 1956'* by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/9/e/e/9ee92e7d0bd0aac070a372bd22efd9f61f1974b9.jpg



Figure 6.38: F-86 Piloted by AH Malk destroys an IAF over Sargodha in 1965, by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/8/e/8/8e8bb425055975e35f23d1decab037d853abcc42.jpg



Figure 6.39: F-104 Piloted by Flight Lieutenant Aftab Alam Khan of No.9 squadron on a high-speed reconnaissance mission over Halwara, by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/a/3/8/a389094ac6b899ab8deeeae28e8e5dad49a128d7.jpg



Figure 6.40: 4 F-86s leaded by Squadron Leader Shabbir H Syed from
No 14 Squadron Dhaka, strike IAF base Bag Dogra on 10 September 1965. Four aircrafts on the ground were destroyed and ATC building, and the hangars were also damaged, by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/0/5/a/05a82e8ea2191fd5c1cf805269e48c08fbd8819b.jpg



Figure 6.41: *'Attacks by PAF f-86s on IAF,'* Amritsar radar installation during 1965 war, by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/2/7/d/27ddd71f24d64c2cdde0c35cc7e13ac9b8fbb29d.jpg



Figure 6.42: On September 13, 1965, four sabres led by Squadron leader Alauddin Ahmed on their second offensive patrol over Indian lines of communication, attacked a long freight wagon at
Gurdaspur railway yard, by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/c/4/9/c49a302ef30c3684b6d538d431b4b03575d387fc.jpg



Figure 6.43: The painting depicts a publicly witnessed dogfight over the city of Lahore on the afternoon of 19th September 1965. The f-86 formation was led by SA Changezi, by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/e/0/3/e038edc7363f8900e15782902ca5efed3b774b06.jpg

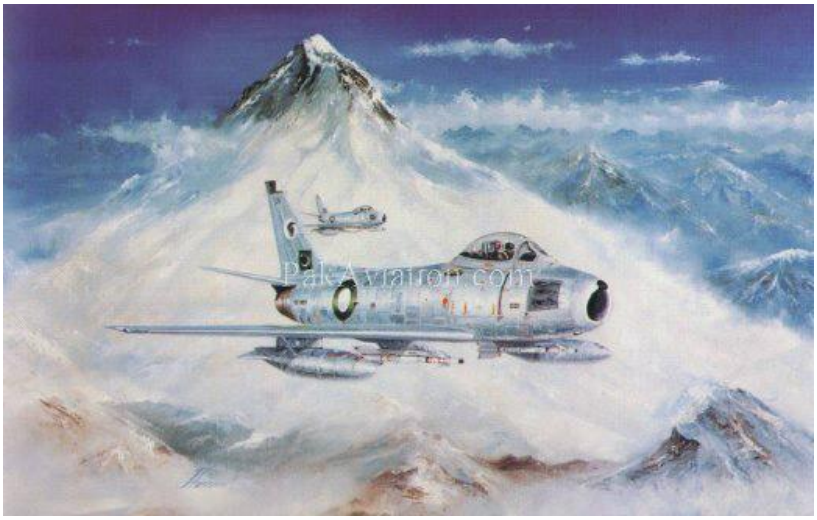


Figure 6.44: F-86s over the Karakoram in November 1965, by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/4/d/2/4d2eca17c97809fbdc9bf2fc89f9ba7e50fe8305.jpg

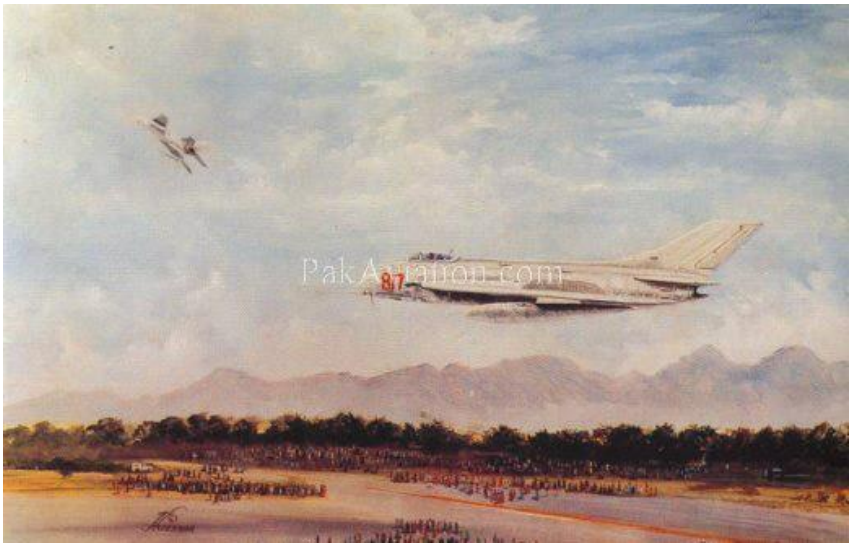


Figure 6.45: F-6s arrives at Sargodha Air Base, by Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/7/d/d/7dd4ee4f45ba29d475d2a4d411014d925c359d89.jpg

War Martyrs

In addition to portraying battle scenes, the artists have also honoured the courageous soldiers who fought those battles by encapsulating their personalities in portraits (Fig. 6.46 & Fig. 6.47). Among all the brave soldiers who fought relentlessly during the war of 1965, Major Raja Aziz Bhatti[188] was the most famous, he received martyrdom and later awarded Nishan-e-Haider by the Pakistan Military. Bhatti during the war was serving in the Lahore sector when Indian armies attacked on September 6, 1965. After India's aggressive tank assault on Pakistan, he made the decision to lead his men in defence towards the strategically important BRB canal. Despite repeated artillery and tank bombardment, his platoon persisted for five days and nights. He efficiently handled the canal defence and while defending, he was struck by a tank shell and received martyrdom.



Figure 6.46: *'Major Aziz Bhatti'* Portrait by Kamal, Date unknown.
https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/1801252-majorazizbhattix-1536736204.jpg

[188] Major Raja Aziz Bhatti Shaheed (1928 – September 10, 1965). He was born in Hong Kong in 1928. He moved to Pakistan before it became independent in 1947, living in the village of Ladian, Gujrat. There he enlisted with the newly formed Pakistani Army and was commissioned to the Punjab Regiment in 1950. He was fatally struck by an enemy tank shell on September 12, 1965. Raja Aziz Bhatti received martyrdom at the age of 37 during war and was honoured with the esteemed Nishan-e Haidar for his contributions to Pakistan Army.



Figure 6.47: Hal Bevan Petman painting the portrait of Major Aziz Bhatti.
https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1127499967330455&set=a.457262627687529

Another brave man, Major Mian Raza Shah[189] joined the Pakistan Army in May 1957 (Fig. 6.48). After his training in Kakul Academy, he was selected for a course at the Royal Military Academy UK and later he joined the 11th Cavalry (Frontier Force) in Nowshera. During the war of 1965, when the Indian army threatened to capture Muzaffarabad, the Pakistan Army launched a counteroffensive mission across the cease-fire line. Raza Shah fought bravely, even though he put his life at risk. During the counterattack his tank was hit and along with other men he received martyrdom.

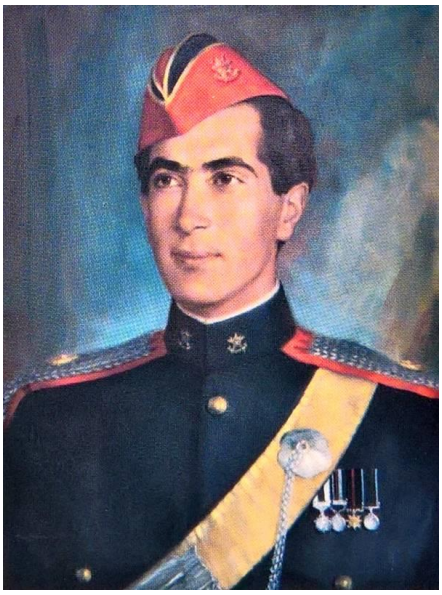


Figure 6.48: *'Shaheed Major Mian Raza Shah,'* Hal Bevan Petman. Sitara-e-Jurat 1965.
Oil on canvas Collection of Admiral Zahir Shah.
https://www.travel-culture.com/images/painting-shaheed-major-mia-raza-shah-1965.jpg

[189] Major Mian Raza Shah SJ, belonged to the famous Kaka Khel family of Village Sardar Killi, Umer Zai, Charsadda. Maj Shah was the first Pakistani officer to embrace shahadat in the 1965 Indo-Pak war. He was initially recommended for Nishan e Haider, the highest military award, but was subsequently awarded Sitara e Jurat (Medal of Courage).

Anna Molka Ahmed has also honoured the soldiers who were engaged in combat and protecting the country at different locations. She created immediate sketches and drawings on the spot, which she later transformed into paintings (Fig. 6.49 to Fig. 6.52).

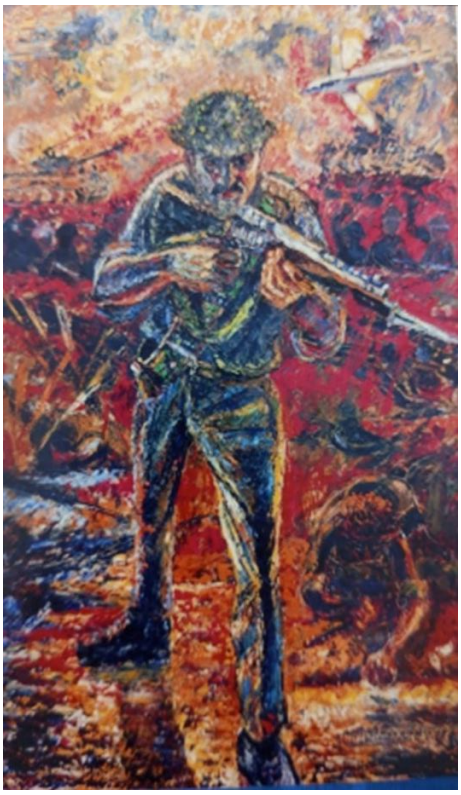


Figure 6.49: *'Jawan'* of War by Anna Molka. Oil on Canvas, 1965.
Courtesy: Tahira Ahmed.

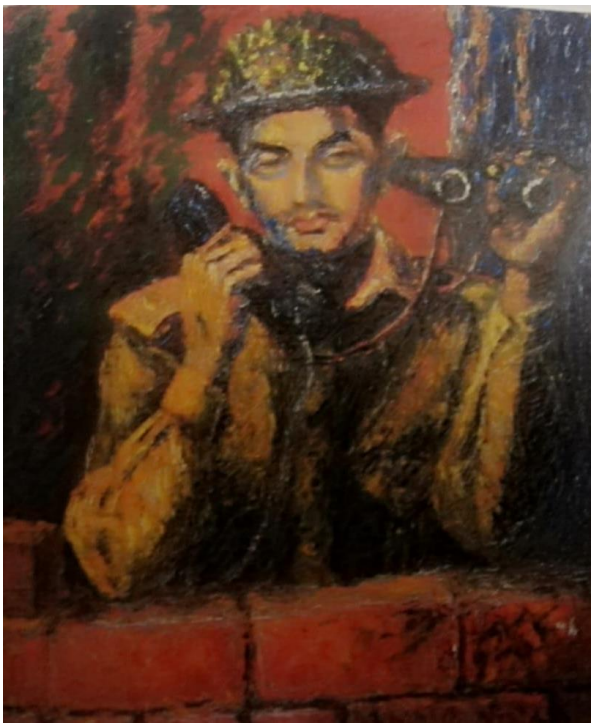


Figure 6.50: *'Major Aziz Bhatti'* by Anna Molka. Oil on Canvas,1966.
Courtesy: Tahira Ahmed.



Figure 6.51: *'Kashmiri Mujahid'* by Anna Molka Ahmed. Oil on Canvas, 1965.
Courtesy: Tahira Ahmed.

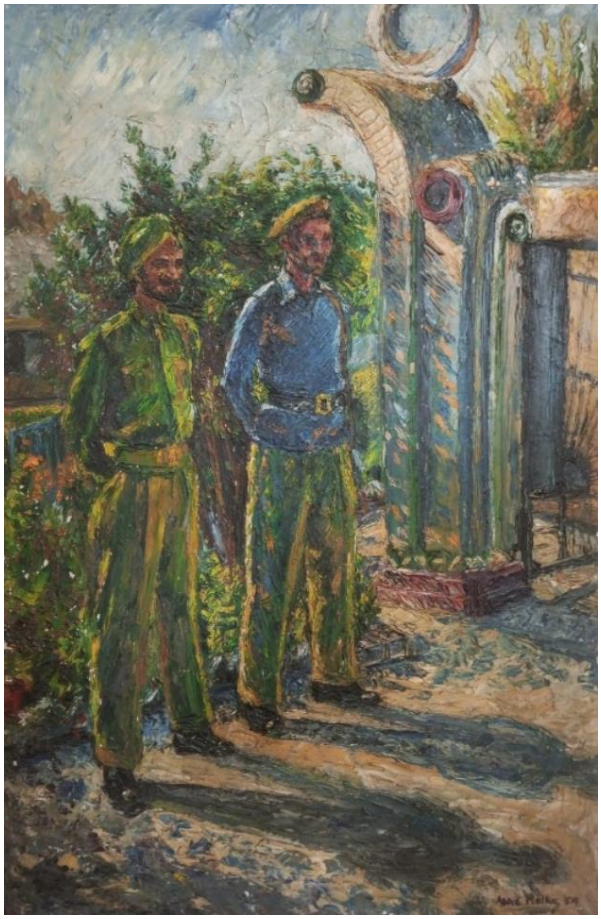


Figure 6.52: *'Soldiers at Wahga Border'* by Anna Molka. Oil on Canvas, 1959.
Courtesy: Tahira Ahmed.

Portraits as a Tribute

Portraits are a powerful way to honour well-known individuals like those who had played a significant role in the creation of Pakistan, the freedom fighters, the martyrs, the social workers, the poets, and the patriots among others. Through the following artworks, the artists have captured the true nature and accomplishments of the subjects. These representations can be seen, paying tribute to the individual's achievements and have preserved their lasting impact for future generations.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah being ‘Quaid-e-Azam’ (the greatest leader) and the founder of Pakistan, was acknowledged for his services by the Pakistani artists. He has been frequently portrayed by artists up till now by using different techniques and materials to capture the core of his leadership and vision. Rather than depicting him during significant times, such as giving speeches, planning with colleagues, he has been given tribute through portraitures. Every representation, whether realistic or abstract, is a homage to his inheritance and a motivation for future groups of people, emphasizing the lasting influence of his contributions to Pakistan's history and identity. Anna Molka Ahmed is one among those who have paid tribute to Quaid-e-Azam, Allama Muhammad Iqbal and other famous personalities like Chaudhary Rehmat Ali (Fig. 6.53 to Fig. 6.56).

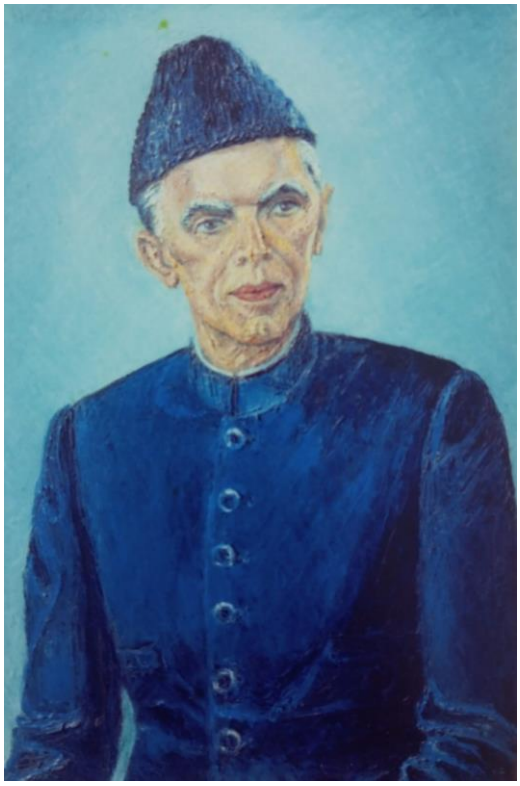


Figure 6.53: *‘Portraits of Quaid e Azam’* by Anna Molka Ahmed, around 1960’s. Oil on Canvas.
Courtesy: Album from Tahira Ahmed.

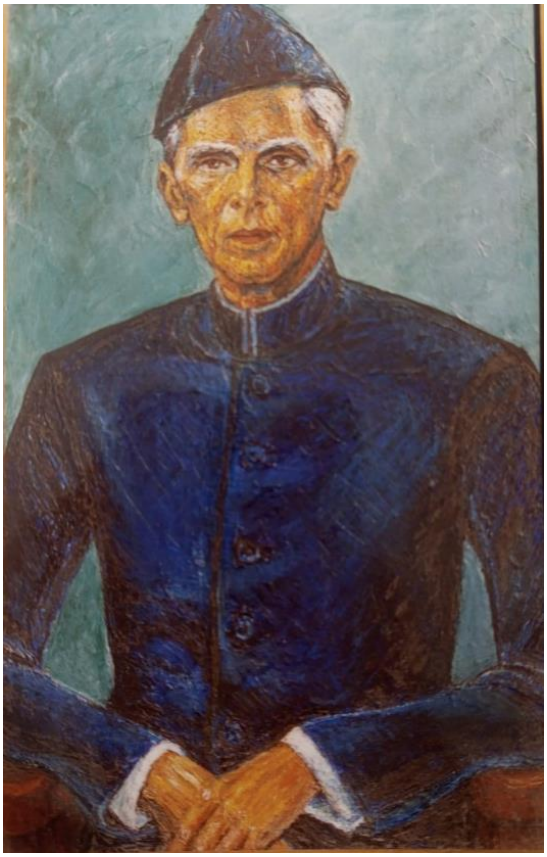


Figure 6.54: *'Portraits of Quaid e Azam'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, around 1960's. Oil on Canvas. Courtesy: Album from Tahira Ahmed.



Figure 6.55: *'Allama Muhammad Iqbal'* by Anna Molka Ahmed. Oil on Canvas. Courtesy Tahira Ahmed.



Figure 6.56: *'Chaudhry Rehmat Ali'* by Anna Molka Ahmed. Oil on Canvas.
Courtesy Tahira Ahmed.

Hal Bevan-Petman's most renowned paintings include the depiction of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Fig. 6.57 to Fig. 6.60). He was also commissioned for paintings showing military battle, army officials, soldiers and martyrs of war, some of which are presently displayed on the walls of several Pakistani Military Academic Institutions (Fig. 6.61 to Fig. 6.64).



Figure 6.57: *'Quaid-e-Azam'* by Hal Bevan Petman. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.facebook.com/HalBevanPetman/photos



Figure 6.58: *'Muhammad Ali Jinnah'* by Hal Bevan Petman.
Source: Art of Pakistan by Abid Husain Qureshi.

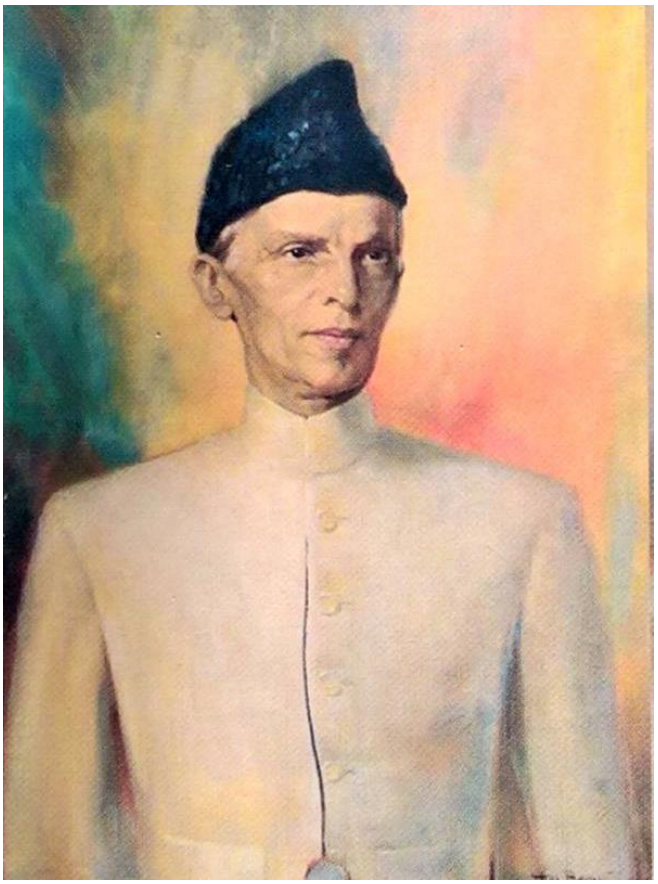


Figure 6.59: *'Muhammad Ali Jinnah'* by Hal Bevan Petman. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.travel-culture.com/images/painting-hal-beven-jinnah.jpg



Figure 6.60: *'Portrait of Muhammad Ali Jinnah'* by Hal Bevan Petman. Oil on canvas. https://www.facebook.com/HalBevanPetman/photos



Figure 6.61: *'General Ayub Khan'* by Hal Bevan Petman. Late 60s. Oil on Canvas. https://www.facebook.com/HalBevanPetman/photos



Figure 6.62: *'General Ayub Khan'* by Hal Baven Petman. Late 60s. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.facebook.com/HalBevanPetman/photos

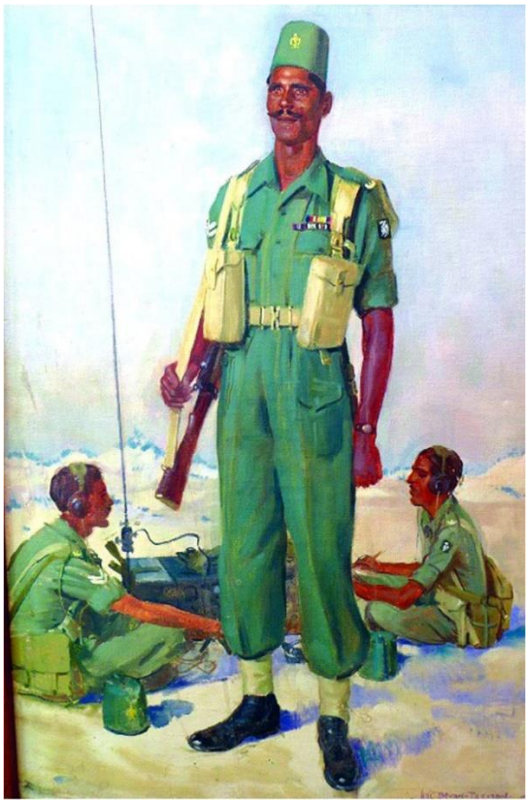


Figure 6.63: *'Soldier of the Bahawalpur State Forces'* by Hal Bevan Petman, 1950. Oil on Canvas.
https://thefridaytimes.com/uploads/digital_news/2019-09-27/1899739691-1687409689-1368309772.jpg

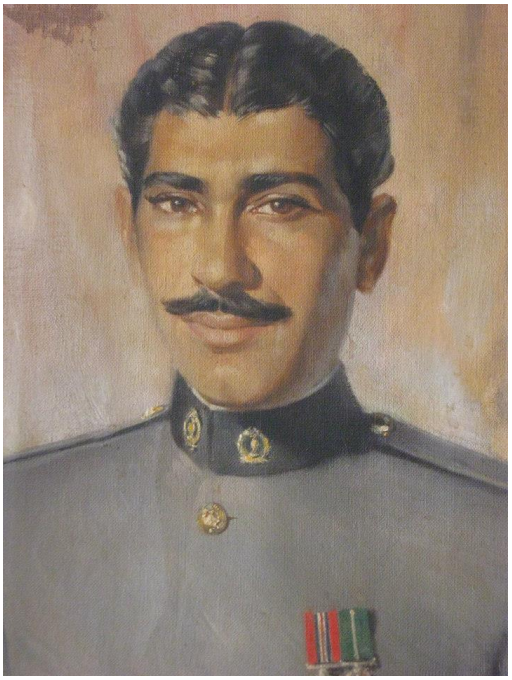


Figure 6.64: *'Major Asif Hasan Khan'* by Hal Bevan Petman. 1967. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.facebook.com/HalBevanPetman/photos

Quaid-e-Azam and Allam Iqbal's legacy has been kept alive through the frequent artistic tributes paid by Saeed Akhtar and Mehboob Ali, which inspire a sense of pride and solidarity among Pakistanis. Saeed Akhtar has created various portraits of Muhammad Ali Jinnah between 1967 and 1992 for various government buildings, army houses and provincial assemblies (Fig. 6.65 to Fig. 6.70).

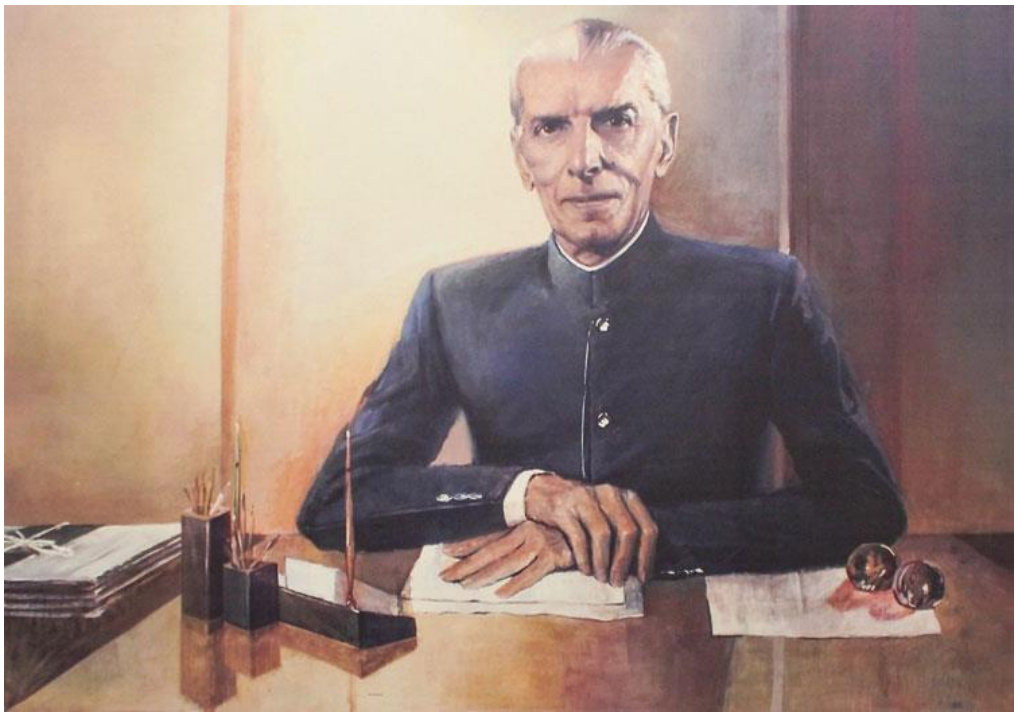


Figure 6.65: *'Paintings of Muhammad Jinnah'* by Saeed Akhtar.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/preserving-legacy-saeed-akhtar-ode-to-jinnah-1.jpg

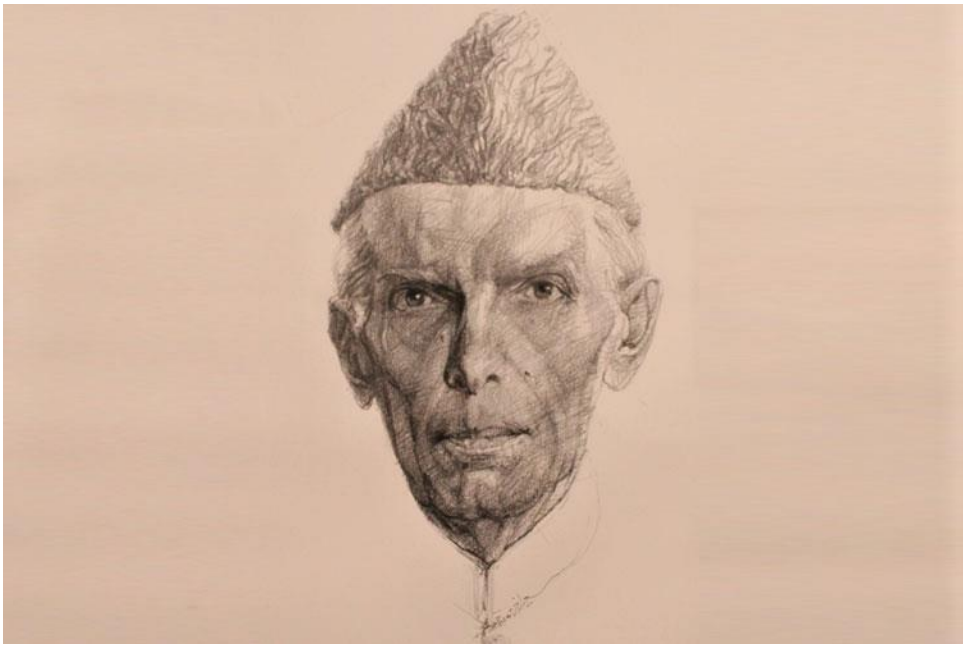


Figure 6.66: *'Pencil Sketch of Jinnah'* by Saeed Akhtar.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/preserving-legacy-saeed-akhtar-ode-to-jinnah-4.jpg

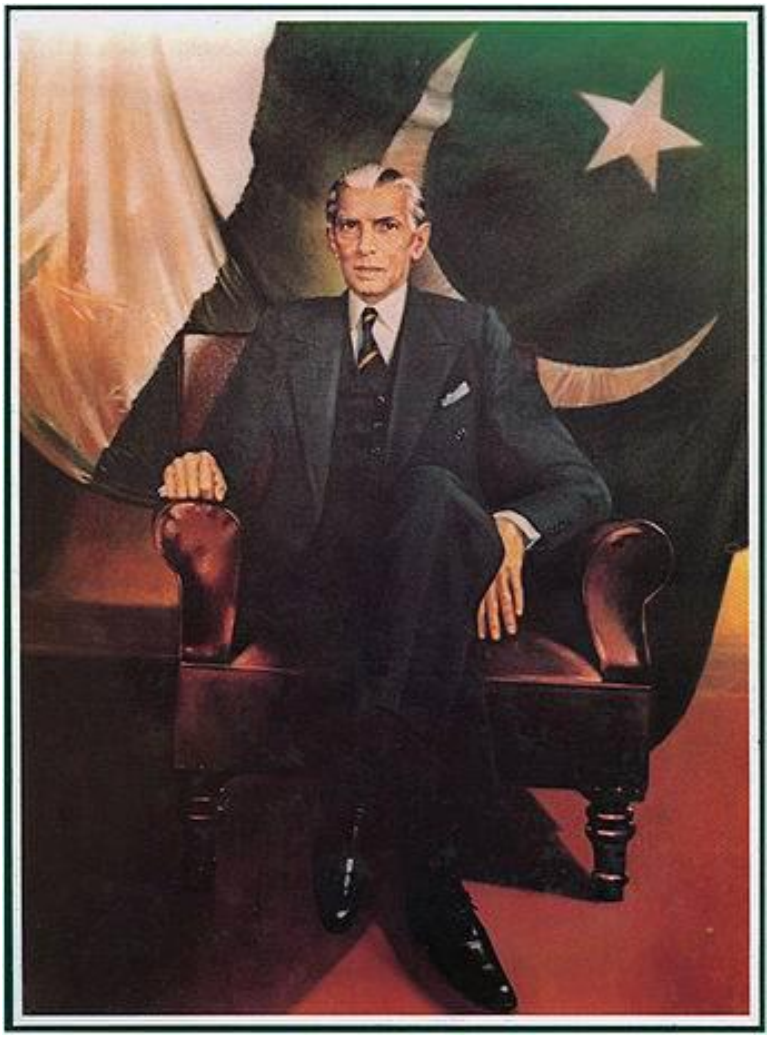


Figure 6.67: *'Muhammad Ali Jinnah'* by Saeed Akhtar. Oil on Canvas.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/sak31.jpg

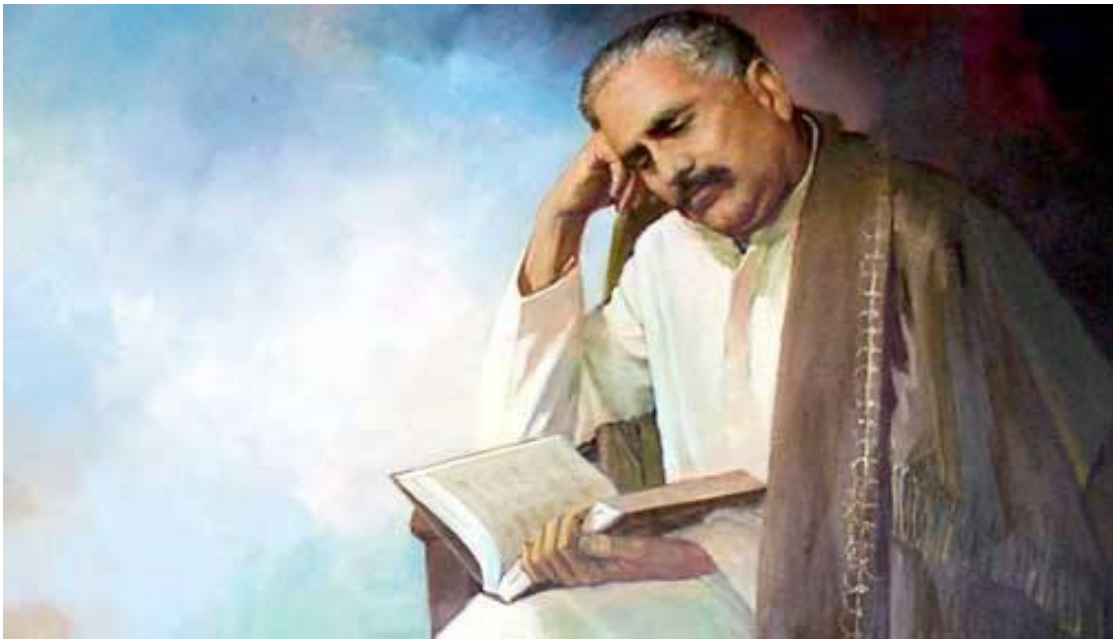


Figure 6.68: *'Allama Muhammad Iqbal'* by Saeed Akhtar. Oil on Canvas.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/sak38.jpg

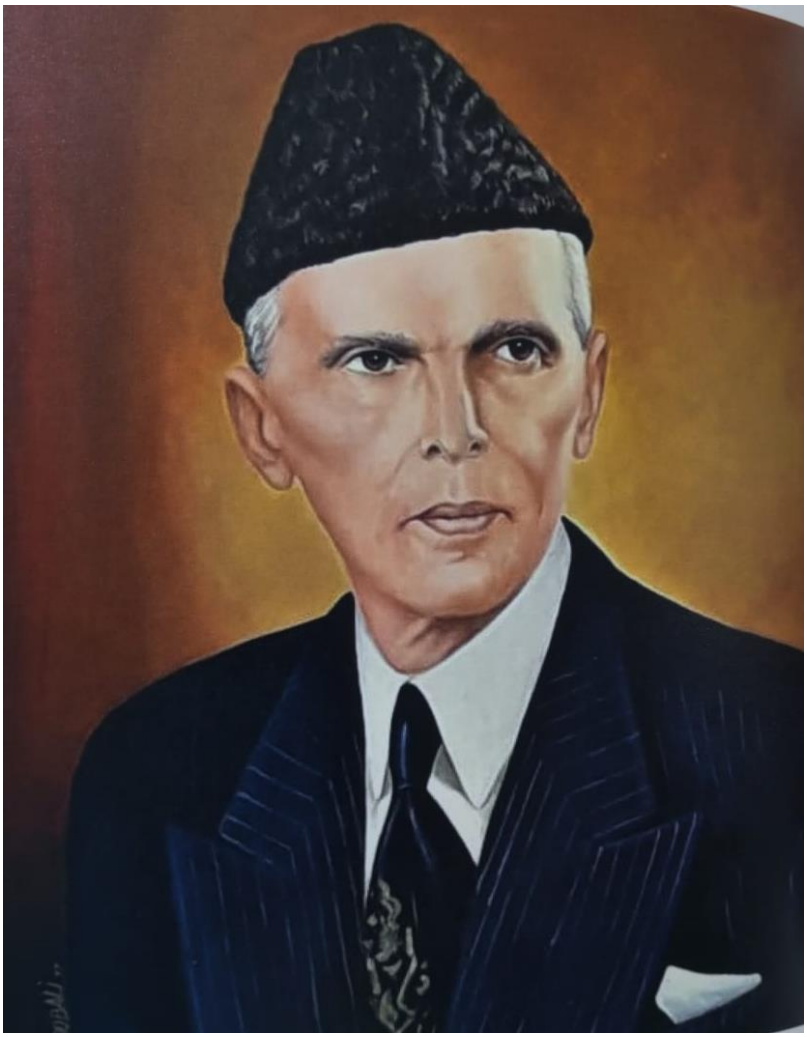


Figure 6.69: *'Portrait of Muhammad Ali Jinnah'* by Mehboob Ali. 1970. Oil on canvas.
Courtesy: Mehboob Ali: Five Decades of Excellence.

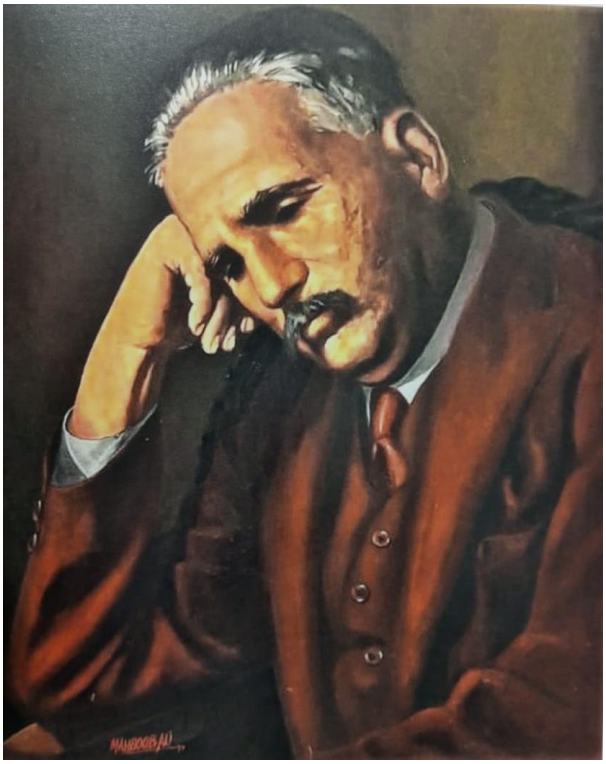


Figure 6.70: *'Allama Iqbal'* by Mehboob Ali. 1970. Oil on Canvas.
Courtesy: Mehboob Ali: Five Decades of Excellence.

Honouring Quaid in paintings and depicting him in portraits is something that has persisted to this day. These artworks continually honour his crucial contribution towards the establishment of Pakistan, depicting his image in different instances of leadership and reflection. His repeated portrayal by different artists like Anna Molka Ahmed, Saeed Akhtar, Mehboob Ali, and Ali Azmat etc., act as a constant reminder of Quaid's values and aspirations for this country. At government and private level various exhibitions are frequently organized for commemorating his birth and death anniversaries. There are large portraits of Quaid-e-Azam in nearly all government departments and official buildings, such as the Governor Houses, Parliament, and National Assemblies etc.

The art scene in Pakistan during the 1950s and 1960s witnessed significant changes and creative advancements, which laid the groundwork for the country's future artistic identity. Art institutions, The Pakistan National Council of the Arts and the Lahore Art Circle were instrumental in cultivating talent and promoting the creative discourse. This period was marked by a vibrant interaction and amalgamation between native traditions and modern influences that not only shaped the artistic preferences of the day but also established the foundation for future Pakistani artists to investigate and push the limits of their artistic skills. In short, the initial twenty years after partition paved the way for the subsequent decades.

6.2 Socio-Political Events of Pakistan During 1970s and 1980s and its Artistic Discourse

When examining the social and political history of Pakistan, it is crucial for every individual to recollect the fundamental principles that led to the country's establishment, and to assess whether it is now progressing in the intended path after enduring those challenges or not. Additionally, it is important to understand the circumstances that were contributing towards the internal turmoil of during those times. In continuation of the social and political history discussed in the previous chapter, the subsequent decades of 70s' and 80s' witnessed significant developments, including the change of power to democratic parties and again to military regime. This period was marked by a series of unexpected and catastrophic events, culminating the country's first-ever election and the unfortunate separation of East Pakistan.

The deterioration of relations between the East and West sides, and the quest for Bengali rights commenced right after the partition. The main conception among the East Pakistani public was that they were deprived of various rights from the beginning. For instance, rejection of Bengali as an official language, economic inequality between the two regions, the dominance of the ruling elite from West Pakistan, military rule, and the disrespectful treatment towards Bengali culture and people.[190]

At the time when Yahya took power from Ayub, the bureaucracy and the military were already exerting their influence over political parties and forces. The military wanted to test the choice of the public by conducting elections. Yahya's decision to conduct elections was due to secret reports of military intelligence, which predicted that no single party would win with two third majority resulting in a joint parliament. So, the military-bureaucracy pact will hold the real power.[191] The elections were first scheduled for October but rescheduled to December 7, 1970, as on November 12, 1970, a catastrophic cyclone named 'Bhola Cyclone' devastated the southern districts of East Pakistan, resulting in a significant loss of lives (Fig. 6.71 & Fig. 6.72).

[190] Anam Zakaria, "Remembering the war of 1971 in East Pakistan," *Aljazeera*, December 16, 2019, https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2019/12/16/remembering-the-war-of-1971-in-east-pakistan
[191] Nadeem F. Paracha, "The 'swinging seventies' in Pakistan: An urban history," *Dawn*, August 22, 2013, https://www.dawn.com/news/1037584



Figure 6.71: Ariel view of destruction after cyclone 2, 1970.
https://www.getbengal.com/ckeditor/userfiles/1659526509-Bhola-cyclone-4.jpg



Figure 6.72: Flooding and destruction after the Great Bhola Cyclone on November 18, 1970.
https://media.wired.com/photos/623b7ff6ff94bf708247628f/master/w_1600,c_limit/Vortex-AP_898133875420.jp

The storm and subsequent flood resulted in an estimated death toll of 300,000 to 500,000 people, making Bhola the most devastating tropical cyclone. Whole villages were completely eradicated, hundreds of thousands of livestock were killed, extensive rice plantations were demolished, and several boats used for fishing were drowned (Fig. 6.73). The Pakistani government failed to issue adequate warnings regarding the upcoming storm, resulting in numerous individuals being caught unprepared. The subsequent relief efforts were further impeded and hindered by a lack of coordination and misallocation of resource.[192]



Figure 6.73: People waiting in lines for relief distribution.
https://bigd.bracu.ac.bd/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Cyclone-victims-1970-scaled-e1637160122434-1024x722.jpg

After hearing the news of destruction, apart from government limited aid, people from all sectors of life reached the affected area with life saving supplies. The arrival of the hurricane three weeks before Pakistan's first national elections added fuel to the fire of already simmering political unrest. International and domestic observers paid special attention to the accident because of the extensive media coverage it received, which revealed the insufficient level of infrastructure development and the lack of a functioning government in East Pakistan. A larger political demand for regional self-governance grew, intertwined with the cyclone and its related issues very rapidly. The Military Government faced criticism from various lawmakers,

[192] Sravani Biswas, and Patric Daly, "'Cyclone Not Above Politics' : East Pakistan, Disaster Politics, and the 1970 Bhola Cyclone." *Modern Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (2021): 1382–1410. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X20000293.

journalists, and public in East Pakistan, as well as international politicians, due to its inadequate disaster governance.[193]



Figure 6.74: President Yahya visiting flood affected area and meeting people.
https://www.britishpathe.com/asset/113921/

On the other hand, President Yahya had different thoughts regarding government efforts for relief efforts. He visited Dhaka after two days while returning from China after an official tour (Fig. 6.74). He stated that he cannot help with the criticism of public, and his government is working with full dedication.[194] However, the residents of East Pakistan were disappointed and furious to see the insufficient relief efforts carried out by the Government along with a significant lack of concern towards the immense requirements as compared to the relief provided to the affected individuals. After one week President Yahya Khan realized the extent of the flood disaster and officially designate the affected region as a "major calamity area". He issued a directive for all flags to be displayed at half-mast and declared a National Day of Mourning on November 21, 1970.[195]

Before this disaster both Political groups i.e. Pakistan Peoples Party, PPP of Bhutto and Awami league (AL) of Mujib Ur Rehman had already been campaigning for the forthcoming elections ever since January 1970. They were attracting many audiences in their areas and making future promises (Fig. 6.75 & fig. 6.76)

[193] Mohammad Mozahid ul Islam, Niladri Chatterjee, and Muhammad Asif ul Basar, "The Final Straw? Bhola Cyclone, 1970 Election, Disaster Politics, and the Making of Bangladesh." *Contemporary South Asia* 31 (2) (2023): 236–50. doi:10.1080/09584935.2023.2203901.
[194] AP Archives, "President Yahya Khan Touring Flood Relief Operation," YouTube Video, November 26, 1970, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6akubFnosIQ
[195] "Indifferent Government Response," accessed June 6, 2024, http://www.londoni.co/index.php?view=article&id=315:bhola-cyclone-1970-indifferent-government-response-history-of-bangladesh&catid=25:1970-bhola-cyclone



Figure 6.75: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, chief of the Awami League, addressing a public rally in Dhaka's Paltan Maidan. (Dawn Archives)
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/09/59c4b8c8a4ba7.jpg

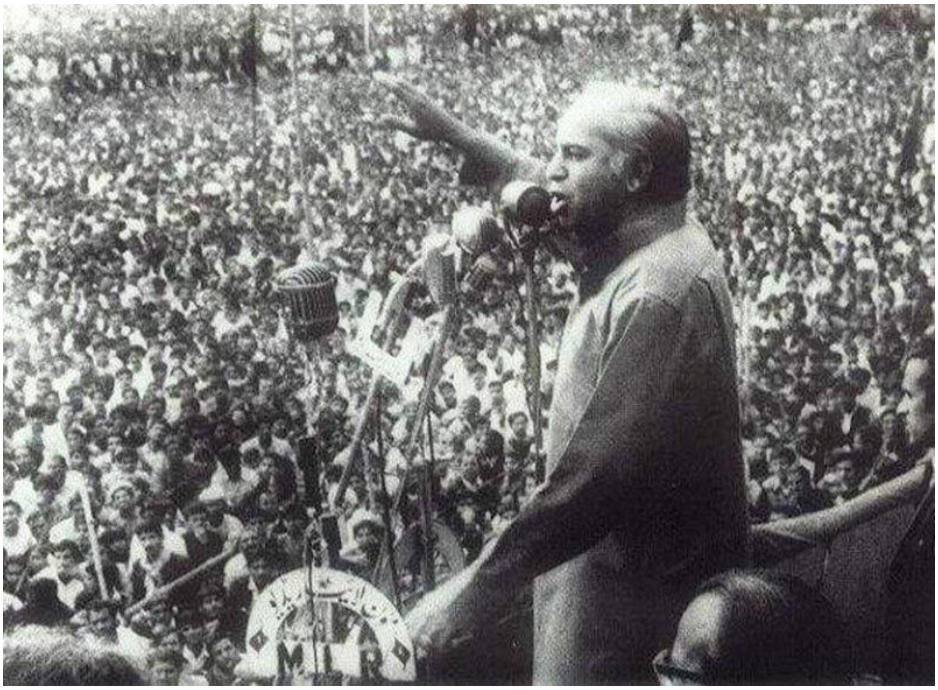


Figure 6.76: Bhutto addressing a rally during election campaign.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/12/5660635f30ad8.jpg

During the elections, East Pakistan strongly supported Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's Awami League, which secured victory in all but two National Assembly seats in the region. The PPP emerged as the dominant political party in West Pakistan, securing many seats, primarily from the province of Punjab and Sindh. The electoral outcomes, as reflected by the distribution of candidates and the number of seats secured by the top two parties, provided a strong indication of the future trajectory of events. It also become evident that major parties

failed to secure any seats in the opposing wings and Pakistan was still electorally and politically fragmented.

Multiple sessions of bilateral and trilateral negotiations took place, involving President Yahya Khan, Mujib, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, to initiate the formal session of the National Assembly. However, Mujib and Bhutto had distinct concerns, resulting in a deadlock.

> "Bhutto is credited with making the famous remark that "**a majority alone does not count**". In addition, Bhutto made one of his many famous statements, ***"tangain tore doon ga"*** (will break the legs) which was a threat to break the legs of any West Pakistani elected representative who went to Dhaka to take part in the National Assembly session that Yahya called for on March 3, 1971. Again, it was Bhutto who later spoke the words that led to the famous headline being coined by a journalist: "***udhar tum, idhar hum***." (there you: here us) These remarks were uttered by Bhutto."[196]

Tensions escalated when the AL emerged victorious, but the PPP declined to transfer control to the public mandate. On March 1, 1971, at Paltan Maidan in Dhaka, while addressing a large crowd Awami League declared the non-cooperation movement. Bengalis in East Pakistan boycotted their government offices. The province came to a stand still in terms of work. According to historians, Mujib's party should have been invited to establish the government, but the power struggle involving military, the Awami League, and Bhutto's PPP hindered the process. This delay eventually led to a conflict between revolutionary Bengali nationalists and the Pakistan military, resulting in a civil war in East Pakistan. To supress the non-cooperative movement, the armed forces began "Operation Searchlight" on March 25, 1971, under General Tikka Khan but later he was replaced by Lt. Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi.[197]

Sheikh Mujib was arrested, and East Pakistanis responded by declaring East Pakistan an independent nation and organising the "*Mukti Bahini*" ("Freedom Fighters") to launch a guerrilla struggle against the military. To combat the insurgency, the military formed paramilitary groups, such as the "*Al-Badr*, *Al-Shams*, and *Razakars"* (Volunteers).[198]

The Bengali's proclaiming East Pakistan as a sovereign nation and instigating a rebellion, were greeted with excessive military power, indiscriminate murder, torture, plundering, devastation of settlements, and the widespread organized sexual assault of women across the area (Fig. 6.77 & Fig. 6.78).

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[196] S. Akbar Zaidi, "Special report: The Breakup of Pakistan 1969-1971," *Dawn*, September 23, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1359141

[197] Zaidi, "Special report."

[198] Christopher Paul, Colin P. Clarke, Beth Grill, and Molly Dunigan. "Bangladesh, 1971: Case Outcome: COIN Loss." *In Paths to Victory: Detailed Insurgency Case Studies*, 340–45. RAND Corporation, 2013. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/j.ctt5hhsjk.40.

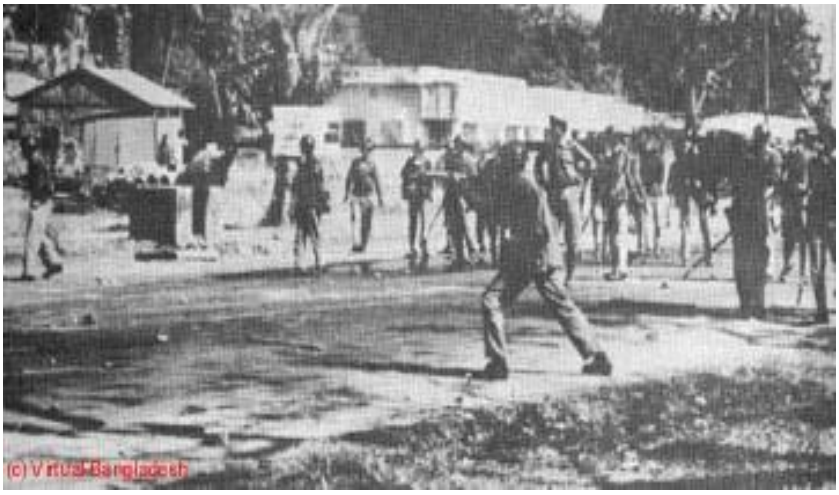


Figure 6.77: Fighting in the streets.
https://www.virtualbangladesh.com/wp-content/gallery/holocaust/army.jpg



Figure 6.78: People protesting and showing hatred toward Yahya
khan.https://www.tbsnews.net/sites/default/files/styles/very_big_1/public/images/2023/03/26/yahya_khan_poster.jpg

During the brief nine-month period of hostilities, over 3 million individuals lost their lives, with 10 million seeking security in India and another 30 million being internally displaced within Bangladesh (Fig. 6.79). Moreover, an approximate figure of 200,000 women and girls is said to have been subjected to sexual assault during the war.[199] As the terrible events unfolded in East Pakistan, the officially restricted media kept West Pakistanis in the shadows, and the wealthy and powerful largely remained silent. Certain Bihari populations were targeted and subjected to attacks by the Mukti Bahini fighters, because Biharis were the supporters of Pakistan.[200] (Fig. 6.80)

[199] Paul, and Clarke, "Bangladesh, 1971," 342.
[200] Mohammad Mozahid ul Islam, Niladri Chatterjee, and Muhammad Asif ul Basar, "The Final Straw? Bhola Cyclone, 1970 Election, Disaster Politics, and the Making of Bangladesh." *Contemporary South Asia* 31 (2) (2023): 236–50. doi:10.1080/09584935.2023.2203901.



Figure 6.79: Millions of refugees fled East Bengal with bare belongings in search of safety. https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/09/59c4b53176b4d.jpg



Figure 6.80: In the Middle of war, supporters of Pakistan hold a procession in Sylhet to mark the 24th Independence Day of Pakistan, August 14, 1971. They were carrying a garlanded photo of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistani Flag.

India had been progressively escalating its participation in the battle. It began by offering indirect artillery support to Mukti Bahini soldiers as early as September 1971. It constructed numerous camps in West Bengal and provided training to armed Bengali youngsters, and then conducted military operations within East Pakistan's territory, advancing up to ten miles by November 1971.[201] In reaction to this intervention by the Indian government and in expectation of an attack from India, the Pakistani military carried out air strikes on 11 airfields in northwestern India on December 3, 1971. The operation was named "Operation Changaz Khan" (Fig. 6.81 & Fig.6.82). In reaction to the air attacks, the Indian army launched

[201] Paul and Clarke, "Bangladesh, 1971." 343.

counter-air raids. Simultaneously, the Indian army advanced further into East Pakistan and took measures to make sure that Pakistan's western side would not be able to provide any help, whether it be by land or by sea.



Figure 6.81: Air Attacks during war of 1971.
https://miro.medium.com/v2/resize:fit:828/format:webp/1*qDmst-CU0UNjTE_zkG5yaw.jpeg

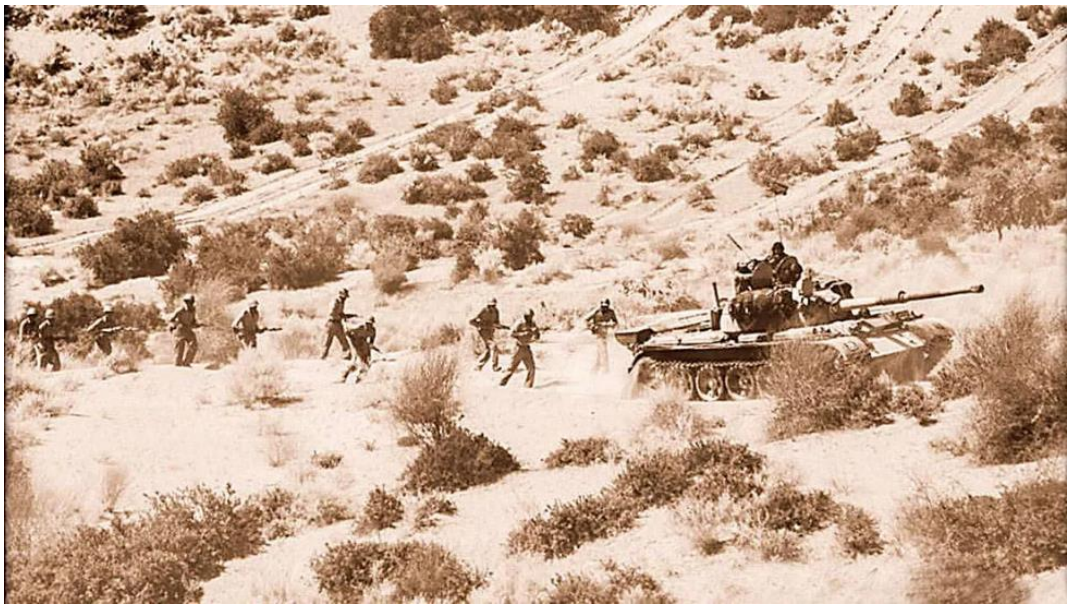


Figure 6.82: Land Strikes during War of 1971.
https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcSMf0hDc6ZjwMQIorAv8-H6edWNIvQhiXRz8A&s

Operation Trident was initiated by the Indian navy on December 4th, and it involved bombing the Karachi harbor. The Pakistan Navy was severely hampered because of the destruction of three important Pakistani ships.[202] Due to the presence of major Indian Navy ships which suggested that a further assault was being planned, Pakistan increased the aerial

[202] Ankit Raj, " What caused the India-Pakistan War of 1971," *Medium*, January 29, 2023, https://thewritework.medium.com/what-caused-the-india-pakistan-war-of-1971-36eedd97542f

surveillance of its shoreline. India initiated Operation Python in response to these actions. Simultaneously, the Indian Army deployed to East Pakistan started safeguarding its western frontiers. The Pakistani army and other militias found themselves fully entrapped and thus Pakistan officially declared a truce on December 16, 1971, and surrendered its whole four-tier armed forces to the Indian Army, bringing an end to the Indo-Pakistan conflict of 1971 (Fig. 6.83). [203]



Figure 6.83: Signing the Surrender. Seated: Lt Gen JS Aurora, Indian Army and Lt Gen Amir Abdullah Khan 'Tiger' Niazi, Pakistan Army, at the Ramna Racecourse in Dacca on 16 December 1971. https://moderndiplomacy.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/1971-pakistan-dhaka.jpg

Some important points must be noted here that China continued to offer economic and military aid to Pakistan, but reports state that China was reluctant to sanction latest weaponry during the war. The US and Soviet Union imposed arms restrictions on Pakistan, preventing fresh sales and halting existing shipments. Surprisingly the Soviet Union fully changed sides during the fight.[204] Unfortunately, regardless of causes that may be investigated, Pakistan was divided. Jinnah's Pakistan perished prematurely in December 1971, when Bangladesh gained independence.

Yahya was immediately deposed by an internal army coup, among others. On December 20th, 1971, Bhutto assumed the position of the newly appointed president and became the first civilian to hold the role of chief military administrator (Fig. 6.84). Mujib Ur Rehman was released and sent to Bangladesh to become the head of the new state. In East

[203] Raj, " War of 1971."
[204] Paul and Clarke, "Bangladesh, 1971." 343.

Pakistan, more than 90,000 civilians and military people were taken as prisoners of war by the Indian forces. Eventually, they returned after Bhutto successfully negotiated a peace agreement with Indira Gandhi in July 1972 at Shimla.[205]



Figure 6.84: Bhutto's PPP won the election in West Pakistan. By late December 1971, he became the head of state and government. https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/01/58761340ab941.jpg

Throughout Bhutto's sixty-seven-month tenure he implemented significant reforms in Pakistan. There are at least five policies and projects that he began which are still considered crucial and significant for Pakistan. It included the initiation of nuclear programme, establishing the constitution in 1973, organizing and hosting the Islamic Summit, sending people to Middle East, improvement in relations with China, and the Shimla Agreement, which brought about the longest period of peace in South Asia.[206] Ian Talbot wrote in 'Pakistan: A New History', that,

> "Bhutto recognised that the sole viable defence for Pakistan would be a nuclear deterrent, which would also "restore Pakistan's place in the world after the defeat."[207]

Approximately one month after taking office as President, on January 24, 1972, he convened a special meeting and invited fifty topmost scientists including Abdus Salam to plan for the nuclear project. As Pakistan's Nuclear project was under thought process on May 18, 1974, India conducted its first nuclear test. These tests put Pakistan under significant pressure because its nuclear programme was hindered due to financial limitations, as it was costly and a complex endeavour.[208]

[205] Shuja Nawaz, "What went wrong in 1971?" *Dawn,* August 14, 2021, https://www.dawn.com/news/1704822
[206] Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan Under Bhutto 1971-1977* (London: MacMillan Press, 1980), 1-2.
[207] Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & company, 1998), 215.
[208] Dr. Muhammad Ali Sheikh, "History: Bhutto's True Legacies," *Dawn,* January 8, 2023, https://www.dawn.com/news/1730558

On April 12, 1973, constitution was passed unanimously and approved by President Bhutto. The new constitution was formally implemented on August 14, 1973, and has remained in-effect except for two instances in which it was suspended by two military dictators, Zia and Musharraf. In this constitution the country was renamed the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'. Even though the constitution has undergone numerous amendments and suspensions, this constitution remains in effect up till now in Pakistan.

According to Ian Talbot Bhutto's most notable accomplishment was organizing the Islamic summit in Lahore in February 1974. During this event, he managed to unite prominent Muslim figures such as King Faisal, Yasser Arafat, Col Qaddafi, President Assad of Syria, Sadat of Egypt, and Boumediene of Algeria. They all elected Bhutto as the leader of the summit, which led to great global attention (Fig. 6.85).[209]

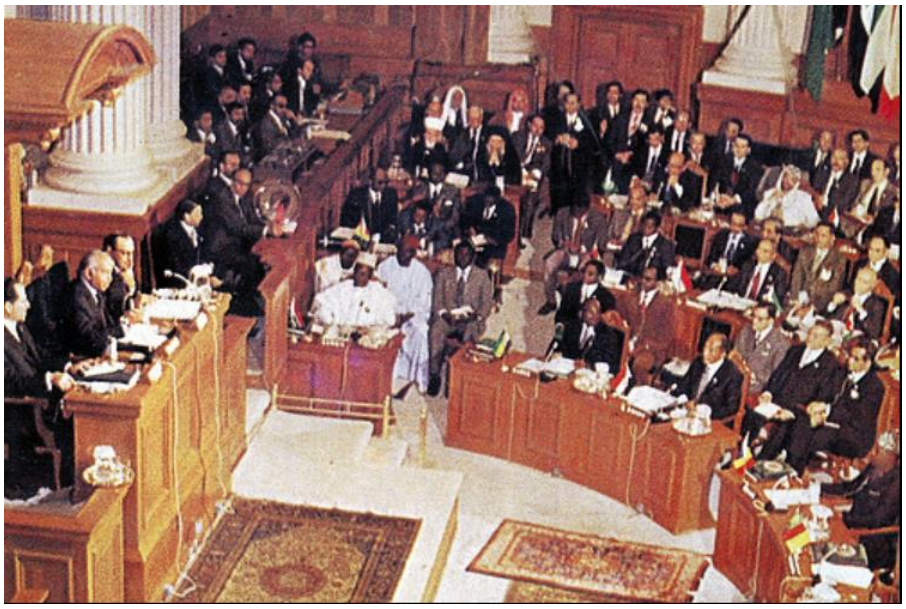


Figure 6.85: 2nd Summit of OIC at Lahore, 1974.
https://i.dawn.com/large/2014/05/538606e229637.jpg?r=1616149591

A Minar (Tower) was built to commemorate this summit named "Summit Minar"[210] at Chairing cross, Mall Road, in front of Punjab Assembly (Fig. 6.86). There is a museum underground that contains art pieces, paintings, and souvenirs presented by the countries who participated in the 1974 Summit. Additionally, there are meeting rooms and a small auditorium. The pavilion situated outside was constructed before the minaret and has a replica of the Quran, adorned with gold leaves and is displayed in a glass enclosure.

[209] Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 222.
[210] Summit Minar was started on 22 February 1975 and finished in 1977. It is 47m (155 feet) high. It is designed by Turkish architect Vedat Dalokay and constructed by National Construction Company Pakistan. Ltd. Costing Rs.15 million. The monument is of marble and stone designed in obelisk and a reflecting pool.



Figure 6.86: Islamic Summit Minar.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/66/Islamic_Summit_Minar.JPG/1024px-Islamic_Summit_Minar.JPG

Apart from these developments there was another side to Bhutto's era, Pakistani society was having a liberal ambiance. Nightclubs, music venues, bars, cinemas, restaurants, and cafes became very common as part of Karachi's nightlife along with roadside cafes who were also openly serving alcohol (Fig. 6.87).



Figure 6.87: A 1973 press ad (in DAWN newspaper) of one of Karachi's many famous nightclubs of the 1970s, "The Oasis".
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/12/5660635fbf3d0.jpg

The Karachi Airport became a highly active airport in Asia during this period and served as a major hub for international airlines. In response, the government made substantial efforts to strengthen the country's tourist sector. As mentioned in a report by Tourism department, thousands of tourists from the United States, United Kingdom, various European nations entered Pakistan, resulting in numerous tourist-related enterprises. From 1972 to 1977, the Pakistan film industry also flourished, with an annual average release of 80 films. In response to the growing volume of film production, particularly in Lahore, the number of cinemas in the country also expanded (Fig. 6.88). There were achievements in the sports sector, especially in Hockey and Squash where both teams and individuals were winning titles (Fig. 6.89).[211]



Figure 6.88: A full house at Karachi's Nishat Cinema (1973).
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/12/5660635e71223.jpg



Figure 6.89: A 1976 photo of the award ceremony of the Pakistan Open Squash tournament which was won by Qamar Zaman (he beat the time's World No: 1 Geoff Hunt). This was the beginning of Pakistan's long dominance of world squash that ended in the 1990s. https://i.dawn.com/large/2014/05/538606dfae964.jpg?r=1198972261

[211] Nadeem F. Paracha, "Pakistan's contrary years (1971-1977): A cultural history of the Bhutto era," *Dawn*, December 4, 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1223761/

In views of S. Akbar Zaidi, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's tenure can be divided into two distinct phases. During the initial stage, one observes a Bhutto who is sympathetic to the poor and popular among urban progressives in his political party. He implemented several economic and social reforms, ranging from reforming land ownership to nationalization and interventions in the social sector. His later phase witnessed a notable transformation in Bhutto's approach. He distanced himself from his radical associates, and his shift towards authoritarianism and dictatorship led to the abandonment of the social groups that had played a crucial role in his remarkable ascent.[212]Additionally, the US disapproved of Bhutto's pursuit of nuclear weapons and his independent stance. Even the military personnel who had been eliminated by Bhutto were among his critics.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's departure from office was rapid and unforeseen. A strong coalition called the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was established, consisting of nine parties, several of which were Islamic parties. In January 1977, Bhutto called early elections. PPP became victorious in three out of the four provinces. When the Election Commission declared the results, the opposition rejected them; arguing that Bhutto and his close associates had substantially hacked the polls. In reaction PNA launched an anti-government campaign that soon gathered momentum and protests started in major cities. Almost within one month after Bhutto's triumphant address, the military found itself engaged in fighting with protesting masses. General Zia ul Haq, the army head at that time, launched a military coup on July 5, 1977, and he arrested Bhutto and his companions (Fig. 6.90).[213]


DAWN

FOUNDED BY QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

KARACHI

Wednesday, July 6, 1977

ARMED FORCES SET UP INTERIM RULE

MARTIAL LAW IS PROCLAIMED: ELECTIONS IN OCTOBER NEXT

Gen Zia is CMLA: President stays

Top PPP, PNA leaders in protective custody

Sections of constitution under suspension

From M. A. MANSURI

ISLAMABAD, JULY 5: IN A LIGHTNING OPERATION LED BY ARMY CHIEF GENERAL MOHAMMAD ZIA-UL-HAQ, THE ARMED FORCES OF PAKISTAN HAVE TAKEN OVER THE COUNTRY'S ADMINISTRATION.

Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, former Prime Minister, his Cabinet colleagues and top PNA leaders, except Begum Nasim Wali Khan, have been placed under protective custody temporarily.

Proclamation by Chief ML Administrator

Four-man Military Council at Centre

ML Administrators for provinces

Political activities banned in country

RAWALPINDI, July 5: The Chief of the Army Staff, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, announced this evening

News gets wide coverage in US media

Lahoris welcome Zia's speech

Figure 6.90: Front page of Dawn after the military coup in July 1977.
https://i.dawn.com/large/2014/05/53860755280e2.jpg?r=1486025392

[212] S. Akbar Zaidi, "Authoritarianism and the downfall," *Dawn*, October 2, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1361239
[213] Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan Under Bhutto 1971-1977*, (London: MacMillan Press, 1980), 171.

In a countrywide broadcast, the general justified his decision by stating that he perceived the PPP and the PNA, lacked the ability to achieve a mutually agreeable solution. The lack of consensus would result in a widespread disorder and lead the nation into a more severe state of crisis. This risk was deemed unacceptable, so the army had to take over. Furthermore, he promised to conduct free and fair elections within 90 days, under 'Operation Fair play' but his promise remained unfulfilled. He also claimed that the national constitution has not been abrogated but only suspended for a short span of time.

Zia ul Haq established a committee to investigate the irregularities in the elections and to conduct a trial of Bhutto. During the investigation, which was started in October, a significant portion of the evidence provided appeared dubious, and the witnesses called by the prosecution were regarded as untrustworthy by Bhutto's family. However, in March 1978, the Lahore High Court declared Bhutto guilty and imposed a death sentence on him for the murder charges of Nawab Muhammad Kasuri. The Supreme Court dismissed an appeal in early 1979, and on April 4, Bhutto was hanged in the central jail of Rawalpindi (Fig. 6.91).[214] During the trial Zia had taken the title of president and made the martial law administrator of each province its governor. Although Bhutto was forcefully vanquished, nevertheless the Pakistan Peoples Party could not be eliminated despite various attempts. The eldest daughter of the family, Benazir Bhutto assumed the leadership of the party.



Figure 6.91: Funeral of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Rawalpindi Jail.
https://qph.cf2.quoracdn.net/main-qimg-c295e7420a0df0f6fdd9f12334dfd3ee-lq

[214] James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 214.

Zia's tenure was characterised by robust economic expansion in the private sector and the increasing involvement of Islamic parties in the government. The initiative aimed to enhance the accessibility and standard of social services. Various economic and political reforms were carried out to dismantle the structures and programmes of Bhutto's era. Zia privatized rice-husking and flour-milling factories, and restored ownership of these enterprises to their previous owners. He reintroduced five-year plans and implemented further measures to establish a conducive economic and expansion environment, including attracting foreign investment.[215]

A significant set of reforms were implemented in the name of "Islamisation." In his first speech, Zia pledged that the government would create a true Islamic society based on the ideologies of Quaid e Azam. These Islamic reforms aimed to establish a fresh Islamic social, political, and economic system. In various meetings, General Zia-ul-Haq emphasised that "Islamising Pakistani Society would be the only way to bring about 'genuine national integration' to the country."[216] A '*Sharia Council*' was established to ensure that the state's legal statutes were in accordance with Islamic doctrine. The purpose of this council was to implement matters in accordance with the principles outlined in the Qur'an and the Sunna. In February 1979, Zia enacted the '*Hadood Ordinance*,' which mandated that criminals would be subjected to penalties that were analogous to those prescribed in traditional Islamic jurisprudence (Fig. 6.92). It also pertains to the drinking and manufacturing of alcohol, adultery, false accusations of adultery. '*Majlis-e-Shoora'* was created to formulate Islamic legislation. Majlis-e-Shoora refers to the Islamic Parliament, which comprises of a diverse group of scholars, professors, and journalists.[217]

The punishment for Blasphemy of the prophet Muhammad was replaced with death sentence, instead of life imprisonment. To comply with the Islamic prohibition on charging or receiving interest, often known as *Riba,* a profit-and-loss sharing system was established on January 1, 1980. Under this system, account holders would participate in the earnings and losses of their banks. The state acquired the authority to gather zakat and usher. Ahmadis were prohibited from referring to their places of worship as mosques, from owning and reading the Quran, and Islamic terms. The implementation of the Islamic practice of praying five times a

[215] William L. Richter, "Persistent Praetorianism: Pakistan's Third Military Regime." *Pacific Affairs* 51, no. 3 (1978): 406–26. https://doi.org/10.2307/2757938.
[216] *The President on Pakistan's Ideological Basis,* Address by President General Zia-ul-Haq at the inauguration of Shariat Faculty at the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 8 October 1979. (Islamabad: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, n.d.), p. 2.
[217] Wynbrandt, "History: Pakistan," 216-217.

day was enforced, and the act of consuming food and beverages in public during the sacred month of Ramadan was prohibited. For several degree courses, Arabic and Islamic studies became a compulsory coursework. Female broadcasters were expected to cover their heads with scarfs and the media was instructed to broadcast headlines in Arabic on both radio and TV.[218] However, the country's population began to rebel and oppose the rising Islamization in the country, and Zia was forced to refrain short of making sharia the law of the land; with their restricted authority, the sharia courts merely impacted Muslim personal law and religious problems (Fig. 6.93).



Figure 6.92: Public Flogging during military rule of Zia Ul Haq.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/07/59584a6f2abee.jpg



Figure 6.93: Women in Karachi burn their dupattas as a protest what they termed were Zia's anti-women laws (1981).
https://i.dawn.com/large/2014/05/538621172d837.jpg?r=859603959

[218] Dr. Fazal Rabbi, "Islamization in Pakistan A Study of Zia-ul-Haq's Regime (1977-1988)," December 2017, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/342644259

General Zia ul-Haq was presented with a significant opportunity to obtain immediate success on all fronts at the end of 1979, when Soviet troops arrived in Afghanistan. In response, Zia-ul-Haq decided to offer extensive help to the Afghan militants who were opposing the Soviet forces. This decision was made with the approval of the US CIA and the Saudi Kingdom. Zia was successful in securing the United States' active support to aid the Afghan Mujahidin in their fight. A large amount of American and Saudi aid in dollars also helped to strengthen the economy and consecutively his grip on power. Due to a significant loss of lives and disturbing situation during the war, many Afghans migrated to neighbouring countries like Iran and Pakistan. These countries played a significant part in accommodating Afghan migrants, resulting in one of the most catastrophic refugee crises in modern history. Various refugee camps were built to accommodate the Afghans, and it also created long lasting impact on Pakistan, in the upcoming years.[219]

In 1986, ethnic violence erupted in Karachi's Orangi Town area between Muhajirs and Pakhtun Afghan refugees. In 1987, a huge bomb blasted in the crowded area of Saddar, resulted in the deaths of numerous individuals. This tragedy marked the first occurrence of its kind in a Pakistani urban area, leaving the residents of Karachi astonished and deeply disturbed. The government attributed the responsibility of the blast on Afghanistan's defunct intelligence service.

Unfortunately, on August 17, 1988, Zia died in an aircraft crash, alongside numerous other high-ranking officials including the United States ambassador to Pakistan. The exact reason for the crash is still unknown, but several hypotheses propose the possibility of sabotage or assassination. Ghulam Ishaq Khan held the office of president and Benazir Bhutto became the first ever women Prime Minister of Pakistan. But unfortunately, after a short span of two years her government was overthrown by Khan based on allegations of corruption.

Artistic Discourse of Socio-Political Events of 70s' and 80s'

In early decades Pakistani artists were grappling with challenges of national identity and individualism as they sought to carve out a niche for themselves in the art world. At that time little reaction art existed, as everyone was settling into the new vistas. However, as the nation progressed towards emerging paths, this trend began to change. As time passed, social and political events became increasingly prevalent, and Pakistani artists began to incorporate

[219] Muhammad Ahad Yar Khan, Fateh Burfat, and Tansif Ur Rehman. "Soviet- Afghan War and Pakistan's Role," *Asia-Pacific - Annual Research Journal of Far East & Southeast Asia*. (2021). 38. 255-268. 10.47781/asia-pacific.vol38.Iss0.3131.

these themes into their artworks. Subsequently, a new movement of art was born that went beyond modernism. Pakistani artists have consistently demonstrated a keen awareness of the social and political issues that shape the identity of their country's art.

Cyclone And Fall of East Pakistan

In the 1970s and 1980s, numerous significant events occurred, prompting artists to portray these events in their artwork. East Pakistanis were hit heavily by the Liberation War and the cyclone in the early 1970s. Although it was a distressing occasion for the whole country, but the artists of East Pakistan showed special concerns because they were directly affected, hence a subsequent number of artworks of the time can be seen. These painters used strong brushstrokes, vivid colours and imagination to intensify the emotional authenticity of these horrific and traumatic incidents. Depicting misery of the people, and glory of independence both at a time.

During the military curfew Zain ul Abedin frequently helped the other artists and intellectuals by generously providing refuge to them in his home especially on the night of March 25th, 1971. The War provided him with more inspiration to refine his skills in the art of figurative expression. He sought to depict on canvas both the plight of the oppressed and displaced, as well as the triumph of those who emerged victorious. The artist depicts the closely grouped figures of the Liberation soldiers, carrying flags, guns and leading towards victory (Fig. 6.94 to Fig. 6.97).



Figure 6.94: *'Cyclone'* by Zain ul Abedin.
https://tdsimages.thedailystar.net/sites/default/files/styles/very_big_1/public/images/2022/11/12/cyclone_zainul_abedin_web_1.jpg

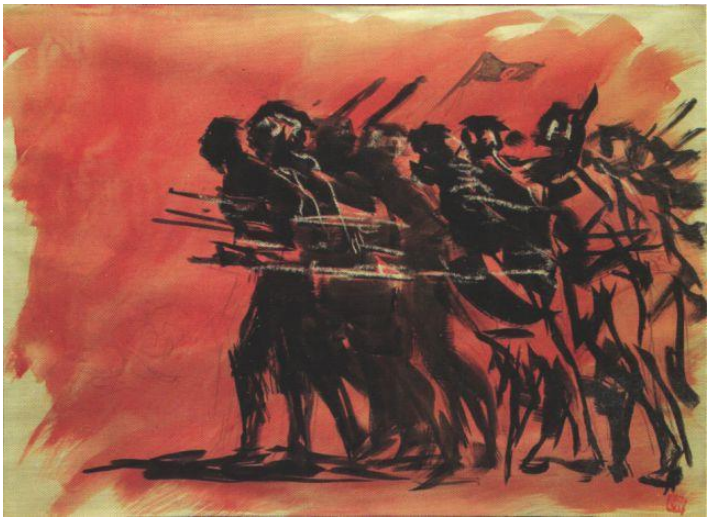


Figure 6.95: *'Liberation War'* by Zain ul Abedin, 1971.
https://tds-images.thedailystar.net/sites/default/files/beta2/uploads/2013/04/Culture-1.jpg



Figure 6.96: '*Muktijudhdho*' (Liberation War) by Zain ul Abedin, 1971.
https://i.pinimg.com/564x/e4/16/d0/e416d06b41f228599c659fb07853df4a.jpg



Figure 6.97: *'Civil War'* by Zain ul Abedin, 1971.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_02/21/21/211640484/1158d876-326a-48c0-9724-e38b4298b36e_273.Jpeg

Another Bangladeshi artist Shahabuddin Ahmed, served as a platoon commander throughout the war. He directly witnessed the distressing realities of the conflict. His creativity was shaped by the experiences of the Liberation War thus, producing many artworks. Despite his participation in the war, Ahmed identifies his work as a pacifist. He asserts that while his paintings frequently depict vigorous and hostile human figures in motion, poised for attack, they do not celebrate the violence of war. Instead, they highlight the plight of the distressed, desperate, and marginalized individuals who are victims of war, displaying their defiance in the face of suffering (Fig. 6.98 to Fig. 6.101). He stated that he refrains from selecting death as a topic of fascination, since fundamentally, his inclination leans towards optimism.[220]



Figure 6.98: *'Freedom Fighter'* by Shahabuddin Ahmed. https://static.wixstatic.com/media/c995a3_aa1258ab1880445a938365c93f55dcf0~mv2.jpg/v1/fill/w_763,h_484,al_c,lg_1,q_85,enc_auto/c995a3_aa1258ab1880445a938365c93f55dcf0~mv2.jpg



Figure 6.99: *'Freedom Fighter 2'* by Shahabuddin Ahmed, Bangladesh, oil on canvas, 1997. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304592761/figure/fig6/AS:381203594137611@1467897427665/Shahabuddin-Ahmed-Bangladesh-oil-on-canvas-1997_W640.jp

[220] Lala Rukh Selim, Art of Bangladesh: The Changing Role of Tradition, Search for Identity and Globalization. *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal* (2014) 10.4000/samaj.3725.



Figure 6.100: *'Platoon'* by Shahabuddin Ahmed.
https://static.wixstatic.com/media/c995a3_98d7607927e44b37a48828529508ebeb~mv2.jpg/v1/fill/w_1102,h_728,al_c,q_85,enc_auto/c995a3_98d7607927e44b37a48828529508ebeb~mv2.jpg



Figure 6.101: *'Untitled'* by Shahabuddin Ahmed, 2014.
https://unboxedwriters.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/2-1.jpg

Quamrul Hassan, another artist from Bangladesh, utilised Bengali folk heritage as a means of expressing protest through his artwork. The artist's political artworks were driven by his profound appreciation for the basic rural Bengali lifestyle, as well as the ensuing devastation

caused by the military dictatorship of West Pakistan. The paintings titled *"Bangladesh Before Genocide"* and *"Bangladesh After Genocide"* depict the contrast between two distinct historical periods (Fig. 6.102 & 6.103).



Figure 6.102: *'Bangladesh before Genocide'* and 'Bangladesh after Genocide' by Quamrul Hassan. https://static.wixstatic.com/media/c995a3_339d3b42061c4e3c991d29cf4f89e3a7~mv2.jpg/v1/fill/w_416,h_237,al_c,lg_1,q_80,enc_auto/c995a3_339d3b42061c4e3c991d29cf4f89e3a7~mv2.jpg



Figure 6.103: *'Untitled'* by Quamrul Hassan. https://static.wixstatic.com/media/c995a3_0640fbd3bfff455bbbdd1005e21e8b65~mv2.jpg/v1/fill/w_947,h_540,al_c,lg_1,q_85,enc_auto/c995a3_0640fbd3bfff455bbbdd1005e21e8b65~mv2.jpg

Qayyum Chowdhury another artist has further emphasised the role of ordinary citizens of Bangladesh in the Liberation War (Fig. 6.104 & Fig. 6.105).



Figure 6.104: *'Untitled'* by Qayyum Chaudhary. https://static.wixstatic.com/media/c995a3_76f29b9e829542f7ae87ce189596764a~mv2.jpg/v1/fill/w_767,h_608,al_c,lg_1,q_85,enc_auto/c995a3_76f29b9e829542f7ae87ce189596764a~mv2.jpg



Figure 6.105: *'Untitled'* by Qayyum Chaudhary. https://static.wixstatic.com/media/c995a3_76f29b9e829542f7ae87ce189596764a~mv2.jpg/v1/fill/w_767,h_608,al_c,lg_1,q_85,enc_auto/c995a3_76f29b9e829542f7ae87ce189596764a~mv2.jpg

Furthermore, alongside the impactful and poignant reaction of the Bangladeshi artists, artists from West Pakistan such as Anna Molka Ahmed, Mian Ijaz ul Hassan, Mansoor Rahi among others have also portrayed the atrocities of the war. Anna Molka Ahmed portrayed the

severe ramifications of the flood and the plight of the refugees in her artworks. She also depicted that era's prevailing starvation and poverty in her paintings (Fig. 6.106 & Fig. 6.113).



Figure 6.106: *'Flood'* by Anna Molka Ahmed.
Source: "Unveiling the Visible by Salima Hashmi."

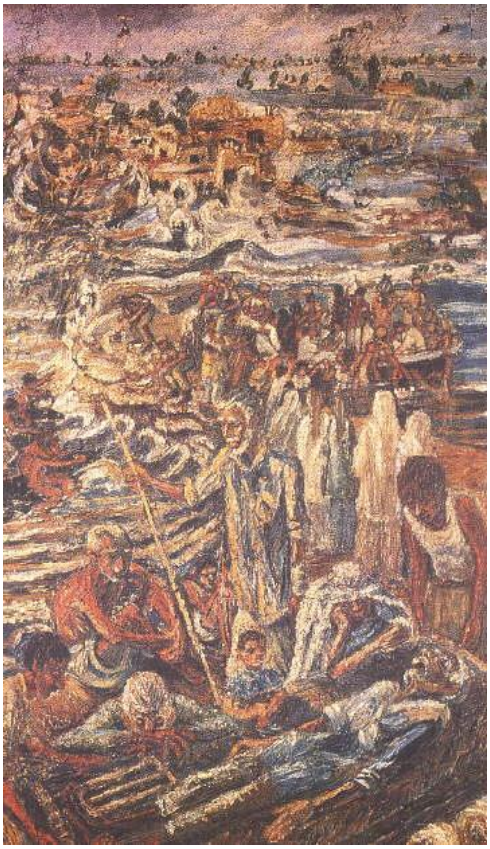


Figure 6.107: *'The Raging Flood'* by Anna Molka Ahmed,1975.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/am5.jpg

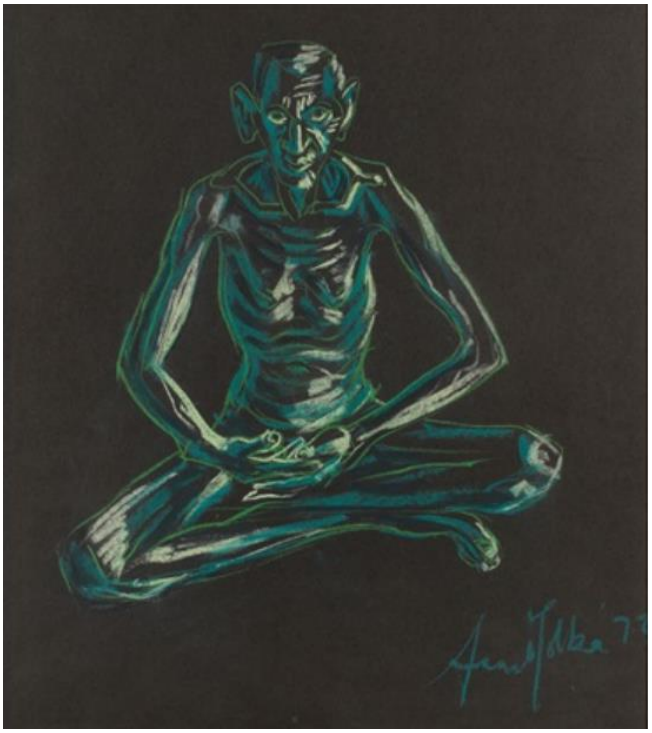


Figure 6.108: *'Untitled (Fakir)'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, 1973.
Pastel on Paper. https://www.artnet.com/artists/anna-molka-ahmed/untitled-fakir-xYvfMnQ9Eei55LrM8Ret1A2

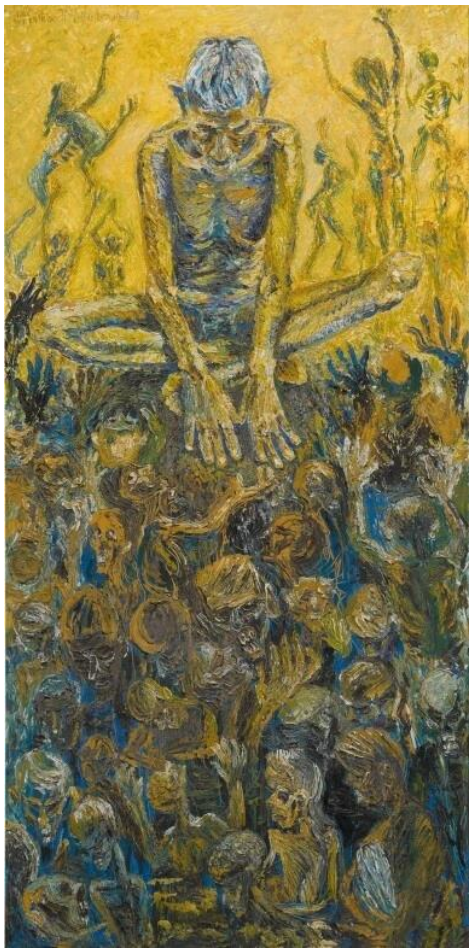


Figure 6.109: *'Hunger'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, 1984.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2022_03/24/09/090444273/b57e5b65-16d0-48a1-87ca-bb0ca546179a_570.Jpeg



Figure 6.110: *'War prisoners'* by Anna Molka, 1972. Oil on board.
Source: Tahira Ahmed.

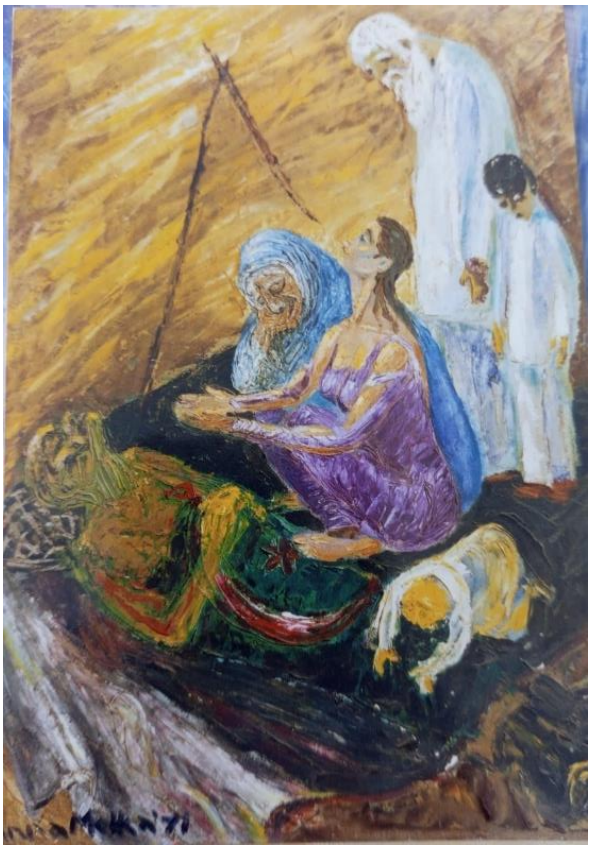


Figure 6.111: *'Refugees'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, 1971. Oil on Canvas.
Source: Tahira Ahmed.



Figure 6.112: *'Shaheed'* by Anna Molka Ahamed, 1972/73. Oil on Canvas.
Source: Tahira Ahmed.



Figure 6.113: *'Resting'* by Anna Molka Ahmed, 1973.
Source: Tahira Ahmed.

Ijaz ul Hassan[221] has adeptly utilized art as a powerful medium to effectively communicate his messages of social and political nature. Right from the early days of his career, he raised his voice against the plight of Vietnamese and Bengali people, Wars and the military dictatorship. He used his artistic abilities to question society more effectively than any other expression. Hassan painted a large triptych panel that vividly depicts the somber and obscure nature of the partition of East Pakistan, symbolizing the detachment of a limb from the body. He demonstrated it using profound and significant shades of blue, red, and black (Fig.7.45, 7.46).



Figure 6.114 : *'Bangladesh Saga'* Triptych by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1973. Oil on Board.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryi/thumbs/g1005.jpg



Figure 6.115: '*Khooni Chauk'* (Bloody Crossing) by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1972/73.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryi/thumbs/g1007.jpg

[221] Ijaz ul Hassan (b. 1940.) is painter, teacher, art critic and writer. He studied painting at Fine Arts Department, Punjab University and St. Martins School of Art, London. He has held several professional positions, including Director of Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation and Pakistan Television Corporation and Chairman of Artists' Association of Punjab and National Artists' Association of Pakistan. His practice spans over five decades, earning him international renown. He is the recipient of the prestigious Pride of Performance award in 1992 and the Sitara-i-Imtiaz in 2016.

Mansoor Rahi[222] artworks have portrayed the East Pakistan turmoil in a unique manner. His work strongly resembles the artistic style of Picasso and Braque, as they have portrayed a conceptual interpretation of nature rather than a perceptual one. Right from the beginning of his artistic career, Mansoor Rahi gained attention for his cubist style. Figurative cubism of Rahi comprises the deliberate fragmentation of form and its reorganization into smaller planes which creates a powerfull impact on viewers.[223] The escalating voilence in the society during 70s has deeply afflicted him to the point that he painted the horrors of war and sufferings of people in his distinct cubist style (Fig. 6.116 to Fig. 6.119). Sirhindi has commented about his work:

> "His art encompasses two distinct aspects: the depiction of idyllic rural landscapes using watercolour, influenced by his Bengali heritage, and the portrayal of human suffering in a traditional, semi-cubist style."[224]



Figure 6.116: *' Faces in Cyclone,'* by Mansoor Rahi, 1971. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.askart.com/photos/2021/CNY20210922_134690/683_1.jpg

[222] Abul Mansoor Ahmed better known as Mansoor Rahi, was born in 1939, West Bengal. Graduated in fine art from the Govt. College of Art & Craft, Dhaka. After partition he moved with his family to Raj Shahi and then to Dhaka where he graduated. Later, he moved to Karachi in 1963 and remained there and then settled in Islamabad. Mr Rahi also won the Shakir Ali Award at the first International Biennale Show in 1987. In 2008 he received the Pride of Performance Award.
[223] Asif Norani, "Tête-à-tête: Mansoor Rahi going strong at 74," *Dawn*, July 13, 2014, https://www.dawn.com/news/1118520
[224] Marcella Nesom Sirhandi, *Contemporary painting in Pakistan* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 155.



Figure 6.117: *'Revoution and Red Sky'* By Mansoor Rahi, 1971. Oil on canvas.
https://www.askart.com/photos/2023/CNY20230315_152473/85_1.JPG

Rahi conveys the impact of the tragedy with a collection of exaggerated facial expressions and a subdued colour scheme. The figures are stuck in anguish with their mouths open and their eyes directed towards the relentless sun. Figures appear suspended between the ground and the heavens, devoid of support during their most desperate moments. Rahi's subject matter has undergone transformations in different times of his life. His style underwent a transformation upon relocating to Islamabad. Mansoor found immense pleasure in the mountain locations, showing a significant reduction in the heavy subject matters, philosophical thoughts, and tragic feelings that were present in his earlier work. Rahi elaborates about his work, "I endeavour to depict the aroma rather than the flower, and rather than depicting a beggar, I seek to convey the spirit of poverty."[225]

[225] Maryam Usman, "Living and breathing Art," *Express Tribune*, January 31, 2014.
https://tribune.com.pk/story/665830/living-and-breathing-art



Figure 6.118: *'Untitled'* by Mansoor Rahi, 1971. Oil on Canvas.
Source: Catalogue of Exhibition "Modern Vision Part - 7"



Figure 6.119: *'Untitled'* by Mansoor Rahi, 1971. Oil on Canvas.
Source: Catalogue of Exhibition "Modern Vision Part - 7"

Aviation Art and Martrys of 1971 War

Though Pakistan was defeated in the battle, the skill and bravery demonstrated by the Pakistan Air Force pilots was acknowledged. Aviation painters depicted battle scenes with remarkable accuracy as if they were taken by a camera during the actual events, bringing the

viewer back to the moments of war. G. C. Syed Akhtar Masood Hussaini's remarkable paintings portray the battle scenarios with ingenuity (Fig. 6.120 to Fig. 6.124).



Figure 6.120: F-6 Strike Armour in Shakrgarh with its pair of 30mm canons on 14 Dec, 1971.
Painted by Akhtar Hussaini, 1983.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/8/f/5/8f5177648db2e912412edfb75cc9156ecea60f0d.jpg



Figure 6.121: Flying Officer M Shamsul Haq destroying Su-7 aircraft that were attacking Tejgaon airfield in 1971.
By Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4/5/8/2/582a4c953c085790ca5cba6f499fa810d940730d.jpg

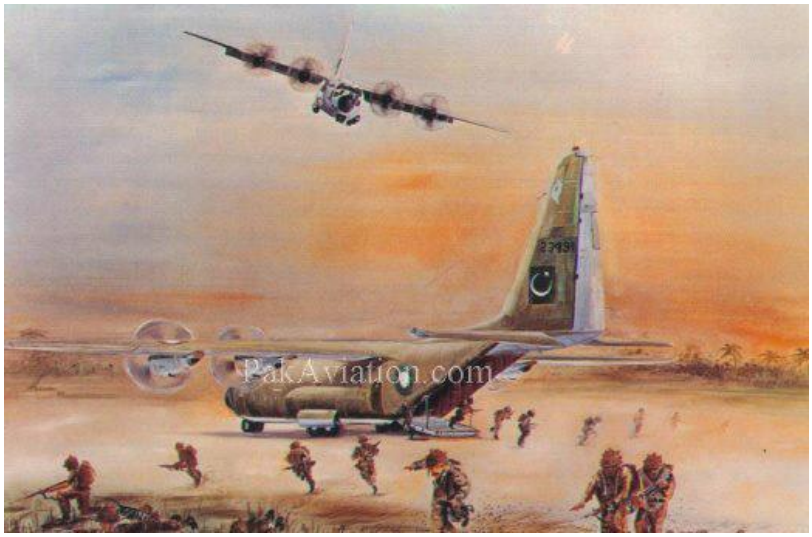


Figure 6.122: A commando assault by C-130 during a battlefield. 1971. By Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/7/9/f/79f12747ee485f57a19179a234177b7f7f4e8c89.jpg

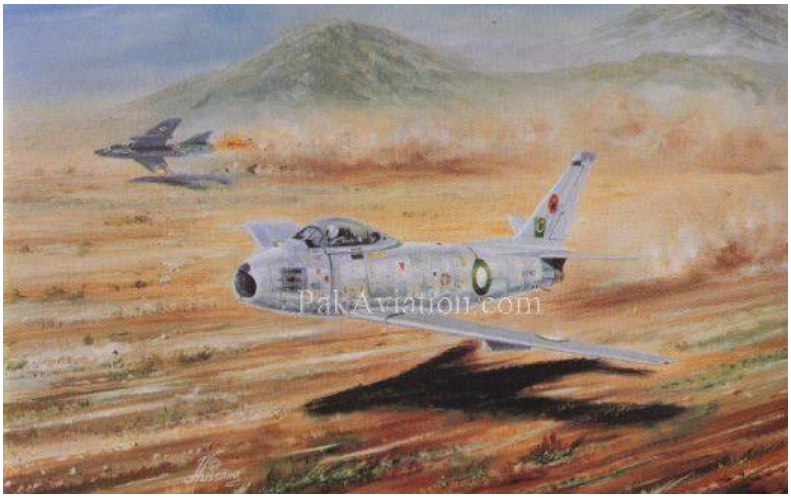


Figure 6.123: A low level combat over Peshawar on 4 december 1971. The F-86 piloted by Flight Leutinent Salim Baig Mirza of No 26 Squadron destroys an IAF hunter near pimple hill. By Akhtar Hussaini
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/5/a/4/5a4129440316b5be52fee732f476fe1180bc46ac.jpg

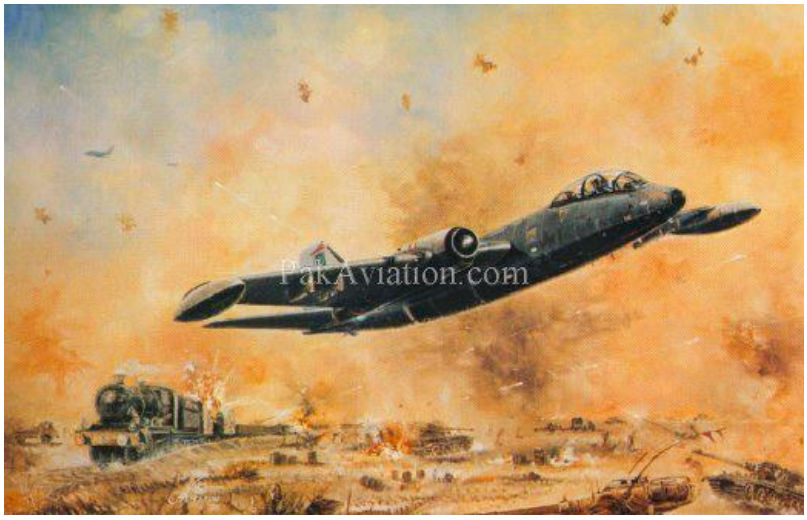


Figure 6.124: Two seat B-57 bomber of No 7 Squadron of PAF on a daylight raid mission, massing up along the Khokrapar-Chor railway line leading into Hyderabad on 7 dec-1971. By Akhtar Hussaini.
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/d/7/0/d70335fc7c22015cb5ae38a1588949480e4844d7.jpg

Flight Lieutenant Sajjad Noor is depicted in the painting (Fig. 6.125) being rescued after ejecting from his defected F-86 during the final confrontation of No. 14 Squadron over Dhaka. Noor had parachuted across the Buri Ganga river, close to an Indian army unit advancing towards Dhaka. The pilot was immediately airborne and recovered in a daring rescue by an Alouette III helicopter. A firefight ensued between the PAF ground combatants and the enemy forces who were attempting to capture Noor.

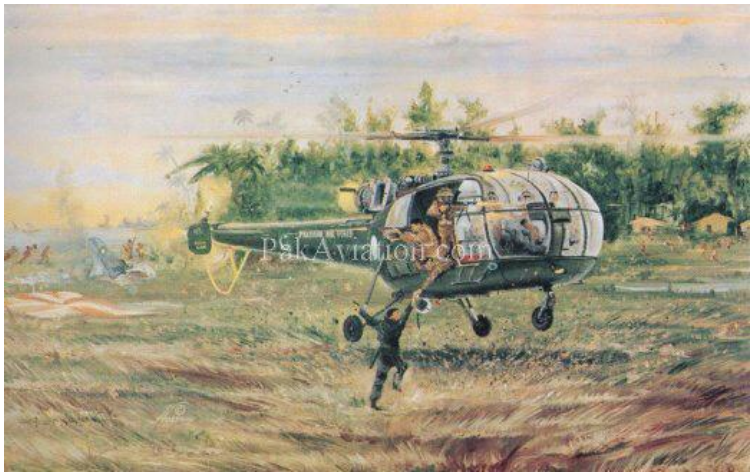


Figure 6.125: Rescue of Sajjad Noor by Syed Masood Akhtar Hussaini
https://fcache1.pakwheels.com/original/4X/3/e/6/3e611ff711e6249fa24dde24f081c0454ef68b6c.jpg

Rehan Siraj and Shujat Ali, two other notable artists are actively engaged in creating aviation art in Pakistan are also recognised internationally. While they are not affiliated with the Pakistan Airforce like G. C. Syed Masood Akhter Hussaini, but their passion for aviation art has motivated them to pursue a career in this field. The painting (Fig. 6.126) portrays a PAF F-86E aircraft, under the command of F/L Maqsood Amir, successfully shooting down an IAF Mig-21FL aircraft from the 45 Sqn of the Indian Air Force over Punjab, Pakistan. The event occurred on the final day of the conflict.



Figure 6.126: *'Sabre Kills Superior'* by Rehan Siraj. 2007.
https://aviationartofrehansiraj.blogspot.com/2011/

On December 4th, 1971, Squadron Leader R. A. Bhatti successfully destroyed an Indian Air Force Su-7 aircraft, resulting in its downfall above Amritsar (Fig. 6.127). The Sukhoi pilot was killed during strike. This painting has been featured in a German magazine alongside an article discussing PAF F-104s.



Figure 6.127: *'F-104 shoots down Su-7'* by Rehan Siraj, 2010.
https://aviationartofrehansiraj.blogspot.com/2011/

The painting (Fig. 6.128) portrays F/L Salim Baig Mirza successfully taking down an IAF hunter aircraft in close proximity to the Peshawar airbase. The incident occurred on December 4th, 1971, when a Hunter aircraft from the Indian Air Force was intercepted by a Sabre aircraft from the Pakistan Air Force's No 26 Squadron, known as "The Black Spiders". The Hunter was shot down after engaging in a low altitude battle.



Figure 6.128: *'Hunting the Hunter'* by Rehan Siraj, 2013.
https://www.facebook.com/RehanSirajAviationArt

Aviation artist Shujat Ali is also recognised for his digital work, he has written about himself on his facebook page that he is a pioneering digital Aviation Artist from Pakistan. He is possibly the first in Asia and the Middle East too.[226] His early introduction includes being a 2D-Digital Animated Political Cartoonist on the web, specifically known through the online news platform of Al Jazeera News Channel in 2002, when he earned recognition comparable to Bill Mitchell, the first animated political cartoonist for CNN, as has been acknowledged by the BBC online team.[227] Shujat early experience in digital art allowed him to surpass many artists worldwide. Additionally, he introduced "Flightoons," which are digital aviation cartoons, for the Flight Safety of the Pakistan Air Force (PAF). He has also done a project "Legends of Pakistan Air Force" series containing illustrations of officals which gained significant popularity within the air force community (Fig. 6.129).

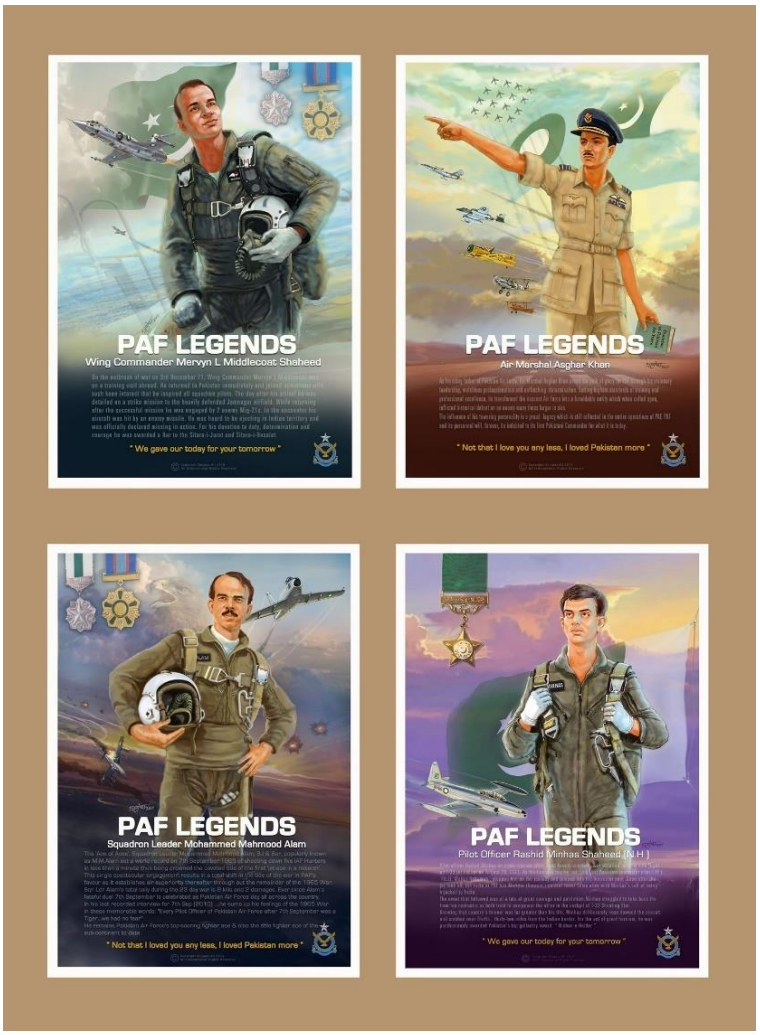


Figure 6.129: *'Digital posters'* Pakistan Airforce members by Shujat Ali. https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=711577593015689&set=pcb.711578579682257

[226] Aviation Art by Shujaat Ali, Accessed May 5, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/aviationartbyshujaat
[227] "Aljazeera cartoonist's work honoured," January 1, 2004, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2004/1/1/aljazeera-cartoonists-work-honoured

Pakistani forces honoured the martyrs of the 1971 war by bestowing upon them the highest military rank of Nishan-e-Haider. ISPR also published portraits of the patriotic soldiers who bravely fought against the Indian armies and sacrificed their lives in the course of their duty (Fig. 6.130 to Fig. 6.133). Major Shabeer Shareef, Major Muhammad Akram, Pilot Officer Rashid Minhas, Lance Naik Muhammad Mehfooz, Sawar Muhammad Hussain were the recipient of this award.

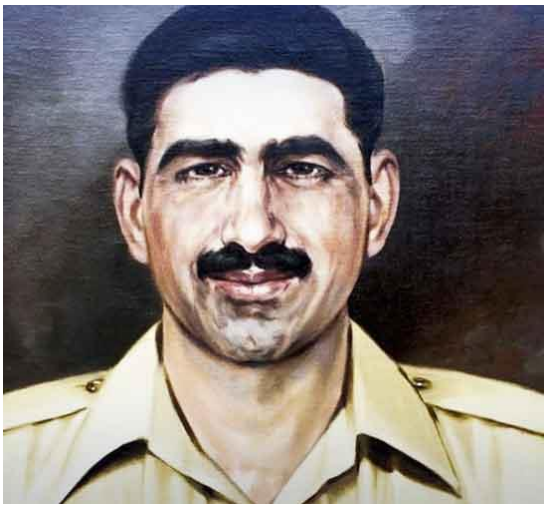



Figure 6.130 & 6.131: *'Major Muhammad Akram'* and *'Sawar Muhamad.'* Artist unknown.
https://i.tribune.com.pk/media/images/Major-Akram1607108416-0/Major-Akram1607108416-0.png
https://www.samaa.tv/images/sawar-muhammad-shaheed.jpg

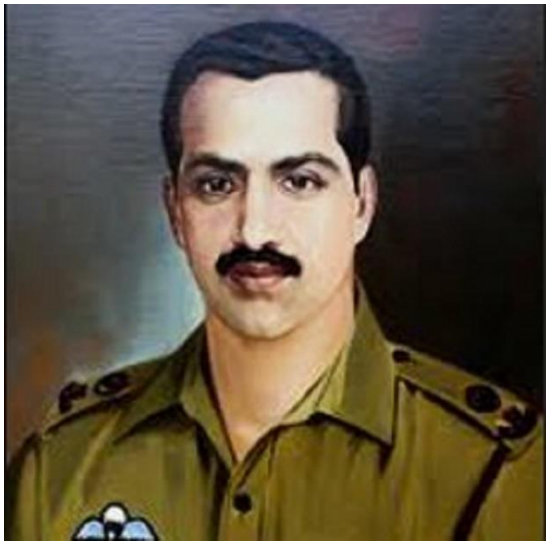



Figure 6.132 & 6.133: *'Major Shabeer Shareef'* and *'Pilot Officer Rashid Minhas.'* Artists Unknown.
https://i.tribune.com.pk/media/images/Major-Shabbir-Shaheed1607197172-0/Major-Shabbir-Shaheed1607197172-0.png,
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/08/55d59946b362f.jpg

Portraits of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Besides showing social and political events, artists also have paid homage to prominent leaders by representing thier personality, strenght and visions. Such artworks not only honour

the leader but also reflect the cultural and political discription of the era. As was shown in the previous chapter that portraits of political leaders, freedom fighters, martrys etc., were often made to honor the individuals. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was admired by a large number of people and had a significant fan following. He was the first pupolar democratic leader, thus was frequently captured by artists providing insight into his pesonality. In addition to portraits, Bhutto was observed delivering impassioned speeches to the masses during rallies (Fig. 6.134 to Fig. 6.138). It is important to note that there are no noteworthy artworks that depicts his policies or achievements regarding Shimla agreement, Islamic Summit conference, establishment of constitution, and initiation of the nuclear program etc.



Figure 6.134: Portrait of *'Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.'* Artist Unknown.
https://timesofislamabad.com/digital_images/large/2018-04-04/zulfikar-ali-bhutto-s-39th-death-anniversary-being-observed-today-1522817842-4024.jpg



Figure 6.135: *'Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.'* Artist unknown.
https://pbs.twimg.com/media/ENd72c1X0AAf4pA?format=jpg&name=medium

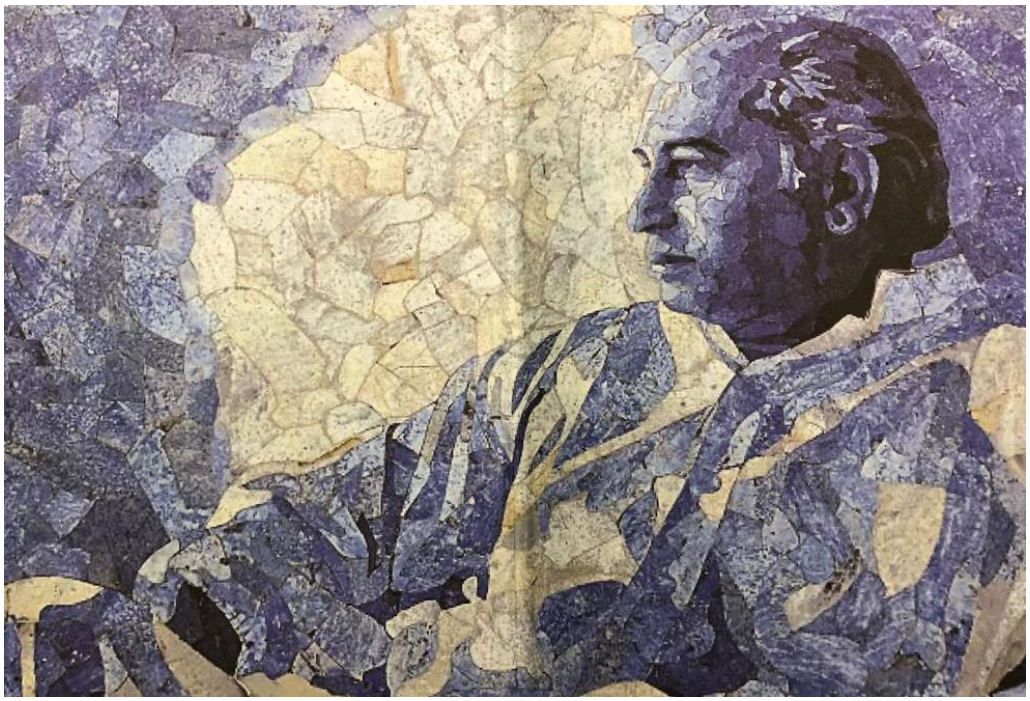


Figure 6.136: *'Lapis lazulli Mosaic of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.'* by Ismail Gulgee.
https://www.thenews.com.pk/assets/uploads/tns/2018-07-22/565963_796198_tns.jpg

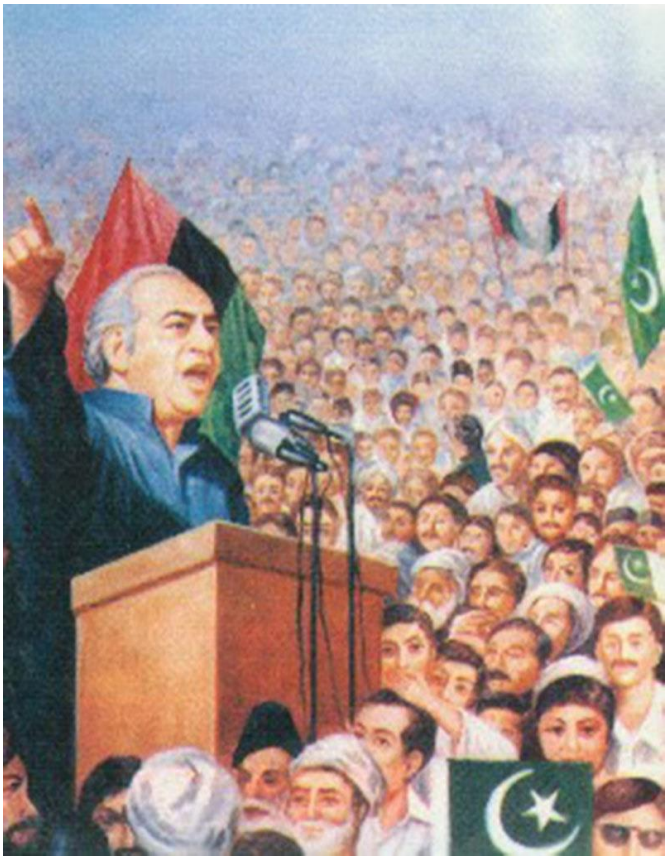


Figure 6.137: *'Bhutto Adressing to people.'* Artist unknown.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/12/5660635e1e1b6.jpg

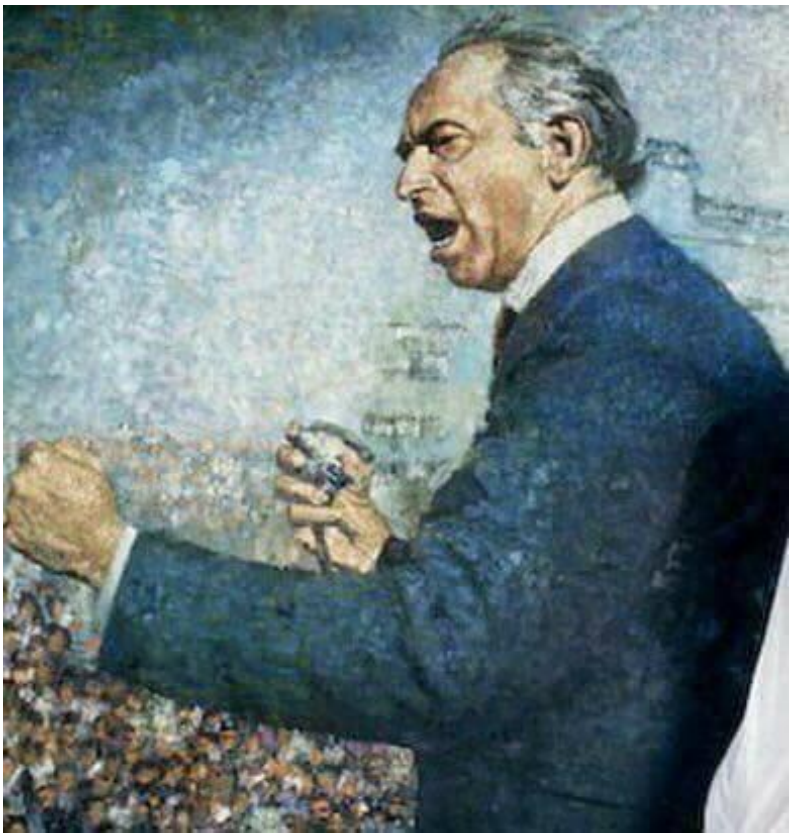


Figure 6.138: *'Bhutto adressing the rally.'* Artist Unknown.
https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1669264319756847&set=zulfiqar-ali-bhuttowe-miss-you

Art During Zia Ul Haq's Regime

Pakistani art underwent a strong change during Zia Ul Haq's regime due to the policies of censorship. This period saw a surge in politically charged and socially conscious art. Ijaz Ul Hassan faced imprisonment and torture due to political involvemnt, but he relentlessly pushed the boundaries through his paintings and murals. Although he dabbled in abstract and realistic paintings, however politics was always central to his work. In his view, art and politics are linked and cannot be separated. During Zia's Coup, Hassan was taken into custody, blindfolded, and a noose was fastened around his neck. He was tortured and intimidated while he was in solitary confinement for a month. His creativity was profoundly affected during his time spent in the Naukher Prison in Lahore. Later, he created a diverse collection of artworks depicting the scenes beyond the walls of his prison cell (Fig 6.139 & Fig. 6.140).

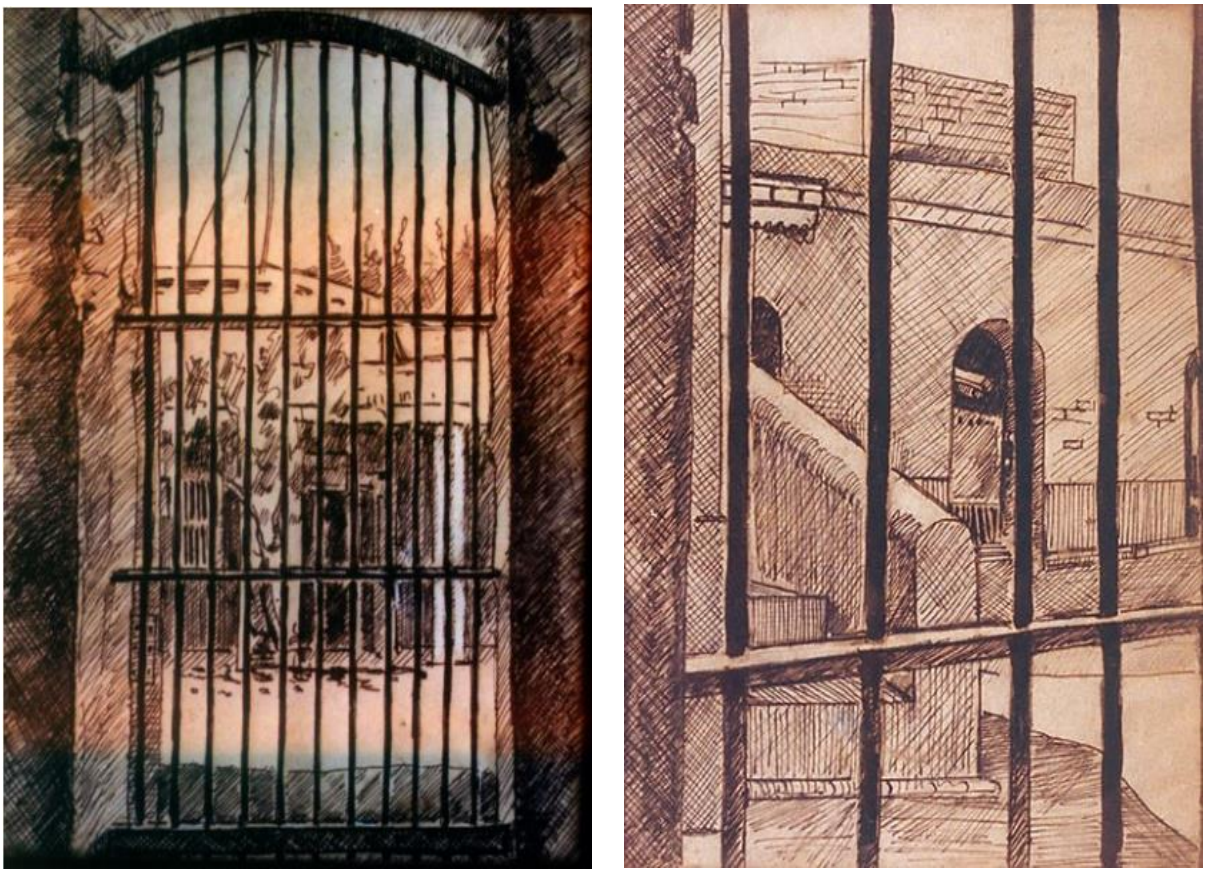


Figure 6.139 and 6.140: *'View through Window of Naukher Hawalat,'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1976, Ink on Paper.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/full/g2003.jpg
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/full/g2002.jpg

Ijaz attempted to communicate with the audience through the skillful utilisation of symbols and imagery. He created a series in which he represented the trees and gardens through windows. For him, the window serves as a portal through which one may observe the transition

from a personal and introspective realm to a more vibrant and cheerful external environment.[228] His paintings such as *"Glass Cage"* and *"The Jaman in the Backyard,"* resonate the images of the bars (Fig. 6.141 & Fig. 6.142). In a style reminiscent of a prison cell, the bars slice the verdant landscapes into three or four sections. Beautiful landscapes that lie beyond divided sections, inspires the audience towards hope (Fig. 6.143 to Fig. 6.145).

Musarrat Hassan has described in her book *"Ijaz ul Hassan: Five Decades of Paintings,"* that the artist's choice of painting the garden from the comfort of his home can be seen as a symbol of the detachment and disconnection caused by seeking comfort, which hinders meaningful engagement with the real world.[229]



Figure 6.141: *'Glass Cage'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1979. Oil on canvas.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/full/g2004.jpg

[228] "Gallery: Window," Ijaz ul Hassan website, accessed June 15, 2024, https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/index.html
[229] Musarrat Hasan, *Ijaz ul Hassan: Five Decades of Painting* (Pakistan: Lahore Art Gallery, 2012), 26.

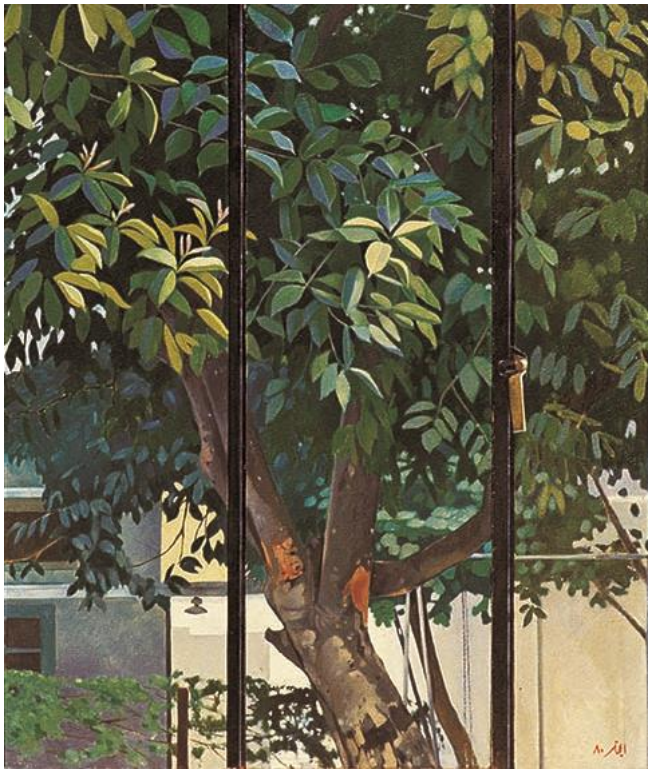


Figure 6.142: *'The Jaman in the Backyard,'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1980. Three panels Oil on Canvas. https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/full/g2005.jpg

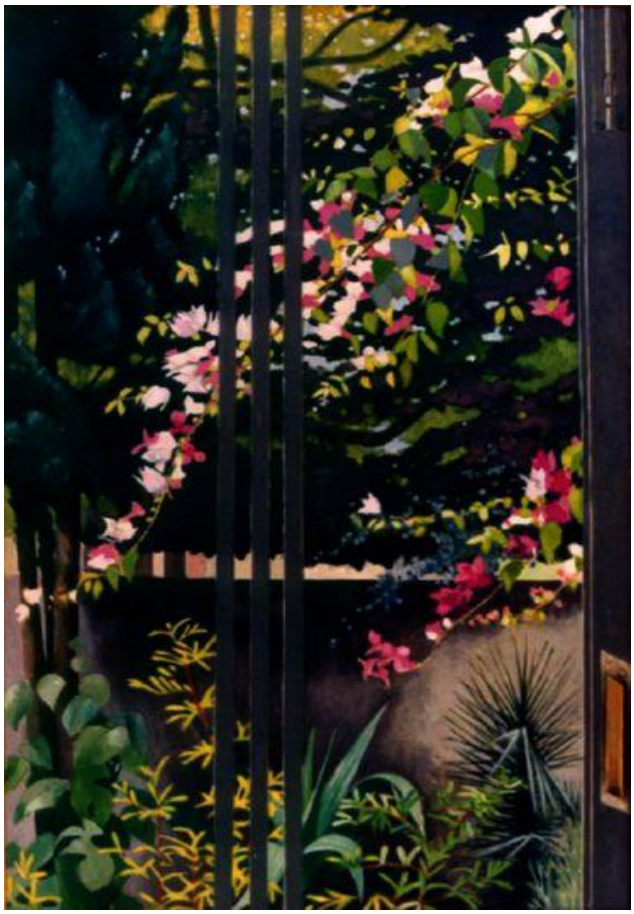


Figure 6.143: *'Autum'* by Ijaz Ul Hasan, 1982. Oil on Canvas. https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/full/g2009.jpg

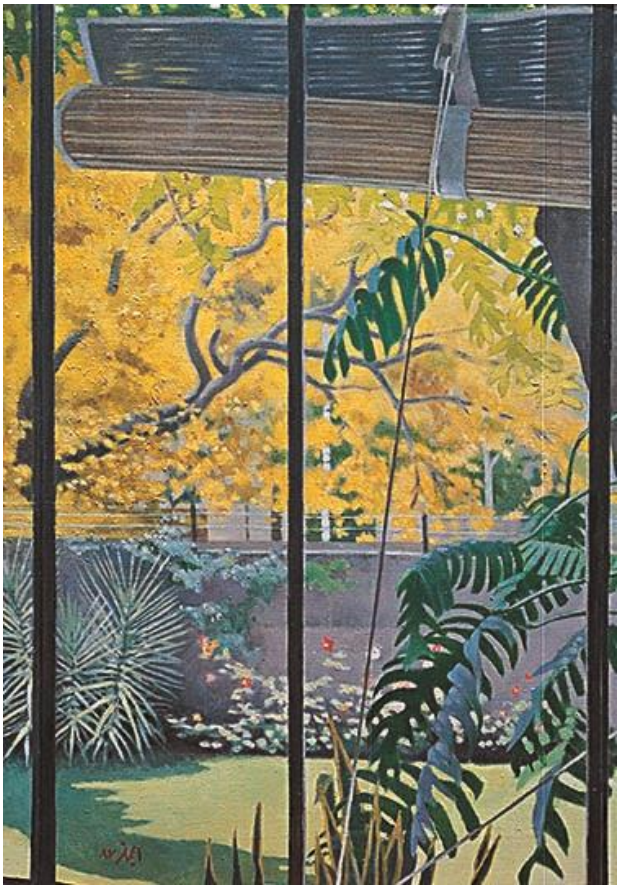


Figure 6.144: *'View through the Door,'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1980. Oil on Canvas.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/thumbs/tn_g2007.jpg

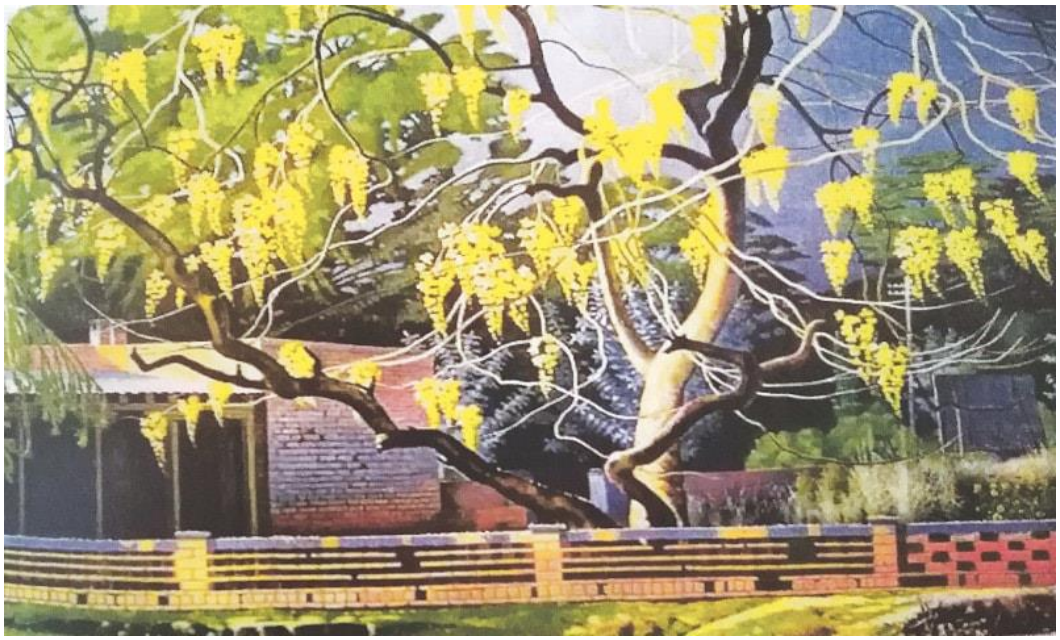


Figure 6.145: *'Laburnum and Impending Storm'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1983. Oil on Canvas.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2020/08/5f4ac73cd128a.jpg

In his famous sarcastic painting named *"New Year's Eve,"* a flower-shaped barbed wire is shown (Fig. 6.146). This work was created shortly after his imprisonment and vividly

portrays the true manner and essence of the events that occurred during the Martial Law. The picture depicts a bouquet in which flowers have been substituted with barbed wire. Ijaz ul Hassan employs irony as a means of conveying his message. The barbed wire bouquet signifies that the offering made to the people of Pakistan as a pledge of wealth and prosperity is a deceitful and deceptive deed. Ijaz ul Hassan's artworks showed the duplicity of the military administration in Pakistan, which exploited Islam and the populace to achieve and maintain political control.

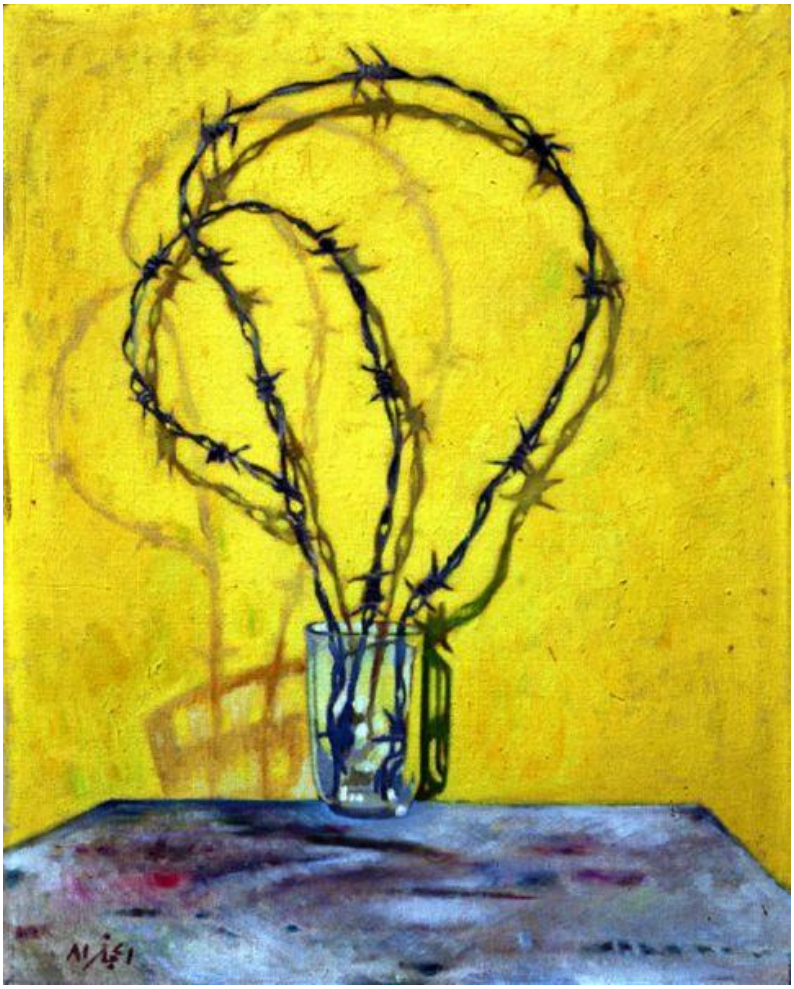
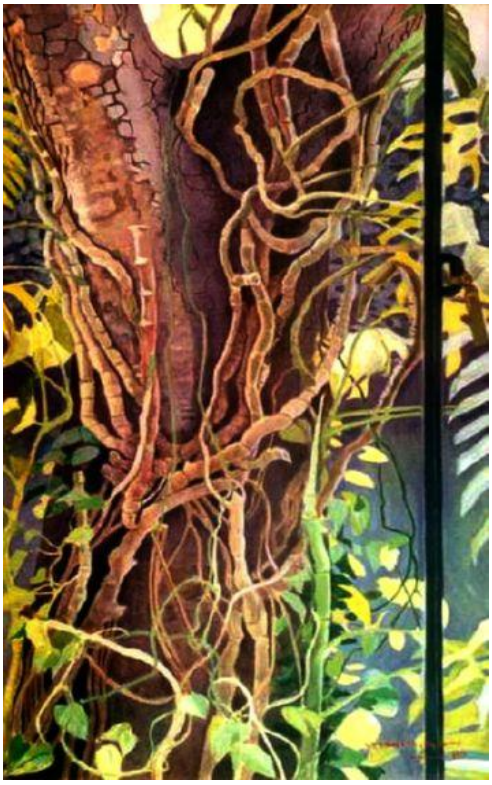


Figure 6.146: *'New Year Bouquet'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1981. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/thumbs/tn_g2001.jpg

Ijaz ul Hassan also created a metaphoric series on Girdling Vines and Lillies. His slender trees were adorned with withered limbs entwined with vibrant foliage, evoking memories of his enduring hardships (Fig. 6.147 & Fig. 6.148). Each time a branch was severed, multiple new shoots would sprout, serving as a representation of humanity's enduring resilience. A tree with a vine entwined around it is a recurring motif in his paintings, which he has used to convey sentiments of togetherness, dedication, and satisfaction. Like humans, lilies also portray a wide range of emotions, from happiness to sadness (Fig. 6.149).





Figures 6.147 and 6.148: *'Girdling Vines 1'* 1985 and *'Gridling Vines 2'* 1989.
By Ijaz ul Hassan. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryiii/full/g3001.jpg
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryiii/thumbs/tn_g3003.jpg



Figure 6.149: *'Red Lilies'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1981. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryiii/thumbs/tn_g3004.jpg

In the 1980s, when galleries were afraid of government repercussions they either restricted or rejected the artworks of Hassan, thus he turned to nature as a means of expressing his ideas. As a result, he created a renowned and enduring collection of paintings depicting gardens. He demonstrated significance in the mundane, conveying teachings through portrayals of the natural world.

If we look at his mural *"Let a Hundred Plants Grow"* it appears to be an unremarkable garden, but Musarrat Hasan explains that the mural symbolises the upcoming restoration of democratic governance (Fig. 6.150). The mural's message is that if various plants, with their diverse species, colours, and temperaments, can coexist peacefully, then why can't humans transcend their divisions based on religion, language, clan and accept those from different faiths or cultures?.[230]



Figure 6.150: *'Let A Hundred Plants Bloom for Ushering of Democracy'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1988.
Oil on Canvas (4 panels) Collection: First International Investment Bank.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryv/full/g5005.jpg

Another eminent artist who sharply criticised societal and political injustices was A. R. Nagori.[231] He was widely recognised for his audacious and thought-provoking artworks. Nagori's art was distinguished by its unadorned realism and potent symbolism, tackling

[230] Musarrat Hassan, *Ijaz-ul-Hassan: Five Decades of Paintings* (Pakistan: Lahore Art Gallery, 2012)
[231] Abdul Rahim Nagori (1939 – January 14, 2011) was a Pakistani painter known for his socio-political themes. He has held various solo exhibitions since 1958. He taught at the University of Sindh in Jamshoro, Pakistan where he founded and headed the department of Fine Arts. He was honoured with President's Pride of Performance Award on August 14, 2010.

subjects such as autocracy, suppression of information, religious fanaticism, and violations of human rights. His unwavering dedication to promoting fairness and equality, as well as his bold and unapologetic use of art to voice opposition, have established him as a prominent and powerful presence in the art community of Pakistan.

Marcella Nesom Sirhandi while discussing Nagori's early artistic works, claims that in her view it was predominantly non-representational and decorative. However, starting in the early 1980s, his artwork took on a significantly more political nature. His works began to express fervent emotions, influenced by personal encounters, through the means of mockery, satire, accusation, and lamentation. These expressions targeted various forms of wrongdoing and injustice at personal, local, national, and global levels (Fig. 6.151 to Fig. 6.153).[232] '*The Tower of Power'* is a humrous take on the power structure of Pakistan. The military is depicted wearing a cap that bears the influence of American style. At the bottom, ordinary citizens are shown oppressed by bureaucrats who benefit from the clergy's authority and collaboration with those in power.



Figure 6.151: *'Tower of Power'* by A. R. Nagori.
https://www.thenews.com.pk/assets/uploads/tns/2019-06-23/567977_5138698_tns.jpg

[232] Marcella Nesom Sirhandi, *Contemporary painting in Pakistan* (Pakistan: Ferozsons, 1992), 149.



Figure 6.152: *'Victory'* by A. R. Nagori, 1982.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/2758-2.jpg



Figure 6.153: *'Untitled'* by A. R. Nagori.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/arn13.jpg

In 1982, his exhibition expressing brutality towards the opposition during Zia's regime was met with censorship. But it was later supported by the Federation Union of Journalists in 1983. However, it was this exhibition against dictatorship that gained significant recognition for him in 1986. His exhibition at Indus Gallery was a critical look at Zia's legacy, featuring national events that deeply affected the nation. Two years later, in 1988, he created a series of 40 paintings that introduced new symbols representing bomb blasts, crime, robberies, firearms, drugs, guns and rape. These artworks depicted the horrifying events of previous years. His insightful portrayal drew a lot of attention from worldwide press, and he became a well-known social protest artist (Fig. 6.154).[233]

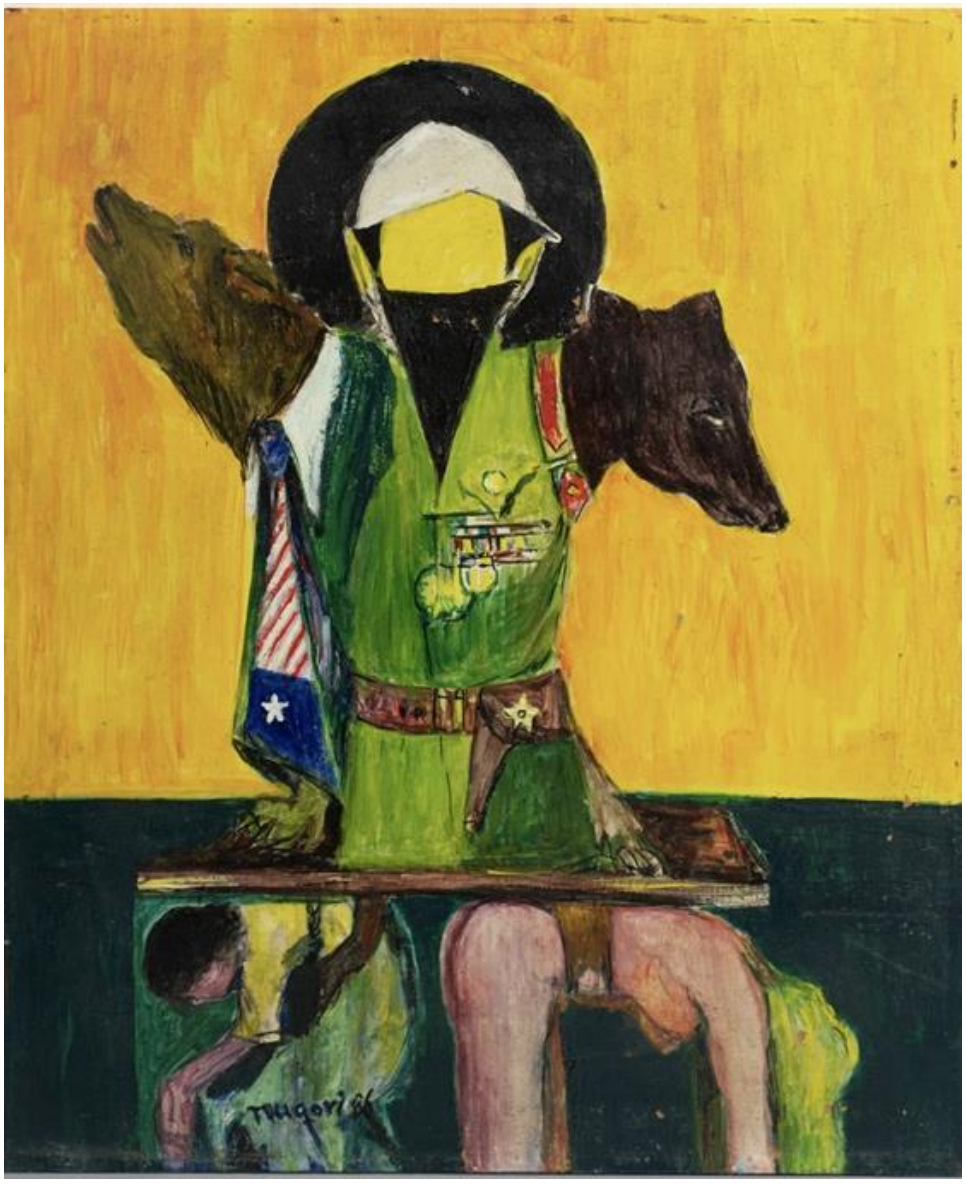


Figure 6.154: *'Dogs in Uniform'* by A. R. Nagori, 1986.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_06/27/00/005429389/fedfc026-3aae-41d1-bad1-3d2e836723f0_570.Jpeg

[233] Amina Cheema, "A.R. Nagori: A Retrospective," *Art Now*, January 1, 2019, https://www.artnowpakistan.com/a-r-nagori-a-retrospective/





Figure 6.155 and 6.156: '*W' and 'E'* from *Alphabet Series* by A. R. Nagori, 1986. https://images1.bonhams.com/image?src=Images/live/2007-12/17/94360907-2-3.jpg&width=640&height=480&autosizefit=1



Figure 6.157: *'Letter Z'* from Alphabet Series by A. R. Nagori, 1986. https://images1.bonhams.com/image?src=Images/live/2007-12/17/94360907-2-3.jpg&width=640&height=480&autosizefit=1

The above mentioned examples from Nagori's 'Alphabet' series depict this profoundly political element, which is also evident through the striking and vibrant color scheme (Fig. 6.155 to Fig. 6.157). The letters in his 'Alphabet Series' represent new meanings according to this era, rather than the previous ones which we have learnt in schools. The letter 'W' symbolizes 'war' and represents the reactionary forces that encircle and pose a threat to women,

as seen by the symbol within the circle. On the other hand, the letter 'E' represents the 'eagle', which is a symbol for USA and signifies American imperialism against the Russian Bear. The letter ‘Z’ symbolizes ‘Zindabad’ and ‘Zia’ in stirical manner. Nagori also had a series of cards presenting the militery dictators including General Ayub Khan as *“King of Heart,”* and General Zia ul Haq as *“King of Club”* (Fig. 6.158).



Figure 6.158: *‘Kings of Club’* by A. R. Nagori.
https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/6029d50f0b4b332aaec50a8c/1618771163535-ZGECCXWUE1FCFG67UU2O/Picture10_KingofClubs.jpg?format=1500w

Pakistani artists also highlighted feminist themes during the 80s. According to Kristine Ply, the Hudood Ordinances and other rules that discriminate women did not specifically aim to suppress artists, they marginalized women from the field of arts by imposing restrictions on their movement and limiting their freedom of expression. Female artists demonstrated resistance by steadfastly refusing to adopt calligraphy or make any alterations to their artistic style. Artists of all genders utilized renderings of the female nude as a significant political symbol to resist censorship and oppression of women. The main concerns of female artists were expressed in the “Manifesto of Women Artists,” which remained confidential for a long time. The individuals who signed the document included various renowned female artists including Salima Hashmi, Zubeida Javed and Lala Rukh among others.[234]

Salima Hashimi and Lalarukh were one of the pioneers of the Women's Action Forum. This organisation opposed the anti-feminist policies of Zia’s regime. In one of the posters

[234] Kristin Plys, “ Art against imperialism in 80s Pakistan : A photo Essay,” *Jamhoor,* April 26, 2021, https://www.jamhoor.org/read/2021/4/26/art-against-imperialism-in-80s-pakistan-a-photo-essay

designed by Lalarukh as part of her political activism, titled "*Masawi Huqooq*" (Equal Rights), she portrays women wearing veils and being restrained by Zia's oppressive legislative regulations, which are discriminatory towards women (Fig. 6.159). In another example "*Crimes Against Women*" the artist has gathered a collection of newspaper articles documenting various incidents of violence against women in Pakistan (Fig. 6.160).



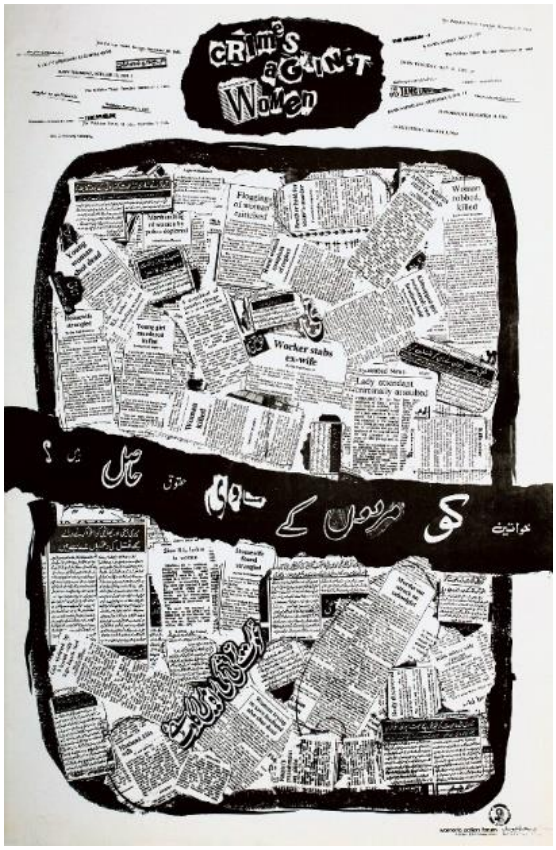


Figure 6.159 and 6.160: '*Masawi Huqooq'* and *'Crimes Against Women'* by LalaRukh.
https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/6029d50f0b4b332aaec50a8c/1617728011207-JO6WOV8UCG0BTADF6TCR/Picture5_MasawiHuqooq.jpeg?format=1500w

Salima Hashmi's[235] interests are diverse, ranging from the preservation of cultural heritage to the advocacy for the rights of women, children, minorities, and the marginalised. She asserts that we live in a extremely unequal male dominent society. Salima painted a series called *"Carnival"* in response to the execution of Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1979 (Fig. 6.161). The representation and projection of art produced during the dictatorship posed great challenges, although artists from that era ingeniously employed unconventional methods to convey their emotions and apprehensions. In 1981, Hashmi, along with Suhail Abbasi and Naeem Pasha, founded Rohtas Gallery with the explicit aim of showcasing artwork that had

[235] Salima Hashmi, born in 1942 in New Delhi. Salima Hashmi has played multiple roles in the Pakistan art ecology since the 1960s. She has curated numerous international art shows in the UK, Europe, the USA, Australia, Japan and India. She has authored and edited multiple publications and spoken on many international platforms about art and societal inequalities. Salima Hashmi is a recipient of the President's Award for Pride of Performance.

been restricted during Zia's regime. They established this gallery as a platform for marginalised voices to combat oppression through their artworks (Fig. 6.162).

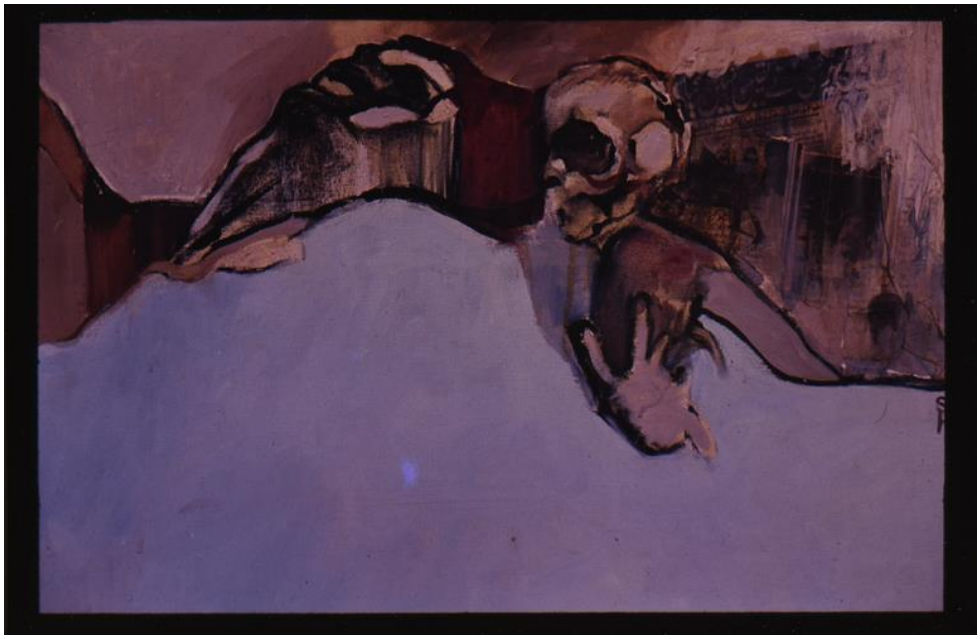


Figure 6.161: *'Carnival'* by Salima Hashmi, 1979. Oil on Canvas.
https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/6029d50f0b4b332aaec50a8c/1617511688046-QNOOTBAJFMZTE7F8PSZ9/Picture7_Carnival.png?format=1500w



Figure 6.162: *'Year of the Drought'* by Salima Hashmi, 1980. Oil on board.
Source: Contemporary Paintings in Pakistan by Marcella Nesom Sirhindi.

Hashmi not only emphasised the need of freedom of expression, but also commented on the implemented Shariah Laws, which included punishments such as public whipping, stoning, and imprisonment under the Hudood and Zina Ordinance of 1979. These paintings

served as a critique towards the practice of using public executions as a kind of entertainment for the general public. She emerged as an advocate for marginalised women and underage rape victims who faced the repercussions of the "harsh and oppressive law". The drawings in the series "*Alive in My Times"* evoke the concept of "the proposed status" for women in Islamic society, which involves a form of home arrest known as "chader and char dewari." This practice was intended to restrict the freedom of all Pakistani women (Fig. 6.163 & Fig. 6.164).



Figure 6.163: *'Drawing of Alive'* in my series, by Salima Hashmi, 1986. Marker on paper. https://thekarachicollective.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Drawing-14-Alive-in-My-Time-1980-to-85-Lahore.jpg



Figure 6.164: *'Alive in my Time'* by Salima Hashmi, 1986. Mixed media on paper. https://awarewomenartists.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/salima-hashmi_alive-in-my-time-series_1986_aware_women-artists_artistes-femmes.png

Artists like Ijaz ul Hassan, Ali Imam, Salima Hashmi, Lalarukh and others were practically involved in politics but there are certain artists who were more subdued in their reactions and work. Akram Dost Baloch, Jamal Shah, Quddus Mirza are such examples. Akram Dost Baloch[236] work served as a critique of the militry ruler and complete disregard of his mismanagement in his province, Balochistan. Balochistan became the base camp for the Mujahideen during the Afghan Jihad and it was supported by the Pakistan and US alliance during the decade of 80s. Due to his bold criticisms regarding Zia's policies on Baloch identity, culture, and society, he was frequently imprisoned. In his work rather than depicting any particular event or using Zia's imagery, he portrays the Baloch people, their indigenous textiles and culture to evoke the importance of Baloch identity in a unique manner (Fig. 6.165 to Fig. 6.167).



Figure 6.165: *'Untitled'* by Akram Dost Baloch.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/01/587eeb0cadbd0.jpg

[236] Akram Dost Baloch was born in Nushki, a border town in the south-west of Baluchistan, Pakistan. Akram Dost Baloch graduated from National College of Arts, Lahore, and is among the founding faculty of the Department of Fine Arts, University of Baluchistan. His aesthetics are inspired by motifs of embroidery, wood carving, and the craft of weaving from the region. Akram is a prolific artist always eager to reinvent and explore new dimensions. He has received wide acclaim, both at home and abroad and received President's Pride of Performance Award, for his excellence in 2004.



Figure 6.166: *'Untitled'* by Akram Dost Baloch.
https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/6029d50f0b4b332aaec50a8c/1617511769556-E0K7PS7SA9Q6ZRQPK7YB/Picture11_Baloch.png?format=1500w

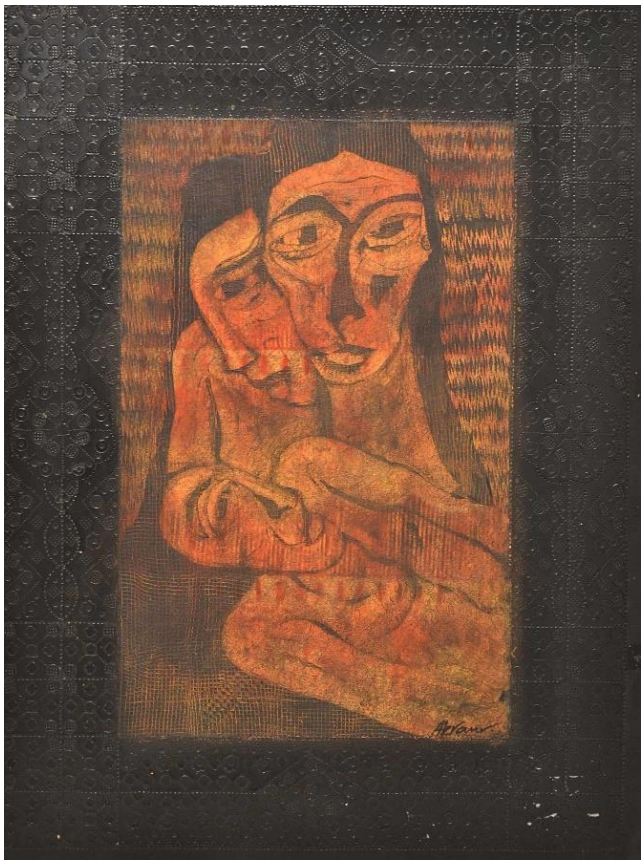


Figure 6.167: *'Untitled'* by Akram Dost Baloch.
https://gallery6islamabad.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/DSC_0487-scaled.jpg

Baloch's artworks portray the undisclosed narratives of those who confront the most severe socioeconomic circumstances in the country. The backdrops have dark and rustic appearance, rendered by shades of orange, brown and black that maintained a persistent sense of gloominess. According to Baloch, faces of the people in his paintings are left blank deliberately and they are concealed beneath multiple layers of their existence. The emptiness in their eyes conveys a deep message. Male figures are with heavy turbans and beards, female figures are with veils and dark eyes. He states that "the geometric patters in the background are derived form the beautiful rugs, clothings, wooden reliefs of my homeland which inspires him the most."[237] Hashmi contemplates, "Art is inherently political, it cannot be separated from the context in which it is created. Even when not explicitly claiming to be political, it draws inspiration from socio-political themes and ideas."[238]

Art about Social Concerns

In addition to portraying political events and expressing their concerns about the current occurrences in their country, Pakistani artists have utilised their artistic techniques to address social issues and demonstrate their sensitivity as members of the society. Apart from political content social imagery was also evident in the work of A. R. Nagori, Salima Hashmi, Jamal Shah and others. They utilised their artistic skills to highlight, analyse, and stimulate contemplation regarding the societal obstacles. Jessica Holtaway writes in her article that in Pakistan, the realms of art, politics, and education have consistently been interconnected.[239] Same views are also shared by Quddus Mirza that sometimes artists have no interest in politics, but if they are examining the truth, they are inevitably engaging with political matters. Despite their avoidance of political problems throughout their lives, one can still discern social and political themes in their work.[240]

A. R. Nagori, having been raised in the Sindh region, possesses an innate understanding of this land and its inhabitants. Concerns about the maltreatment of women and children of Sindh remained close to his heart. His painting "*Target*" depicts the plight of exploited Sindhi peasants who are the target of government, armed forces and criminal gangs. Over the years, the fertile land of Sindh was allocated to poweful non-Sindhis so that the local people were left

[237] Syeda Shehrbano Kazim, "Artist tackles oppression, identities in Balochistan," Dawn, January 18, 2017, https://images.dawn.com/news/1176939/artist-tackles-oppression-identities-in-balochistan
[238] Jessica Holtaway, "Political Art in Pakistan," *WordPress,* March 30, 2015, https://jessicaholtaway.wordpress.com/2015/03/30/political-art-in-pakistan/
[239] Holtaway, "Political."
[240] Quddus Mirza, "Concerning the Political in Art," *The News,* June 23, 2019, https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/567977-concerning-political-art

with barren and non-productive areas. The artist has skilfully represented this occupied area as a yellow ground being in target (Fig. 6.168). Through his various visual representations, he has also examined the lives of the Bheel and Kohli tribes and has captured a harsh portrayal of bonded labour inside the feudal system in his artworks (Fig. 6.168 to Fig. 6.174).[241]

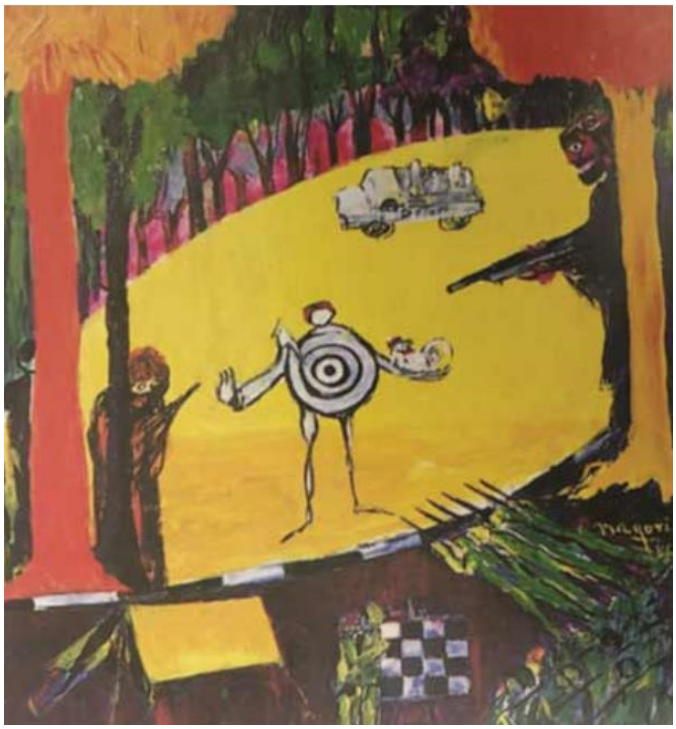


Figure 6.168: *'Target'* by A. R. Nagori. Oil on Board.
https://www.thenews.com.pk//assets/uploads/tns/2020-05-03/652131_4304557_tns7-7_tns.jpg



Figure 6.169: *'Sindh Landscape'* by A. R. Nagori. Oil on Board.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_06/27/00/005354887/562149d7-a150-44a3-9998-9af9d899d1f4_570.Jpeg?w=768

[241] Salwat Ali, "The Art of Protest," *Newsline Magazine*, June 2004, https://newslinemagazine.com/magazine/the-art-of-protest-2/



Figure 6.170: *'Sindh Fireball'* by A. R. Nagori, 1983.
https://www.facebook.com/arahimnagori



Figurre 6.171: *'Kari Karachi'* by A. R. Nagori, 1983. Oil on Board.
https://www.facebook.com/arahimnagori



Figure 6.172: *'Love, Profane and Sacred'* by A. R. Nagori, 1986. Oil on Board.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2023_05/17/13/135100449/love--profane-and-sacred-4UUBM-570.Jpeg?w=768

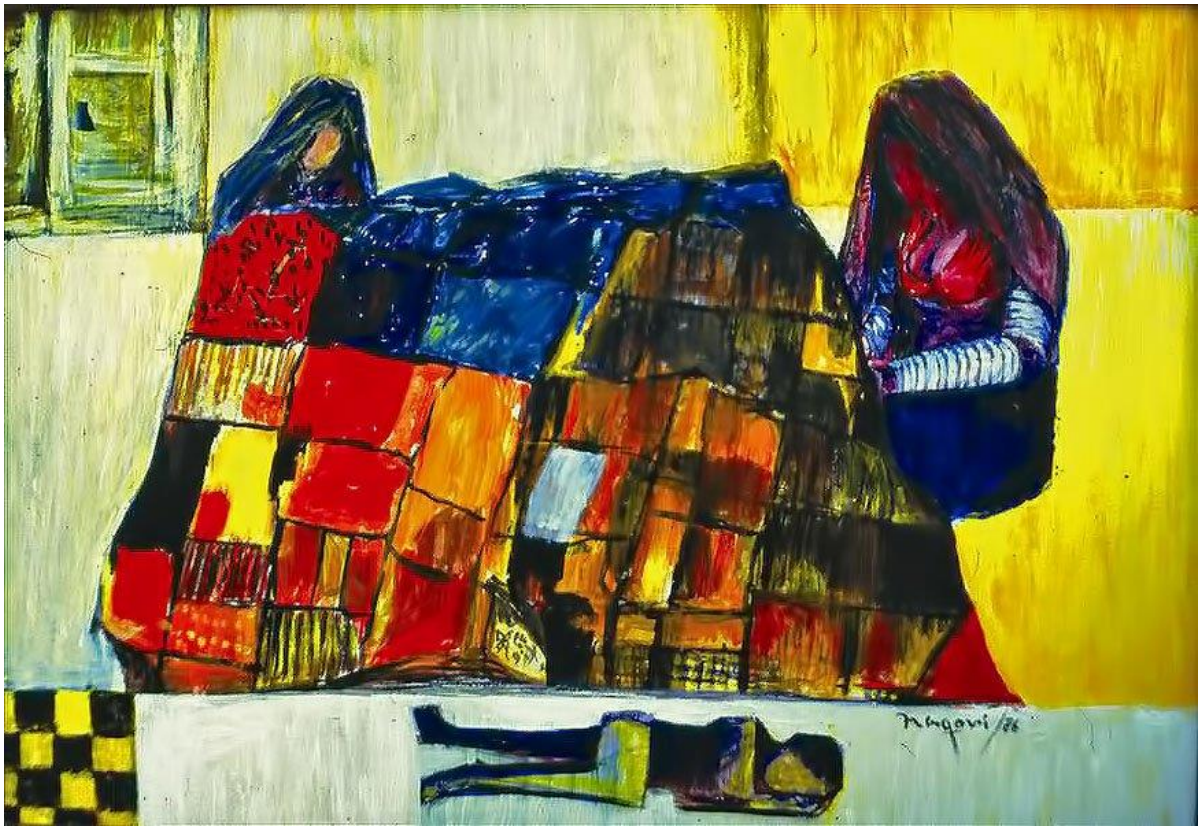


Figure 6.173: *'Sakafaat'* by A. R. Nagori, 1986.
https://www.facebook.com/arahimnagori

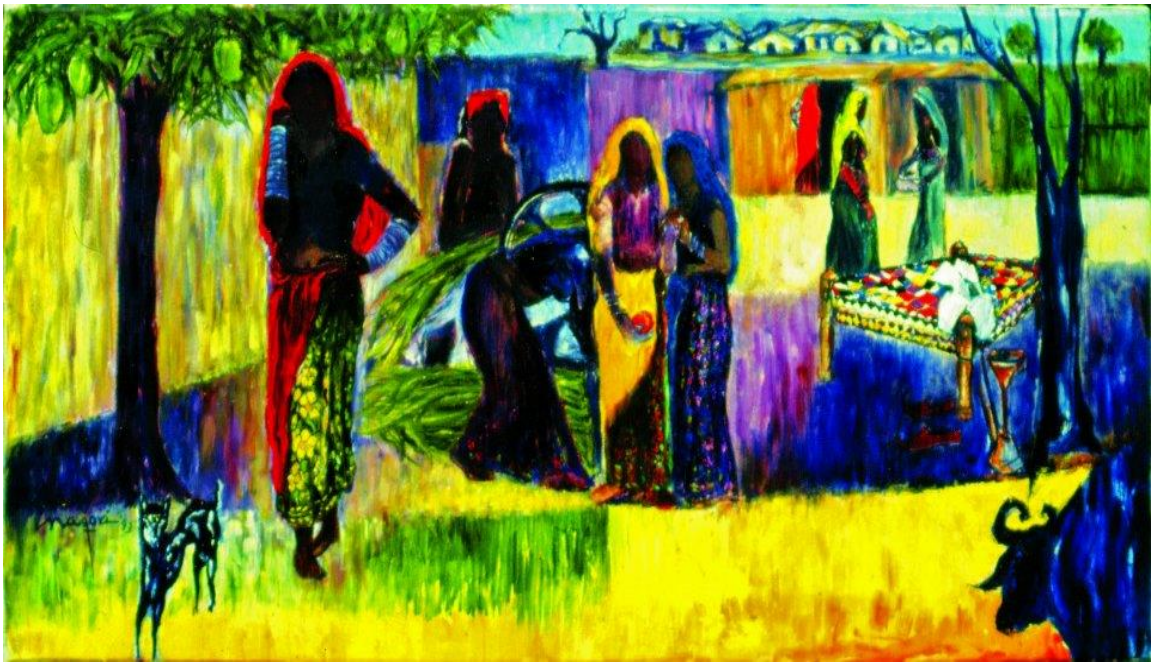


Figure 6.174: *'Feudal workhouse: Bheel Village'* by A. R. Nagori. 1993.
https://www.facebook.com/arahimnagori

Nagori asserts that art serves aa a social role for him. He has commented that the main focus or idea behind his artworks is to project the social injustice, evils and crimes against the women and children in rurla areas of Sindh. He claims that his paintings are not just his thoughts or expression, there is always a topic in his paintings. He believes that art has the power to visually instruct and guide individuals towards enlightenment, ultimately contributing to the development of a more improved society.[242] He has potrayed his message through symbolism and has brought focus on gender inequalites, supression, war and peace and other social injustices (Fig. 6.175 to 6.180). Nagori wonders how can an artist remain unaffected by his surroundings and questions the public:

> "We are a nuclear power, but a greater fact and a greater tragedy is that starvation and famine have taken a heavy toll in Thar, and dearth of water has ruined the wealth of flora and fauna, endangering ecological order; besides there are guns, drugs and exploitation of women and children and apathy towards education and health. Can any breathing soul remain unaffected, especially the most sensitive of all segments of a society called perceptive artists?"[243]

Amber Romesa Nagori, in her book entitled, *" Nagori: The Voice of Conscience,"* states that when an artist is truly inspired, listening to their inner conscience, being prepared to sacrifice everything, and creating something profound that has only existed in their mind up until this point, only then they can unleash their full creative potential...like Nagori has done.[244]

[242] Samila Hashmi and Quddus Mirza, *50 years of Visual Arts in Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1997), 44.
[243] Amber Romasa, *Nagori: The Voice of Conscience,* (Karachi: FOMMA and Oxford University Press, 2006), 19.
[244] Romasa, *Nagori: The Voice of Conscience,*7.

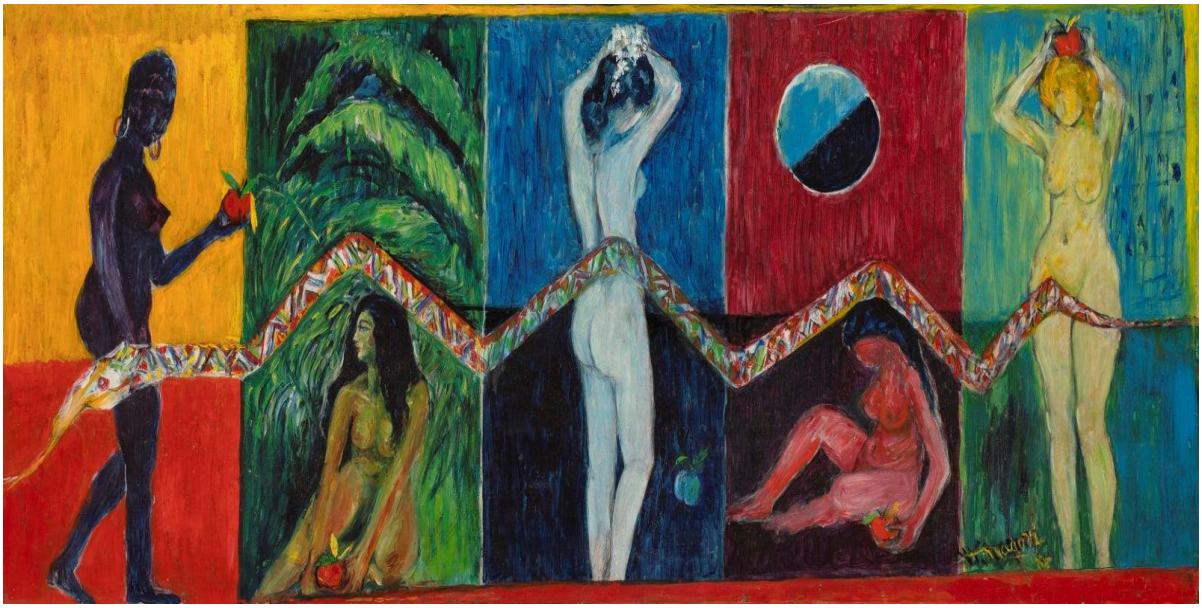


Figure 6.175: *'Serpent Runs Through'* (Women of Myth and Reality series) by A. R. Nagori, 1988. Oil on Board. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_06/27/01/010344315/8cec8704-233a-4670-b975-f4da96380679_570.Jpeg

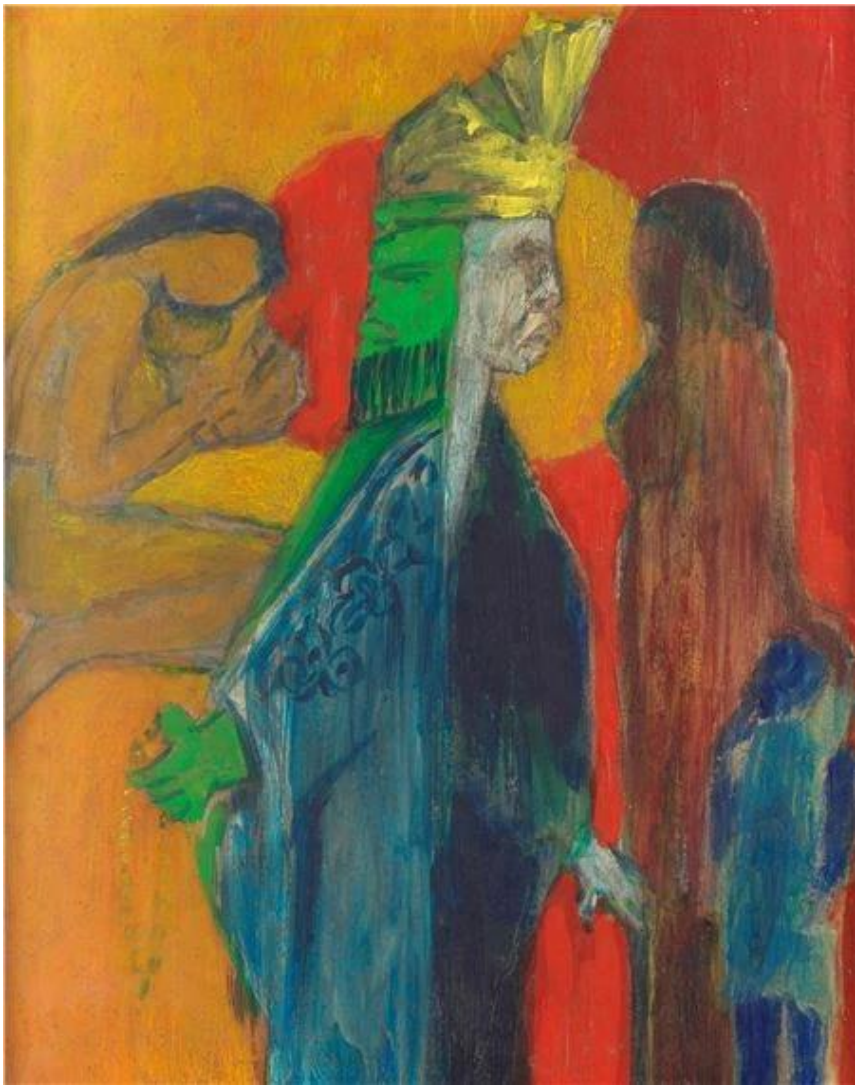


Figure 6.176: *'Untitled'* (Five Figure) by A. R. Nagori, 1980s. Oil on Board. https://img1.bonhams.com/image?src=Images/live/2023-10/05/25370585-2-1.jpg&height=430&quality=90

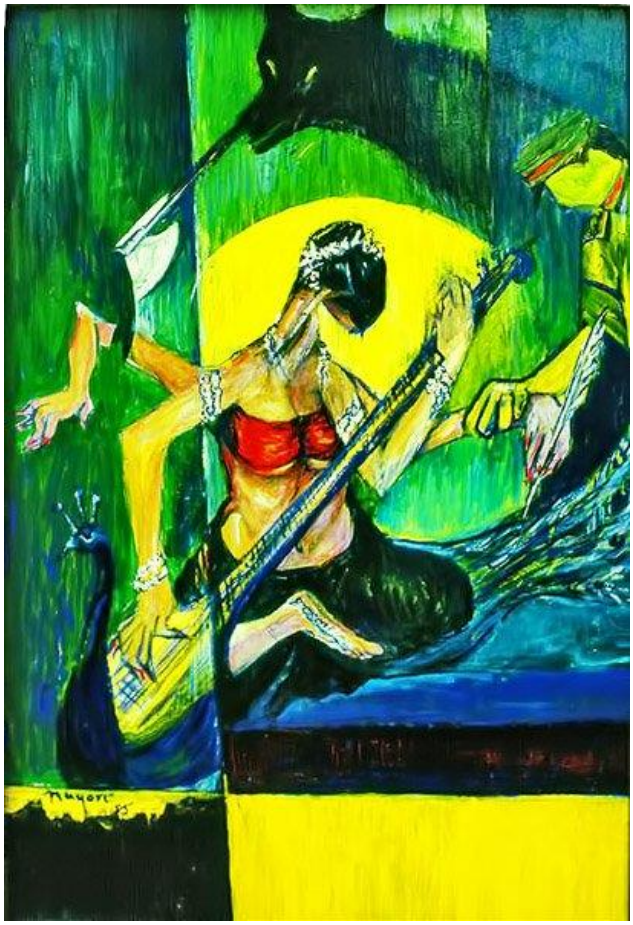


Figure 6.177: *'Saraswati under stress'* by A. R. Nagori, 1985.
https://www.facebook.com/arahimnagori



Figure 6.178: *'Multan Jail'* by A. R. Nagori.
https://www.facebook.com/arahimnagori

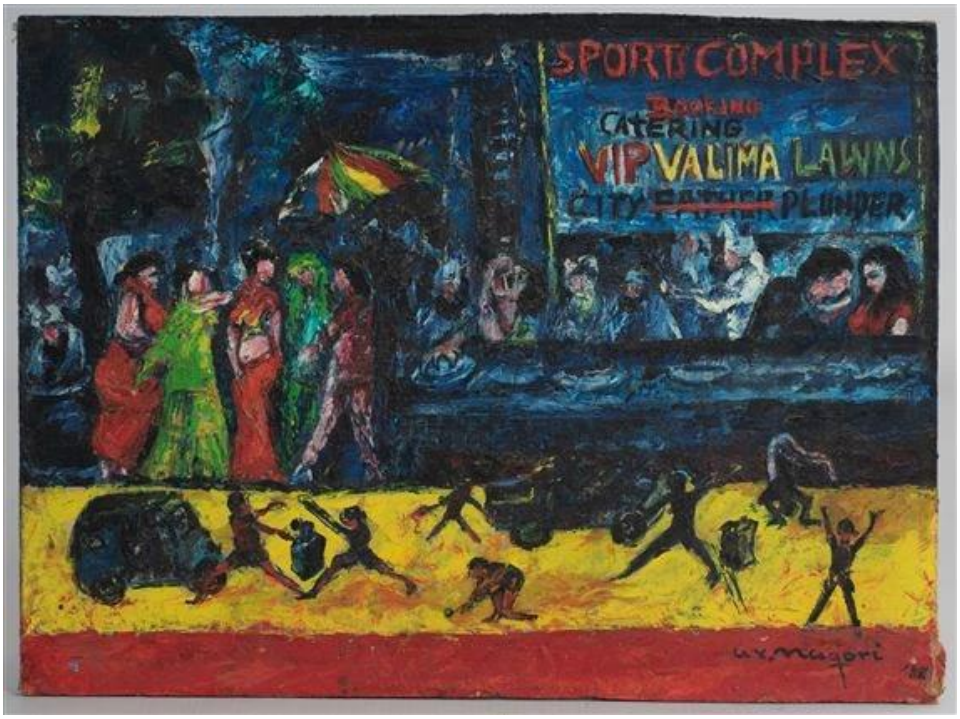


Figure 6.179: *'Sports Complex'* by A. R. Nagori, 1988.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_06/27/00/005415565/eb8c5480-b2c1-4eaa-9802-db016605592f_570.Jpeg?w=768

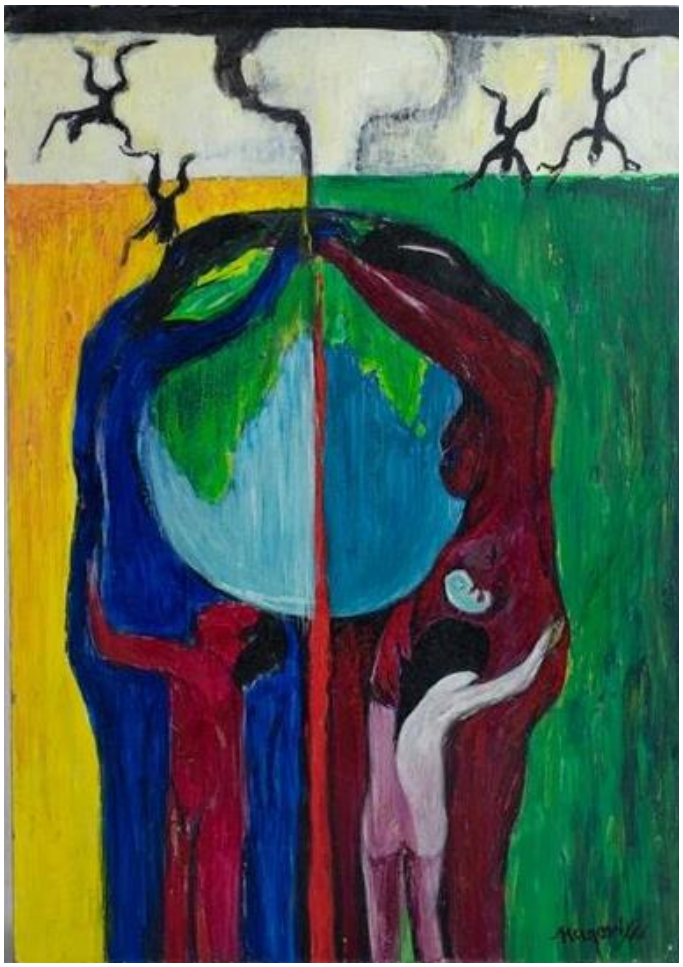


Figure 6.180: *'Nuclear End'* by A. R. Nagori,1986. Oil on Board.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_06/27/01/010355027/68b08d7f-8968-413e-a9e6-e0dd140dc992_570.Jpeg?w=768

As said earlier, Salima Hashmi is renowned for her significant accomplishments in using her art to address social issues. Hashmi's artwork often delves into topics like gender inequality, suppression, and cultural heritage. Using her artwork, she constructs compelling visual stories that examine established social conventions and emphasize the hardships faced by the marginalized groups (Fig. 6.181 to 6.185).



Figure 6.181: *'Morning Paper'* by Salima Hashmi, 1983. Mixed media on paper. https://awarewomenartists.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/salima-hashmi_morning-paper_1983_aware_women-artists_artistes-femmes.png



Figure 6.182: *'A Flowering Silence'* by Salima Hashmi, 1989, Mixed media on paper. https://awarewomenartists.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/salima-hashmi_a-flowering-silence_1989_aware_women-artists_artistes-femmes.png



Figure 6.183: *'Birthday Girl'* by Salima Hashmi. How trauma days make memorable days painful.
https://cdn.aaa.org.hk/w900h500/sh0120-cr-1.png?ref=artshelp.com

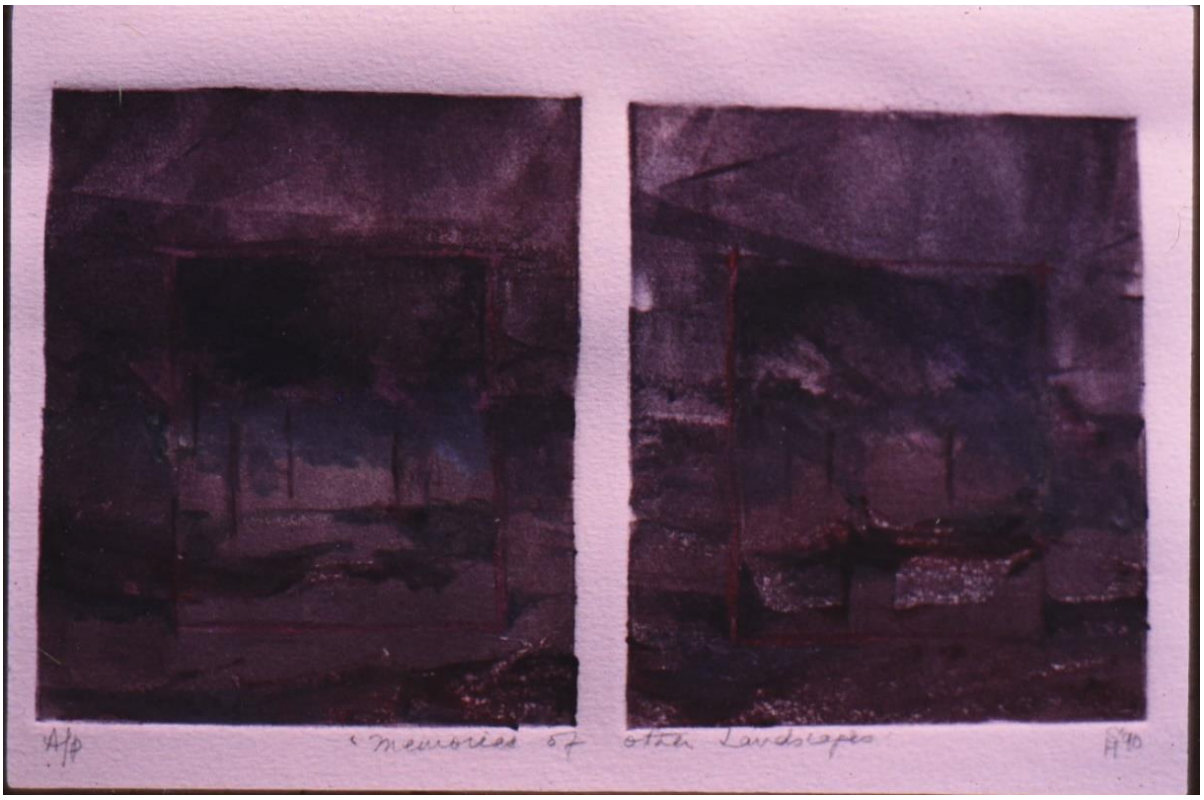


Figure 6.184: *'Memories of other Landscape'* by Salima Hashmi, 1990. Etching.
https://awarewomenartists.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/salima-hashmi_memories-of-other-landscapes_1990_aware_women-artists_artistes-femmes.png



Figure 6.185: *'Poem for Zainab'* by Salima Hashmi. (Painted for Zainab who was brutally murdered by her husband). https://www.artshelp.com/content/images/2023/03/poz.jpg

Jamal Shah[245] uses his artistic expression of painting, printmaking, and sculpture to reflect his deep empathy for the marginalized individuals in his immediate surroundings. He considers that the key to saving mankind resides in making a constructive impact on the well-being of those who are less fortunate and lack access to basic necessities such as food and healthcare. That is why he has been engaged in various social, cultural and welfare activities throughout his life, promoting art and culture of Pakistan. In the 1980s and 1990s, he attended the Slade School of Arts where he produced lithographs and prints depicting hope through rain in his images (Fig. 6.186 to Fig. 6.188). He was swayed by Marxist activists who advocated for the Palestinian cause.

[245] Jamal Shah was born in 1956 in Quetta, Baluchistan, Pakistan. He is an artist, dramatist, singer and producer. He has done Master in English from Pakistan and later master's in fine arts from Slade School, London. The artist established the Fine Arts Department at the University of Baluchistan and headed the department for three years. In 1985 he formed the Artists Association of Baluchistan and became the first Chairman of Artists Association of Pakistan. He is the director of HunerKada Art Academy in Islamabad. He is the recipient of numerous national and international awards for his work. Jamal Shah also served as Federal Minister for National Heritage and Culture.



Figure 6.186: Lithograph, *'Theatre in the round'* by Jamal Shah, printed in ink on paper, 1988. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 6.187: Etching, *'Raindrops and riders'* by Jamal Shah, Ink on paper, London, 1988. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 6.188: Etching, *'Motherland'* by Shah Jamal, etching or aquatint on paper, London, 1988. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

After returing, he focused mostly on acting and performing arts, participating in films and dramas that addressed social concerns. Jamal is profoundly preoccupied with the growing presence of violent extremism in our culture, which is evident in his subsequent work and will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapters. Jamal's introspective and investigative paintings are filled with symbolism, references, and inquiries. He uses the symbol of rooster, fish, merry go round along with the nude figures. He believes that culture and art are powerful and fair platforms that allow people to express themselves and achieve intellectual freedom.[246]

[246] M. Saeed Kureshi, "Transcending Fantasy – Jamal Shah," Author Archive, February 2, 2023, https://mskureshi.wordpress.com/author/mskureshi/

Rasheed Araeen[247] is well recognised as an early innovator of minimalism due to his renowned formal geometric sculptures crafted from basic materials. Despite lacking professional training in visual art and scuplture, the artist's background as a civil engineer greatly inspired the artist's use of plain or industrial materials in his renowned works. Araeen's participation in the British modernist discourse was not acknowledged by the institutions, as he was marginalized due to his non-European background. His work was continually examined within the framework of post-colonial structures. Consequently, during the 1970s and 1980s, the artist's work started to incorporate socio-political messages. He created a series of artworks known as his *'cruciform'* between the mid-1980s which highlighted the lack of recognition for black artists inside the prevailing Eurocentric culture (Fig. 6.189). It was a period of diminishing Cold war and the emergence of a reconstructed business capitalism, leading towards a new cycle of imperialist conflicts which effected the artist. The artist himself states, "Art cannot be cultivated by a rigid set of guidelines but rather emerges from a dynamic process of growth that generates innovative ideas at each phase of its transformation."[248]



Figure 6.189: *'Green Painting'* 1985-1986, 5 photograps, color on paper, acrylic paint on 4 canvases, by Rasheed Araeen. Courtesy Arts Council of England.

[247] Rasheed Araeen, (born 15 June 1935) is a Karachi-born, London-based conceptual artist, sculptor, painter, writer, and curator. He graduated in civil engineering from the NED University of Engineering and Technology in 1962 and has been working as a visual artist bridging life, art and activism since his arrival in London from Pakistan in 1964.
[248] Nick Aikens, "Rasheed Araeen: Burning Ties," *Academia*, accessed June 20, 2024, https://www.academia.edu/37251824/Rasheed_Araeen_Burning_Ties

After examining all the cited examples of art created in responce to the social and political events, we may conclude that art served as a potent tool for resistance and self-expression in response to the volatile political environment in that era.The artist used satire and mockery to critique the oppressive forces and urges the viewer to empathise with the injustice suffered by the oppressed and vulnerable, thus giving a voice to those who were silenced. The art of 70s and 80s was, in fact, very innovative and expressive, rather than being the work of the downtrodden supressed, it showed revolutionary potential. Their work not only mirrored the socio-political circumstances of the era but also instilled a feeling of unity and optimism through symbolism. During periods of military dictatorships, censorship, and political persecution, artists employed creative methods to criticise the ruling authorities and articulate the challenges faced by them. We might say that these artists were pioneers of socio-political art in Pakistan, leaving behind a significant heritage that continues to shape modern Pakistani art and activism.

6.3 Socio-Political Events of Pakistan During 1990s till 2010 and its Artistic Discourse

The period of the late 1980s and 1990s in Pakistan is recognised as a time when there were frequent changes in power between elected democratic politicians and the military, with each political group taking turns in governance. This power shift showed instability in the relationship between politicians themselves, and the military. It drastically hindered the establishment and growth of economy, democratic norms and institutions, leading towards the instability of the country. Thus, the political scenario of Pakistan persisted as inappropriate and unfamiliar to democratic principles. The Pakistani populace witnessed a decline in confidence in the democratic system. They perceived it as being corrupt, disorganized, and influenced by the conflicts among the military and bureaucratic elite.

The restoration of democracy and victory of PPP in 1988 raised immense expectations among the people. In her first speech, Bhutto outlined her vision for Pakistan as a progressive and democratic society, emphasising the importance of adhering to Islamic precepts. She declared the liberation of political captives, reinstatement of media liberties, and execution of delayed educational and healthcare reforms (Fig. 6.190). She pledged to enhance regional autonomy, expand women's rights, and improve relations with the United States, Russia, and

China. In December 1988, efforts were made to enhance the diplomatic ties with India during the fourth SAARC Summit Conference.[249]



Figure 6.190: Benazir Bhutto takes her oath in 1988 as the first Muslim Woman Prime Minister of any Muslim State. https://www.geo.tv/assets/uploads/updates/2017-12-02/170317_4477013_updates.jpg

But these promises, to some extend fulfilled, lasted only for a short span of time when Bhutto's government was terminated by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in August 1990. The charge sheet against her included accusations of rendering the National Assembly ineffective, neglecting duties towards the federating units, promoting anarchy in Karachi, mocking the judges, and engagement in corrupt practices.

Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif assumed the position of prime minister for the first time on November 1, 1990. He was not new in politics, as previously he had served as a finance minister and chief minister under Zia's and Bhutto's regimes respectively. During his inaugural speech, he pledged to implement a thorough nationwide rehabilitation initiative and accelerate the process of industrialization (Fig. 6.191). Nawaz Sharif identified unemployment as the foremost issue of the nation and viewed industrialization as the solution. He faced same obstacles as was faced by the previous government, though he successfully implemented numerous economic reforms in contrast to the rule of Benazir Bhutto. Nawaz Sharif announced the removal of restrictions on inbound foreign currency to facilitate foreign investment, revived the nuclear programme, implemented more economic changes, such as granting tax breaks for few and privatising nationalised entities like PIA and Wapda.[250]

[249] James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 228.
[250] I.A. Rehman, " Special report: Going nuclear 1990-1993/1997-1999," *Dawn*, November 18, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1369428



Figure 6.191: Nawaz Sharif Addressing the Parliament.
Source: Brief History of Pakistan by James Wynbrandt.

He also implemented several policies aimed at alleviating poverty and reducing social inequality. He increased the minimum monthly salary of unskilled labourers. Additionally, in 1991, he made an announcement that vast area of land in the Sukkur and Ghulam Muhammad Barrage regions of Sindh would be allocated to landless Haris. In the early 1990s, government implemented measures to enhance the country's infrastructure and enhance communication, thus he collaborated with the Daewoo Company to build the Motorway project. In 1993, Sharif introduced the "Yellow Taxi Scheme" to modernise the taxi sector in Pakistan and provide unemployed young people with opportunities for self-employment.[251] These measures contributed to an increase in his popularity. Despite his efforts in implementing economic changes, the Prime Minister developed hostilities with his President and Chief of Army Staff.

The ethnic conflict in Karachi, which began in the mid 80s, persisted into the 90s. During this decade, numerous strikes, shutdowns, rallies, skirmishes, and military, paramilitary, and police operations were seen in Karachi (Fig. 6.192). The law-and-order situation in Sindh was progressively worsening, with criminals causing significant hardships for citizens. Nawaz Sharif, like Benazir Bhutto, neglected the *muhajir* (migrant) issues in Karachi. After a split in MQM party in 1992, the government initiated an operation in Karachi known as "Operation Clean Up," to combat criminals in Sindh. During this operation, the

[251] Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Co., 1998), 319.

military discovered arms reservoir and torture cells, for which they held the MQM accountable (Fig. 6.193).[252]

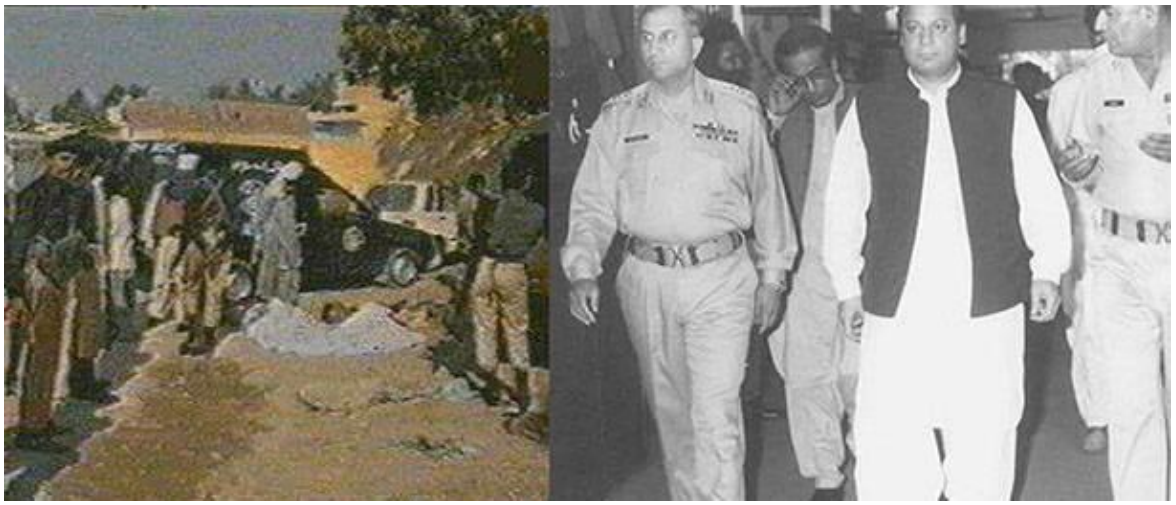
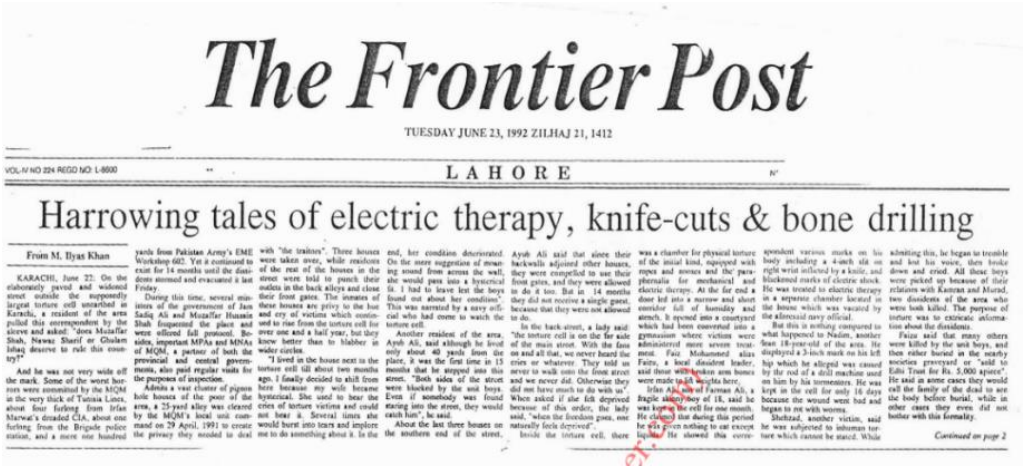


Figure 6.192: Glimpses of Operation Clean-up in 1992.
https://nayadaur.tv/digital_images/large/2020-07-29/karachi-operation-1990s-history-of-1687416646-2992.jpg



The Frontier Post

TUESDAY JUNE 23, 1992 ZILHAJ 21, 1412

LAHORE

Harrowing tales of electric therapy, knife-cuts & bone drilling

From M. Ilyas Khan

KARACHI, June 22: On the elaborately paved and widened street outside the supposedly largest torture cell unearthed in Karachi, a resident of the area pulled this correspondent by the sleeve and asked: "does Muzaffar Shah, Nawaz Sharif or Ghulam Ishaq deserve to rule this country?"

And he was not very wide off the mark. Some of the worst horrors were committed by the MQM in the very thick of Tutiala Lines, about four furlong from Irfan Marwat's dreaded CIA, about one furlong from the Brigade police station, and a mere nine hundred yards from Pakistan Army's EME Workshop 602. Yet it continued to exist for 14 months until the dissidents stormed and evacuated it last Friday.

During this time, several ministers of the government of Jam Sadiq Ali and Muzaffar Hussain Shah frequented the place and were offered full protocol. Besides, important MPAs and MNAs of MQM, a partner of both the provincial and central governments, also paid regular visits for the purposes of inspection.

Admits a vast cluster of pigeon hole houses of the poor of the area, a 25-yard alley was cleared by the MQM's local unit command on 29 April, 1991 to create the privacy they needed to deal with "the traitors". Three houses were taken over, while residents of the rest of the houses in the street were told to punch their outlets in the back alleys and close their front gates. The inmates of these houses are privy to the hue and cry of victims which continued to rise from the torture cell for over one and a half year, but they know better than to blabber in wider circles.

"I lived in the house next to the torture cell till about two months ago. I finally decided to shift from here because my wife became hysterical. She used to hear the cries of torture victims and could not bear it. Several times she would burst into tears and implore me to do something about it. In the end, her condition deteriorated. On the mere suggestion of moving round from across the wall, she would pass into a hysterical fit. I had to leave lest the boys found out about her condition".

This was narrated by a navy official who had come to watch the torture cell.

Another resident of the area, Ayub Ali, said although he lived only about 40 yards from the place, it was the first time in 15 months that he stepped into this street. "Both sides of the street were blocked by the unit boys. Even if somebody was found staring into the street, they would catch him", he said.

About the last three houses on the southern end of the street, Ayub Ali said that since their backwalls adjoined other houses, they were compelled to use their front gates, and they were allowed to do it too. But in 14 months they did not receive a single guest, because that they were not allowed to do.

In the back street, a lady said "the torture cell is on the far side of the main street. With the fans on and all that, we never heard the cries or whatever. They told us never to walk onto the front street and we never did. Otherwise they did not have much to do with us".

When asked if she felt deprived because of this order, the lady said, "when the freedom goes, one naturally feels deprived".

Inside the torture cell, there was a chamber for physical torture of the initial kind, equipped with ropes and sconces and the paraphernalia for mechanical and electric therapy. At the far end a door led into a narrow and short corridor full of humidity and stench. It opened into a courtyard which had been converted into a gymnasium where victims were administered more severe treatment. Faiz Mohammed alias Faizu, a local dissident leader, said those with broken arm bones were made to do weights here.

Irfan Ali, son of Farman Ali, a fragile sixteen-boy of 18, said he was kept in the cell for one month. He claimed that during this period he was given nothing to eat except liquids. He showed this correspondent various marks on his body including a 4-inch slit on right wrist inflicted by a knife, and blackened marks of electric shock. He was treated to electric therapy in a separate chamber located in the house which was vacated by the aforesaid navy official.

But this is nothing compared to what happened to Nadim, another four 18-year-old of the area. He displayed a 3-inch mark on his left hip which he alleged was caused by the rod of a drill machine used on him by his tormentors. He was kept in the cell for only 16 days because the wound went bad and began to rot with worms.

Shehzad, another victim, said he was subjected to inhuman torture which cannot be stated. While admitting this, he began to tremble and lost his voice, then broke down and cried. All these boys were picked up because of their relations with Kamran and Murad, two dissidents of the area who were both killed. The purpose of torture was to extricate information about the dissidents.

Faizu said that many others were killed by the unit boys, and then either buried in the nearby societies graveyard or "sold to Edhi Trust for Rs. 5,000 apiece". He said in some cases they would call the family of the dead to see the body before burial, while in other cases they even did not bother with this formality.

Continued on page 2

Figure 8.1.4: Newspaper clipping of June 23, 1992.
https://www.scribd.com/document/259781510/Operation-Cleanup-Against-MQM-1992-3

The availability of drugs and weapons also increased dramatically after the Afghan war. Black market weapons intended for mujaheddins swept into Pakistan. Pakistanis dubbed this violent spree "the Kalashnikov culture," as the common automatic rifle manufactured in the Soviet Union was one of the reasons for the devastation in the country.[253] Due to these factors, crime and terrorism increased dramatically throughout the nation, propelled by political and ethnic tensions as well as because of easy access to weapons.

Due to the stoppage of U. S. funding, the escalation of violence in Karachi, pervasive corruption, and strained relations with India, the government looked for financial assistance

[252] Iftikhar H. Malik, *History of Pakistan* (London: Greenwood press, 2008), 184.
[253] Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan,* 237-239.

from monetary fund and world bank. However, these organisations set their requirements, resulting in increased costs of essential products and services for the average citizens of Pakistan. Under these circumstances it appeared that Nawaz Shareef was unable to handle the country's political and economic climate and failed to provide a new viewpoint on the issues of Kashmir and Afghanistan. Due to all these factors, in April 1993, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the assemblies once again utilising his authority under the Eighth Amendment, resulting in the forced removal of Nawaz Sharif.

However, Sharif chose to submit a petition to the Supreme Court in protest of his dismissal. Three weeks later, the court gave a historic decision, restoring the prime minister. Unable to continue smoothly with the President both leaders were convinced by the army to resign. Elections were held on October 6th, 1993, and Benazir Bhutto held the office of prime minister for a second time.

Bhutto's triumph in the elections conducted from October 6-8, 1993, presented her with another opportunity to lead her fellow citizens towards breaking the pattern of governance by strengthening democracy and enhancing the economy. This time, her position was more strengthened.[254] In 1994, she successfully convinced the Clinton Administration to withdraw their criticism of the Pakistani nuclear programme, resulting in the restoration of military and technical aid to the country. Hillery and her daughter visited Pakistan as a goodwill gesture to Benazir. Bhutto was expressing her views on Kashmir while also attempting to establish regular relations with New Delhi but due to the political turmoil in India following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, and the demolition of the Babari Mosque in Ayodhya in 1992, and the subsequent anti-Muslim riots in India, diminished prospects for any significant progress in Indo-Pakistani relations.

In 1995, Karachi again transformed into the epicentre of terror, incidents of bombings, assassinations, deliberate sectarian clashes between Muslim Sunnis and Shiites that reached unprecedented heights, and among the casualties were notable intellectuals and artists of the country.[255] In 1996, second removal of Benazir Bhutto was not by the army but by President Leghari, who ousted the government by accusing her of crimes such as corruption, incompetence, manipulation of the judiciary, and murder of her brother.[256] Her husband Asif Ali Zardari faced allegations of accepting bribes, getting commissions on government tenders,

[254] Malik, *The History of Pakistan*, 185.
[255] Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at the Crosscurrent of History* (England: One world, 2003), 237-38.
[256] Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 334.

and supporting unlawful killings in Karachi. Bhutto dismissed the charges as politically motivated and chose to go into voluntary exile.

An important development happened in the political arena which will have long lasting impact on the social and political landscape of Pakistan. Imran Khan, a renowned Pakistani cricketer and philanthropist, emerged as a fresh participant. He established his party named *"Tehreek-e-Insaaf,"* (Revolution for justice) with the aim of combating corruption. Due to time constraints, he was unable to adequately plan his election campaign. However, he successfully entered the political arena as a moderate reformist (Fig. 6.193).[257]

In 1997 elections Nawaz Shareef returned with a heavy mandate of two-third majority. Shareef immediately took striking populist measures designed to tackle the economic crisis like "*qarz utaro mulk sanwaro*" (retire debt, develop the country) scheme for the overseas Pakistani to contribute for the sake of flogging foreign exchange.



Figure 6.193: Promising poster of "Tehreek-e-Insaf" in 1997 elections.
https://i.tribune.com.pk/media/images/ik21616070397-1/ik21616070397-1.jpg

In May 1998, India's newly elected government, conducted a nuclear test to demonstrate its possession of nuclear weapons. After a period of two weeks, on May 28th, Pakistan also carried out its own experiments with five nuclear bombs. These tests were

[257] Malik, *The history of Pakistan*, 189.

conducted at a nuclear test facility located in Chaghi, Baluchistan, and were claimed to have a yield of up to 40 kilotons (Fig. 6.194).



Figure 6.194: Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan on the site of nuclear test in Chagi, Balochistan. 1998. https://www.indianarrative.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Pakistan-Nuclear-Test-Photo-Gallery-2.jpg

Abdul Qadeer Khan[258] was the man behind this nuclear achievement and the nation's pride. He was already working on this mission since 1975 with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's consent under project name, "Project-706". However, after the nuclear tests both Abdul Qadeer and Nawaz Shareef received great admiration from the public and he declared May 28th as "*Youm-e-Takbir*" (Day of Greatness). Nuclear tests were condemned by European Unions, the US, Japan, and Iraq. Additionally, UN secretary-general appealed to both nations to sign and agree on the "Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty" (CTBT). Pakistan demonstrated its readiness to get into the pact on the condition that India reciprocated, but India refused. Both India and Pakistan encountered economic sanctions and censure from the global world.

Following the nuclear tests conducted by both countries, the tensions between India and Pakistan gradually escalated. In February 1999, Sharif and Vajpayee tried to reduce the intensity of the situation by visiting Lahore via bus service. He was greeted by Nawaz at the Wagah border. The two head of state released the Lahore Declaration, outlining the specific actions that each country will take to do its best to establish stability in their relations (Fig.

[258] Abdul Qadeer Khan (1st April 1936 to 10th October 2021) known as A. Q. Khan, is a Pakistani columnist, nuclear physicist and a metallurgical engineer, who founded the uranium enrichment program for Pakistan's atomic bomb project. AQ Khan founded and established the Kahuta Research Laboratories (KRL) in 1976, serving as both its senior scientist and Chairman until he retired in 2001. Khan was also a figure in other Pakistani national science projects, making research contributions to molecular morphology, the physics of martensite alloys, condensed matter physics, and materials physics. He is two times recipient of Nisha-e-Imtiaz and of Hilal-e-Imtiaz.

6.195). Both governments also mutually agreed to resolve the issues including the conflict of Jammu and Kashmir.

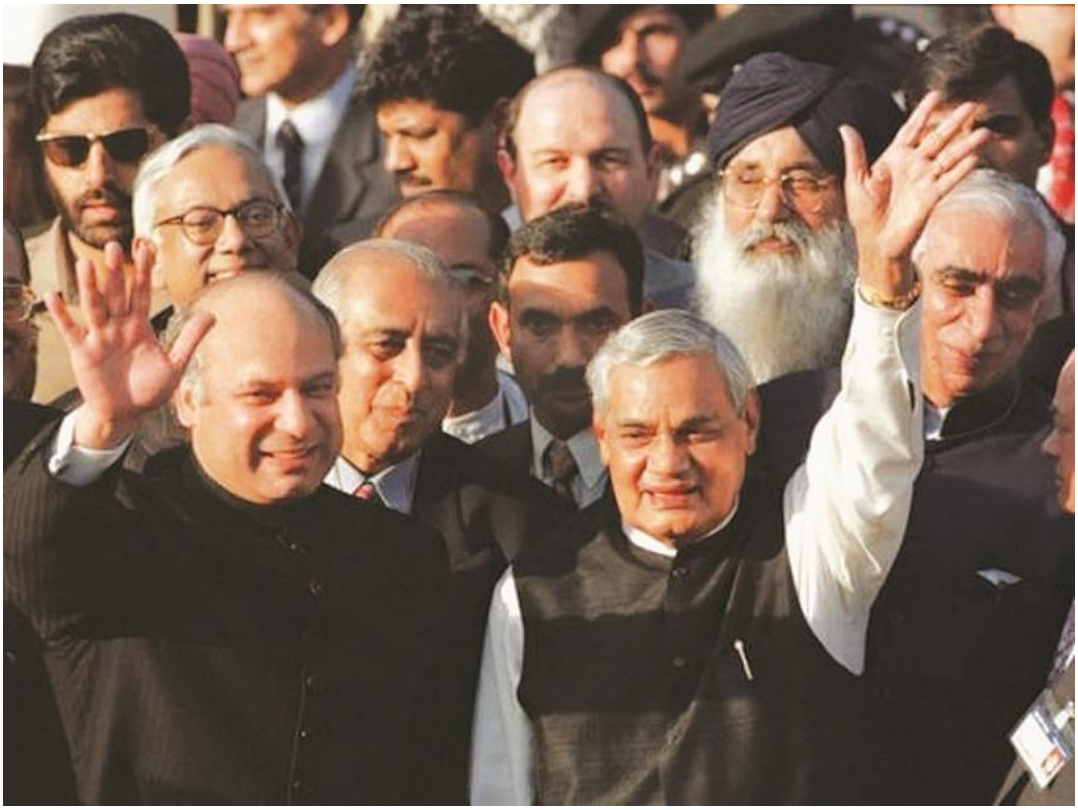


Figure 6.195: Nawaz Shareef receiving Indian Prime Minister at Wahga border.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/11/5a0f0f4f6d6f1.jpg

However, despite this peace talk and declaration Pakistan and India went into another war in 1999. The Kargil conflict, which occurred in Kashmir between May and July 1999. The main aim was to disconnect the Kashmir and Ladakh by targeting National Highway No.1 (NH 1). The objective behind was to compel Indian forces to retreat from the Siachen Glacier, thereby pressuring India to engage in negotiations and resolve the long-standing Kashmir dispute.[259] Pakistan Army, in collaboration with the Mujahideen, regained control of the forward positions and strategically important peaks of Kargil, Drass, and Batalik. Pakistan named the mission "Operation Al-Badar". The Indian Army was taken aback when they fully grasped the seriousness of the situation. The Indian military launched “Operation Vijay” to regain control of the territory. Throughout the fight, the intensity of the combat increased resulting in significant loss of lives and injuries on both sides. As previously seen each side claimed their victory and power over the other (Fig. 6.196).

[259] Nasim Zahra, “The making of the Kargil disaster,” *Dawn*, July 1, 2018, https://www.dawn.com/news/1417105



Figure 6.196: Controlling the strategic peaks during the conflict.
http://www.pakistanarmy.biz.tc/images/kargil997.JPG

The possibility of a nuclear conflict sparked a widespread worry, as the fighting dragged on from May to July. U.S. President Bill Clinton urged Pakistan to utilise its influence with the insurgents to end the conflict. Under international pressure, Nawaz Sharif withdrew all Pakistani soldiers from Indian-held territory along the Line of Control. In August 1999, the militants left the gained region. The withdrawal of Pakistani military worsened Sharif's unpopularity at home. In short, The Kargil conflict not only tarnished Pakistan's international reputation, but also exposed the disagreements between Nawaz Sharif and General Musharraf. Neither of them ever forgave each other for the humiliation during the Kargil conflict.[260]

Nawaz Sharif was facing widespread disfavour because to his alleged ambition for power. In October 1999, Sharif attempted to dismiss Musharraf, and senior most chiefs, which lead to strained relations with the military. Sharif initially denied landing General Musharraf's plane, citing suspicions of a military coup. However, the Army removed Sharif from power on Musharraf's instructions and safely landed his plane in Karachi. Sharif was arrest and confined to his home by the military. He was tried in the Anti-terrorism Court for offenses including abduction, embezzlement, tax evasion, murder attempt, terrorism, and corruption. The Court sentenced him life imprisonment, but the military agreed with Saudi Arabia to send him into exile for ten years. The military regained political control and ruled Pakistan for the fourth time.

[260] Malik, *History of Pakistan*, 191.

Like the initial popularity of Ayub Khan during coup in 1958, the military coup led by General Pervez Musharraf in 1999 was also mostly met with a sense of relief by many Pakistanis. Musharraf came to power with promises of reforming politics and ushering true democracy (Fig. 6.197). During the initial years of his autocratic rule, Musharraf successfully instilled a feeling of stability. Ethnic violence significantly decreased, the economy improved, several organisations were prohibited, and capitalism strategies enhanced the economic position of the middle-class.[261] However, oppression and political victimization in the name of accountability was also at its peak.



Figure 6.197: Pervez Musharraf's first address to the nation on October 13, 1999.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2019/10/5da286f334a30.jpg

Under the pretext of responsibility and progress, Musharraf established multiple new commissions and bureaus with the aim of proposing fresh approaches in the areas of education, politics, national reconstruction, economy, media, and accountability. These actions contributed to a resurgence of cultural activity in the country, with modern forms such as popular music, fine arts, and fashion flourishing. He also instigated a revolution in the electronic media, permitting the proliferation of private news and entertainment channels.[262]

Prior to the events of September 11, Musharraf had maintained the policy that was followed by his predecessors, i.e. maintaining a moderate stance on India and by supporting the Taliban. However, after the event of 9/11, 2001 Pakistani government was presented with

[261] Wynbrand, *A brief history of Pakistan*, 257
[262] Nadeem F. Paracha, "The Pakistan zeitgeists: A nation through the ages," *Dawn*, May 29, 2014, https://www.dawn.com/news/1109105

a clear ultimatum by the U.S. government, that Pakistan had to decide between backing the Taliban or supporting the United States. General Musharraf made the decision to align with the United States in its campaign against terrorism called "War on Terror". Pakistan was the optimal choice because of its strategic geographical location, ethnic ties, and its significant involvement in the Afghan Jihad. Therefore, Pakistan was chosen as the primary partner of the United States in the war.[263] But as a matter of fact, the northern-western belt has ethnic, linguistic, cultural and political ties with the people on the other side of the border. However, Pakistan extended unwavering assistance to the United States military endeavours in Afghanistan, that included the provision of airspace, naval support, logistics and intelligence assistance. The disappearance and arrest of Afia Saddique was also linked to this alliance and this matter remains controversial.

In the mean while, the country had general elections in 2002, and the so-called civilian rule was restored but military maintained its rule openly and otherwise. Musharraf held the position of President and army chief and took all the major domestic and foreign decisions, while Prime Minister Jamali was symbolic in his seat.[264] In 2004, Abdul Qadeer Khan was placed under house arrest following his televised confession of providing nuclear information to Iran, Libya, and North Korea. He expressed guilt and requested forgiveness from the nation. However, he then withdrew his comments and claimed that he had been pressurised by former president Pervez Musharraf to confess and make a false statement. Later in 2009 High court ruled out that he was involved in nuclear selling programme, thus relieved him from house arrest.[265]

Later in 2005, an extremely destructive earthquake occurred in the western Himalaya and nearby areas on the morning of October 8th. The seismic event of magnitude 7.6 resulted in the loss of life of a minimum of 86,000 individuals, with over 69,000 sustaining injuries, and inflicted significant destruction in the northern region of Pakistan.[266] The most severe destruction took place in Muzaffarabad and Balakot, where entire villages were annihilated. The earthquake happened shortly before the beginning of the region's severe winter, intensifying the impact of the disaster. Furthermore, the occurrence of landslides resulted in

[263] Raspal Khosa, "Pakistan, Our Paradoxical Partner in the War on Terror." *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 2008. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep03885.
[264] Dr. Sohail Mahmood, *The Musharraf Regime and the Governance Crisis: A Case Study of the government of Pakistan*, (New York: Nova Science, 2001)
[265] Saeed Shah, "Pakistan releases 'father' of nuclear bomb from house arrest," *The Guardian*, February 6, 2009, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/06/nuclear-pakistan-khan
[266] BBC, "Kashmir earthquake: Broken city, broken promises," October 8, 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34464815

the destruction of a significant number of roads in the area, rendering numerous locations unreachable for relief works (Fig. 6.198).



Figure 6.198: Balakot after earthquake, October 10th, 2005.
https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/976/cpsprodpb/1A31/production/_85950760_85950759.jpg.webp

Following the military war led by the United States in Afghanistan, a significant number of Afghan refugees migrated to Pakistan. Many Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters infiltrated Pakistan disguised as Afghan refugees to the regions of FATA, namely North and South Waziristan. This location served as a refuge for the Al-Qaeda, Taliban, and international terrorists. Pakistani armed troops diligently protected the border with Afghanistan and conducted operations in the tribal areas. Due to increase terrorists activities and bombing in rest of Pakistan to irradicate terrorism, military operations like "Operation Al-Mizan, Operation Sher Dill, Rahe-Haq, Rahe-Rast, Sirat -e-Mustaqeem, and Rahe-Nijat etc,"[267] were conducted at different times in the tribal areas. The objective of these operations was to apprehend both local and international terrorists in the region. These activities had both positive and negative consequences for Pakistan. The activities sparked local tribes' resentment and resistance, leading to an undeclared conflict between the Pakistan military and rebel tribesmen, resulting in the US and Pakistan army being labelled as equal enemies. Continuous drone assaults by NATO forces further worsened the situation in Pakistan (Fig. 6.199.)

[267] Kashif Abbasi, " Chronology of military operations," *Dawn*, June 16, 2014, https://www.dawn.com/news/1112980



Figure 6.199: Military carrying operation.
https://i.tribune.com.pk/media/images/1336206-pakistanarmyafpx-1487821175/1336206-pakistanarmyafpx-1487821175.jpg

Pakistan also faced pressure to control the religious organisations within the country, as well as to implement reforms in Madrassas. In July 2007, Operation Silence/Sunrise was launched to clear the *"Lal Masjid"* (Red Mosque) from Islamic fundamentalists militants. The mosque administration had been engaged in persistent dispute with the authorities in Islamabad for a duration of 18 months before the military action took place. They participated in aggressive protests, vandalised property, abducted individuals, set fires, and engaged in armed confrontations with the authorities (Fig. 6.200 & 6.201). Following a series of incidents including the abduction of female workers from the Chinese health care centre by militants, led to a military response prompted by both local and diplomatic pressure exerted by China.





Figure 6.200 and 6.201: Vigilantes of the Lal Masjid, 2007.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2023/06/649367ab34fb6.jpg
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2017/07/59672b1a51cf0.jpg

Another decision taken by Musharraf in the same year caused a massive revolt against him was the suspension of Chief Justice of Pakistan, Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry. Consequently, the Pakistani legal community promptly engaged in organised protests, under the movement known as "*Adliya Bachao Tehreek*," which translates to "Save the Judiciary Movement". The government responded to the nonviolent protests with severe repression, by physically assaulting lawyers, social activists, and media people who were documenting the ongoing events (Fig. 6.202). Due to immense pressure Musharraf reinstated the Chief Justice Chaudhry, but it was only of a temporary nature. However, in November 2007, Musharraf returned to suppressing the judiciary, and implemented a state of emergency in Pakistan. He established a "Provisional Constitutional Order" (PCO) which temporarily halted the constitution and granted him unrestricted authority to govern without judicial supervision.



Figure 6.202: Police shelling on lawyers during protest, 2007.
https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/lawyer-police.jpg

Musharraf announced the elections in 2008 and both Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto were allowed to participate. But an unfortunate incident of fatal attack on Bhutto during the election campaign, delayed the elections (Fig. 6.203). The assassination of Bhutto escalated an already volatile political climate in Pakistan. Before the election, there were concerns that Musharraf would manipulate or interfere with the election results. Nevertheless, the Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) emerged as a clear winner over Musharraf's Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q) party in 2008.



Figure 6.203: Benazir Bhutto during election campaign rally where she was killed.
https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/1024/cpsprodpb/EEE1/production/_99335116_gettyimages-147154457.jpg.webp

The Elections 2008 were not subject to any substantial accusations of electoral manipulation. The political parties were generally content with the outcomes, which opposed the usual pattern of displeasure. The opposition parties took part in the elections by virtue of the "National Reconciliation Order" (NRO) issued by President Musharraf. The defeat of PML (Q) posed a significant challenge to the Musharraf dictatorship which led to his resignation from Presidentship. It signifies the overthrow of autocracy and the advancement of the democratic system within the nation. Everyone was astounded by Zardari's nomination as President due to his dubious political history marred by corruption allegations. The opposition embraced him as the President intending to foster democracy and break free from dictatorship.

After the earthquake of 2005, Pakistan went through another natural disaster of its history in the form of devastating floods in 2010. According to the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Pakistan floods had an impact on over 18 million individuals, resulting in 1,985 fatalities, and causing damage or destruction to 1.7 million residences.[268] The disaster caused extensive damage to infrastructure, housing, agriculture, livestock, and other family assets, resulting in the loss of billions of dollars. The vital infrastructure, including highways, bridges, and markets, suffered extensive damage, rendering many inaccessible (Fig. 6.204).

[268] "Annual Flood Report," Ministry of water and Power, Govt. Of Pakistan, https://mowr.gov.pk/SiteImage/Misc/files/2010%20Annual%20Flood%20Report%20of%20FFC.pdf



Figure 6.204 : Flood effected area in Multan region, 2010.
https://newsecuritybeat-org.s3.amazonaws.com/uploads/2012/07/Pakistan_flooding.jpg

In short, the two decades from 1990 till 2010 was characterised by great social and political turmoil, marked with frequent changes in government leading to military rule. If decade of 90s was full of political turmoil, in the 21st century Pakistan experienced a sudden increase in extremism and sectarian bloodshed due to alliance with US and becoming a key player in war on terror. By the end of 2010 the new PPP government without Benazir Bhutto, under the leadership of Zardari was all set with new promises and democratic governance.

Artistic Discourse of Socio-Political Events of 90s till 2010

In the previous section, we examined how Pakistani artists such as A. R. Nagori, Salima Hashmi, and Ijaz ul Hassan etc, were actively addressing the social and political issues in the society. They consistently expressed their concerns in 90s regarding the terrorist invasions by Afghan militants, drone attacks, bomb blasts, and the escalating sectarian violence in the country. Regarding socio-political art, recognised artists consistently conveyed their concerns and perspectives on the rapidly declining state of the country, instilling hope in public through their work as was seen in Ijaz ul Hassan's artworks (Fig. 6.205). During the 1990s, Salima Hashmi's art practice showcased a luminous quality, achieved through naturalistic elements such as foliage, hands, juxtaposed with dark blocks of colour (Fig. 6.206 & Fig. 6.207).



Figure 6.205: *'Pevesta reh shajar say umeed-e-bahar rakh'* (Clasp Firmly and Hope for Spring). Ijaz ul Hassan, 1998. Oil on Canvas. https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryiii/full/g3008.jpg



Figure 6.206: *'Diary of a Terrorist'* by Salima Hashmi, 1993. https://cdn.aaa.org.hk/w900h500/sh049-cr-1.png



Figure 6.207: *'Homage to Love'* by Salima Hashmi, 1992.
https://cdn.aaa.org.hk/w900h500/sh270-cr.png

Salima Hashmi has expressed her opposing views through her brushstrokes showing dissatisfaction in response to the long-standing conflict between India and Pakistan. She created a collection of artworks titled "*The People Wept at Dawn"* (Fig. 6.208 to Fig. 6.210). This series portrays Hashmi's response to the nuclear tests conducted in 1998. During an interview with a journal, she expressed her concerns that "it would be highly beneficial if these energies would be invested to generate food, provide shelter, eradicate diseases, and ensure education for everyone."[269]

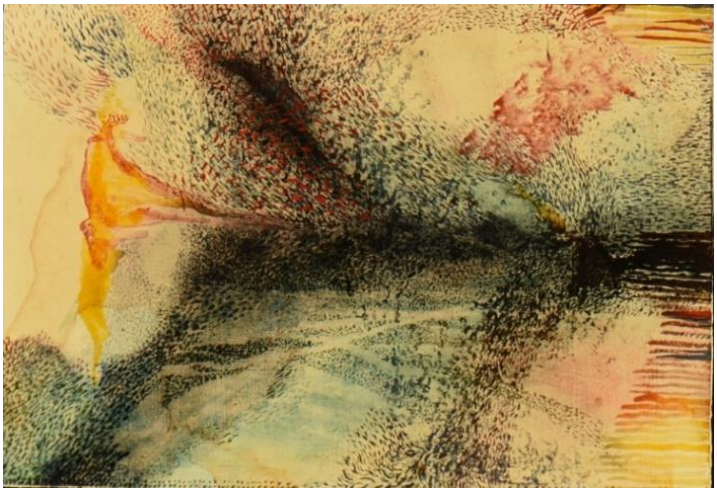


Figure 6.208: '*Dard Aayega Dabay Paaon*,' by Salima Hashmi, 1998. Egg tempera on board.
https://awarewomenartists.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/salima-hashmi_dard-aayega-dabay-paaon_1998_aware_women-artists_artistes-femmes.png

[269] Roshan Gill, "Salima Hashmi, Translated from the French by Katia Porro," © Archives of Women Artists, Research and Exhibitions, 2020, https://awarewomenartists.com/en/artiste/salima-hashmi/



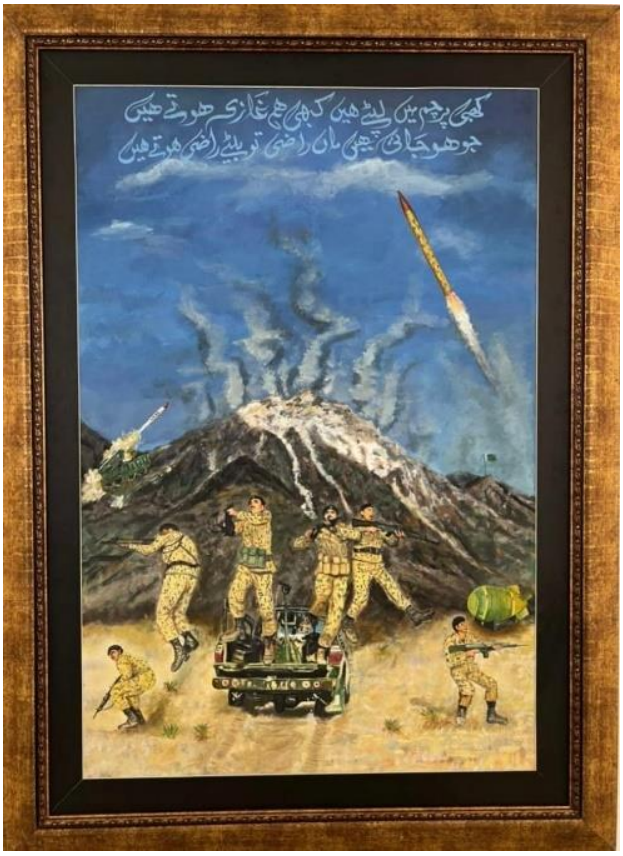
Figure 2.209: *'People Wept at Dawn'* by Salima Hashmi, 1999. Mixed media.
https://awarewomenartists.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/salima-hashmi_people-wept-at-dawn_1999_aware_women-artists_artistes-femmes.png



Figure 6.210: *'People Wept at Dawn'* by Salima Hashmi, 2000. Mixed media on paper.
Courtesy Salima Hashmi / Asia Art Archive
https://awarewomenartists.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/salima-hashmi_the-people-wept-at-dawn_2000_aware_women-artists_artistes-femmes.png

While Salima Hashmi condemned the act of nuclear test of both countries for the sake of humanity and prosperity of mankind, Lahore Art Council organised a painting competition

to honour and commemorate the historical events of May 28th. Various young artists and students participated in the competition to mark the celebrations of '*Youm-e-Takbir*' (Fig. 6.211 to Fig. 6.214). A commemorative model of Chagai mountains was also constructed at Faizabad interchange on motorway but later while trying to shift it to another place in Islamabad, led to its destruction and it was later reconstructed (Fig. 6.215).



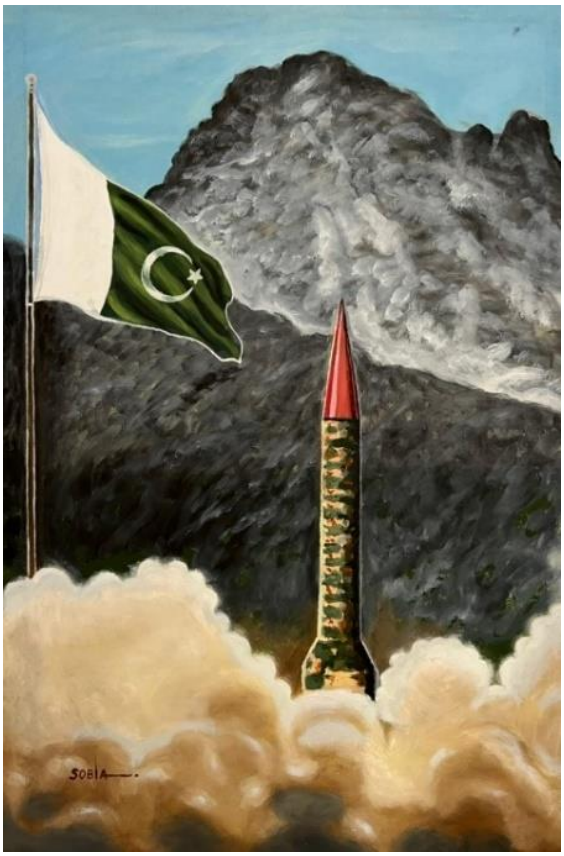


Figure 6.211.and 6.212: Painting1 and 2 for the Youm-e-Takbir competition.
https://icd.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/284318382_373911468103013_15421856211362124_n.jpg
https://icd.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/284397462_373959994764827_1546184149231692_n.jpg

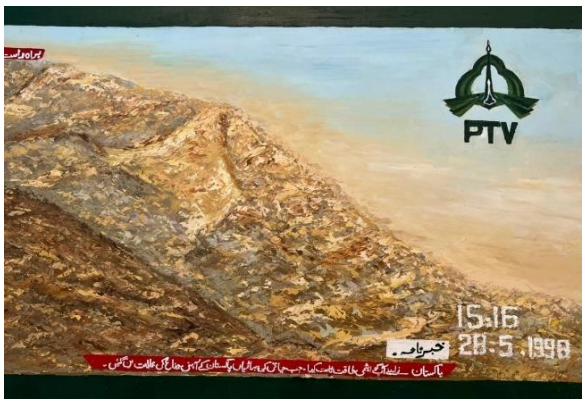




Figure 6.213 and 6.214: Painting 3 and 4 for the Youm-e-Takbir competition.
https://icd.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/284385385_373958911431602_7189939247549165542_n.jpg
https://icd.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/282683167_374735471353946_7508865345019762638_n.jpg



Figure 6.215: Chagai Nuclear Test Model at Faizabad.
https://propakistani.pk/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/cmoedl.jpg.avif

War on Terror

Though the attack on twin towers on September 9, 2001, is not a socio-political event of Pakistan but it is worth mentioning here with examples of artworks that have showcased this occurrence, as it was a turning point in the socio-political scenario of Pakistan. Things changed drastically, leading to a war on terror that Pakistanis fought for no reason and unfortunately continues till now. Talking in context to artistic discourse on war on terror the symbol of twin tower appears repeatedly, referring to the tumultuous incident and its consequences on mankind. The triptych murals of 'Red Signal' by Ijaz ul Hassan were remarkable artworks in this context (Fig. 6.216 & Fig. 6.217).



Figure 6.216: *'The Red Signal-I'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2001. Oil on Canvas.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryv/thumbs/tn_g5007.jpg

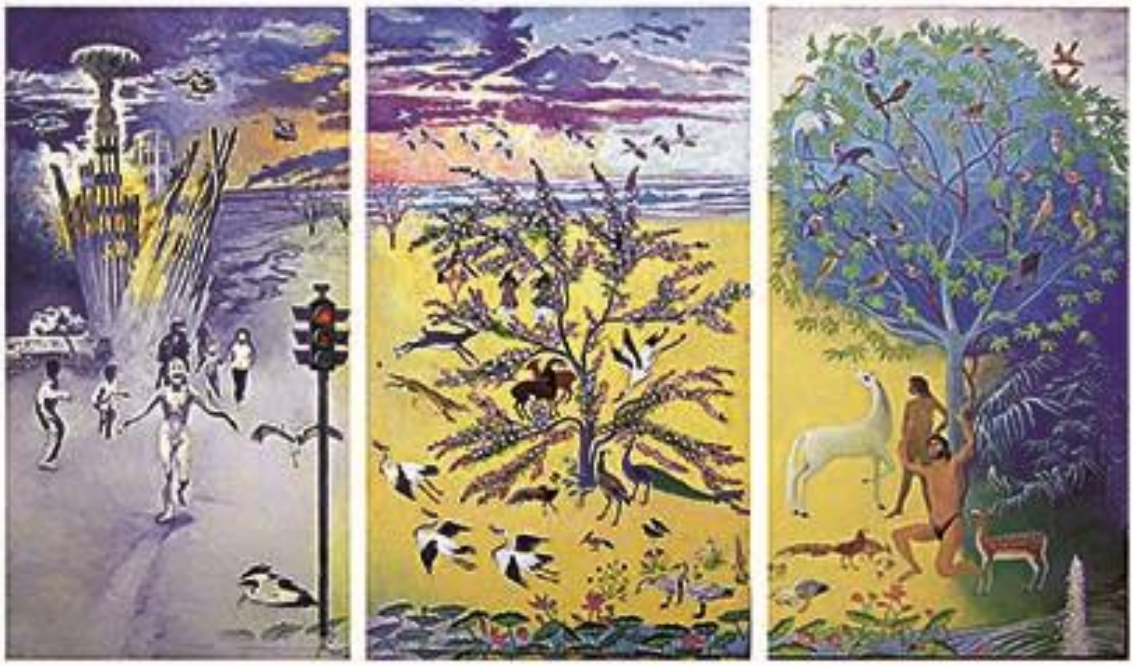


Figure 6.217: *'The Red Signal-II'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2003. Oil on Canvas.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryv/full/g5008.jpg

Quddus Mirza[270] has also explored the themes of love and death, war and destruction, which deeply preoccupy the viewers. A sense of purity is seen in his work by Mirza's decision to use child-like drawing as the visual language for his artworks. At first view, the paintings appear to be straightforward; nevertheless, upon closer inspection, they reveal a depth that is reminiscent of the pure and unrefined feelings of his experiences. The colour is reminiscent of new blood, as seen in the artwork titled *'B 4 Blood'*. This painting is dominated by a red colour palette, while in the background, two rectangular shapes symbolise the World Trade Centre, which were targeted in the 9/11/2001 terrorist attack (Fig. 6.218).

His other artworks on violence, war and destruction depict that violence have been a part of human culture from the beginning of time, and humans inherent tendency to engage in violent acts has become deeply ingrained in our collective unconscious (Fig. 6.219 to Fig. 6.221). Mirza states about his work; "The act of painting is a means to confront, control and combat the acts of violence in our surroundings."[271]

[270] Quddus Mirza is an artist, art critic and independent curator. He is the Head of Fine Art Department at the National College of Arts, Lahore, where he studied BFA, before acquiring MA (Painting) from the Royal College of Art, London. Mirza is an art critic with a regular weekly column appearing in Pakistan's major newspapers. He is the co-author of book "50 Years of Visual Arts in Pakistan" and has extensively written essays on Pakistani art in different international catalogues and other publications. He is also the editor of online magazine 'Art Now Pakistan'.

[271] Shahid Zahid, "Embracing and Appropriating Abstract Expressionism: The Art of Quddus Mirza," *The Friday Times*, October 2, 2021, https://thefridaytimes.com/02-Oct-2021/embracing-and-appropriating-abstract-expressionism-the-art-of-quddus-mirza



Figure 6.218: *'B-4 Blood'* by Quddus Mirza.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2019/03/5c7ac3333a8ab.jpg



Figure 6.219: *'War 1'* by Quddus Mirza, 2015.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/11/5658c09defde1.jpg



Figure 6.220: *'House on fire'* by Quddus Mirza, 2015.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/11/5658c0d660512.jpg



Figure 6.221: *'Under this Blazing Sky'* by Quddus Mirza.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/2680-5.jpg

A. R. Nagori's emotionally powerful and thought-provoking artworks that frequently tackle socio-political matters like drone strikes and the ravages of war are exceptionally remarkable. Nagori portrays the devastating impact of drone warfare on innocent civilians, emphasising the impersonal and distant nature of this violence through a courageous artistic approach (Fig. 6.222 & Fig. 6.223). His anti-war work emphasises the human toll of violence, depicting distressing scenes with division of peace and war, that elicit empathy and contemplation.

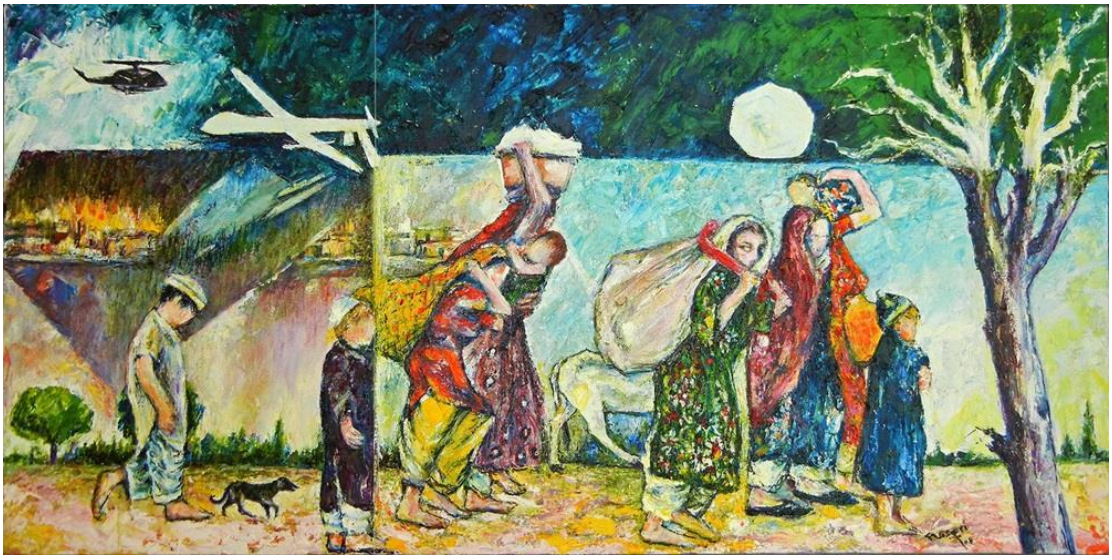


Figure 6.222: *'Bajaur Drone Attacks'* by A. R. Nagori, 2008.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/2758.jpg



Figure 6.223: *'Drone attacks'* by A. R. Nagori.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/arn7.jpg

In Nagori's point of view he could not paint beautiful flowers and vases and sunsets when my city is at fire and people are suffering. According to Nilofer Farrukh "Nagori is angry, bold, courageous and honest when he portrays his feeling for the oppressed, and he exposes the hypocrisy of our society through his work."[272]

Military Dictatorship

After three martial laws Musharraf's dictatorship was met with criticism from the artistic community. Art produced in his time emerged as a powerful tool of expression, providing a voice to the oppressed public by challenging the authoritarian rule. A. R. Nagori depicted him as *'King of Spades'* in his playing card series (Fig. 6.224).



Figure 6.224: *'King of Spades'* by A. R. Nagori, 2004.
http://www.mainframethegallery.com/collection_detail.php?id=a69f0e3b-f53d-8d14-f483-5ef71b17814d

Asim Butt[273] showed his concerns about the Musharraf regime in 2007 in his own distinct style. He played a pioneer role in graffiti art and established the 'People's Resistance Group' in Karachi.[274] He expressed his political frustration through various symbols, including a red coloured 'Eject' sign on walls and paintings, and a catchy phrase 'Dictator 420' for Musharraf (Fig. 6.225 to Fig. 6.227). He also painted stop sign on burnt busses and trucks that expressed his views that people of Pakistan do not wish to have violence on streets and all this

[272] Rumana Husain (Published in Dawn's 'Gallery' on September 15, 2001)
https://karachiwali.blogspot.com/2010/12/nagoris-colourful-canvases-depict-dark.html
[273] Asim Butt was a Pakistani painter and sculptor, with an interest in graffiti and printmaking. He was also a member of the Stuckism International art movement and founder of The Karachi Stuckists.
[274] "Talent gone too early," August 16, 2011,
https://insider.pk/entertainment/arts/asim-butt-talent-gone-too-early/

needs to be stopped. The artist's devotion motivated him to establish a niche in art scenario by make political statements and taking bold steps directly against the powerful.





Figure 6.225 and 6.226: Eject sign on wall and poster of Dictator 420 for anti-establishment rally. 2007.
https://beenasarwar.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/asimbutt01.jpg?w=494
https://beenasarwar.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/asimbutt07.jpg



Figure 6.227: Asim Butt uses eject sign to protest the emergency imposed by General Pervez Musharraf.
https://i.tribune.com.pk/media/images/691921-image-1396725596/691921-image-1396725596.JPG

Neo-Miniature Style and Symbolism

A new trend emerged in the last 90s and early new millennium by a bunch of artists who had undertaken the challenge of revitalising the traditional art form of miniature under the guidance of Zahoor Ul Akhlaq. These experimental artists aimed to rejuvenate this art form which was gradually fading. This artistic trend came to be known as "Neo-Miniature" style. The credit of this movement goes to the miniature department of National College of Arts in Lahore. Among the pioneer individuals who played a significant role in this movement were Pakistani artists, like Shahzia Sikander and others (Fig. 6.228 & 6.229). The artistic heritage established by these early artists was further elevated by Imran Qureshi, Aisha Khalid, Nusra Latif Qureshi, Saira Wasim, Waseem Ahmed among others.



Figure 6.228: *'The Many Faces of Islam'* 1997-1999 by Shazia Sikander. Tea wash, gold on Wasli.
https://img.artlogic.net/w_1010,h_580,c_limit/exhibit-e/5a6f811a6aa72c6c268b4568/e4299e4f74074c0e9d515597fdba0bd7.jpeg



Figure 6.229: *'Thinking Outside the Box'* by Shazia Sikander, 1992-1993. Vegetable colour on Wasli paper. https://img.artlogic.net/w_1010,h_580,c_limit/exhibit-e/5a6f811a6aa72c6c268b4568/89797514ce8dded691202b753884bc58.jpeg

Art needs a framework of acknowledgment to thrive. The growing international support for neo-miniature movement established a fresh structure for Pakistani artists, both domestically and internationally. The inclusion of Pakistani artists' works in Western markets, such as galleries and private collections, is a testament to these artists' meticulous technique and inventive conceptual implications. Quddus Mirza, argues that "the emergence of miniature painting in the late 20th century was a deliberate attempt to establish a distinct identity in the face of Western influences in politics, society, economy, and science."[275]

Saira Wasim[276] investigated the US foreign policy and the 'war on terror' during the Bush administration. She specifically focused on US alliance with president Musharaf after the events of 9/11. She has used the visual representations of modern miniature, emphasizing the manipulation and exertion of imperial power, like the Mughal court. Waseem comments about her work: "I delve into the social and political issues that characterize our contemporary world through my miniatures. Through sarcasm and mockery, it demands social justice, respect, and tolerance."[277]

[275] Salwat Ali and Raza Rumi, "The miniature goes global," *Dawn,* January 10, 2016, https://www.dawn.com/news/1231271
[276] Saira Wasim born in 1975 in Pakistan. She went to National College of Arts and did her bachelor's in fine arts in miniature painting in 1999. Drawing on her studies of traditional Mughal miniature painting in Pakistan, Saira Wasim paints Persian miniatures that address issues of power, politics, and globalization. She has exhibited her work worldwide.
[277] "Saira Waseem Profile," *Painters of Pakistan,* April 6, 2014, https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/2014/05/06/saira-wasim/

In her early works, she raised a question to society: Is this the future of missiles that we are presenting to our next generation? And what kind of patriotism is it that causes the deaths of innocent Muslims in the name of Jihad? Other religious and political figures, such as *Maulanas*, (religious priest) Tahir ul Qadri, Qazi Hussain, Imran Khan, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and Noor Jahan have also been observed in her miniatures (Fig. 6.230 & Fig. 6.231).

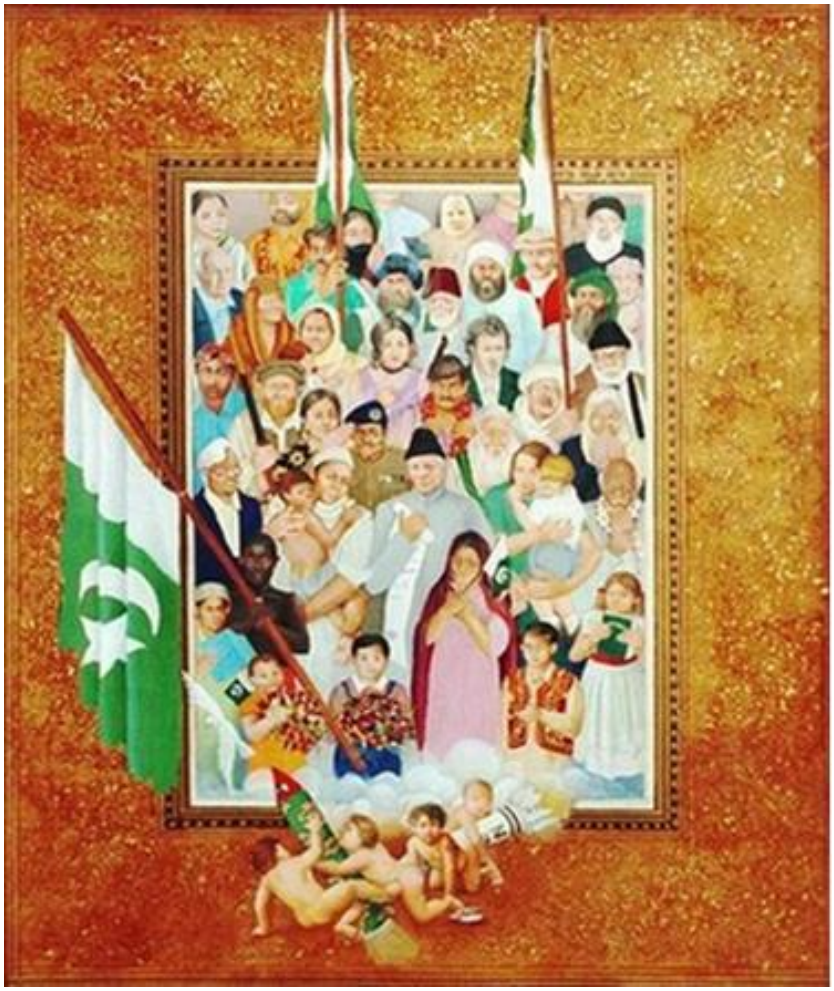


Figure 6.230: *'Tomorrow??'* by Saira Waseem, 2000. Gold, Ink on Gouche on Wasli. https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/63.JPG

General Musharraf is depicted in various positions, seated on a throne, receiving kisses from cupids symbolising the backing of America and Britain in the struggle against terrorism. In certain paintings, he is depicted participating in extravagant activities such as taking rides and enjoying and being featured in the political circus. Saira commonly displays symbols such as missiles, flags, and firearms etc. Musharraf and Indian prime leaders are depicted with joker and clown costumes, portraying them as prominent performers in the political circus. Neither government have a genuine commitment to resolving their conflicts, particularly the Kashmir issue. Instead, they engage in mockery and deception, treating the public as if they were spectators in a circus (Fig. 6.232 to Fig. 6. 239).



Figure 6.231: *'Patriotism?'* by Saira Waseem, 2000. Gold, Ink on Gouche on Wasli
https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/54.JPG



Figure 6.232: *'The Kiss'* by Saira Waseem, 2001.
https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/50.JPG



Figure 6.233: *'HaliGoli'* by Saira Waseem, 2001. Gouache on Wasli.
https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/51.JPG



Figure 6.234: *'Friendship of Pakistan and India'* (Agra-Declaration) by Saira Waseem, 2001.
https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/53.JPG

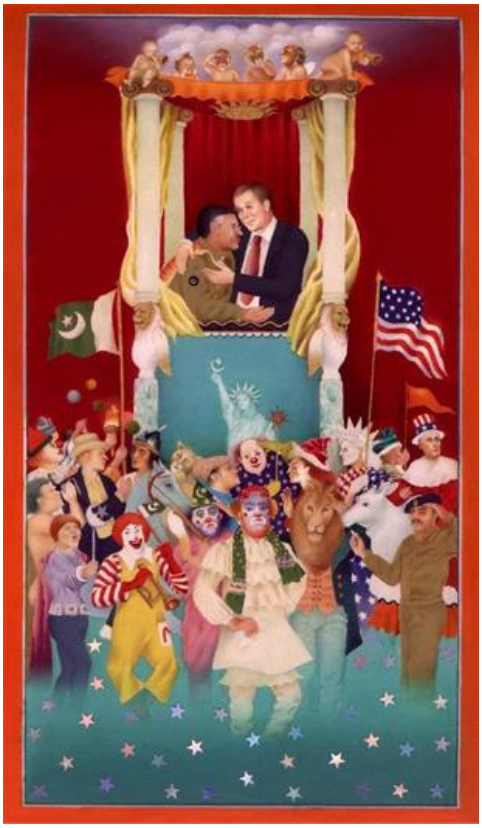


Figure 6.235: *'Friendship after September 11-1'* by Saira Waseem, 2002. Gouache on Wasli. https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/47.JPG



Figure 6.236: *'Friendship after 11 September-2'* by Saira Waseem, 2002. Gold and Gouache on Wasli. https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/61.JPG



Figure 6.237: *'Mullah'* from Terrorism Series by Saira Waseem, 2003.
https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/46.JPG



Figure 6.238: *'Buzkashi'* by Saira Waseem, 2004. Gouache on Wasli.
https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/45.JPG

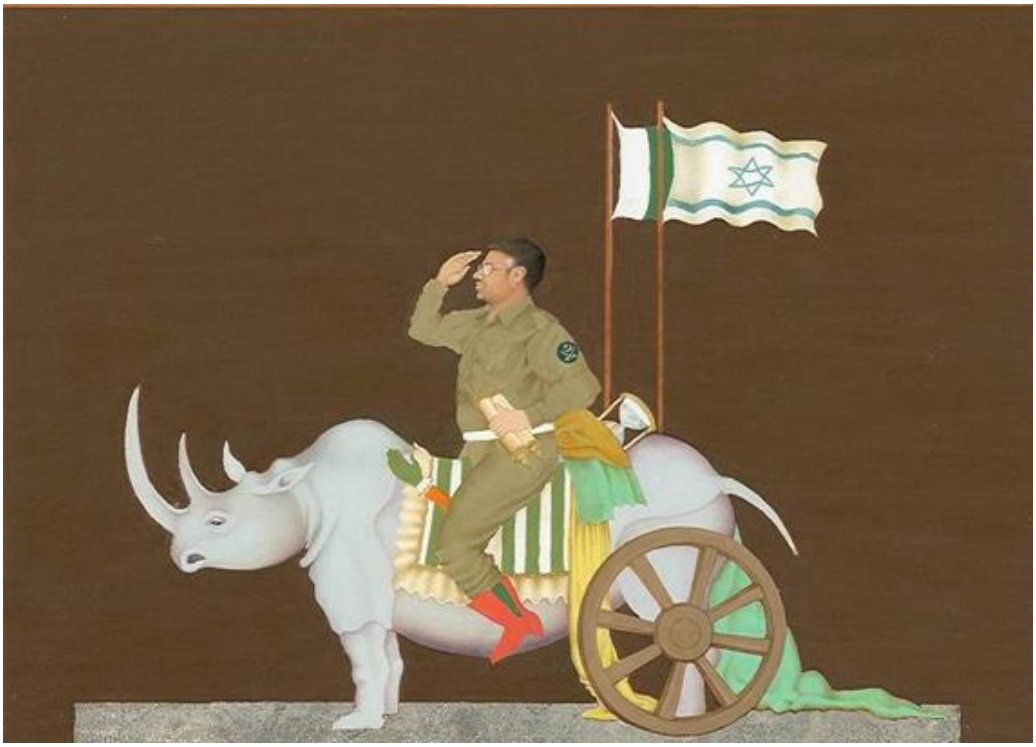


Figure 6.239: *'National Interest'* by Saira Waseem, 2005. Gouache and Silver Leaf on Wasli. https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/27.JPG

In this neo miniature style, new elements and symbols like *burqa* (veil), guns, swords, beards etc., started to appear before the event of September 2001 to convey underlying messages (Fig. 6.240 & Fig. 6.241). The veil's symbolic meaning has developed over time. Sometimes it serves as a symbol of culturally rooted ideals of purity, honour, and beauty, and in someways functions as tools of gender-based control and repression. However, with the events of 9/11/2001 and the increasing pace in the war on terror, there was a noticeable increase in the occurrence of symbols like webs, scissors, bullets, suicide bombers, bomb shells, blood splashes, hand grenades, suicide vests, etc. These signs were frequently reproduced by many miniature artists, maybe due to the increasing foreign attention and notoriety associated with terrorism and extremism.

Aisha Khalid[278] one among the acclaimed miniature artists frequently has used the symbols of veil, curtains and camouflage in form of patterns in her artworks (Fig 6.242). Her early works were a manifestation of her own personal experiences, difficulties, and hardships, tackling gender issues stemming from deeply ingrained socio-cultural abnormalities that restrict women.

[278] Aisha Khalid born in 1972 in Faisalabad, Pakistan. Khalid graduated from National College of Arts at in 1993 and completed her post-graduate degree Fine Art degree from Rijksakademie, Amsterdam in 2003. She is contemporary visual artist, working with miniature painting, textiles, video and site-specific installations in architect.



Figure 6.240: *'Captive'* by Aisha Khalid, 1999. Gouache on Wasli paper.
https://thekarachicollective.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Captive-1999_11zon.jpg

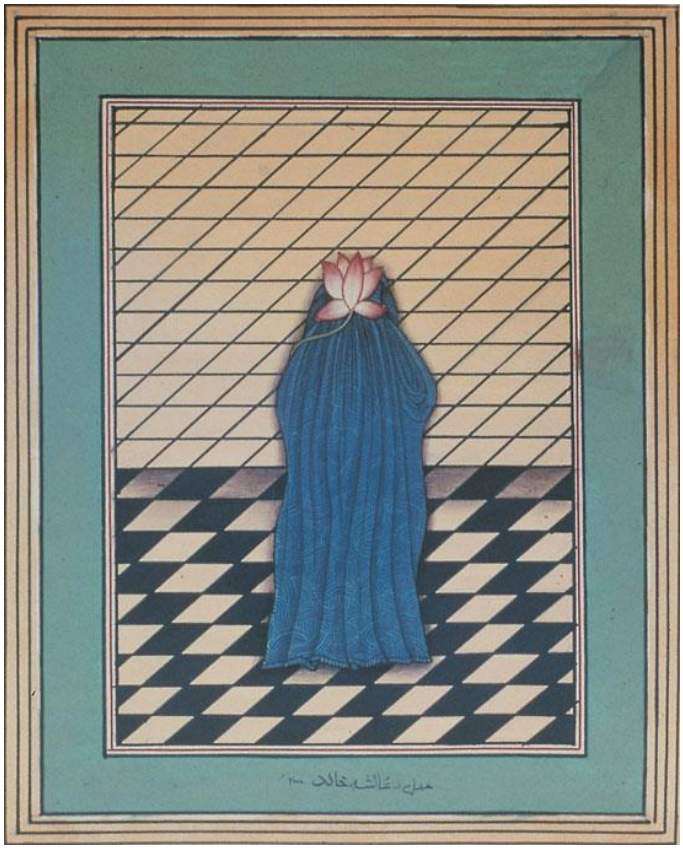


Figure 6.241: *'Form X-Pattern'* by Ayesha Khalid, 2000.
https://thekarachicollective.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Form-X-Pattern-2000.jpg

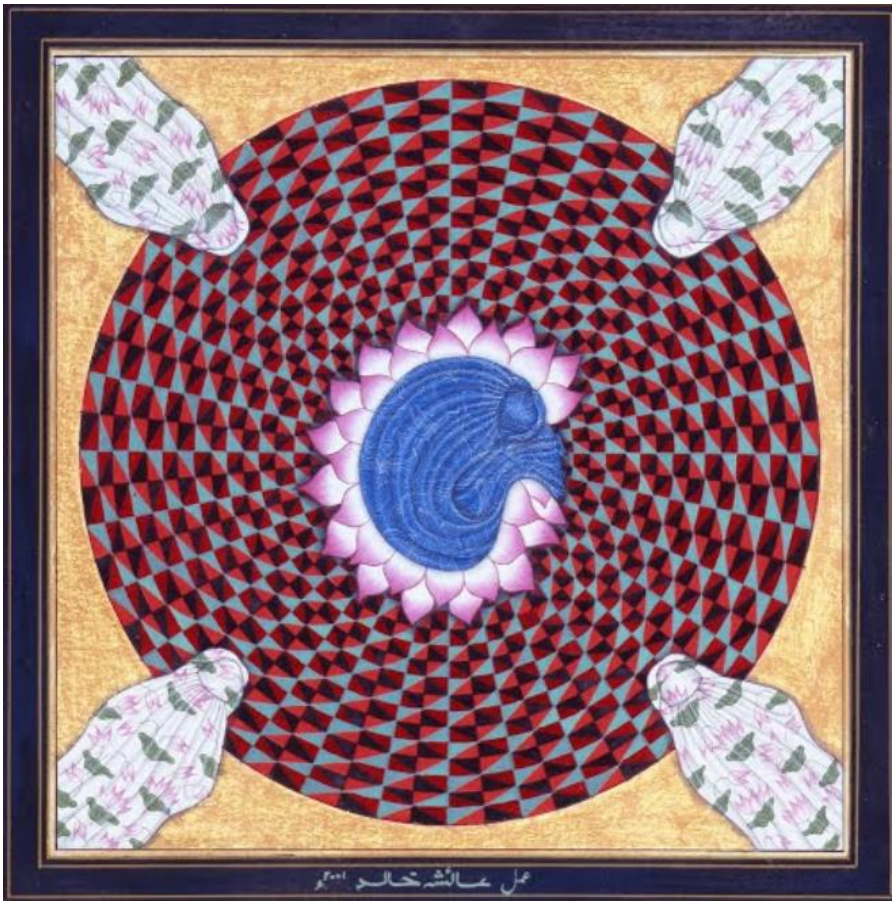


Figure 6.242: *'Birth Of Venus'* by Aisha Khalid, 2001.
https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/birth-of-venus-aisha-khalid/vQFL1VPpvcp_Cg

Waseem Ahmed[279] is a contemporary miniature artist who specializes in the new style. He frequently integrates images of bullets, women wearing burqas, and religious figures wearing suicide jackets in his artwork. He has used these symbolic icons in his work, along with the tea stain washes to depict flowing and dripping blood. He has created various series, such as Pious Fears, In the Name of Faith, and Silver Bullet, to symbolize his exploration of the fight against terror (Fig. 6.243 to Fig. 6.247). Ahmed draws inspiration from western and eastern motives and from his surrounding thus making his art social and political in nature. He states about this work:

> "I notice how people evolve during social times, religions times and political times. I try to create a link between intellectuals and ordinary people, who I come across in my everyday life. therefore, I have turned my work towards social and political questions, an aspect I encounter in the world of Islam and therefore I am a permanent eyewitness of this."[280]

[279] Waseem Ahmed was born in Hyderabad, Pakistan, in 1976. He graduated form National College of Arts specializing in miniature. Ahmed is a key player in the contemporary miniature painting scene. Combining traditional miniature techniques, such as gouache and gold and silver leaf on Wasli paper, with genuine experimental techniques. Ahmed creates finely rendered small and large scale works that address various social, political and cultural issues.
[280] Interview by Author



Figure 6.243 and 6.244: *'Untitled'* by Waseem Ahmed. Gouache on Wasli.
https://tit-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/articles/115/1wa-dbl-2__large.jpg



Figure 6.245: *'Untitled'* by Waseem Ahmed, 2012. Gouache, Silver leaf on Wasli.
Image Credit: http://www.gowencontemporary.com/exhibitions/w-ahmed-gowen-contemporary-sept-oct-2013-photos/



Figure 6.246 and 6.247: *'Silver Bullet'* series by Waseem Ahmed, 2010. Gouache, silver, tea wash on Wasli.
https://tit-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/articles/115/2WA-sp-dbl__large.jpg

Waseem has rendered Mullah figures with great care, resembling saints or princes, with elegant faces and emotions that exude tranquilly. All around them, the intricate foliage is shown representing the spiritual realm of the promised paradise. Representations of women in *burqas* are pervasive. The fleeting reality of earthly existence gives way to a realm of desire and fulfilment (Fig. 6.248 to Fig. 6.251).



Figure 6.248: *'In the name of faith'* by Waseem Ahmed, 2015.
https://waseemaahmed.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/6.jpg?w=600

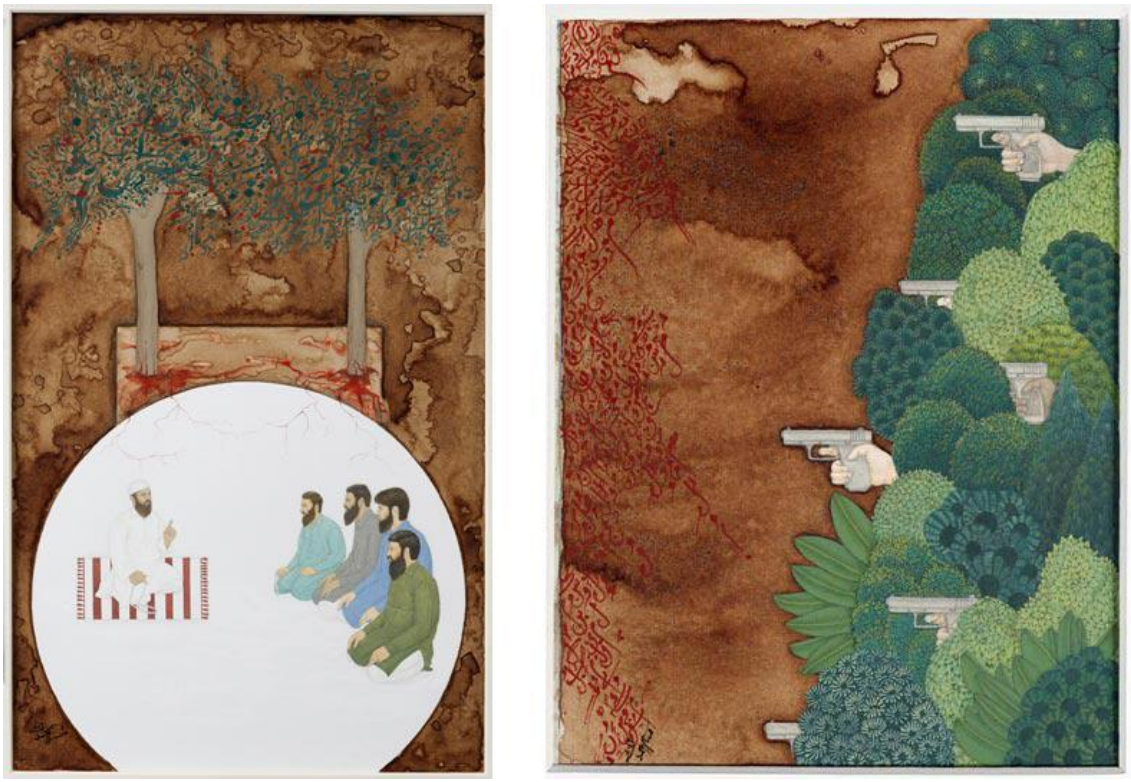


Figure 6.249 and 6.250: *'Pious Fears'* series by Waseem Ahmed, 2010
https://tit-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/articles/115/5frtWA-dbl3__large.jpg

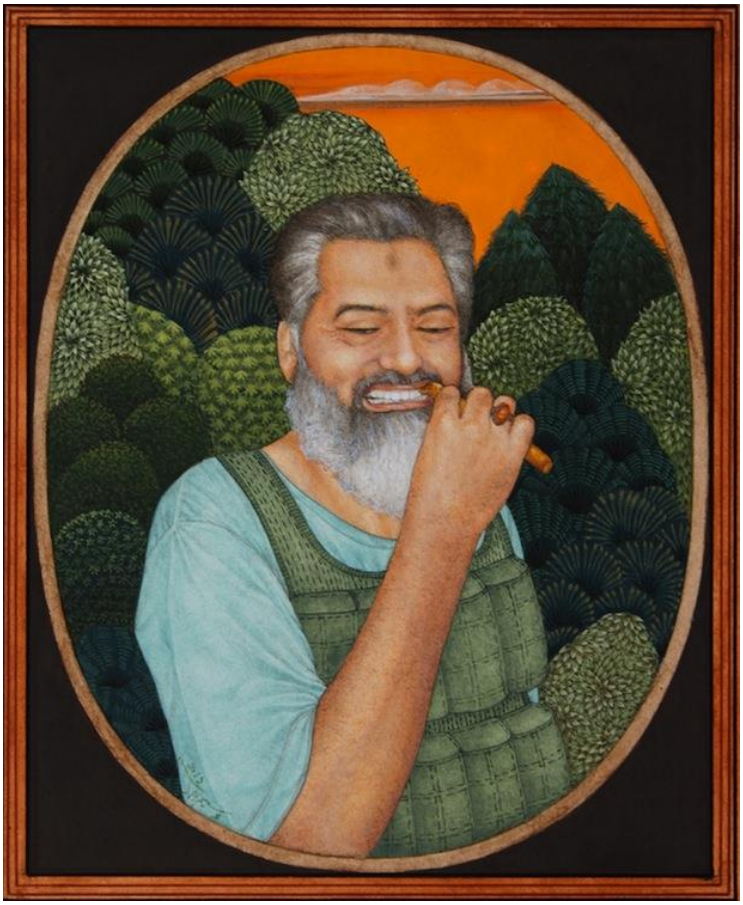


Figure 6.251: *'Untitled'* by Waseem Ahmed, 2012.
http://www.gowencontemporary.com/files/gimgs/161_10137x113cm.jpg

Imran Qureshi[281] also draws inspiration from the art tradition of Mughal miniature painting and has reinvented it in its his own style. His work explores socio-political topics such as violence, suffering, martial laws, terrorism and the aspiration for more compassionate communities. The artist incorporates iconography such as blood stains, drips, scissors, cuts, and wounds, as well as explosions, to depict the impact of bomb blasts during the war on terror (Fig. 6.252 to 6.258). While giving an interview, Qureshi once commented about his work,

> "My work contains violent elements but its about the interplay of beauty, life, and death. Also, it takes on a more lyrical quality the closer you get and the more you examine it closely." He further adds that "Miniatures aren't outmoded for me – it's like I'm talking in my mother tongue. The darkness in my work is the reflection of political context but its not limited to Pakistan but its universal."[282]



Figure 6.252: *'Untitled (Reshape)'* by Imran Qureshi, 2006. Acrylic, pen and watercolour on paper
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2013_05/16/13/130826458/0d027298-aa42-428a-a4a6-ee52a4546d4d.Jpeg?w=768

[281] Imran Qureshi born in 1972 and studied miniature at National college of Arts. He also teaches miniature in this institute. Has been exhibiting locally and internationally for almost twenty- five years and has greatly expanded the language of miniature painting, both in traditionally sized and crafted works and in many original variations in the form of site-specific installations, three-dimensional works, videos, and paintings on paper and canvas. He has been exhibiting nationally and internationally and recognised everywhere. He has been awarded Sitar-e-Imtiaz and Lux Style Award for his contribution in fine Arts.

[282] David Shariatmadari, "Violence is all around me': Imran Qureshi on his disturbing miniatures," *The Guardian,* February 18, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/feb/18/violence-is-all-around-me-imran-qureshi-on-his-disturbing-miniatures

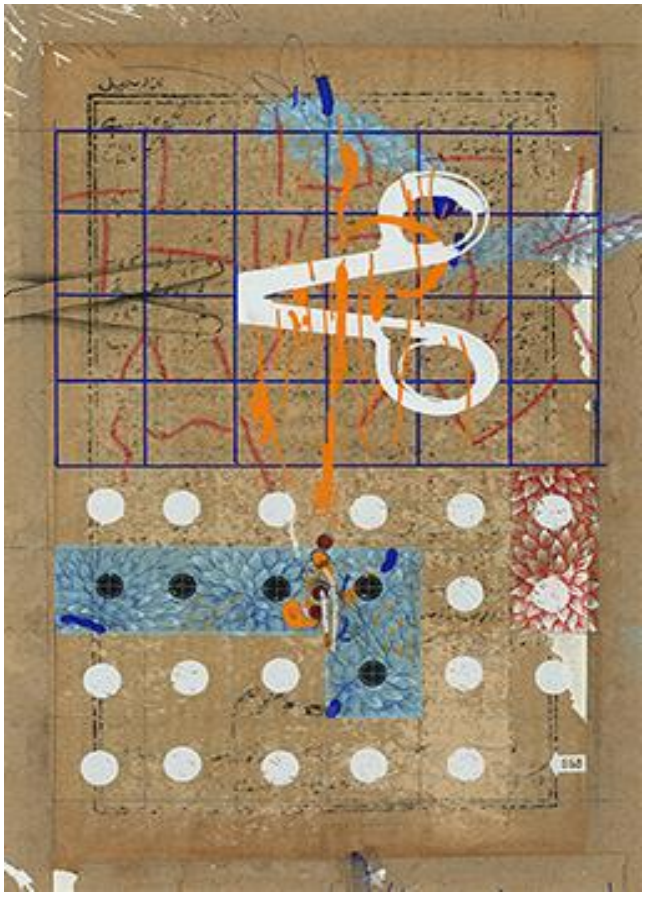
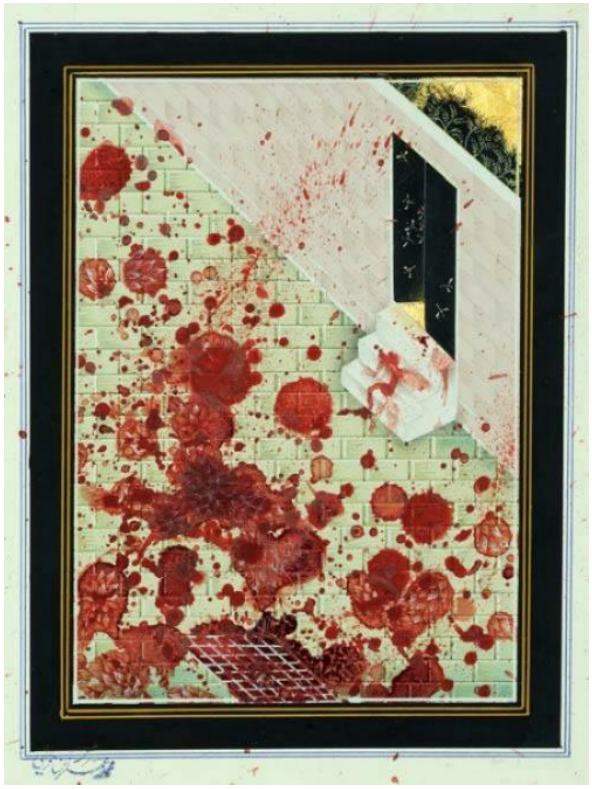


Figure 6.253: *'Easy cutting'* by Imran Qureshi, 2006. Watercolour on paper.
https://mediacloud.saffronart.com/auctions/2016/southasian/imranq_1611south_29555_big.jpg



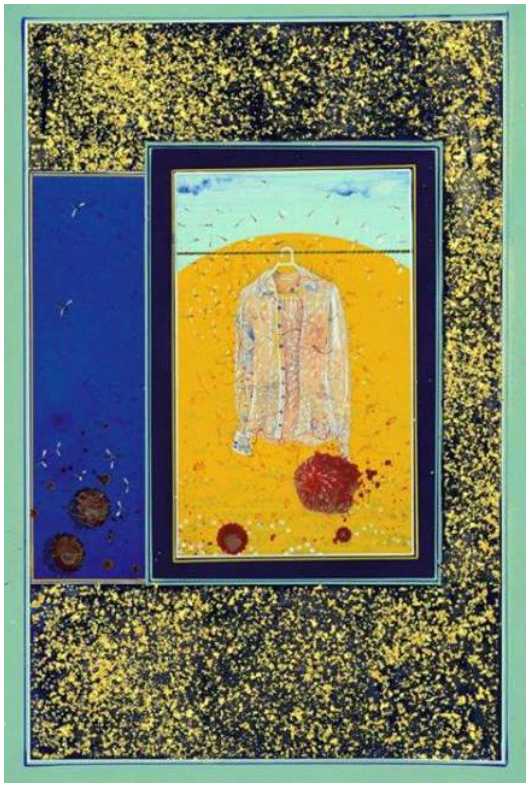


Figure 6.254 and 6.255: *Untitled* by Imran Qureshi, 2009.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/iq12.jpg

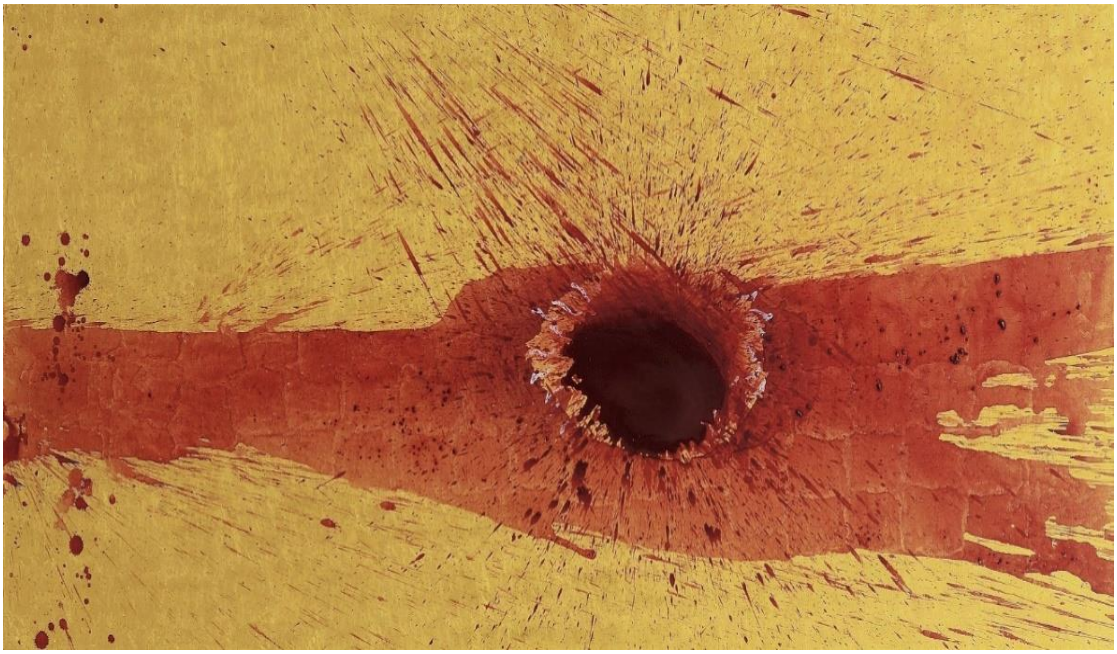


Figure 6.256*: 'Going Deep'* by Imran Qureshi, 2015. Acrylic paint and gold leaf on canvas.
https://thefridaytimes.com/uploads/digital_news/2017-02-03/383251473-1687351522-794377713.jpg

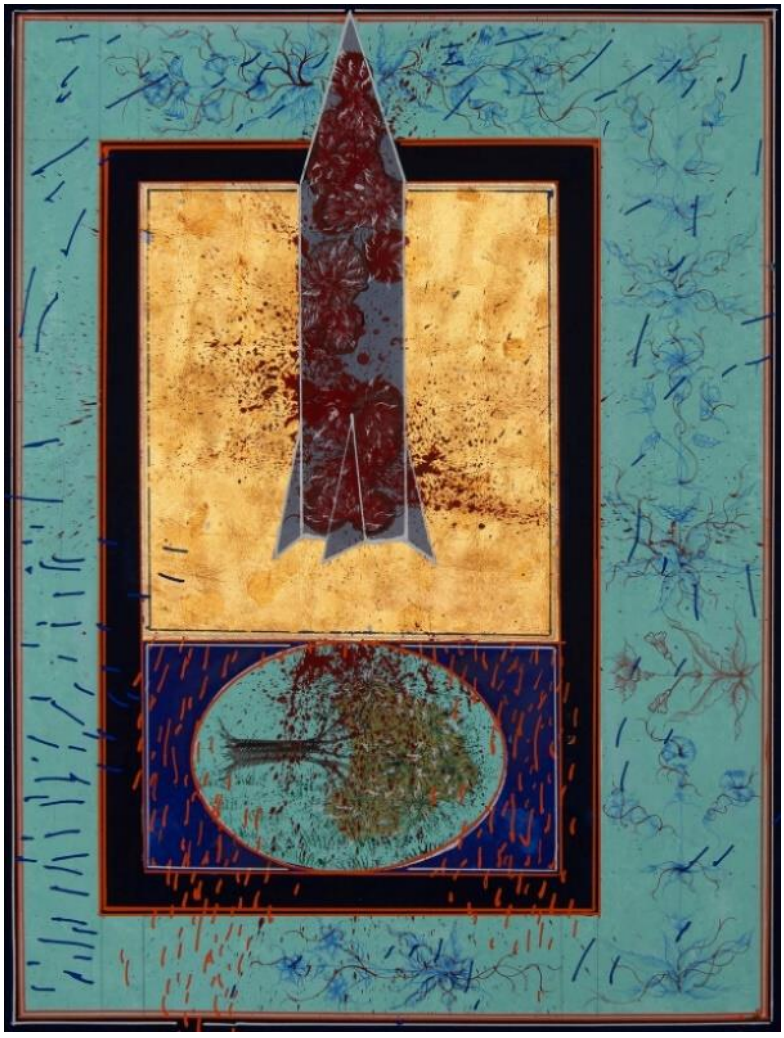


Figure 6.257: *'Story of Two'* by Imran Qureshi, 2019.
https://www.artsy.net/artwork/imran-qureshi-story-of-two



Figure 6.258: *'Do You Remember Still, How It Was Once'* by Imran Qureshi, 2019. Gouache on paper. https://www.dreamideamachine.com/web/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/0318.jpg

Another eminent miniaturist, Sobia Ahmed's skilful paintings show bleak state of Pakistan in the hope of fostering a change. Her work features two themes: environmentalism and political critique. Her series of works demonstrates her battle with the current state of political situations. She employs powerful symbols in her work, beginning with the classical face of traditional Mughal miniatures and juxtaposing with fully modern backgrounds, western icons such as cupid, arrows, stars, moon, the universal sign of death, destruction, and decay, vultures and crows (Fig. 6.259).

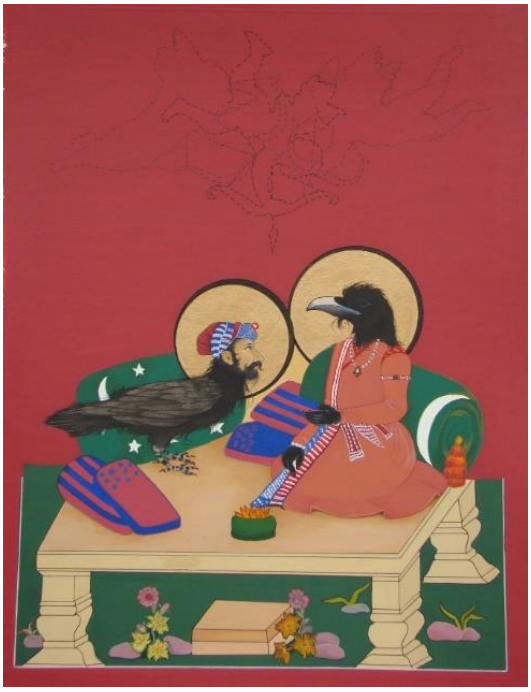


Figure 6.259: *'Who Will Lead My Country?'* by Sobia Ahmed. https://newslinemagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/1310%E2%80%98%E2%80%99who-will-lead-my-country-I%E2%80%99%E2%80%99.jpg

A recurring theme in her works is the Pakistan - US relationship. The motif of the 'stars and stripes' is depicted in different ways showcasing the flag of America in her artworks. In her work *'Who will be Next?'* unconscious or maybe a deceased man is suspended upside-down from a symbolic fish-cord. Ahmed's striking graphic representation depicts the US-Pakistan connection as a situation where Pakistan is not only being abandoned and left to suffer, but also being manipulated as a bait (Fig. 6.260).[283]



Figure 6.260: *'Who will be Next?'* by Sobia Ahmed.
https://www.artnowpakistan.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/1-5.jpg



Figure 6.261: *'New Order'* by Sobia Ahmed.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/shikwa-jawab-e-shikwa-a-solo-show-by-sobia-ahmed-at-chawkandi-art-4.jpg

[283] Cosima Brand, "Sobia Ahmed: Who is Afraid of Green," *Art Now*, December 1, 2014, https://www.artnowpakistan.com/sobia-ahmed-who-is-afraid-of-green/

Sobia's work prominently features the colour red, which can signify several concepts such as life, death, or love. In her artist statement, she discusses how her artwork confronts and questions notions of nationhood. It is unsurprising that various paintings depict images connected with Pakistan, such as national flag, stars and crescents, the colour green, and official stamp papers (Fig. 6.261).[284]

Apart from these above mentioned other contemporary miniature artists, such as Nusra Latif, Hassnat Mehmood and others who have also studied at NCA, primarily work with similar patterns and themes. In their earlier works, they deviate from traditional norms and later move towards innovation. They also have exhibited indications of weaponry to convey a connection with the concepts of war and terrorism (Fig. 6.262). Subsequently, they transitioned towards employing more subtle symbolism to address societal issues.



Figure 6.262: *'A letter to all'* by Hassnat Mehmood, 2004. Pencil and Gouache on Wasli. https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_12/06/08/083334682/00d5229f-c96e-458e-8d96-3ee7ba577030.Jpeg?w=768

[284] Jovita Alvares, "A Solo Show by Sobia Ahmed at Chawkaanddi," *Youlin Magazine,* December 18, 2018, https://www.youlinmagazine.com/article/a-solo-show-by-sobia-ahmed-at-chawkaanddi-art/MTIzNA==

In 2003, six Pakistani artists initiated a joint endeavour under the supervision of Imran Qureshi. The project was named '*Karkhana.*'[285] Qureshi chose miniature artists with similar interests who were working on socio-political perspectives. The main concept of this project was to start a piece of miniature and pass it on to other artists who would then add further details to the already rendered piece. The important thing to be noted here due to which this example is being quoted is the images representing the upheaval of that era like Musharraf, bow and arrow, scissors etc. (Fig. 6.263 & 6.264).

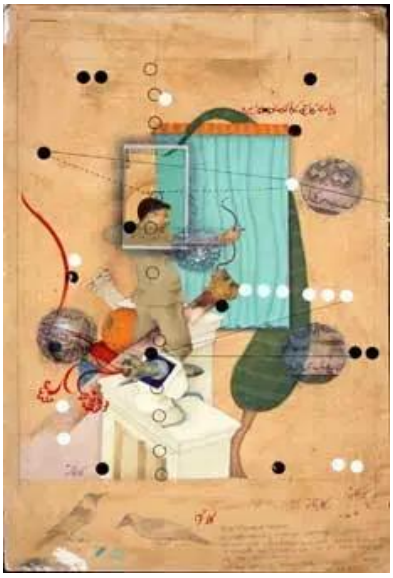


Figure 6.263: *'Untitled'* Karkhana: A Contemporary Collaboration.
Image Credit: http://www.aldrichart.org/ exhibitions/past/Karkhana



Figure 6.264: *'Untitled'* Karkhana: A Contemporary Collaboration.
Image Credit: http://www.aldrichart.org/ exhibitions/past/Karkhana

[285] The Urdu word '*Karkhana*' in English means 'workshop' but here refers to the miniature painting workshops supported by Mughal Emperors who ruled over the lands of present-day India and Pakistan between the 16th and 17th centuries. In these workshops, several artists would work together on the same painting under the direction of one 'ustad' or master.

Installations and Mix Media on Terrorism

In addition to artists already engaged in mixed media, graphic arts, and sculpture, prominent miniature artists from Pakistan such as Imran Qureshi, Aisha Khalid, and Waseem Ahmed have begun to embrace the emerging trend of site-specific installation. In their quest for innovation in traditional miniature art, they have incorporated mixed media and installation techniques into their regular miniature shows to engage with the global community. The following quoted examples are primarily related to war, violence, and its subsequent effects on individuals.

In 2008, Aisha Khalid created a site-specific installation called *'Viewpoint'* in the Queen's Palace, Bagh-e-Babar in Kabul (Fig. 6.265 & Fig. 6.266). She placed her artwork in front of an open window as part of this installation. She painted a very detailed red circle on the ground. She positioned little swirls imitating gunshots on the wall adjacent to the window. In this influential work, Khalid successfully incorporated the concepts of place and time, prompting viewers to comprehend and empathize with the political turmoil of the region.

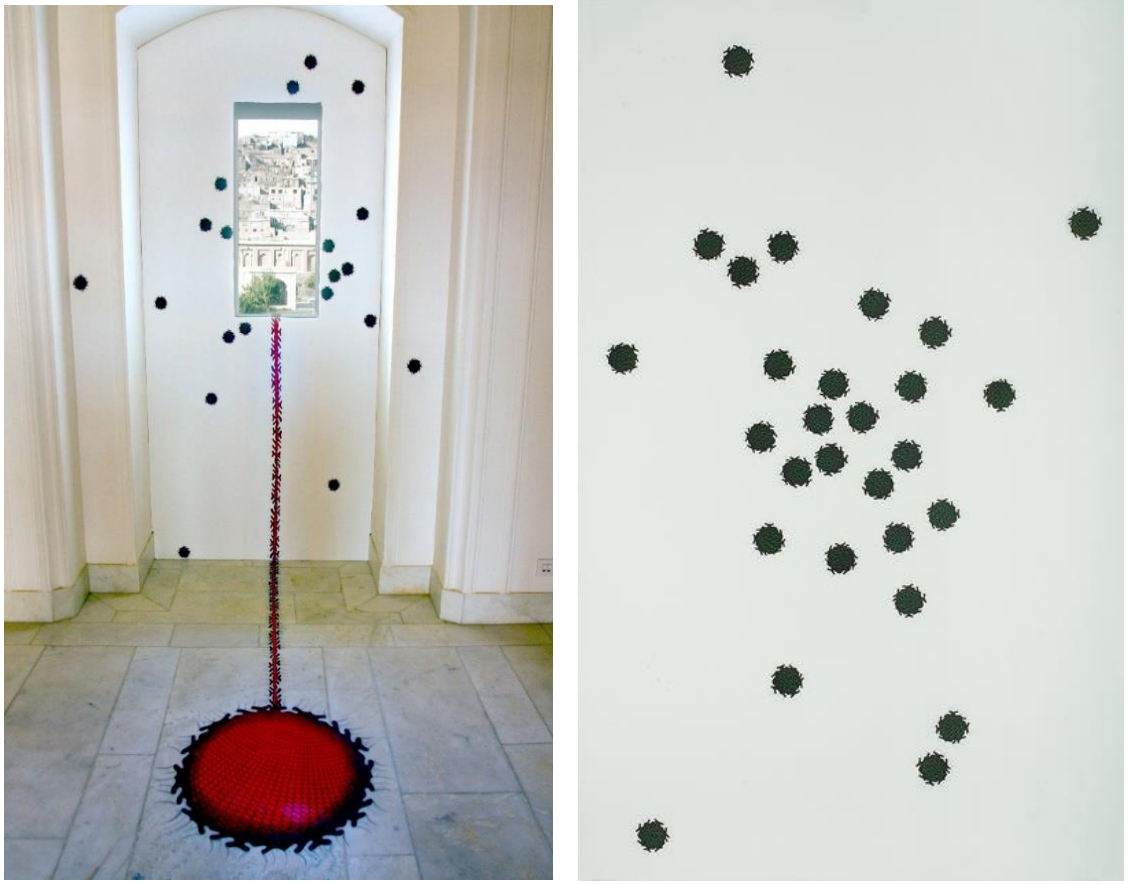


Figure 6.265 and 6.266: *'Viewpoint and Bullet Holes'* by Aisha Khalid, 2008. https://culture360.asef.org/media/2021/11/'View%20point'%202008%2C%20sitespecific%20installation%20in%20Queens%20palace%20Bagh-e-Babur%2CKabul).jpg

In another installation *'Face It'* dating 2009 at the Venice Biennale, Khalid used the same circular motive representing bullet hole but this time on mirror. By doing so she intended to involve and connect Western viewers by positioning them in front of a mirror. Viewers were able to see themselves with wounds reflected on them in the mirror. The use of camouflage and red colour further evoked the feelings and thoughts of being in a battle scene. Hence asking them to face the situation of war implemented on Muslim countries (Fig. 6.267 & Fig. 6.268).



Figure 6.267: *'Face It'* by Aisha Khalid, 2010.
https://culture360.asef.org/media/2021/11/07.jpg

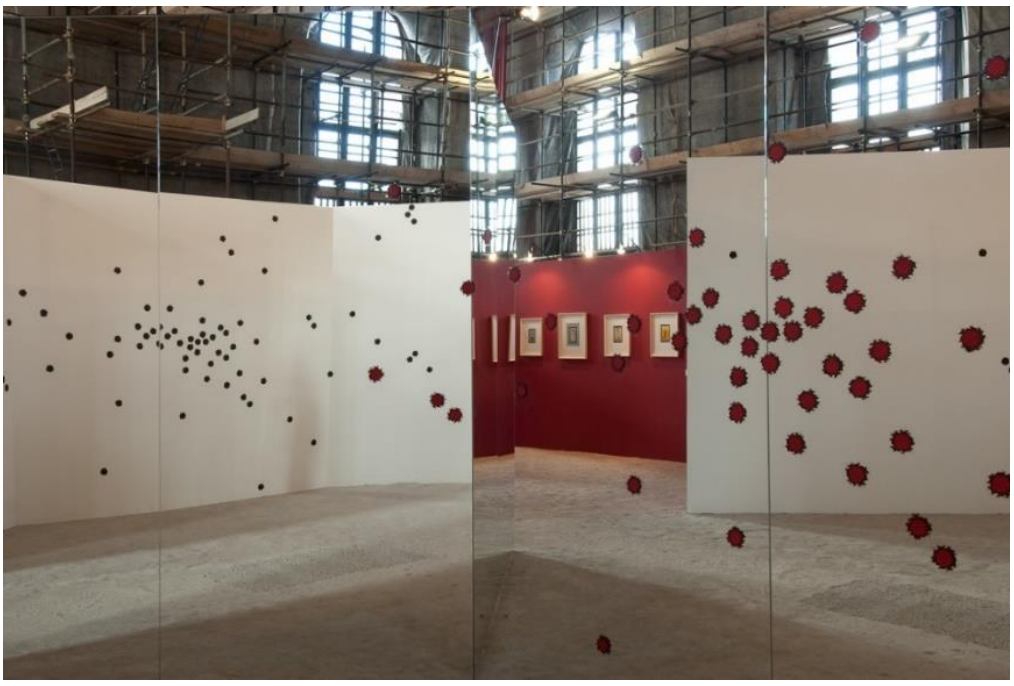


Figure 6.268: *'Face It'* by Aisha Khalid, 2010.
https://culture360.asef.org/media/2021/11/07.jpg

Imran Qureshi's two similar works recognised as *'Blessings upon the Land of my Love'* and *'Roof Garden Commision'* are large-scale installations. One is on the brick pavement of building and part of Sharjah Biennial, and other on the roof of Metropolitan Museum New York (Fig. 6.269 & Fig. 6.270). Qureshi has incorporated red acrylic into his installations as a direct response to the brutal bombings in Lahore. The proximity of such violence to his own home evoked a strong reaction in his artwork showing blood stains and splatters. He described his vivid paint creations as stemming from the effects of violence and being mixed with the colour of blood. However, he also emphasised that the floral foliage in his work symbolise his conversation with life, instilling hope and new beginnings. Qureshi's theme of tragedy leading to the emergence of new hopes becomes even more poignant as a message of recovery and renewal.[286]



Figure 6.269: *'Blessings Upon the Land of my Love'* by Imran Qureshi, 2011. Acrylic and emulsion paint on interlocking brick pavement, Site-specific installation.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/iq10.jpg

[286] "The Roof Garden Commission: Imran Qureshi," July 19, 2013, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2013/imran-qureshi



Figure 6.270: *'And How Many Rains Must Fall before the Stains Are Washed Clean'* by Imran Qureshi, 2013. https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/iq22.jpg

Qureshi has done similar work but at different places in recent years and he has exhibited internationally, making red acrylic colour his trademark (Fig. 6.271). In his various exhibitions, along with miniatures he has skilfully done site-specific installation. His large-scale installation at Art Museum at Michigan State University and Private Museum, Dubai, United Arab Emirates, 2014 are few examples (Fig. 6.272 & Fig. 6.273).



Figure 6.271: *'I want you to stay with me'* by Imran Qureshi, 2015. Acrylic paint on paper and floor http://assets.yesstud.io/naturemorte/cache/naturemorte-1535-q80-h250-rz3-b75.jpg




Figure 6.272 and 6.273: *'And They Still Seek Traces of Blood'* by Imran Qureshi, 2017.
https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/and-they-still-seek-traces-of-blood-imran-qureshi/AwE3QWsZkdRtmA

Abdullah M. I. Syed[287] uses different mediums to investigate intermixing of art, religion, economy, and politics. His mentioned work refers to the tumultuous event of 9/11/2001. The artwork explores the connection between the weapons used by the hijackers in Twin Tower attacks and the modern technology of drones employed by the United States in response. The artwork discusses the ongoing conflict of terrorism through its unique material of box-cutter blades and showing them as drones (Fig. 6.274 & Fig. 6.275).



Figure 6.274: *'Flying Rug of Drones'* by Abdullah M.1. Saeed, 2009.
https://abdullahmisyed.com/installation-2/2017/3/9/the-flying-rug-of-drones-2009

[287] Abdullah M. I. Syed (b. 1974) is a Pakistani-born contemporary artist and designer working between Sydney, Karachi and New York. Syed utilises a variety of mediums and techniques including sculpture, video installations, drawing, performance and texts in his artworks.

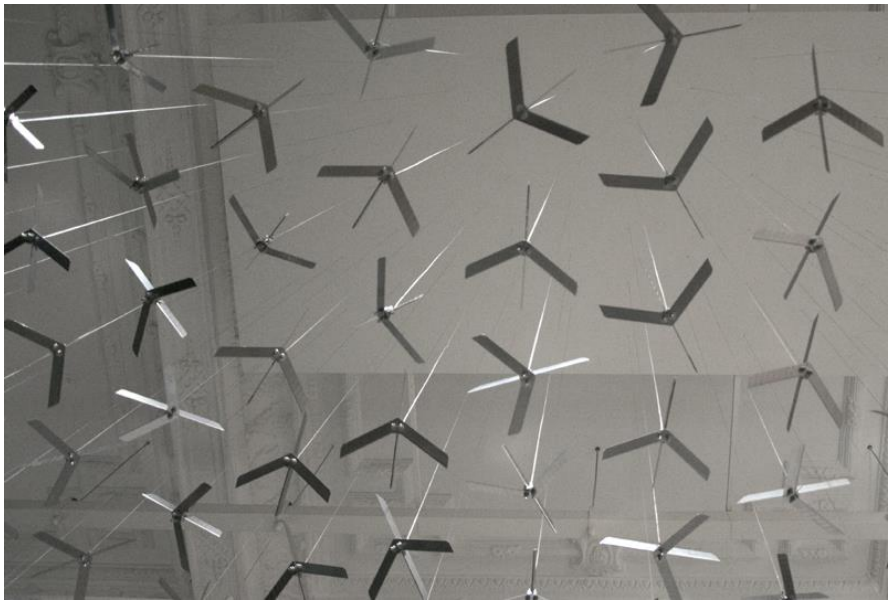


Figure 6.275: *'Detail view of Flying Rug of Drones'* by Abdullah M.I. Saeed, 2009
https://abdullahmisyed.com/installation-2/2017/3/9/the-flying-rug-of-drones-2009

Amir Habib has created an installation featuring various sorts of knives stained with blood, depicting the savage murders of innocent individuals in bombings at mosques, marketplaces, and schools (Fig. 6.276).



Figure 6.276: *'Cut through the Knife'* by Amir Habib.
https://www.instagram.com/aamircogs/p/C0bf14iMXie/?img_index=2

Wajahat Saeed is a resident of Parachinar, FATA a region close to Pak-Afghan border. He has first hand experience of drone attacks and bomb blasts since an early age. His family was forced to leave their hometown due to violence. He has used his textile knowledge and embroidery skills to express the effects of war on his mind. Recently in 2019, he has crafted a scarlet embroidered artwork entitled *"Am I Dead Yet?"* The artwork resembles a dense

grouping of tightly positioned red marks when viewed up close. Through scrutiny, one can observe the presence of distorted and disarrayed human corpses lying on the floor. Even without any visible emotions or facial expressions, one can still experience the agony and distress caused following an explosion (Fig. 6.277). Saeed's another embroider work can be seen with a sharp knife with blood (Fig. 6.278). Saeed once while commenting about his work said, "At first glace a spectator can see only a pattern in my work but upon close observation the hidden object is visible, symbolising the stark contrast between the intense hostility and violence occurring amidst an otherwise stunning natural environment."[288]

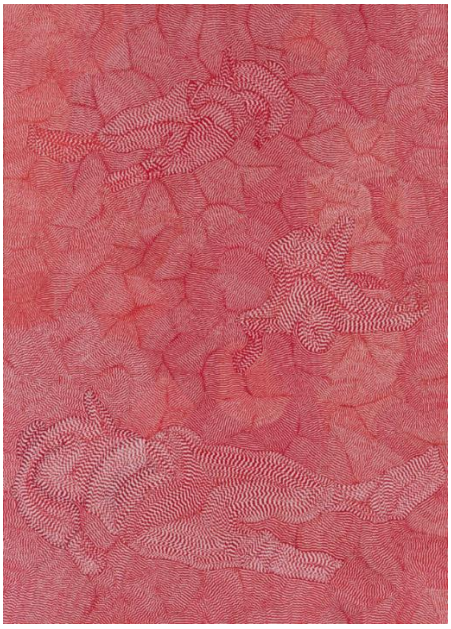


Figure 6.277: *'Am I Dead Yet?'* by Wajahat Saeed, 2019.
Figure: https://miro.medium.com/v2/resize:fit:1100/format:webp/1*zjFt2p8clkP_Fk03PXaLBA.jpeg

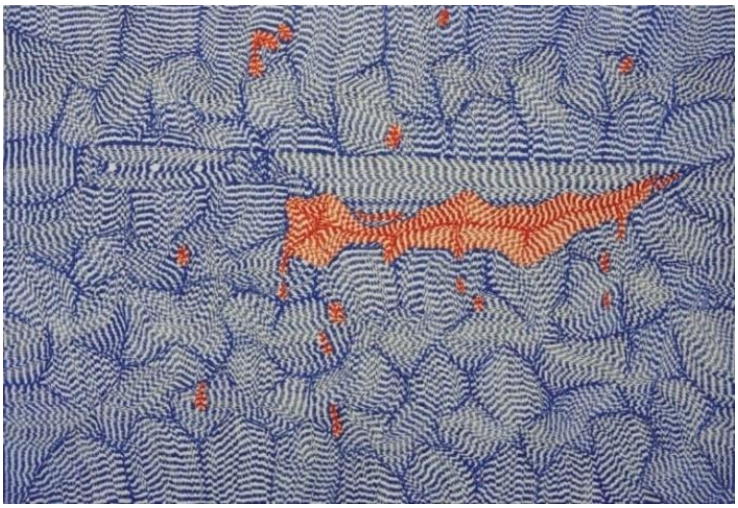


Figure 6.278: *'Untitled'* by Wajahat, 2019.
https://www.thenews.com.pk//assets/uploads/updates/2019-04-22/461470_5216867_art4_updates.jpg

[288] Nadeem Zuberi, "Artists explore technique, sensibility and understanding in unique artwork," *The News*, April 22, 2019, https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/461470-technique-sensibility-and-understanding.

Tazeen Qayyum's[289] work addresses the confrontational nature of politics and the resulting chaos and diversity. With her innovative techniques she uses the motif of ccockroaches which serve the dual purpose of both attracting and repelling the viewer, while also making a commentary on human rights violations, casualties, and the terror that arises from contemporary war.[290] While explaining the idea behind the use of cockroaches in her work she narrates that human life is diminished and treated useless just like an insect, but it also tells the stories of human perseverance and victories in the face of challenges. She has discussed the symbolic representation of immigrants through the metaphor of a cockroach, highlighting the increasing hostility towards foreigners, especially Muslims, in the Western world following the events of 9/11/2001 (Fig. 6.279 to 6.281).



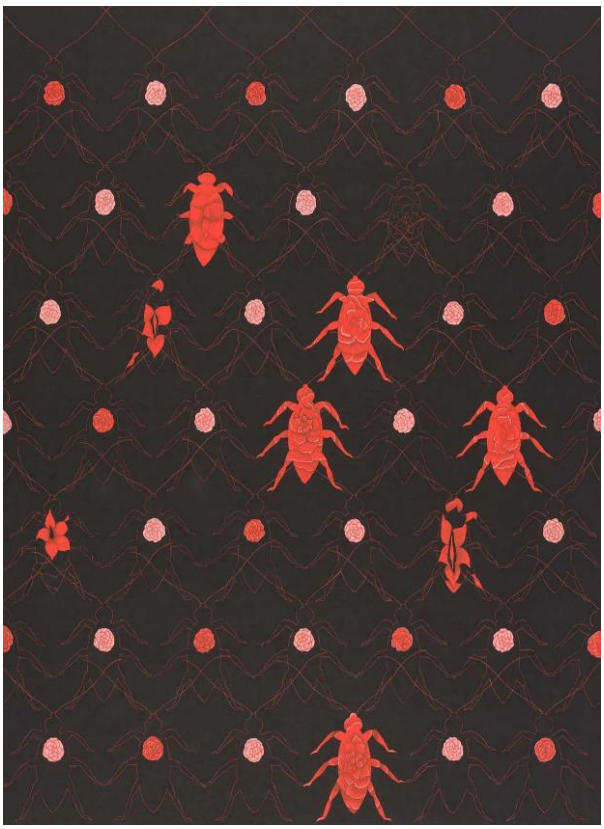


Figure 6.279: Installation *'A Holding Pattern'* by Tazeen Qayyum, 2017.
http://vaslart.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/01-A-Holding-Pattern-detail.jpg
Figure 6.280: *'Walking the True Path'* by Tazeen Qayyum 2015.
https://miro.medium.com/v2/resize:fit:1100/format:webp/1*t465ZyC2-9ptChjVOrBdBA.jpeg

[289] Tazeen Qayyum (b.73) is a contemporary Pakistani/Canadian artist. She received her BFA in Visual Arts from the National College of Arts Lahore, Pakistan in 1996. She is globally acclaimed and received various awards internationally. Primarily trained as a miniature painter of the South Asian and Persian tradition, Qayyum continues to explore new materials and processes through mediums such as drawing, installation, sculpture, video and performance.
[290] "Tazeen Qayyum's political miniaturism," July 4, 2011,
https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/tazeen-qayyums-political-miniaturism/article636547/

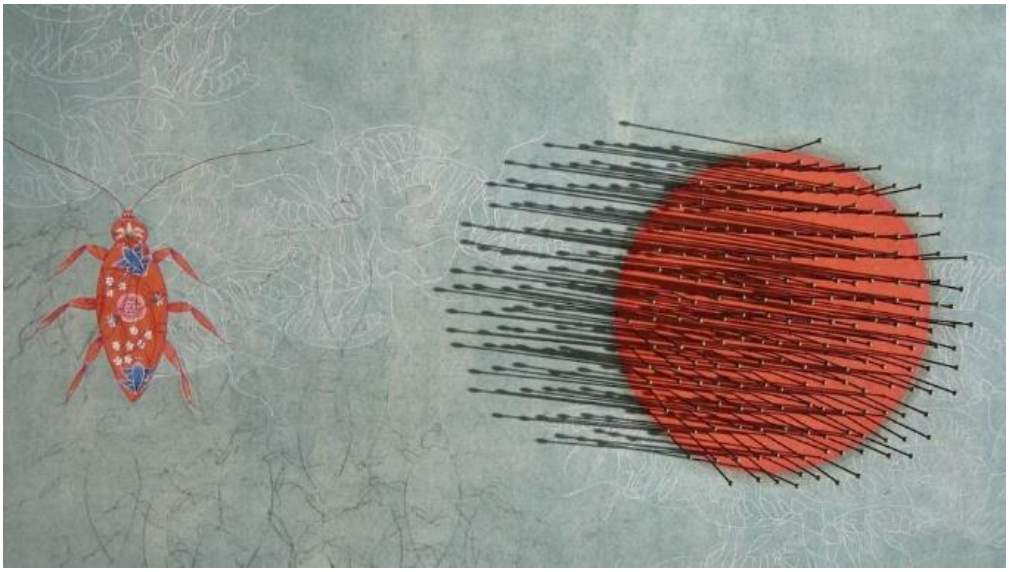


Figure 6.281: *'A Journey Unfinished'* by Tazeen Qayyum, 2008. Watercolour and entomology pins. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/resizer/v2/UW4ANQ7QENF63OA2TCUZBMSDRE?auth=c932f732e6a4689ed3c126ab3a211620dd35a1a525f91604e88dfe4e05d7f33f&width=1200&quality=80

In 2016, a lethal and destructive assault was executed in Gulshan-e-Iqbal Park, where innocent families and children were deliberately targeted by a Taliban insurgent group that claimed responsibility for the incident. A mural named *'Wall of Tolerance'* was created by young artists, Ali Mehdi Zaidi and Rohama Malik, to condemn the attack and instil a sense of hope and resilience among the affected families (Fig. 6.282 & 6.283).



Figure 6.282 and 6.283: *'Wall of Tolerance'* at Gulshan-e-Iqbal Park, 2016. https://i.tribune.com.pk/media/images/1078546-lahorecover-1459760548/1078546-lahorecover-1459760548.jpg

Hazara Conflicts

In Quetta, Afghan Hazara, particularly the Shia Muslim minority has faced immense discrimination, injustice and security threats over the years. However, the situation in Pakistan deteriorated after the military rule and the onset of the Soviet Afghan War. These factors led to increased turmoil and extremism in the region. The primary cause for their persecution is

predominantly their religious affiliation, with their ethnicity playing a secondary role. The Hazara people predominantly adhere to the Shia sect of Islam, residing in a territory predominantly influenced by the Sunni sect of Islam. They are systematically targeted and executed by extremist groups in the area. Artists from the Hazara community have voiced their protests against the unjust and unlawful discrimination for their community and condemn the systematic genocide they are facing. Most of them have been personally impacted, as their families have been murdered in terrorist strikes over the years. One artist has requested for anonymity of his identity due to security reasons but has powerfully portrayed different incidents giving a detail account of the events similar to photographs (Fig. 6.284 to 6.289).

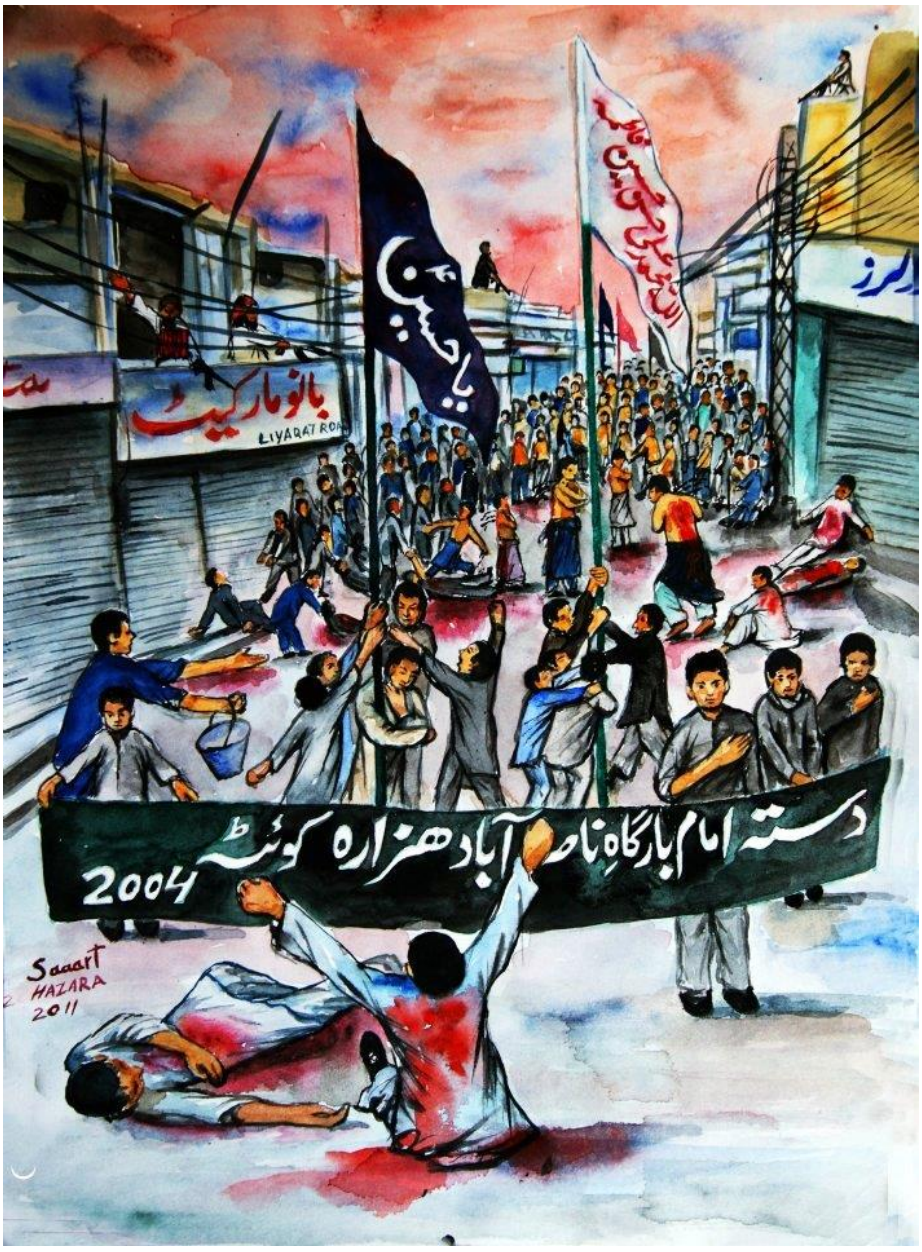


Figure 6.284: 80 Hazaras were killed on March 2, 2004, when a group of suicide bombers attacked religious procession on Ashura in Quetta.
https://hazaranewspakistan.wordpress.com/2012/04/14/hazara-genocide-portrayed-in-arts/



Figure 6.285: Over 60 Hazaras were killed on July 04, 2003, when suicide bombers attacked Hazara *Imam Bargah* (religious mosque) in Quetta.
https://hazaranewspakistan.wordpress.com/2012/04/14/hazara-genocide-portrayed-in-arts/



Figure 6.286: Attack on shoe-maker shop.
https://hazaranewspakistan.wordpress.com/2012/04/14/hazara-genocide-portrayed-in-arts/

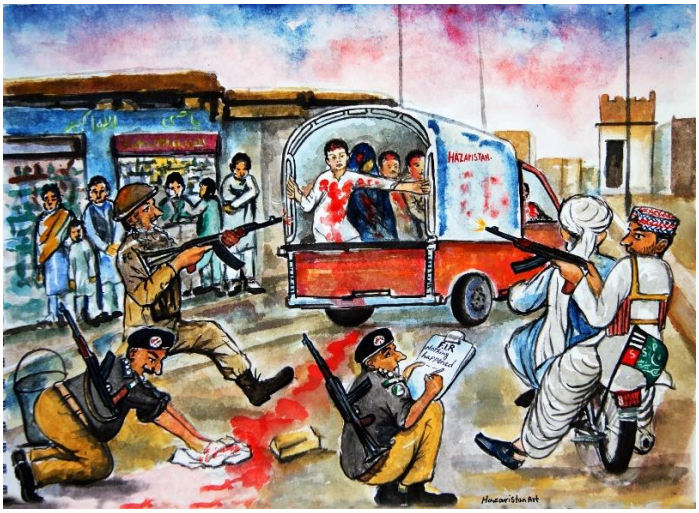


Figure 6.287: Attack on a passenger van killing 10 on Thursday, March 29, 2011.
https://hazaranewspakistan.wordpress.com/2012/04/14/hazara-genocide-portrayed-in-arts/

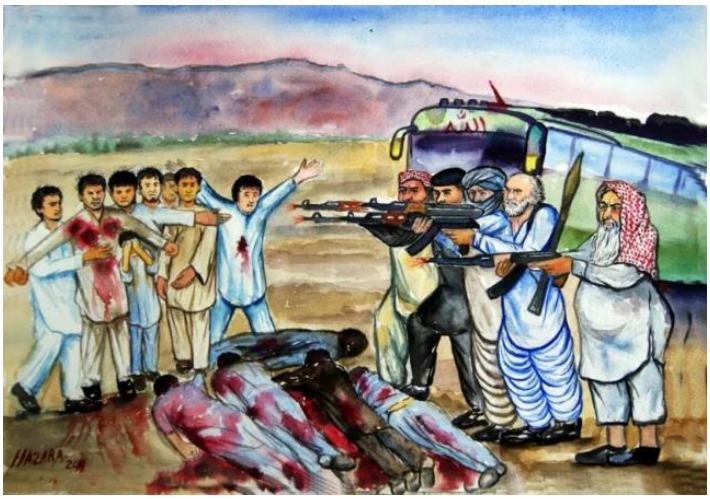


Figure 6.288: On September 20, 2011, 26 Hazara were taken out of a bus and slaughtered in Mastung.
https://hazaranewspakistan.wordpress.com/2012/04/14/hazara-genocide-portrayed-in-arts/

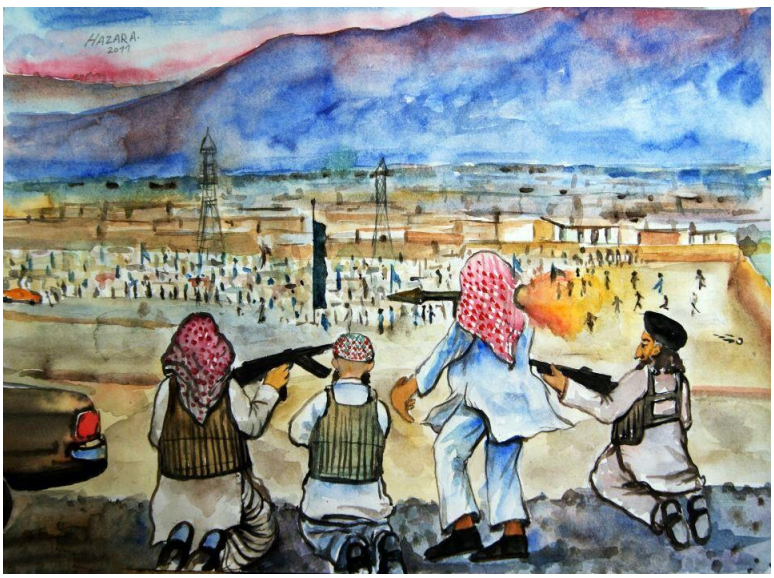


Figure 6.289: 8 Hazaras were killed on May 04, 2011, when armed men opened fire with rocket launched on a graveyard in Hazara Town, Quetta.
https://hazaranewspakistan.wordpress.com/2012/04/14/hazara-genocide-portrayed-in-arts/

Ramzan Jafri originally a miniature artist, has unfortunate experiences of tragic loss of his family members due to a suicide bomb strike in Quetta. He has also served as a volunteer for the ambulance service in Quetta in the years after the 9/11/2001 attacks. Frequently, Jafri was assigned the responsibility of transporting the wounded and deceased to hospitals following bomb attacks in Quetta. Additionally, he undertakes the chore of preparing their remains for burial. The profound influence of these services is plainly shown in his artwork. He has shown woven tapestries torn out, just like limbs and different body parts scattered on the ground after the blasts (Fig. 6.290 to 6.292).



Figure 6.290: *'Gull Gu Qaba'* by Ramzan Jafri, 2013. Mixed media on Wasli.
https://parsejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Fig.-15.jpg

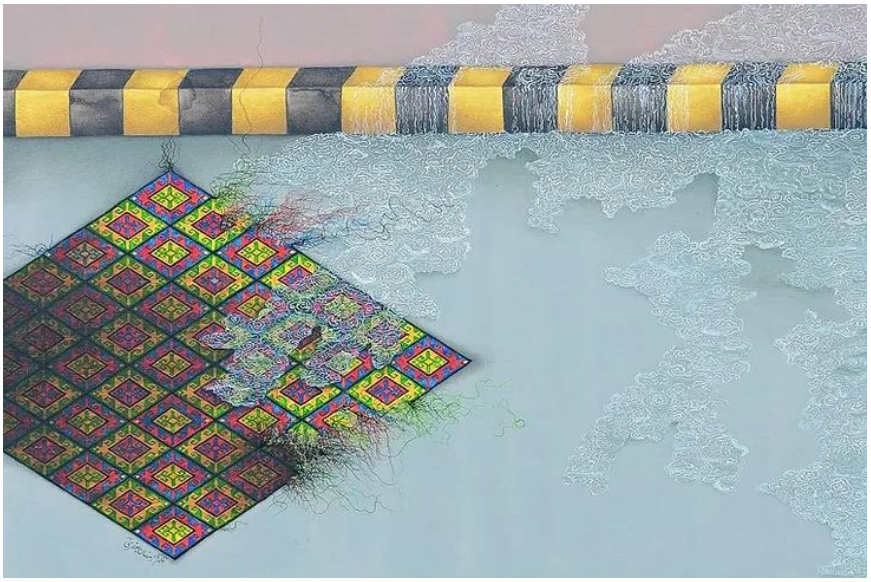


Figure 6.291: *'Untitled'* by Ramzan Jafri, 2013. Gouache on Wasli.
https://static.wixstatic.com/media/7f6890_ae0ba2c3bb4f47fba885d1636951971e.jpg/v1/fill/w_732,h_486,al_c,q_80,usm_0.66_1.00_0.01,enc_auto/7f6890_ae0ba2c3bb4f47fba885d1636951971e.jpg



Figure 6.292: *'Untitled'* by Ramzan Jafri, 2014. Gouache and mix media on Wasli. https://parsejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Fig.-16.jpg

In 2013, following a bomb blast in Quetta that resulted in the death of 100 Shia members, the Hazara mourners chose not to proceed with the burial of their deceased and demanded justice. Meher Afroz, profoundly impacted by the incident, participated in the demonstrations following the event. During one of the protests, which took place at Karachi's Teen Talwar, a young Hazara protester was seen holding a placard that read "I am a Hazara." The phrase "Am I next?" served as inspiration for Meher, prompting her to include a 'bow and arrow' symbol from one of the posters into her artwork. This series employs the use of pattern and decoration to effectively communicate the harshness and irrationality of violence. The artworks are devoid of figures and possess a captivating blend of oceanic hues and a dynamic texture (Fig. 6.293).



Figure 6.293: *'Main Hazara Hoon II'* by Mehr Afroz, 2014. Acrylic and silver on canvas. https://thekarachicollective.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Main-Hazara-Hoon-II-45x91cm-acrylic-and-silver-on-canvas-2014.jpg

Khadim Ali[291] also belongs to this marginalized minority and his artistic practice revolves around the subject matter of oppression, displacement, and genocide of Hazarans. His parents were injured in a bomb blast and as a child he has witnessed the discrimination due to his religious sect and ethnicity. Later he depicted that blast scene in his 'Home Series' woven carpet. (Fig.8.2.93) Ali's work draws inspiration from the symbols of ancient folktales and demons of 'Shahnameh', incorporated with traditions of carpet weaving which he inherited from his family. He has also infused the silhouettes of war machinery and artillery in his work. Ali creates a connection between his own history, the tragic Hazara history, and the enduring feelings of displacement, loss, and melancholy (Fig. 6.294 to Fig. 6.302).



Figure 6.294: *'Untitled 3 (The War carpet)'* from *Home series* by Khadim Ali, 2021. Synthetic wool. https://asianartnewspaper.com/khadim-ali-tapestry-tales/#

[291] Khadim Ali was born in 1978 in Quetta, Pakistan, as an Afghan refugee. His family, belonging to the Hazara minority, fled Afghanistan to escape Taliban persecution. From 1998-99, he studied mural painting and calligraphy in Tehran, Iran. He earned a BFA at the National College of Arts, Lahore, Pakistan (2003), where he studied traditional miniature painting. Ali moved to Sydney in 2010 and earned an MFA at the College of Fine Arts, University of New South Wales (2012).



Figure 6.295: *'Invisible Border I'* (detail) by Khadim Ali, 2020. Hand and machine embroidered, stitched and dye ink on fabric. Collection: Kiran Nadar Museum of Art.
https://files.ocula.com/anzax/15/15b16de1-0a75-4552-ac91-91c91e3c8890_1500_998.jpg



Figure 6.296: *'Invisible Border I'* (detail) by Khadim Ali, 2020. Hand and machine embroidered, stitched and dye ink on fabric. Collection: Kiran Nadar Museum of Art.
https://files.ocula.com/anzax/Content/Conversations/2021/Khadim%20Ali/Invisible-Border-I2_1440_0.jpg



Figure 6.297: *'Sermon on the Mount*' by Khadim Ali, 2020. Linen, cotton, nylon, natural dye, synthetic dye, acrylic paint, hand and machine embroidery, appliqué. Collection: National Gallery of Australia.
https://www.artshub.com.au/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2021/05/Sermon2.jpg



Figure 6.298 and 6.299: *'Untitled 1'*, Detail and full view of the tapestry from *home series* by Khadim Ali.
Figure: https://asianartnewspaper.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/1-Untitled-1-Home-Series-Khadim-Ali-DETAIL.jpg
https://asianartnewspaper.com/khadim-ali-tapestry-tales/#



Figure 6.300: *Untitled* from *'Evacuations / Transitions'* series by Khadim Ali, 2014. Watercolour, ink, gouache and gold leaf on Wasli paper.
https://artistprofile.com.au/wp-content/gallery/khadim-ali/web_gallery5.jpg

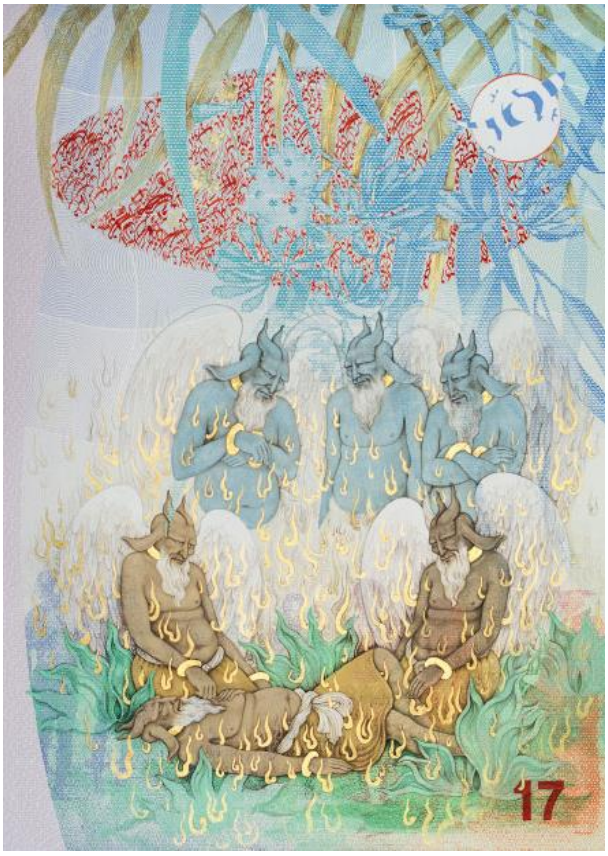


Figure 6.301: *'The Arrivals #4'* by Khadim Ali, 2016. Inkjet, gouache, gold leaf on Hahnemuhle paper.
https://artistprofile.com.au/wp-content/gallery/khadim-ali/web_gallery4.jpg



Figure 6.302: *Untitled,* from *'The Arrivals'* series, 2017, gouache and gold leaf on Wasli paper, https://artistprofile.com.au/wp-content/gallery/khadim-ali/web_gallery.jpg

Other Events during Early Century and their Artistic Discourse

In addition to the ongoing war on terror, many other sociopolitical events transpired in the 21st century, and the artistic community expressed their responses to these events via their artworks. Saira Waseem showed her admiration for renowned singer and legendry artist Noor Jahan. She paid tribute to her by representing her as a Queen of Music and melodies and encapsulated different phases of her life in one miniature (Fig. 6.303 & Fig. 6.304).



Figure 6.303: *'Noor Jahan 2'* by Saira Waseem, 2001. Gold and Gouache on Wasli. https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/62.JPG



Figure 6.304: *'NoorJahan 1'* by Saira Waseem, 2000. Gouache on Wasli.
https://www.sairawasim.com/images/big/61.JPG

Following the 2005 earthquake, Zubaida Javaid expressed her concern on the extensive damages caused by this natural disaster and demonstrated her support for the affected families (Fig. 6.305).



Figure 6.305: *'Earthquake'* by Zubaida Javed, 2005. Oil on canvas.
https://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/Jamal/PDF/8_v1_2012.pdf

A. R. Nagori and Ijaz ul Hassan both produced artworks driven by the lawyers' protest movement. Lawyers participating in peaceful protests were subjected to police brutality,

including the use of tear gas and '*lathi charge*' (stick beat-up). Both painters skilfully captured these scenes to expose the atrocities caused during Musharraf's regime (Fig. 6.306 to 6.308).

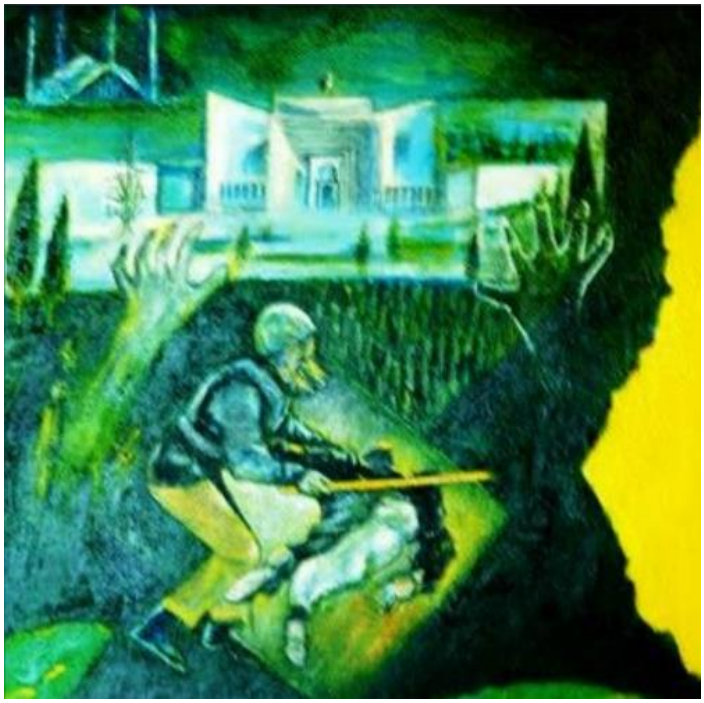


Figure 6.306: *'Supreme Sacrifice'* by A. R. Nagori. Oil on canvas.
https://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/bazyaft/PDF/03_Eng31_2017.pdf



Figure 6.307: *'Scuffle'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2012. Oil on canvas.
https://www.artleove.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/F.13.-Mian-Ijaz-ul-Hassan-Scuffle-2012-oil-on-canvas-Personal-collection.jpg.webp



Figure 6.308: *'Bloody Landscape'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2008.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryvii/full/010.jpg

In addition, Nagori expressed his satire on legislative matters, parliamentary corruption and ineffectiveness by showing these government buildings in the background of his paintings. Through his work he exhibited a sense of disappointment with the governance (Fig. 6.309, 6.310).

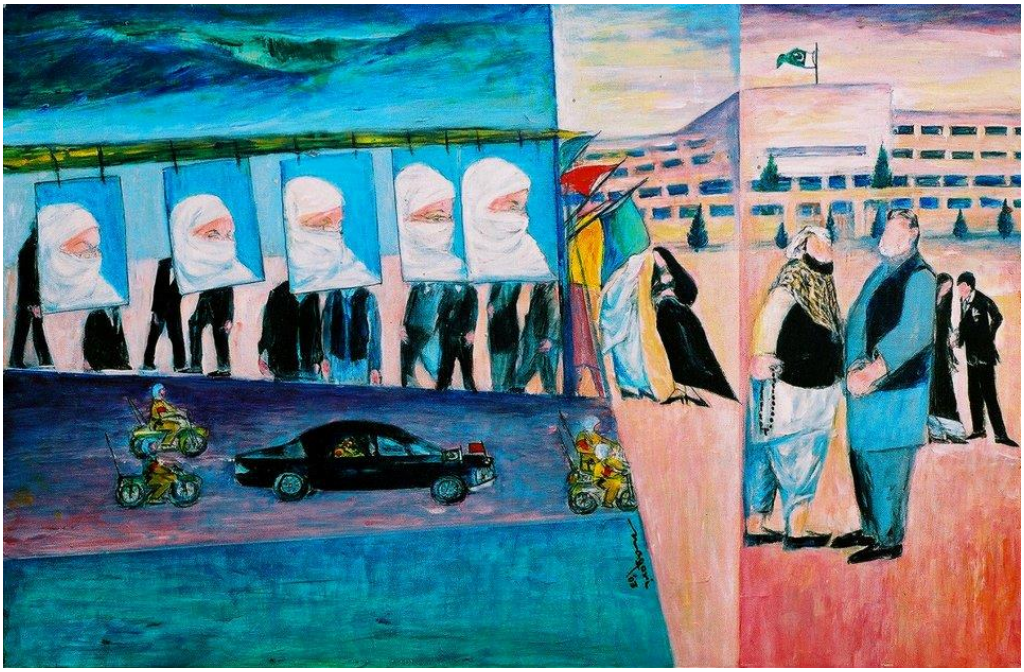


Figure 6.309: *'Women Parliamentarian'* by A. R. Nagori.
https://www.youlinmagazine.com/articles/2758-3.jpg



Figure 6.310: *'Assembly Series'* by A. R. Nagori.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/rna4.jpg

Being a socially conscious artist Ijaz ul Hassan had created various artworks depicting the bloody scenes, cries and depressing shrieks caused by various incidents like police retaliation, protests or bomb blasts (Fig. 6.311 & Fig. 6.312). In his symbolic artwork *'Fall'* he showed the deterioration of human values and mankind (Fig. 6.313).

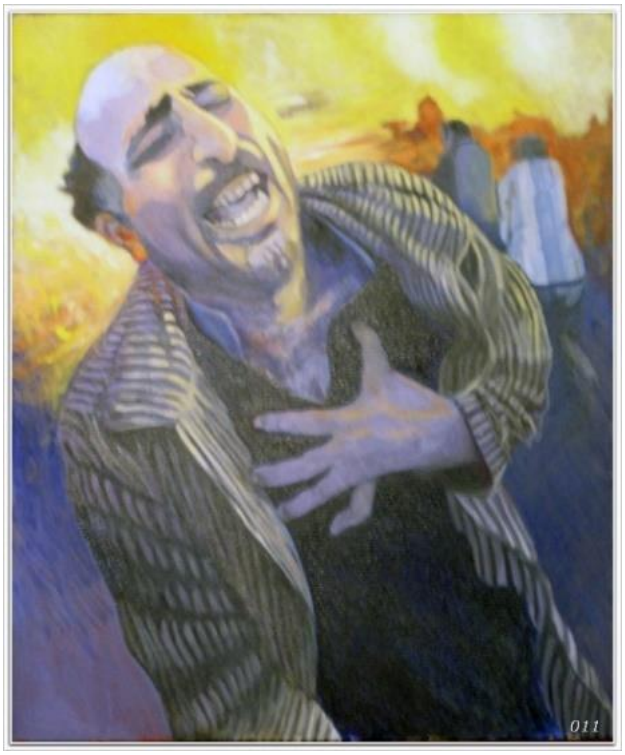


Figure 6.311: *'Lamentation 1'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2003.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryvii/full/006.jpg



Figure 6.312: *'Lamentation II'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2003. Oil on Canvas.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryvii/full/Lamentation-II,%202003,%20Oil%20on%20Canvas%2060x36,%20Artist's%20collection.jpg

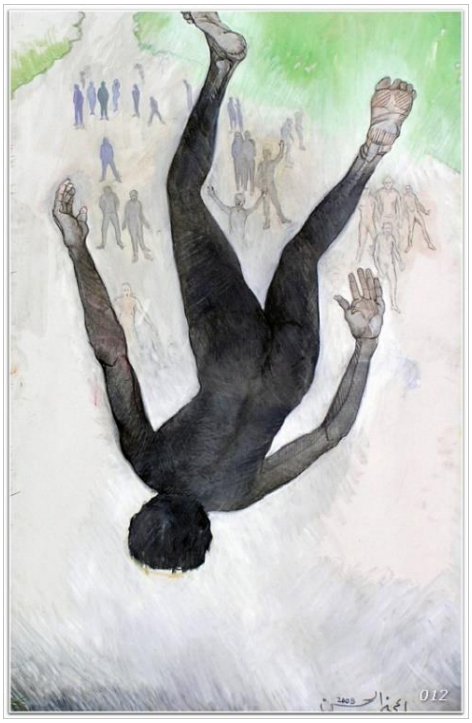


Figure 6.313: *'Fall'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2005. Oil on Canvas.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryvii/full/007.jpg

The melancholic event of 'Lal Masjid' was masterfully depicted by A. R Nagori, who effectively utilized dark blue hues and simplified images of important buildings in the background. In his work Nagori symbolize the terrifying nature of the events that were about to unfold with the pupils of that *madrassa* (religious institute with mosque) (Fig. 6.314).

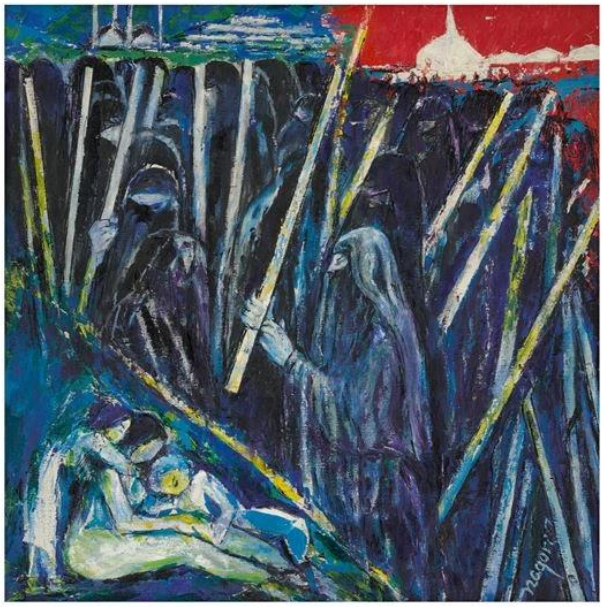


Figure 6.314*: 'Lal masjid Horrors'* by A. R. Nagori, 2007. Oil on canvas.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_02/12/10/105151470/b36e8c75-5626-4657-bce0-c9940d98d454_570.Jpeg

The assassination of Benazir Bhutto marked a crucial moment in Pakistani politics. She was widely admired by many people. Ijaz ul Hassan created a custom painting for her family (Fig. 6.315), as well as other works depicting the leader's powerful and poignant personality (Fig. 6.316). In another painting, the final moments of Bhutto's life were truly captured as she collapsed on the ground. With dark shades of red and shakiness of the images Hassan created an atmosphere, as the time has come to a stand-still and everything has stopped as soon as she fell on ground (Fig. 6.317). Mehboob Ali and various fresh graduates have also paid tribute to her on her death anniversary (Fig. 6.318 to 6.320).

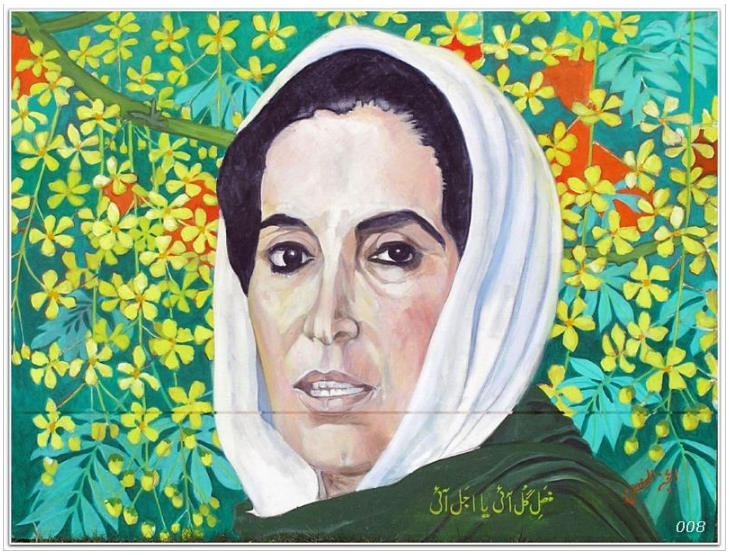


Figure 6.315: *'Fasal-e-gul ayee ya ajal ayee'* (Is it Death or Hope for Spring) by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2008.
Oil on Canvas. Collection: Asif Ali Zardari.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryvii/full/004.jpg



Figure 6.316: *'Portrait of Benazir Bhutto'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2009.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryvii/thumbs/005.jpg



Figure 6.317: *'The Last Moments'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2009. Oil on Canvas.
https://ijazulhassan.com/Galleryvii/thumbs/40.jpg



Figure 6.318: *'Benazir Bhutto'* by Mehboob Ali, 2007.
Source: Five Decades of Mehboob Ali.



Figure 6.319: *'Untitled'* by Hira Siddique, 2016.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2016/09/57d46e273fc67.jpg



Figure 6.320: *'Portrait of Benazir Bhutto'* by Hamda Farooq.
https://www.instagram.com/hamdafarooq/p/CYofF0-Jfcw/

The Flood of 2010 had a significant impact on the nation, although it is astonishing to observe the absence of any artistic representation of this event by renowned artists. However, young artists from Karachi raised funds for the flood affected people by selling their artworks. In this digital age, digital posters depicted the destruction caused by the floods in Pakistan (Fig. 6.321 & Fig. 6.322).

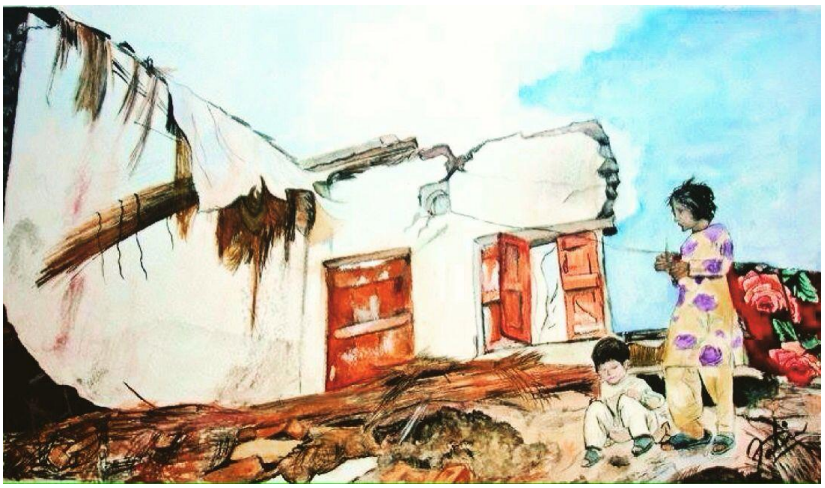


Figure 6.321: *'Floods 2010.'* Artist unknown.
https://i.pinimg.com/originals/3e/6a/41/3e6a41f4e6d5c5c089c3fec3a4277742.jpg



Figure 6.322: *Illustration on Flood 2010*. Studio Miko and Luke Brooks. https://www.gavi.org/sites/default/files/vaccineswork/2022/Thumbnail/LB_PakFloodingMIKO_Final_Panel_1_h2.jpg

In short, the social and political climate in Pakistan had a significant impact on the artistic discourse of the 1990s and 2000s, resulting in many radical stylistic shifts. Artists community was deeply affected by the instability and expressed their concerns via their artistic practices, regardless of the medium they employed.

6.4 Socio-Political Events of Pakistan During 2011 to 2024 and its Artistic Discourse

After Benazir's tragic assassination and winning the elections in 2008, Zardari assumed the presidency and placed a strong emphasis on the policy of reconciliation as opposed to retaliation, calling it the '*nazaria'* (ideology) of *Shaheed* Bibi. This period was full of challenges, a upheaval that was characterized by financial strains, security concerns, and tensions.

Main achievement of Zardari's government was his support to the federation and he established stability in Pakistan's democratic system. The 18th Amendment, which restricted the president's ability to dissolve Parliament, was approved, indicating a dedication to constitutional reforms. It reinstated the parliamentary system of government. He implemented various initiatives to enhance the unity of the country, such as the "Fata and Balochistan reforms, the National Finance Commission Award, and the Gilgit-Baltistan autonomy". Therefore, the minorities were more content than they were under the previous dictatorship. The dissatisfaction of the Baloch populace and the instability in the province, primarily precipitated by Nawab Bugti's assassination during Musharraf's regime, began to subside. The Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) was among the significant policy

initiatives that were implemented during his presidency (Fig 6.323). The parliament achieved a milestone in legislation, rights-based laws were passed, while establishing an independent judiciary and election commission.[292]



Figure 6.323: *Waseela-e-Haq* Cheques Distribution Ceremony under BISP, 2012.
https://i.brecorder.com/images/pic2012/08/bisp.jpg

Over these years, few other significant events occurred. On January 4th, 2011, Salman Taseer, the governor of Punjab was murdered by his guard Mumtaz Qadri (Fig. 6.324). Qadri claimed that it was his religious obligation to murder Taseer because he was against the Blasphemy law and supported liberal reforms. Mumtaz Qadri was praised as a hero by few groups, and several activists protested on streets when he was sentenced to death.

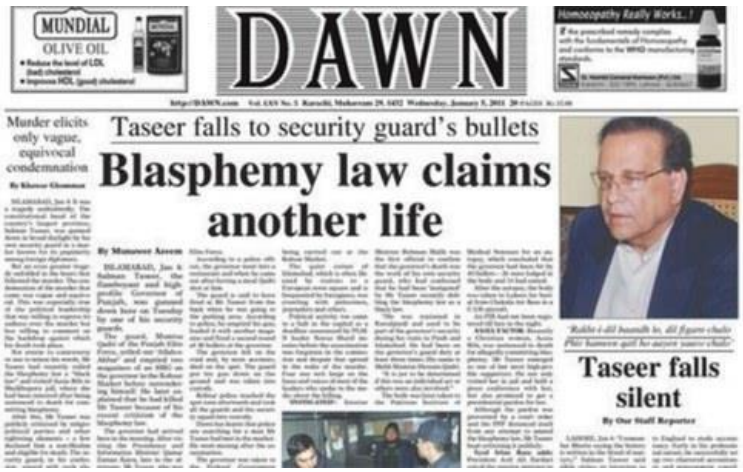

MUNDIAL
OLIVE OIL
DAWN
Homoeopathy Really Works..!
Murder elicits only vague, equivocal condemnation
Taseer falls to security guard's bullets
Blasphemy law claims another life
Taseer falls silent

Figure 6.324: *Dawn* Newspaper on January 4, 2011.
https://i.dawn.com/medium/2016/01/5689e1c0704ae.jpg

Pakistan experienced foreign interference on May 2, 2011, in Abbottabad. The US military conducted an undercover operation to locate and murder Osama bin Laden. Even after

[292] S. Akbar Zaidi, "Special Report: After the assassination 2008-2013," *Dawn*, December 2, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1374113

Bin Laden was killed, extremism continued to escalate throughout the region, and religious groups gained even more strength. Over the course of the following three years, several terror groups, most notably the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), carried out brutal operations and built strongholds in the tribal northwest region. In October 2012, the Taliban attempted to kill a 14-year-old girl, named Malala Yousafzai. She was targeted due to her criticism on the Islamic extremists and their assaults on girls education. Malala got gunshots on her head and neck while she was with her classmates on a school bus going back home after school, in Mingora. However, she was shifted abroad for her treatment and finally recovered (Fig. 6.325).



Figure 6.325: University Hospitals Birmingham NHS Foundation Trust, 2013.
https://api.time.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/25.jpg?quality=85&w=1920

All these incidents occurred during Zardari's term; nevertheless, he was not accused of any of these attacks. He became the first president who completed his constitution tenure and handed over his duties to the next democratically elected president. On the other hand, analysts view his five-year tenure as a time characterised by widespread corruption, poor governance, economic collapse, favouritism, excessive promises but minimal action, falsehoods, and a lack of understanding of the actual situation on the ground.[293]

Year 2013 was the year of election in Pakistan. First time in Pakistan's history a political party had completed its tenure. The election environment was tense due to violence and frequent bomb blasts. According to a report published in Dawn, during the 40-day period leading up to the polling on May 11, 2013, the country experienced 128 terrorist incidents, making an average of nearly three attacks per day. The Taliban mostly claimed responsibility for these attacks, specifically targeting the secular political parties such as the PPP, ANP, and MQM.[294] Nevertheless, on election day the total turnout of voters was quite high, which can be readily perceived as an indication towards increasing assurance among voters in the

[293] Ashraf Mumtaz, "The Gains and Pains of Zardari Regime," *The Nation*, July 26, 2013, https://www.nation.com.pk/26-Jul-2013/the-gains-and-pains-of-zardari-s-regime
[294] Tahir Mehdi, "Election 2013 — between hope and despair," *Dawn*, June 27, 2018, https://www.dawn.com/news/1416389

democratic system. PML-N won most of the seats but was unable to form a government with full majority. PPP formed government in Sindh and PTI for the first time formed government in KPK.



Figure 6.326: Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressing the Nation, August 6, 2013.
https://i.tribune.com.pk/media/images/592284-nawazadressnation-1376931874/592284-nawazadressnation-1376931874.jpg

After holding the office for the third time in 2013, Nawaz Sharif made a commitment to transform Pakistan into an "Asian tiger" by implementing new infrastructure and establishing a government that strictly opposed corruption (Fig. 6.326).[295] He further added that Pakistan is currently dealing with intense issues like terrorism and the worst type of load shedding, which has crippled the nation's economy. The Sharif government also supported a Pakistan Rangers-led action in Karachi to deal with crime and terrorism.

Unfortunately, right from the start he faced obstacles. He encountered a six-month obstruction of Islamabad by Imran Khan's PTI party, who accused him of electoral manipulation (Fig. 6.327 & Fig. 6.328). According to I. A. Rehman a new variant of the *dharna*, (sit-inn) known as the 'container dharna,' emerged in Pakistan.[296] The dharnas, led by Qadri and Khan in 2014, established a record in Pakistan for the longest and most sustained protests, which were later called off due to a terrorist attack on Army Public School. Public allegations were made that the blockade was initiated by certain individuals inside the military's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency, who favoured Imran Khan. Analysts speculated that the military establishment aimed to exert pressure on Nawaz to hinder his efforts to enhance trade

[295] News Desk, "PM's address to the nation: Nawaz Sharif dreams to make Pakistan an 'Asian Tiger'" *Express Tribune,* August 19, 2013, https://tribune.com.pk/story/592284/pms-address-to-the-nation-nawaz-sharif-dreams-to-make-pakistan-an-asian-tiger
[296] I.A Rehman, "Year of the Dharna," *Dawn,* January 1, 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1154293

relations with India, and China.[297] Due to these anti-government protests Chinese president also postponed his first state visit to Pakistan.



Figure 6.327: Picture of rally led by Imran Khan towards zero point in Islamabad.
https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/976/mcs/media/images/76947000/jpg/_76947135_76947134.jpg



Figure 6.328: Tahir Ul Qadri and Imran Khan address supporters in Islamabad, 2014.
https://i.dawn.com/large/2014/09/5427aea64c1b2.jpg

On December 16, 2014, the nation was profoundly shaken by a highly lethal terrorist attack at Peshawar Army Public School (Fig. 6.329) as mentioned earlier. The "*Tehreek-Taliban*" (TTP) took the responsibility and broadcasted a video asserting accountability for the incident and alerting of subsequent incidents. They gained access to the school and commenced shooting, resulting in the tragic deaths of 149 individuals, including 132 students, staff members and the principal. In response, the military initiated a rescue mission executed by the Special Services Group (SSG) elite forces of the Pakistan Army, resulting in the elimination of all six terrorists and the successful rescue of 960 individuals. Later, the government

[297] Rehman, "Year of Dharna."

implemented the National Action Plan as a long-term strategy to combat terrorism. A three-day national mourning was declared to show solidarity with the families of the martyrs, who lost their children in the heinous attack and this day was marked as ‘Black Day’ in Pakistan’s history.



Figure 6.329: Army Public School Attack, 2014. https://www.aljazeera.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/cf25d3898a76444b9fd85f9f51da89f7_18.jpeg?resize=770%2C513&quality=80

During his tenure Nawaz tried to revitalised Pakistan's economy and concluded numerous infrastructure and energy projects that had been delayed for a long time. But there was weak advancement of human development projects, a significant decrease in exports, the emergence of twin deficits in the budget and external accounts, an escalating public debt, and a lack of transparency in financial affairs. His major achievement is an on-going project with Chinese government named ‘China-Pakistan Economic Corridor’ (CPEC). It was officially initiated on April 20, 2015, by Nawaz Sharif and Chinese President Xi Jinping. The objective of the CPEC is twofold: to revamp Pakistan's economy by upgrading its road, rail, air, and energy transportation infrastructure, and to provide overland routes connecting the deep-sea ports of Gwadar and Karachi in Pakistan to the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in China and other regions (Fig. 6.330).[298]

[298] “CPEC” https://www.pc.gov.pk/web/cpec

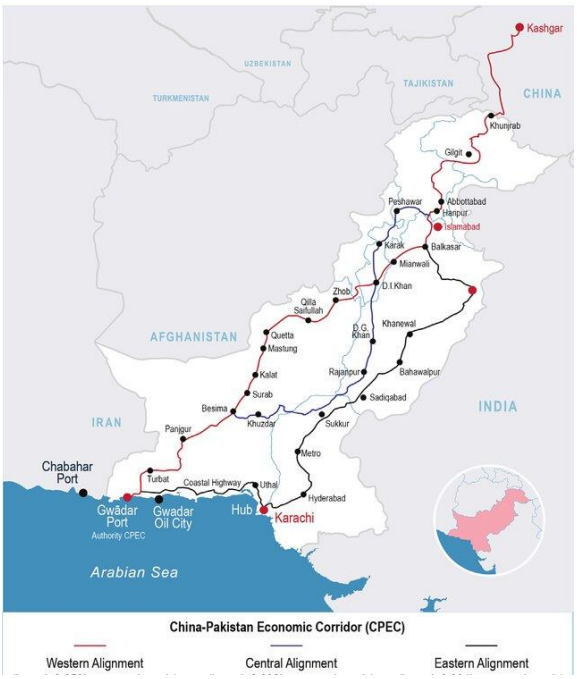


Figure 6.330: CPEC routes.
https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Eram-Ashraf/publication/343796661/figure/fig1/AS:927017721663491@1598029656900/The-three-main-routes-roads-of-CPEC_W640.jpg

Apart from the CPEC project, the 'Panama Papers' were the decisive factor that had a significant impact on Nawaz's regime. The disclosure of 11 million documents maintained by the Panama-based legal firm 'Mossack Fonseca' revealed connections between numerous global political and business figures and offshore entities and financial holdings.[299] Notably, the family of Nawaz Sharif was also implicated in this revelation for having undeclared offshore companies and assets (Fig. 6.331).



Figure 6.331: Pakistani People involved in Panama Scandal.
https://propakistani.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/panama.jpg

[299] M Ilyas Khan, "Panama Papers: Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif to face investigators," *BBC News*, April 20, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-36092356

Consequently, the Pakistani Supreme Court issued a directive for a comprehensive inquiry into the financial matters of the Nawaz family. This investigation was conducted jointly by both civilian and military investigative agencies. The Supreme Court in its ruling directed the ECP (Election Commission of Pakistan) to remove the Prime Minister from office because he had failed to disclose his involvement in a Dubai-based company in his nomination papers. The court determined that this omission demonstrated a lack of 'honesty and truthfulness' on his part.[300] The decision abruptly terminated Sharif's third term as prime minister, just one year before the planned general elections.

After the court's decision and disqualification of Nawaz by-elections were conducted on the vacant seat, which was won by Kalsoom Nawaz, the wife of Nawaz Sharif. She was later diagnosed with cancer and moved to London for her treatment. Nawaz was removed from party headship and Shabaz Sharif, his brother, was elected unopposed as PML-N's new president and Nawaz was declared 'the Quaid (leader) for life.' Nawaz, his daughter Mariam Nawaz and other family members faced various cases, court trails and were sentenced to jail but were later granted bails.

While this upheaval in political scenario continued, a sad incident occurred i.e. demise of Abdul Sattar Edhi[301] on July 8th, 2016, in Karachi. He was the first Pakistani civilian to receive military honour and 19-gun salute before his burial. President and army chief attended the state funeral in National Stadium Karachi (Fig. 6.332). Edhi had established the 'Edhi Foundation,' a non-governmental organisation that helped orphans and homeless individuals for over six decades. His slogan, "humanity is the largest religion", became very famous across the country. He was recognised all over the world for his simplicity and selfless dedication for his work for humanity.

[300] Hashim Cheema, "How Pakistan's Panama Papers probe unfolded," *Dawn*, July 6, 2018, https://www.dawn.com/news/1316531

[301] Abdul Sattar Edhi (February 1928 – 8 July 2016) was a Pakistani humanitarian, philanthropist and ascetic who founded the Edhi Foundation, which runs the world's largest ambulance network, along with homeless shelters, animal shelters, rehabilitation centres, and orphanages across Pakistan. Edhi's charitable activities expanded greatly in 1957 when an Asian flu epidemic originating in China swept through Pakistan and the rest of the world. Following his death, his son Faisal Edhi took over as head of the Edhi Foundation.



Figure 6.332: Funeral of Abdul Sattar Edhi at Karachi's National Stadium, 2016.
https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/976/cpsprodpb/5270/production/_90340112_67f3e5b5-78f7-4ac2-ad43-b1c1ac269371.jpg.webp

Though the death of Edhi was a sad incident but the unfortunate killing of Zainab caused outrage among the masses. It had a lasting impact on the nation leading to nationwide protests, demanding strict action against the criminal (Fig. 6.333). Zainab Ansari was seven years old and was brutally murdered after being raped in January 2018. Her body was found in a trash heap in Kasur which caused a national outcry that was felt all over the world. Everyone including her family members demanded structural change and fight for justice. Two years later, a child protection law known as "Zainab Alert Bill" was passed by the Pakistani government. It stipulates several modifications, such as a quicker police response to missing child complaints.



Figure 6.333: Justice for Zainab Rally.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2020/03/5e68ab924c674.jpg

Rise of Imran Khan and Kashmir's Lockdown

The fact that Pakistan has a history of witnessing political instability, economic turbulence, security threats, violence before elections, so it was not surprising to see the same situation before the 2018 elections. Despite encountering conflicts and charges of mismanagement, a significant number of Pakistanis showed resilience and determination by participating in the General Elections held on July 25, 2018. The Election Commission of Pakistan announced the victory of Imran Khan. However, his party did not secure enough seats to achieve an absolute majority and thus needed to establish a coalition government. Most of the primary opposing parties accused the elections of being rigged and manipulated in favour of Imran Khan by the Army, but these claims were dismissed by the ECP (Fig. 6.334).



Figure 6.334: Imran Khan Victory Speech after polling.
https://i.dawn.com/large/2018/07/5b59fb84d5bcf.jpg

PTI made ambitious commitments, encompassing a wide range of policy reforms and initiatives in various areas such as the economy, environment, security, and society. Khan claimed that he was going to run Pakistan in a way as it had never been run before. Labourer and poor class will be elevated, and new laws will be made to eradicate corruption and rules will be the same for everybody.[302] These promises indicated significant transformations in the fundamental structure of the Pakistani state, symbolising the arrival of a new Pakistan, known as '*Naya Pakistan.'*

Soon after coming in power Khan's government was met with a challenge regarding Kashmir in 2019. The Indian government led by Modi abrogated the Article 370, divided

[302] News Correspondent, "Pakistan elections 2018: All the latest updates," *Aljazeera*, July 27, 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/7/27/pakistan-elections-2018-all-the-latest-updates

Kashmir into two separate territories, namely Jammu and Kashmir in the western part and Ladakh in the eastern part. These regions are now under the direct governance of New Delhi. Kashmir's flag, criminal code, and constitution, which were protected under Article 370, were abolished.



Figure 6.335: Police confronting the protestor, 2019.
https://bpr.studentorg.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Police_in_Kashmir_confronting_violent_protestors_December_2018-1.jpg

Article 370 was implemented in October 1949 and had bestowed Kashmir with the authority to govern its internal affairs and create legislation in all areas except finance, defence, foreign affairs, and communications. Following the revocation of Article 370, Article 35A was also eliminated, thereby permitting those who are not from Kashmir to own property in the area. This has led to concerns that India is attempting to deliberately alter the population composition of the region, which is predominantly Muslim. A harsh curfew was imposed, communications and the internet were interrupted, and political leaders were arrested as India sent hundreds of extra troops to the occupied area. Pakistan's diplomatic relations with India further downgraded because of this decision, which has worsened the already elevated tensions between the two countries (Fig. 6.335).

After three years of his government, Imran Khan addressed about his performance, he highlighted the several difficulties that PTI encountered upon assuming power in August 2018. These issues included financial instability, poverty, and insufficient education and healthcare infrastructure. However, he stated that his administration has achieved some notable accomplishments, like billion tree project, *sehat* (health) card, and effectively addressing the Covid-19 crisis by its strategic implementation of a 'smart lockdown' approach. He

congratulated his team because Pakistan had been recognised by The Economist as the third-best country in terms of controlling the epidemic (Fig. 6.336).



Figure 6.336: Corona Virus patients in Hospital.
https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/1024/cpsprodpb/5EB1/production/_112714242_dcc85ccb-fbb8-4bf4-9f51-91c14a30afb4.jpg.webp

The Covid-19 pandemic had far-reaching effects on Pakistan, impacting virtually all aspects of life. Various waves and variants led to a significant loss of lives of public as well as doctors and nurses. Medical sector faced immense challenges due to lack of facilities like medical resources, hospital capacity, and healthcare staff. Covid-19 claimed many lives including of Abdul Qadeer Khan’s in October 2021. He was given state funeral at Faisal Mosque before burial in Islamabad.

Pakistan saw a substantial economic decline, with a contraction in GDP, risen inflation, and an increase in unemployment, especially in industries such as tourism, hospitality, and retail. From a social perspective, the pandemic caused significant disruptions in education, as schools and colleges were forced to close for prolonged periods, resulting in a transition to online learning for millions of students.

Despite Imran Khan's high declarations of his accomplishments throughout his tenure in government, it ended abruptly after the opposition successfully removed him through a ‘no-confidence vote’ on April 10th, 2022. Khan became the first prime minister in the history of Pakistan to be ousted through a parliamentary vote, though he loudly claimed that he was removed from power due to a "foreign conspiracy" and has persistently called for immediate

elections in the country. PTI announced organised protests nationwide and called its workers and supporter for a ‘true freedom march’ (Fig. 6.337).



Figure 6.337: PTI supporters carry out nationwide protests
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2022/04/625333615d86e.jpg

After the no-confidence vote Shehbaz Sharif became the Prime Minister of the house and at the same time PTI carried out a multitude of extensive protests and rallies claiming for lock down in Islamabad. Various accusations were directed towards army generals and the coalition parties of PDM (Pakistan Democratic Movement) for the unjust removal of Khan. In the mean while country was met with disastrous flood after the heavy monsoon rainfalls of 2022. The flood resulted in the displacement of approximately 50,000 individuals and the loss of at least 903 lives, according to the country's disaster agency.[303] People were rescued by soldiers, local disaster workers, and volunteers. Pakistan's economic crisis was n further exacerbated by these floods. Shehbaz Sharif issued an appeal from abroad, imploring philanthropists to assist flood-affected areas in Pakistan.

After multiple crackdowns and arrests of PTI followers and media persons, which caused a spectacle in the political arena, the final act concluded with the custody of Imran Khan. Pakistan had a widespread outbreak of violence on May 9, 2023, after this arrest. A significant number of aggressive people assaulted law enforcement personnel and burnt ambulances, police vehicles, educational institutions and Radio Pakistan building in Peshawar

[303] News correspondent, “Record monsoon rains wreak havoc across Pakistan,” *Aljazeera*, August 25, 2022, https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2022/8/25/photos-record-monsoon-rains-wreak-havoc-across-pakistan

(Fig. 6.338). The locations that were attacked also included the military headquarters in Rawalpindi as well as the residences of high-ranking military personnel in Lahore. After the confrontations, law enforcement agencies arrested numerous individuals affiliated with this party, on allegations of criminal offence, rioting, and assaulting government property. Those who were suspected of trespassing into highly restricted military facilities were subjected to trials in military courts. Furthermore, a significant number of individuals including females were prosecuted and they are still in custody.



Figure 6.338: Attack on Radio-Pakistan Peshawar, 9th May 2023.
https://ptv.com.pk/newsimages/May-03-2024-12.18.24_radio%20pakistan%20may9.jpg.

In October 2023, the government issued an ultimatum for "illegal immigrants" from across border to depart from Pakistan within 28 days. As per the governmental record, there is an estimated 1.73 million undocumented Afghans residing in the country. The government defended the plan to forcefully repatriate Afghans by asserting that they were implicated in many suicide bombing incidents in Pakistan in 2023.[304] According to a report in East Asia forum Pakistan encountered economic, political, and security crises in 2023 due to its persistent failure to implement significant structural reforms. The country was on the brink of default because of a severe decline in per capita income and record inflation, which necessitated a rescue loan from the International Monetary Fund.[305]

[304] Tirana Hassan, "Pakistan Events of 2023," *Human Rights Watch*, accessed July 11, 2024, https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2024/country-chapters/pakistan
[305] Micheal Kugelman, "Pakistan's worst-case-scenario year bodes ill for 2024," February 7, 2024, https://eastasiaforum.org/2024/02/07/pakistans-worst-case-scenario-year-bodes-ill-for-2024/

The year concluded with Khan not only imprisoned, but also his entire political party, was being marginalised. Only those who resign from party politics and condemn the act of violence on May 9th, 2023, were allowed to come out of the prison. Sharif repatriated to Pakistan in October 2023 after a period of four years in self-imposed exile. After two years of political unrest elections were scheduled in February 2024. The elections occurred during a tumultuous period in Pakistan's history, characterised by several problems such as economic recession, heightened tensions along its disputed borders, and an increase in militancy that has strained relations with neighbouring countries like Iran and Afghanistan.

The general elections of 2024 were the most controversial in the troubled political history of Pakistan. This is not the first time that it has been claimed that election results have been influenced by widespread manipulation or it is a theft of the people's mandate. None of the political parties won with a clear majority, although PTI backed independent candidates secured the highest number of seats but were unable to form government due to lack of alliance with any other party.

Shehbaz Sharif became the country’s next Prime Minister for a second term. Regardless of the party in power or the person serving as the head of the state, Pakistan remains afflicted by social and political upheavals for one reason or the other. Whether there is increase in prices, lack of education, or healthcare services, the people still face scarcity of basic facilities. The country's economic instability is characterised by a substantial number of foreign debts and significant inflation, which continues to persist. Despite all these challenges Pakistanis are still hopeful, striving for a better future and waiting for Quaid’s Pakistan.

Artistic Discourse of Socio-Political Events from 2011 to 2024

The year 2011 began with the unfortunate incident of Salman Taseer’s assassination. He was accused of violating the blasphemy law and supporting Asia Bibi, a Christian woman who was charged with violating the blasphemy law. The people who laid the groundwork of these laws are long gone, and what's left is a legacy of hatred, intolerance, and extremism that has spread like cancer through Pakistani society. Christian minority have been the target of violent mob attacks on multiple occasions. These mobs seize control of the law, accuse the victims, and punish them, sometimes even killing them. Though there are no specific paintings or artworks depicting these events, illustrator Faraz Aamer Khan who works for Dawn news,

has showed his concerns about the increase in these kinds of incidents and misinterpretation of this law by public (Fig. 6.339 & Fig. 6.340).



Figure 6.339: Illustration by Faraz Aamer Khan.
Figure: https://i.dawn.com/2012/10/290-blasphemy-law-faraz-aamer.jpg



Figure 6.340: Illustration by Faraz Aamer Khan.
https://i.dawn.com/2010/11/mg31.jpg

Salman Taseer was a great admirer and collector of Art; artist Saeed Akhter has portrayed him in his sketches. (Fig. 6.341).



Figure 6.341: *'Salman Taseer'* by Saeed Akhter.
https://i1.tribune.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/Salman-Taseer-courtesy-saeed-akhtar.jpg

Malala Yousafzai is also seen in some artworks as symbol of courage, tenacity and commitment. International artists have produced portraits, murals, and sculptures that depict her as a symbol of vigour and power in her fight against terrorism. Malala is frequently portrayed as a worldwide champion for the rights of girls education. She is frequently accompanied by vivid hues, literary materials like books and torch, and emblems of harmony and peace. Pakistani artist Shazia Sikander has depictes her looking into the distant with tremendous purpose and vision. She seems tough and resilient. More importantly, the people in the background reflect the challenges of Swat's children, as well as a life spent in the pursuit of knowledge, perseverance, and action (Fig. 6.342 & Fig. 6.343).



Figure 6.342: *'Malala Yousafzai'* (Detail) by Shazia Sikander.
https://miro.medium.com/v2/resize:fit:1100/format:webp/1*AvJztIakDGZ3NYyJoT_RIg.jpeg



Figure 6.343: *'Malala Yousafzai'* by Shazia Sikander.
https://miro.medium.com/v2/resize:fit:828/format:webp/1*O857_z9zC57PlzmRxnTUYA.gif

Army Public School Attack

After the tragic event at Army Public School in December 2014, the entire nation was profoundly shocked and in a state of awe. The artists community in Pakistan also responded to it as their social and moral obligation. To show solidarity with the children and their families an exhibition was organized titled, *"Massacre of Innocents"* at Alhamra Art Galleries Lahore, under the supervision of the Artists' Association of Punjab (AAP).

Renowned as well as young artists participated in the exhibition and conveyed the message that they stood with the nation and government in this fight against terrorism (Fig. 6.344 to Fig. 6.348).

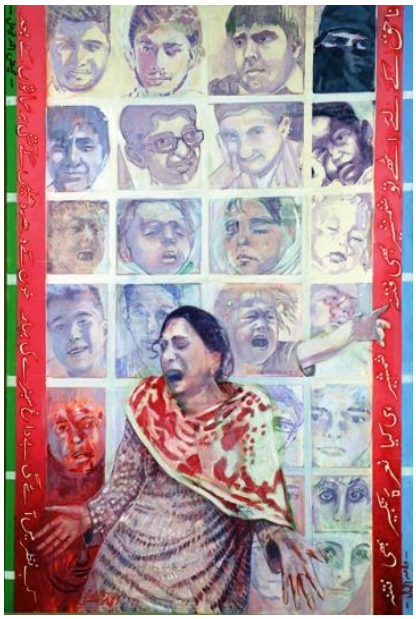


Figure 6.344: *'Massacre of Innocents'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2015.
https://ijazulhassan.com/CurrentWork/thumbs/005.jpg



Figure 6.345: *'Reaching Out'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2015.
https://ijazulhassan.com/CurrentWork/thumbs/009.jpg



Figure 6.346: *'Untitled'* by Rahat Naveed Masood, 2015.
https://artistsassociationpunjab.com/magazines/2015B/index.html



Figure 6.347: *'Let a Thousand Flower Bloom'* series by Ali Azmat.
https://paintersofpakistan.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/aaz25.jpg



Figure 6.348: *'Remembering Martyrs'* (Army Public School) by Mehboob Ali, 2015.
Source: Mehboob Ali: Five Decades of Excellence.

A mural was also painted with the combined efforts of 13 artists belonging to Lahore College for Women University, under the supervision of Musarrat Hasan (Fig. 6.349).



Figure 6.349: *'Massacre of Innocent'* (Mural Painting) Conceived and supervised by Dr. Musarrat Hassan.
https://artistsassociationpunjab.com/magazines/2015B/images/18.jpg

Abdul Sattar Edhi

Abdul Sattar Edhi is a symbol of humanity, generosity, and devotion towards mankind. As everyone grieves the loss of the nation's asset, there are numerous individuals who have found personal methods to honour the iconic figure. Pakistanis are making every effort to ensure that the memory of the greatest man who served the country remains alive and in the hearts of the people for ever. Several artists have expressed their admiration for Edhi by showcasing their affection through artworks on social media (Fig. 6.350 to Fig. 6.353).



Figure 6.350: *'Tribute to Abdul Sattar Edhi'* by Amina Ansari.
https://i1.tribune.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/edhi2-1.jpg

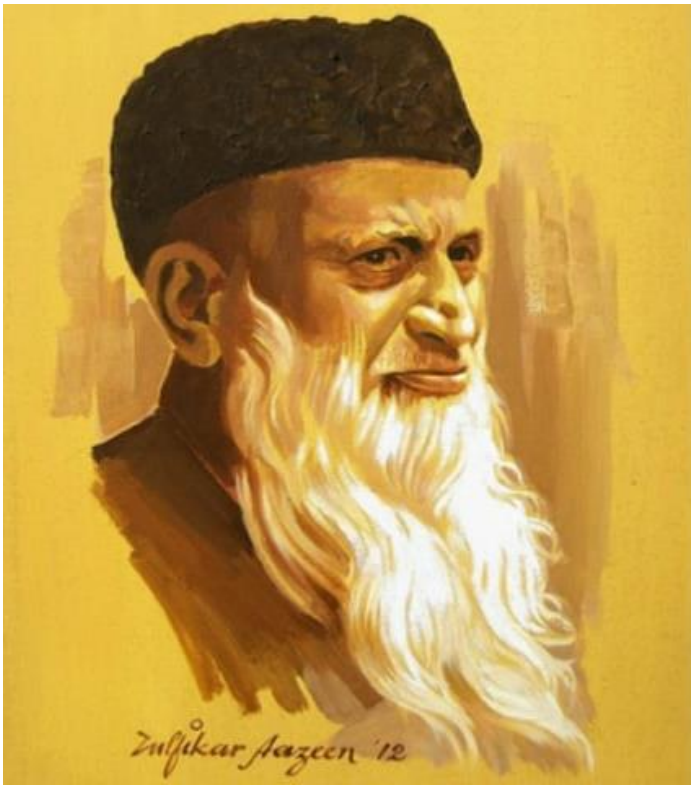


Figure 6.351: *'Portrait'* by Zulfiqar Azeen.
https://i1.tribune.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/edhi-1.jpg

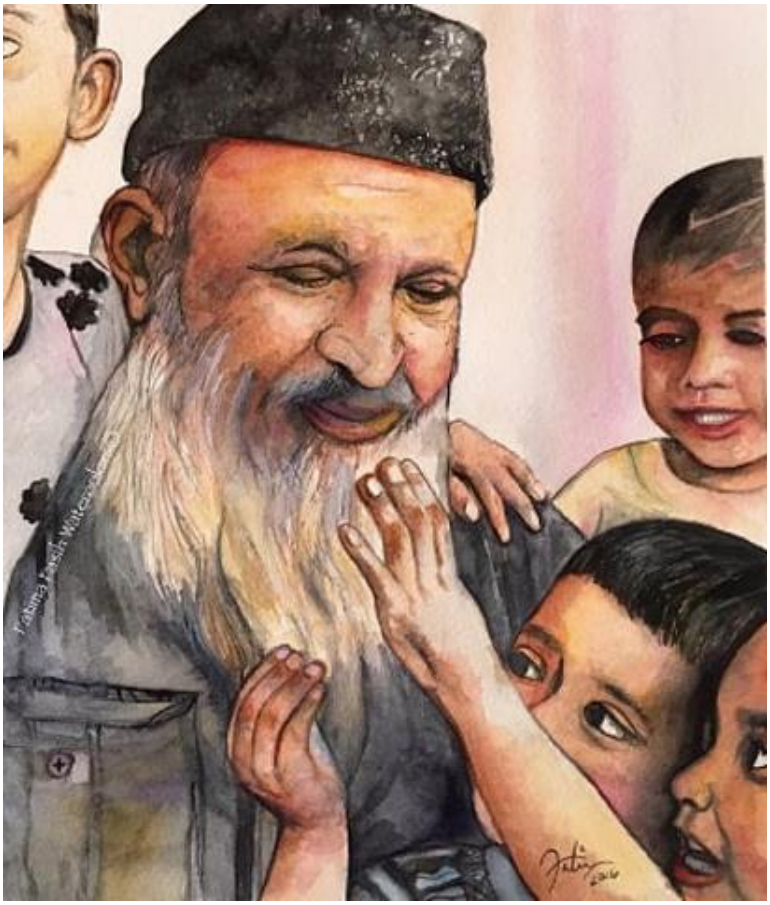


Figure 6.352: *'Abdul Sattar Edhi'* by Fatima Fasih.
https://i1.tribune.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/edhi4.jpg

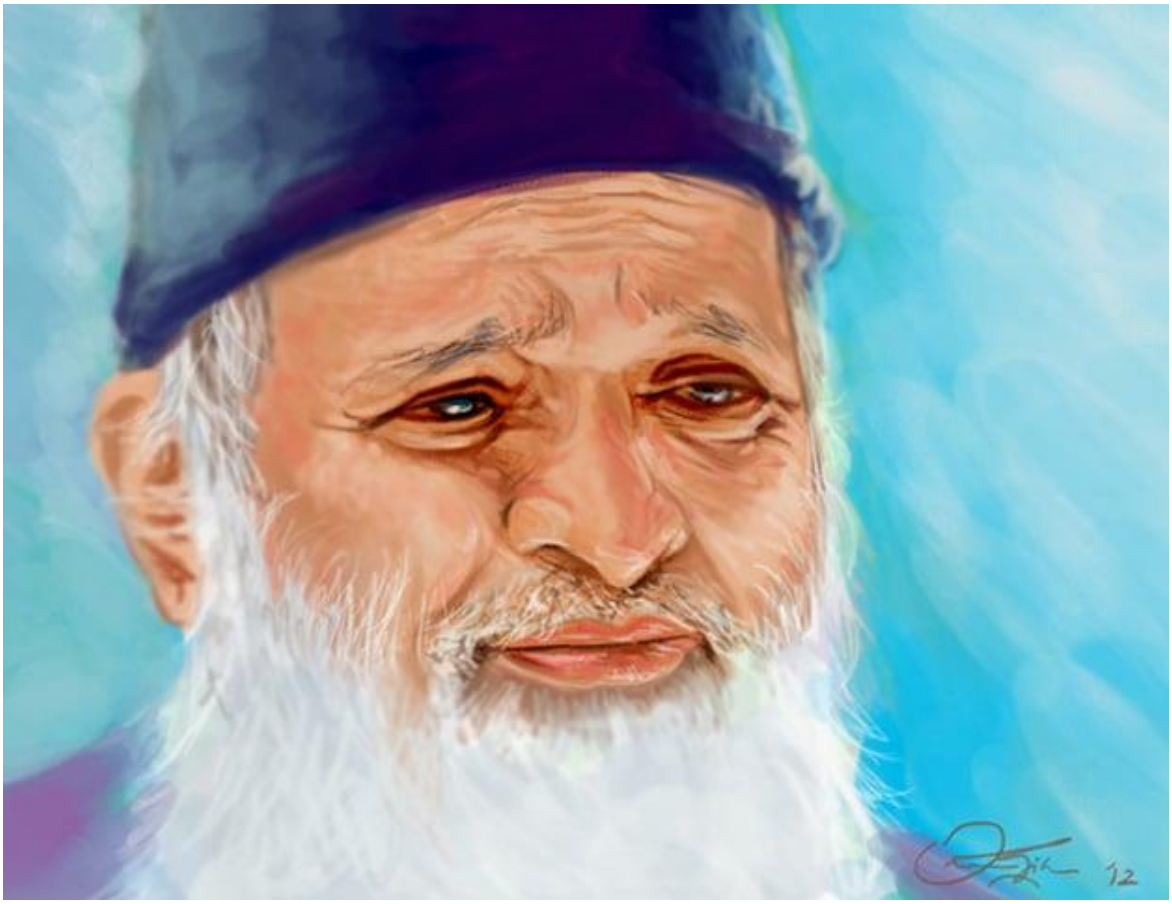


Figure 6.353: *'Abdul Sattar Edhi.'* Artist unknown.
https://i1.tribune.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/edhi3.jpg

Karachi Violence and Industrialization

As already discussed in previous chapter, Karachi has experienced episodes of violence and devastation due to various factors. Artists such as A. R. Nagori have already been addressing the issue of violence, power show of different political parties, feudal lord system, and problems of individuals in this city. Contemporary artist Naiza Khan[306] has expressed her concerns about the industrialization and deterrence of the Karachi landscape. The artwork *'Bori Band Lash'* (dead body in a bag) by Naiza Khan serves as a depiction of the extreme and cruel actions taking place on the streets of Karachi, which inflict fear and destruction upon its residents (Fig. 6.354).

[306] Naiza Khan, Born in 1968 in the city of Bahawalpur, Pakistan. Khan received her education at notable institutions such as the Ruskin School of Art, Oxford, where she received her BFA in 1990, and the Wimbledon School of Art, London. Though trained mainly as a painter and a printmaker, Khan is best described as a multidisciplinary artist. Her mediums over the years have included film, photography, sound, latex, metal, and henna, alongside prints and large-scale watercolour and charcoal drawings. Spanning three decades, Khan's practice has addressed several concerns, ranging from issues of gender identity to colonialism to climate change.



Figure 6.354: *'Bori Band Lash'* by Naiza Khan, 2011. Ink and watercolour on arches. https://images.squarespace-cdn.com/content/v1/6537b26cbd34ca7399b2be1a/ee8b1bbc-4403-423b-8a21-92c2f2740ad1/2-1.jpg?format=1500w

Her artworks are rendered in the context of social turmoil, rapidly growing building sites, migrations of labour force, and violent territorial conflicts that alter both the forefront and background of public experience (Fig. 6.355). Khan's watercolour drawings, known as 'Karachi Elegies,' created from 2011 to 2014, depict what the artist refers to as a "disrupted geography," in which the cityscape of Karachi is continuously depicted and revised. The city is enveloped in an indistinct mist, blurring the line between reality and mythology, and creating a gateway to a vivid and surreal experience[307] (Fig. 6.356 & Fig. 6.357).



Figure 6.355: *'The Streets are Rising'* by Naiza Khan. Oil on Canvas. https://koelgallery.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/naiza-khan-artwork-30.jpg

[307] "Naiza Khan," accessed July 10, 2024, https://www.naizakhan.com/work/karachi-elegies



Figure 6.356: *'Land Hunger'* by Naiza Khan, 2015. Watercolour on Fabriano paper.
https://koelgallery.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/naiza-khan-artwork-17.jpg



Figure 6.357: *'Map under construction'* by Naiza Khan, 2014. Watercolours.
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/6537b26cbd34ca7399b2be1a/t/65b948512f5e88617a21950a/1706641513781/KE4-1.jpg

Children and Women Abuse

Sexual violence, harassment, and child abuse cases such as Zainab scandal has been a persistent problem troubling Pakistani society for many years. Although there has been a rise

in reported cases, the problem persists without a permanent resolution. Artists such as Khushbakht Islam has addressed the issue of child abuse and has portrayed many types of harassment and their consequences in her artworks (Fig. 6.358 to Fig. 6.361).



Figure 6.358 and 6.359: *'Child abuse'* and *'#me too'* by Khushbakht Islam
https://i.tribune.com.pk/media/images/1785989-image-1535138916/1785989-image-1535138916.jpg



Figure 6.360: Different works by Khushbakht Islam.
https://c.tribune.com.pk/2018/08/11-1535138271.jpg



Figure 6.361: *'Clump'* by Khushbakht Islam.
https://cdnb.artstation.com/p/assets/images/images/076/204/963/large/khushi-islam-drawing-clump-1.jpg?1716422725

The driving force behind her work is a significant increase in the recorded incidents of harassment, rape, child abuse, and paedophilia. Her colourful work shows optimism, and the mandalas symbolise the process of restoration and recovery. Other artists also portrayed these themes and showed their concerns that in such cases people initially react with anger, organise protests, and arrange discussions but within few days forget them (Fig. 6.362 & Fig. 6.363).



Figure 6.362: *'Rape victim'* by Zohaib Ahmed. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.saatchiart.com/art/Painting-Rape-Victim/810193/4945350/view



Figure 6.363: *'Stop Child Abuse.'* Artist unknown.
https://voicepk.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/RF.jpg

A campaign was launched by Hamza Art Studio to create awareness among the parents and children about child sexual abuse, as part of an observance called, 'National Child Abuse Prevention Month.' It is celebrated in certain regions which inspired Hamza, and he actively participated in promoting awareness on the indicators of child abuse and strategies for its prevention (Fig. 6.364 & Fig. 6.365). This campaign is a component of his Girls' Sexual Abuse Prevention Programme (#GSAP), implemented in collaboration with the German Embassy in Islamabad.

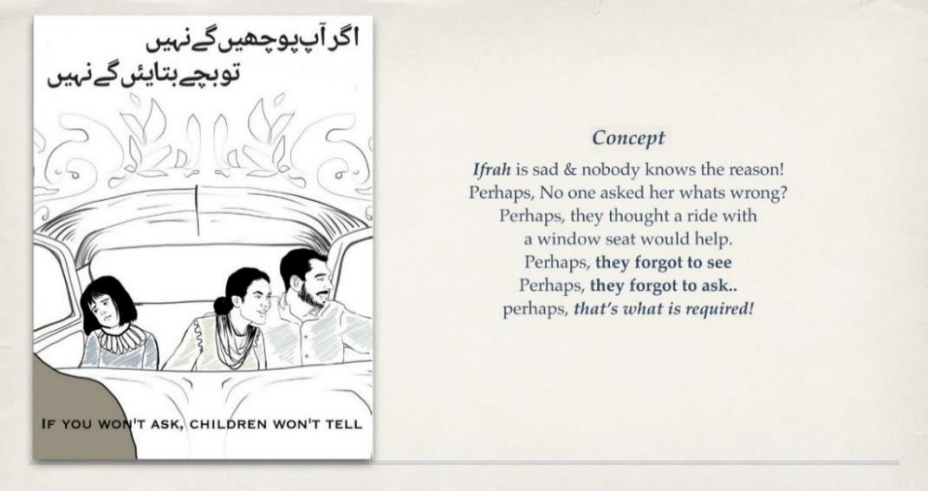


Figure 6.364: *'Poster concept'* by Hamza Art.
https://cdna.artstation.com/p/assets/images/images/036/926/334/large/hamza-art-studios-ifrah-concept.jpg?1619006515



Figure 6.365: Awareness Poster by Hamza Art Studio.
https://cdna.artstation.com/p/assets/images/images/036/926/266/large/hamza-art-studios-01.jpg?1619006377

Covid-19 Pandemic

Covid-19 pandemic had a deep and vulnerable impact on Pakistani artists. Due to widespread uncertainty and lockdowns daily life was at a stand-still which led to self-exploration, examining themes that included, solitude, resilience, courage, and humanity. During this period a rise in digital art was seen due to closer of traditional galleries and shows, which led to the use of online platforms for showcasing work and awareness among the masses (Fig. 6.366 to Fig. 6.369). It not only changed the subject matter of the artworks, but many artists sold their work for fund raising activities to help the poor and jobless people who were suffering from the effects of lockdown. Tributes were paid to Health workers and volunteers who lost their lives in this fight and acknowledgements were made in the form of posters and paintings (Fig. 6.370 to Fig. 6.374). Most significantly, Pakistani artists attempted to highlight the trauma and psychological strain endured during quarantine periods, often using images of masks and isolated individuals. Undoubtedly, this time not only impacted the content but also the medium, techniques and the purpose behind the art.



Figure 6.366: *'Covid-19 Awareness Campaign'* by Shehzil Malik.
http://www.shehzil.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Covid_web06.jpg

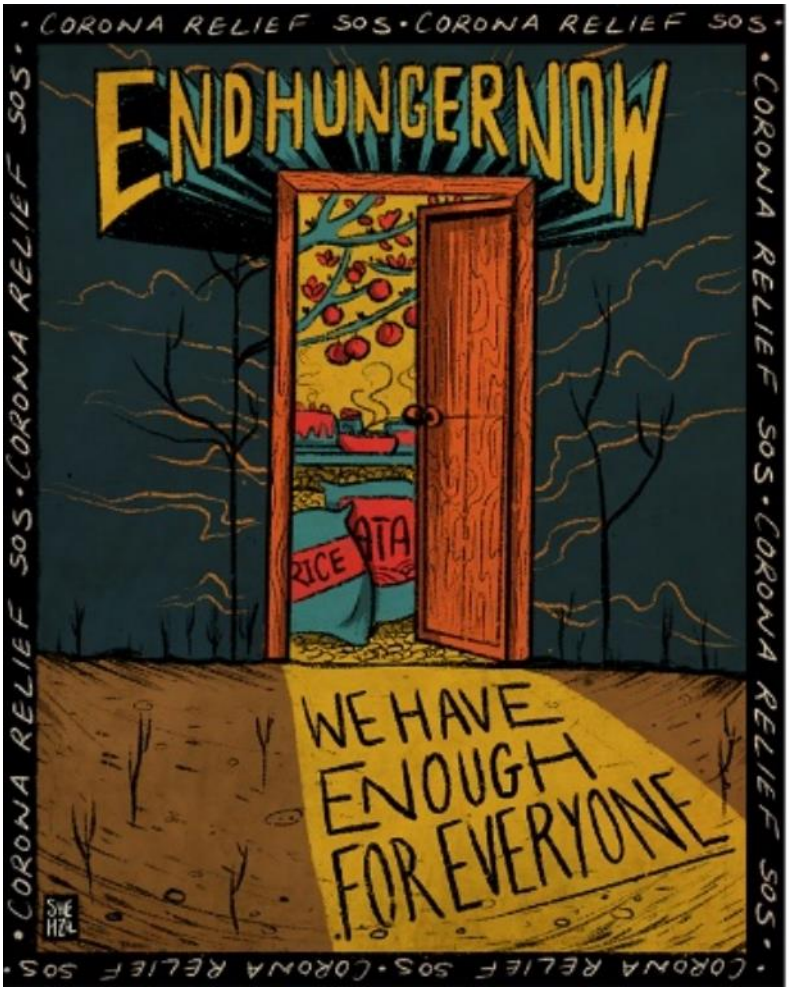


Figure 6.367: *'Awareness Campaign'* by Shehzil Malik.
http://www.shehzil.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Covid_web14.jpg

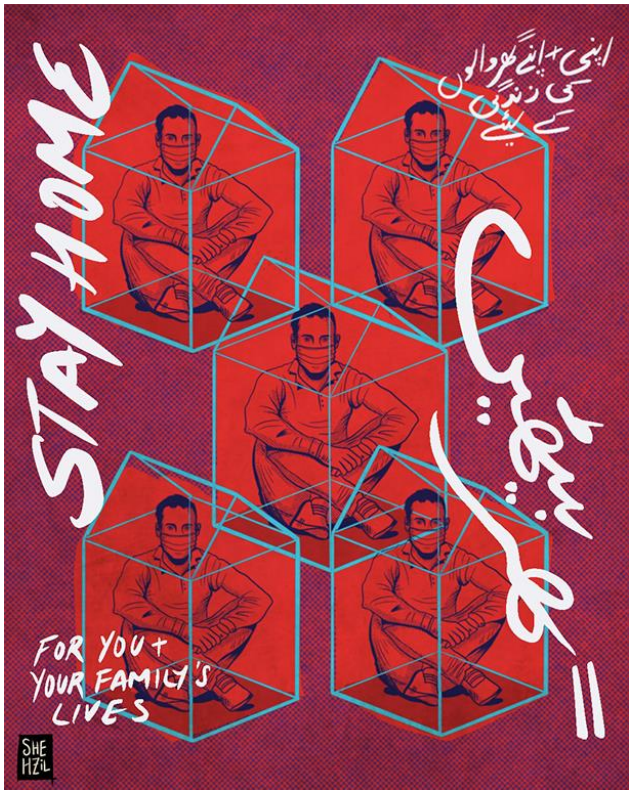


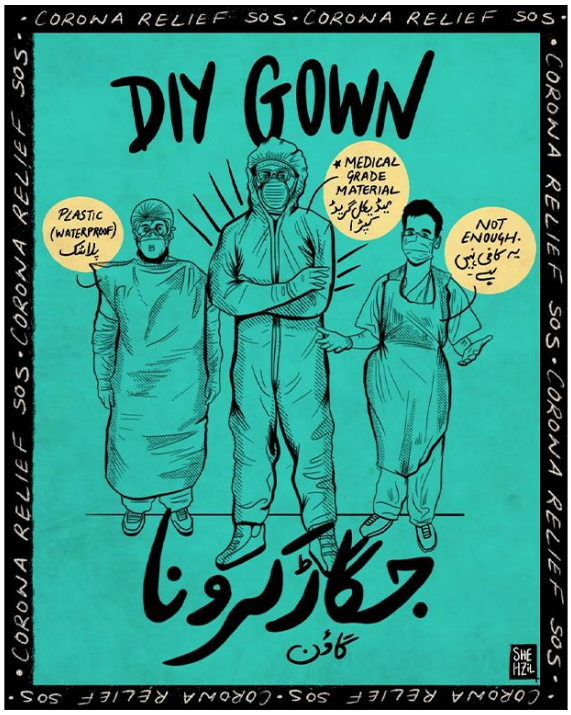
Figure: 6.368: *'Awareness Campaign'* by Shehzil Malik.
http://www.shehzil.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Covid_web14.jpg



Figure 6.369: *'Help Each other'* by Shehzil Malik.
http://www.shehzil.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Covid_web16.jpg



Figure 6.370: *'Tribute to Healthcare workers'* by Shehzil Malik.
http://www.shehzil.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Covid_web07.jpg



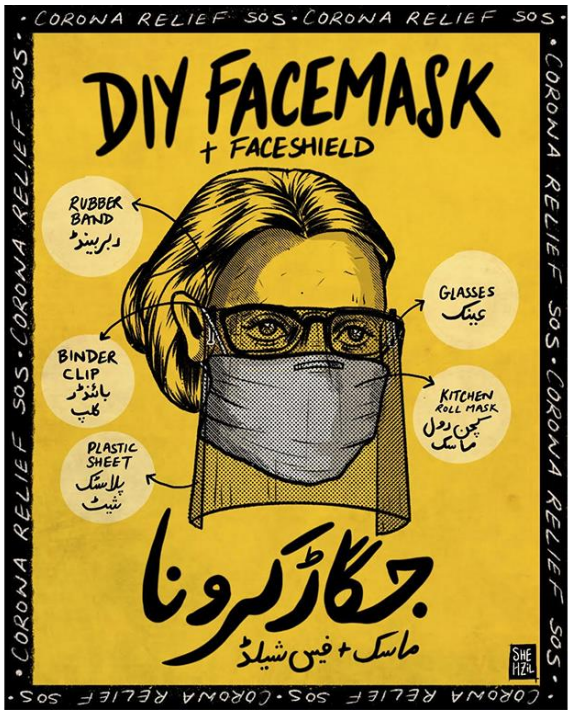


Figure 6.371 and 6.372: Making *'DIY Personal Protection Equipment'* by Shehzil Malik.
http://www.shehzil.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Covid_web02.jpg

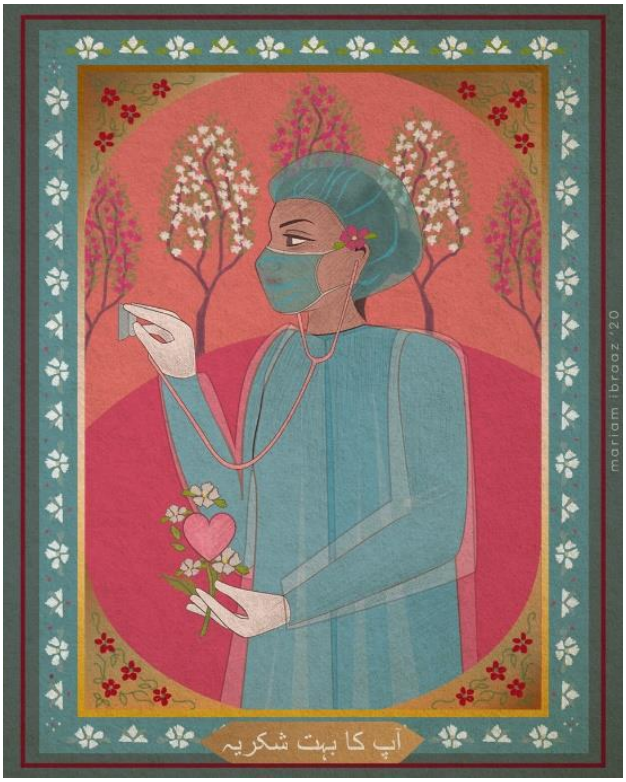


Figure 6.373: *'Homage to Pakistani doctors'* in a miniature-style illustration, by Mariam Ibraz.
(Photo courtesy: Mariam Ibraz Instagram)
https://www.arabnews.pk/sites/default/files/userimages/2182051/1_4.jpg

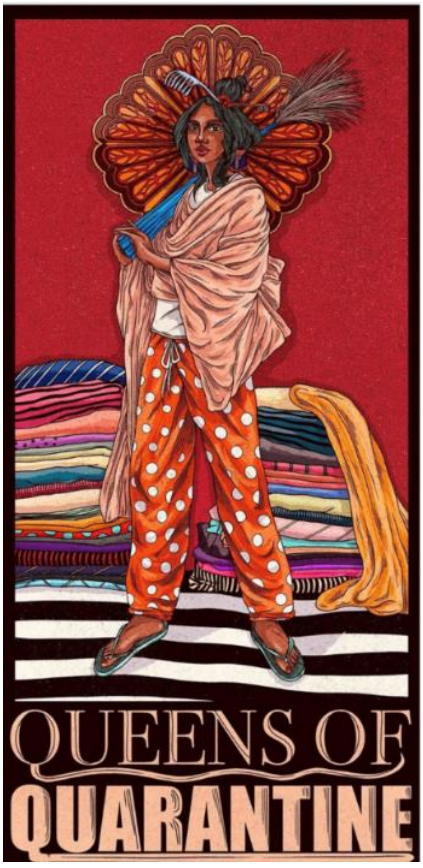


Figure 6.374: *'Queens of Quarantine'* by Mahnoor Ahmad.
(Photo courtesy: Mahnoor Ahmad Instagram)

In 2021, the Lahore Art Council organized an exhibition at the Alhamra Art Gallery following a decline in the pandemic. A multitude of emerging painters exhibited their artwork depicting various imagery including protective masks (Fig. 6.375 to Fig. 6.378).

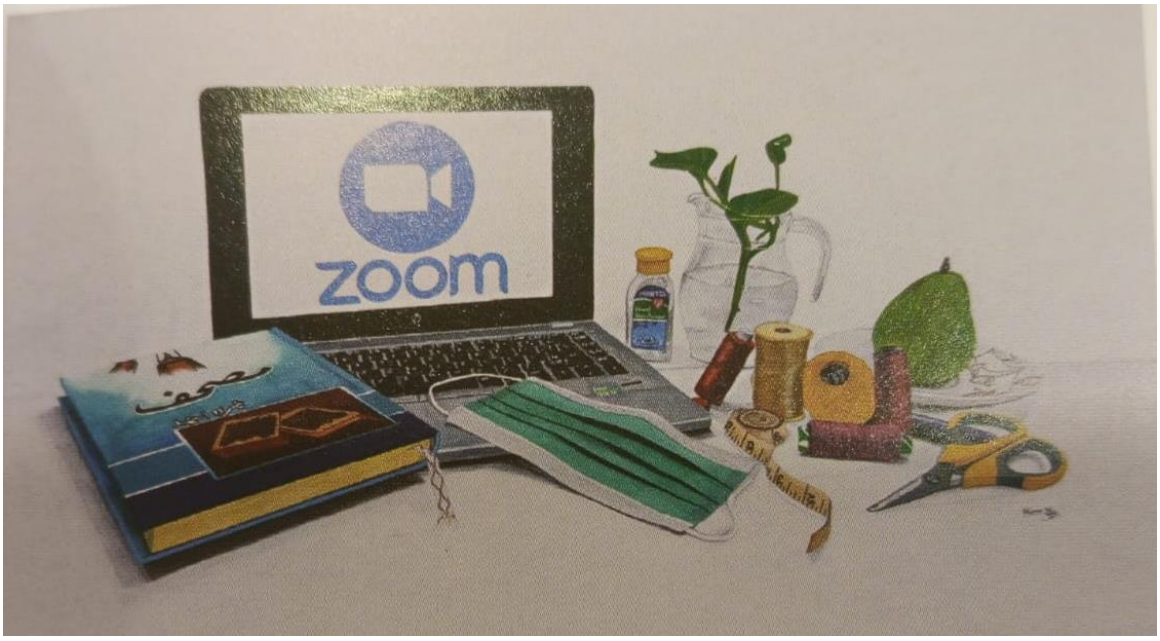


Figure 6.375: *'Life in Lockdown'* by Fatima Asghar. Oil on Canvas.
Source: Catalogue of Alhamra National Young Artist Exhibition of Visual Arts, 2021.



Figure 6.376: '*Covid-19'* by Wazir Muhammad. Oil on Canvas.
Source: Catalogue of Alhamra National Young Artist Exhibition, 2021.



Figure 6.377: *'The Weight of Existence'* by Zaid Baloch, 2021. Pencil on Paper.
Source: Catalogue of Alhamra National Young Artist Exhibition, 2021.

Kashmir Lockdown

The final and most significant topic to be explored in this chapter is the artistic discourse regarding the Kashmir lockdown and the implementation of Article 370 and 35-A on Kashmiris. The instability in Kashmir is a long-standing socio-political crisis that has persisted since the partition. However, the Modi government applied the final nail in the coffin in August 2019, resulting in a prolonged shutdown that disrupted the lives of millions. The people of Pakistan have demonstrated unity with the Kashmiris since decades by observing 'Solidarity Day' on every February 5th. They also observe a 'Black day' on October 27th to remember the massacre caused by the Indian army in occupied Kashmir. The artists' community has always demonstrated unity on all occasions and has conveyed the distress they have experienced over the years by producing artworks. Ijaz ul Hassan latest body of work is in sync with the sense of pain and torture felt by the people of Indian-held Kashmir (Fig. 6.378 & Fig. 6.379).



Figure 6.378: *'Cascade'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2020. Oil on Canvas.
https://i.dawn.com/large/2020/08/5f4ac73c89918.jpg



Figure 6.379: *'Wailing Valley'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 2020. Oil on Canvas.
https://i.dawn.com/large/2020/08/5f4ac73caba1f.jpg

Mehboob Ali has also expressed his grief for the victims who have endured terrible suffering and torture. He has creatively depicted in his woodcuts that despite all these sacrifices Kashmiris are unable to attain freedom from the atrocities of Indian army and are still seeking justice (Fig. 6.380 to Fig. 6.382).



Figure 6.380: *'Cry Beloved Country Kashmir'* by Mehboob Ali. Two colour Wood cut print.
Book: Mahboob Ali, Five Decades of Excellence.



Figure 6.381: *'Women striving for Kashmir Freedom'* by Mahboob Ali. Three colour woodcut print.
Book: Mahboob Ali, Five Decades of Excellence.



Figure 6.382: *'Struggle for Liberation of Kashmir'* by Mahboob Ali. Two colour Woodcut print. Book: Mahboob Ali, Five Decades of Excellence.

In addition to artists from Pakistan, Kashmiri artists have also articulated their sorrow and apprehensions regarding the brutalities suffered by them. One example is Iram Razzak, a former resident of Azad Kashmir. She has witnessed the atrocities committed against the Kashmiris during protests of 2010, and in return they are met with widespread torture from the Indian army, including massacre, injuries, property damage, internet and mobile service shut down and a prolonged curfew that paralysed Kashmir. All these suffering had a deep impact on her and was later depicted in her artworks (Fig. 6.383 to Fig. 6.386).



Figure 6.383: *'Childhood Under Curfew'* by Iram Razzaq, 2019. Acrylic on canvas. https://www.inversejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/iram-razzaq-childhood-under-curfew.jpg

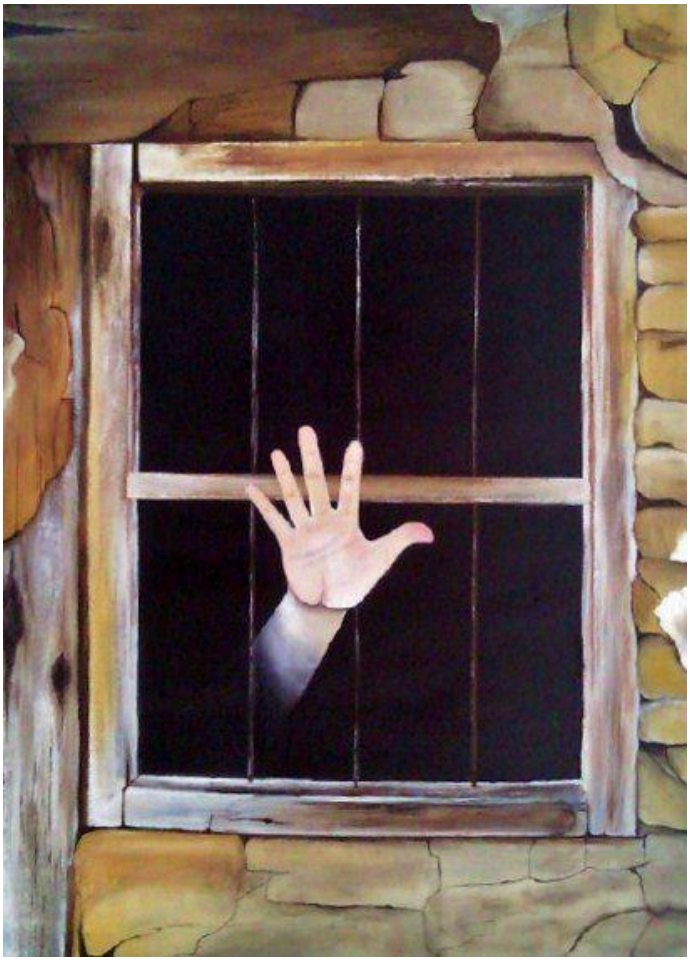


Figure 6.384: *'I Exist'* by Iram Razzaq, 2019. Acrylic on Canvas.
https://www.inversejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/irram-razzaq-i-exist.jpg



Figure 6.385: *'Remains 1'* by Iram Razzaq, 2019. Acrylic on canvas.
https://www.inversejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/iram-razzaq-remain-i.jpg



Figure 6.386: *'Remains III'* by Iram Razzaq, 2019. Acrylic on Canvas.
https://www.inversejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/iram-razzaq-remains-iii.jpg

Masood Hussain has resided in Srinagar for most of his life and declares that he has dedicated a significant amount of time to "chronicling the life of Kashmir," but all the time he has rendered the message of hope in his paintings, but he feels that this time is different. While giving an interview to BBC reporter he stated that "All of my previous paintings were with a sense of optimism. This is the first time I have not concluded with hope, but doom." The image of Jawaharlal Nehru having a conversation with Sheikh Abdullah, the prime minister of Kashmir is shown in black against a light background. The two were debating Article 370, the constitutional provision that ensured Kashmir's unique status which has been abrogated now (Fig. 6.387).



Figure 6.387: *'Painting Article-370'* by Masood Hussain, 2019.
https://www.aljazeera.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/d18ac8a45aec405ba6cfd3fccde6d8fb_18.jpeg?resize=770%2C513&quality=80

According to artist Syed Mujtaba Rizvi, the lockdown has a detrimental impact on his work. He has been spending extended periods of time in his studio at his residence in Srinagar since the lockdown began. He has shown his concerns through his artwork that how people of Kashmir are made voiceless by confiscating their basic right to speak (Fig. 6.388).



Figure 6.388: *'Untitled'* by Syed Mujtaba Rizvi.
https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/1536/cpsprodpb/14DE4/production/_110967458_syedmujtabarizviart-2.png.webp

Zameer Ahmad Sheikh belongs to Baramulla District, and from an early age is a witness of the bleeding valley. His father was shot down in a crossfire outside their residence. This sad incident left a deep impact on his memories which were later portrayed in his paintings. Zameer intends to sincerely present history via paintings, allowing future generations to understand the events that have shaped Kashmir over the years (Fig. 6.389 to Fig. 6.392).

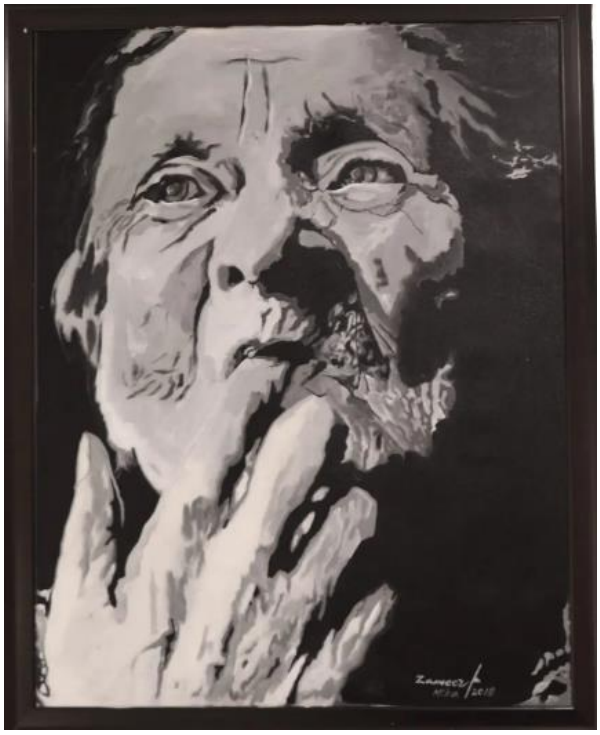


Figure 6.389: *'Mother waiting for her son'* by Zameer Ahmed, 2018.
https://maktoobmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/9-1483x1536.jpg.webp



Figure 6.390: *'Life in a valley'* by Zameer Ahmed.
https://maktoobmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/3-1536x1323.jpg.webp



Figure 6.391: *'Children of conflict'* by Zameer Ahmed.
https://maktoobmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/4-1536x1257.png



Figure 6.392: *'Lockdown in valley'* by Zameer Ahmed.
https://maktoobmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/5-1029x1536.jpg.webp

To demonstrate unity with the Kashmiris, the artist community of Pakistan has organised multiple shows over a course of time in cultural centres and universities. These exhibitions were titled *"Kashmir Bleeds," "Kashmir Lockdown,"* and "*Azam e Yak jahti Kashmir,"* (Kashmir Solidarity) among others. Young artists and students at Azad Kashmir university have also held various exhibitions and actively engage in these events enthusiastically to express unity with their community and covey the message of peace to the world. In short, the artistic discourse regarding the sufferings of Kashmir is unlimited and is an on-going process at least till a solution is achieved.

Recent Events

Abdul Qadeer Khan died on October 10th, 2021, and is recognized as the father of the country's nuclear project. He can be seen in portraits and was paid tribute by Science Society of NUST, Dr. Abdul Qadeer School and other artists (Fig 6.393 and 6.394). He was commemorated for his significant contributions to the nation's defence and scientific excellence. Artist Waqas Shaiq has made remarkable pencil sketches of Khan and presented them to his wife Henry Qadeer Khan (Fig. 6.395 and 6.396).

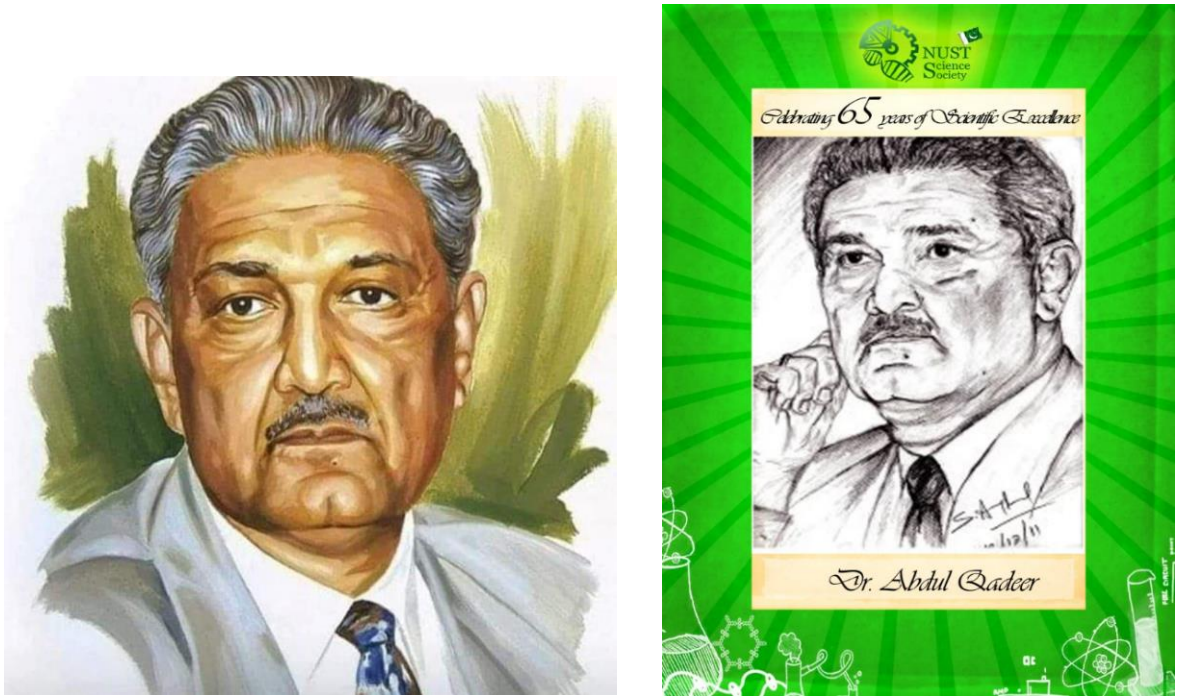


Figure 6.393 and 6.394: *'Portraits of Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan'* by Syed Ayaz.
https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=848219613988736&set=a.440307524779949
https://nustscienceblog.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/august-14-copy.jpg?w=768&h=1075



Figure 6.395: *'Portrait of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan'* by Waqas Ahmed.
https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=439542514249120&set=pcb.439542830915755



Figure 6.396: '*Sketch of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan'* by Waqas Ahmed Shaiq presented to his wife, 2021.
https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=439542514249120&set=pcb.439542830915755

While concluding this chapter, it is crucial to note that the recent political unrest, such as the imprisonment of Imran Khan and the crackdown on his supporters cannot yet be seen in artworks. Moreover, the incident of May 9th, which was commemorated as a Black Day by military authorities, has also not been portrayed in artworks and till now can only be witnessed through digital images (Fig. 6.397).



Figure 6.397: Violent activities on 9th May.
https://thefridaytimes.com/digital_images/large/2024-05-09/may-9-a-judiciary-caught-in-the-fire-1715259833-9278.jpeg

However, it is quite possible that the recent political unrest, agitation, dharnas and container culture might be seen artworks in upcoming years. In short, Pakistan is a vibrant country that has experienced a wide range of significant social and political events. As a result, its artistic discourse is innovative, extensive and continues to evolve.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Decoding 76-year of socio-political history of Pakistan and identifying its artistic discourse was a challenging task, as the socio-political history of Pakistan was diverse and turbulent due to many factors. Since its inception and liberation from British colonial rule Pakistan has seen unstable, chaotic and dramatic social and political history. Pakistan has encountered various societal issues over the years, such as the need for social reforms, healthcare advancement, achieving gender equality, and managing natural calamities. The persistent battle against extremism and terrorism has greatly influenced the social and political dynamics. The frequent regime changes and undue long term military dictatorships also had a deep impact. Secondly, despite making lofty promises upon assuming charge, no government was able to fulfil them completely. Instead, it was a relentless pursuit for power and position, resembling a cat and mouse chase. Whenever a government assumes power, the opposition makes every effort to remove them by accusing them of rigging and corruption without giving them time to deliver. Throughout the entire process of supporting favourite leaders, it is the public who has endured the hardships and faced problems for their fundamental rights. In 2024, Pakistanis are still struggling for their necessities, dealing with complex political environment, and waiting for their Quaid's Pakistan.

Art is inherently intertwined with the social and political backdrop, as artists, being conscious members of society, cannot detach themselves from their environment. Irrespective of the media they select, they establish a connection and represent their society. Art has historically served as a means of expressing resistance, providing social and political critique, and promoting activism. However, the significance of art in fulfilling these roles has become even more relevant in recent times.

The evolution of Pakistan's artistic landscape is a complex narrative shaped by historical events, geopolitical consideration and internal dynamics. All chapters have discussed the artistic discourse of South Asia and especially the artistic discourse of Pakistan's contemporary artists, who have effectively communicated, critiqued, documented, inspired and conveyed their message. While usings different mediums like paintings, miniatures, instillations, and digital art etc., artists have depicted the complexity of political and social unrest in Pakistan.

Commencing with the artistic dialogue of the subcontinent and progressing towards the liberation movement and partition, one can observe the influence of different ruling powers on the subcontinent and the traditions they brought along, which were mirrored in the artworks. Overall, the history of painting in the Indian subcontinent is a complex and diverse fabric that has evolved over thousands of years, encompassing various artistic traditions, techniques, and cultural influences. From the ancient cave paintings of Bhimbetka to the detailed miniature paintings of the Mughal era, and from the vibrant colours of folk art to the modern expressions of artist, each brushstroke on the canvas tells a story of creativity, spirituality, and the enduring legacy of artistic brilliance. As we consider this dynamic examination of history, we are reminded of the substantial impact that Indian painting has had in shaping not only the artistic landscape of the subcontinent but also in influencing and inspiring artistic trends worldwide.

The art that reflects the times we live in is not a new occurrence. British artists depicted various locations, indigenous Indian individuals, and scenes of warfare with the intention of documenting and preserving a record, which they then brought back to England. The artists of the subcontinent began to express their resistance to British atrocities and their desire for a separate country in their works. But unfortunately, due to less documentation of Muslim artists there is lack of data or record of Muslim artists working before partition on freedom struggle. There is hardly any evidence that Muslim artists depicted Muslim freedom fighters, their struggles and protests.

At the time of partition, along with the masses, artists community also migrated from India and Pakistan. Pakistan inherited artists like Abdul Rehman Chughtai, Ustad Allah Baksh, Sadequain, Shakir Ali among others. Unfortunately, it was disheartening to see that no Muslim artist during the migration phase or even immediately after partition captured the brutality of division, or the anguish endured by the people. After several years, this event appeared in the works of modern painters such as Jimmy Engineer, even though he had not witnessed these incidents firsthand (Fig. 7.1) But later, this topic became a recurring theme.



Figure 7.1: *'Struggle for Independence 1947'* by Jimmy Engineer, 1978. Oil on canvas.
https://www.nation.com.pk/print_images/large/2015-08-13/depicting-pakistan-movement-on-canvas-1439485746-1275.jpg

As the newly established nation was experiencing a period of hardship, the initial years of Pakistani socio-political artistic discourse were also characterized by struggle. It is characterized by a lack of portrayal of the social events of the time, with many artworks being produced in subsequent years that were pertinent to these events. Mostly artists were either continuing their traditional styles, while some artists seemed discontent with the traditional styles and were looking for a new identity and latest strategies inspired by the western ideologies. The era of 60s was characterised by a dynamic exchange and fusion of indigenous customs and contemporary ideas that not only influenced the artistic preferences of the time but also laid the groundwork for future Pakistani artists to explore beyond the boundaries of their artistic abilities.

The recognition and bravery in portraying social and political subject matter began slowly in the early years, but it gained considerable momentum in the 1970s and 1980s. Once artists became aware about the social and political climate around them, they openly started to express themselves, however, often they were prohibited from openly expressing their views on socio-political matters. They strongly criticised this limitation and began incorporating symbols and metaphors into their artwork. Under the era of military dictatorship, censorship, and political persecution, artists utilised innovative approaches to critique the governing powers and express the difficulties they encountered. Artists like A. R. Nagori and Ijaz Ul Hassan consistently played a leading role in providing commentary on society, utilising their artistic creations to respond and contemplate significant events (Fig. 7.2 & Fig. 7.3). Hence, the socio-political art of 80s was more innovative rather then oppressive. It not only mirrored the circumstances but also instilled a feeling of unity and hope among the viewers.

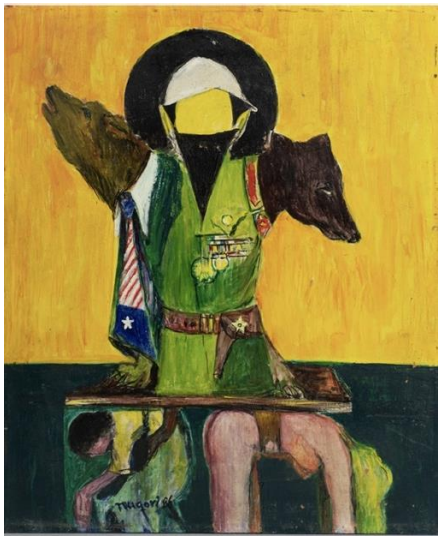


Figure 7.2: *'Dogs in Uniform'* by A. R. Nagori, 1986.
https://media.mutualart.com/Images/2020_06/27/00/005429389/fedfc026-3aae-41d1-bad1-3d2e836723f0_570.Jpeg

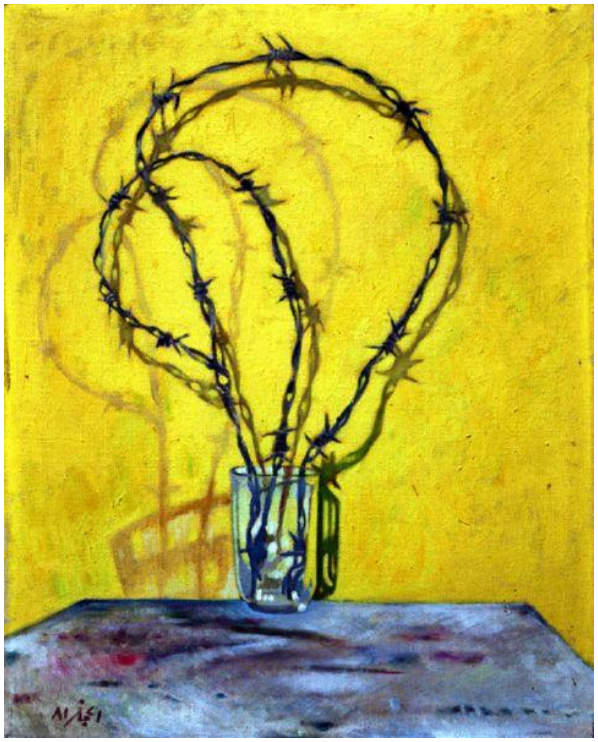


Figure 7.3: *'New Year Bouquet'* by Ijaz ul Hassan, 1981. Oil on Canvas.
https://www.ijazulhassan.com/Galleryii/thumbs/tn_g2001.jpg

The 90s is commonly seen as a period of transition from modernism to contemporary art practices. Contemporary artists sought to tackle societal issues in a more explicit manner than what was achievable using the methods of modernism. The young generation of 90s transitioned from their formal education in art schools to creating works that encompassed new media, installation, and photography. They were also fascinated by the artistic possibilities of emerging mediums and technologies. Experimentation with the traditional themes and material started to take place in late 20th century and gained momentum in the early 21st century. The advent of the 'neo miniaturist' style, has its roots in the 90s, marked the true shift in Pakistan's art landscape and became the new talk of the town. There is a widespread belief that the 9/11 attacks altered the Pakistani artistic landscape. However, in my observation, Pakistan's artistic discourse had already begun to change in the 1990s both in style and subject matter due to American invasions and its consequences on the Pakistani political scenario. Socio-Political art produced in Pakistan at that time was not only a means of social critique or just to document events for future generations but to incite a response to political and social circumstances, gain recognition and access the international market.

As the unrest intensified after 9/11 and the nation remained in a state of chaos, certain features of this artistic style became more noticeable to the point of being repetitive. It is widely

noted that popular symbols such as burqas, bullet, guns, blood stains and acts of violence were not only frequently utilised but also gained recognition around the world (Fig. 7.4).



Figure 7.4: *'Untitled'* by Waseem Ahmed.
https://i.dawn.com/primary/2015/05/554be09f6a758.jpg

Without question around this time, Pakistani art established a noticeable presence in the international art market. But the real question is how and why? Another noteworthy aspect is what picture, or message has been conveyed to the foreign audience? Was it an authentic representation of Pakistan or an example of Pakistani art? Or was it a negative projection of Pakistan helping to create an adverse image. Nevertheless, it is the irony of the situation that despite being repetitive, it still is appreciated and is in vogue. One possible explanation for projecting this type of imagery could be that, during that time, a narrative was already being developed regarding terrorism and acts of violence, and Pakistani artists also contributed to it. However, all these images somehow unintentionally reinforced and propagated an already undesirable perception, rather than creating a favourable impression of Muslims and Pakistan. The neo-miniaturists of Pakistan, who were advocating this narrative, have employed diverse symbols in their paintings to portray the desirable attributes of Muslims. Just like a coin has two sides, weapons, bullets, and burqas can be used for constructive objectives, such as protection and safety, as well as for causing bloodshed and chaos. How artists choose to use their brushstrokes is exclusively their own choice.

Another crucial component of the evaluation is that, during the research period, most of the instances observed in socio-political art scenario were sadly centred around adverse circumstances such as political upheaval, societal injustices, and conflict. This could be

attributed to the fact that artists, as sensitive member of society, are profoundly influenced by human sufferings and perceive it as their utmost obligation to address these matters. However, the excessive focus on the more unfavourable aspects of reality frequently obscures the pleasant and joyful aspects of life in Pakistan. Artworks often portray themes of oppression, bloodshed, and poverty, which, although important, provide a distorted portrayal of the nation's entire history. In contrast, the favourable occurrences and features of Pakistani society, such as social unity, cultural celebrations, and demonstrations of strength and happiness, are not as commonly depicted. The artistic discourse frequently fails to adequately examine the celebration of traditions, accomplishments and advancements made in other domains like sports and technology. For a more complete understanding of Pakistan, it is imperative that social and political art should emphasizes these positive and joyful occurrences. Adopting this kind of balanced approach would offer a more comprehensive understanding of Pakistani culture and society and cultivate a feeling of dignity and optimism among its citizens. By recognizing both the difficulties and successes, art may significantly contribute to building a more thorough and inclusive narrative of Pakistan's social and political landscape.

Hence, this research has humbly attempted to address all the significant social and political events of Pakistan and their corresponding artistic discourse. However, some may have been unintentionally overlooked. Furthermore, the author was unable to identify artworks about certain events during this study, however those artworks can be added in future research endeavors. As time progresses, there is a growing demand for further inquiry and exploration in the field of Pakistani artists and their artworks. Given the limited availability of data, it is imperative to gather and digitise information of Pakistani art and artists. This would prove beneficial for future generations and facilitate further research both nationally and internationally.

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