

**EYNULLA MADATLI**

**PAKISTAN:  
A SHORT  
HISTORY AND POLITICS**

**Baku –2025**

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The book deals with the most important issues of the brotherly people of Pakistan and the history of its statehood. The author attempted to provide a concise historical and political overview of the brotherly country, drawing on his diaries, which he wrote while serving as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Azerbaijan to Pakistan from 2002 to 2010, as well as his personal observations, meetings, and various historical sources and literature.

This book is intended for a wide range of readership, including historians, philologists, political analysts, experts and students in the field of international relations.

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**DEVOTED TO THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN  
AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN**

***“We are glad with the current situation of Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations stemmed from the common history of our fraternal nations, religious roots and developed to the level of strategic partnership. We attach great importance to the development of our relationship built on mutual trust”***

***ILHAM ALIYEV***

***President of the Republic of Azerbaijan***

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## **The book dedicated to brotherhood**

The well-known diplomat, counselor at the Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Islamic Republic of Iran, appointed as the Consul General in Tabriz, the city of our soul and a part of our heart (1996-2002), in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Afghanistan (2002-2010, with his residence in Islamabad) and Ukraine (2010-2015) worked as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, and currently he is the executive director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences (ANAS). This book by Prof. Doctor of History, orientalist scholar Eynulla Madatli, about the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, a friendly and brotherly country, will undoubtedly be useful and interesting. First of all, because the work is written by the first person who represented our state in Pakistan, who knows all the official and unofficial aspects of the relations between the two countries.

It is no secret that in the diplomatic history of world states, there is a practice of ambassadors writing their diaries and memories after leaving work. It helps to understand the back stage aspects of the relationship between the two countries, how to overcome the difficulties that arise during the process of preparing any document, and to understand the positions. Researchers studying the history of diplomacy analyze a sentence written in a document signed between two countries, but do not know the invisible scenes how it was inserted into the document. Such “secret” issues are usually resolved in shorthand records of meetings that are inaccessible to many researchers, at tea parties and dinner tables that are not recorded anywhere. Information or details about such



back stage issues are provided in the memoirs and diaries of diplomats. There are many examples of this. Eg., , the back stage aspects of the Cuban missile crisis, the rapprochement between the United States and China, and the shah of Iran, who was forced to go abroad after the Islamic revolution in Iran and was suffering from fever and was kept on the plane for hours at the airport, while being treated in the United States, etc.

Although such memories and diaries are not reliable sources from the viewpoint of serious research, they play the role of a helper in understanding the processes. Unfortunately, in our country, which has an ancient and rich diplomatic history and tradition, there are very few of our former ambassadors who have done this work. Only a few have just started and some books have been published.

Books remain, and over the years, researchers constantly refer to them, and a wide readership also reads them with interest. From this viewpoint, I believe that Eynulla Madatli's work will be welcomed and will be useful for researchers of history of our foreign policy and diplomacy.

As known, after the restoration of state independence, the establishment and development of relations with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, a country located in southern Asia, a participant in the non-aligned movement, having a particular place in regional and world politics, occupied one of the main places in the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

There has always been special sympathy and love for the state and people of Pakistan in our country. The strong friendship and brotherly relations that to withstand the test during the 44-day Patriotic War further increased interest in its history and culture. In particular, it has become

necessary to examine such issues as the path taken by the people of Pakistan and the history of statehood, the historical roots on which the current brotherly ties of our peoples are based, the state policy implemented to reach the current level of our strategic partnership, and the future prospects of our cooperation.

This year is the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Over the past years, our mutual relations have strengthened and rich historical experience has been accumulated. Our cooperation has deepened, covering political-diplomatic, trade-economic, scientific-technical, humanitarian, cultural, military and other areas.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan recognized the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan on December 12, 1991. Thus, Pakistan became the third country to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan. A brief view on the path of mutual relations shows the constant expansion and deepening of these relations. Thus, shortly after the decision on recognition, at the end of December, the Pakistani delegation visited Baku. During the visit, the issue of the membership of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) was discussed and an agreement was reached.

Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established on June 9, 1992. Some time later, on January 27, 1993, the Milli Majlis of the Republic of Azerbaijan adopted Decision No. 478 on the opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Islamabad. However, at that time it was not possible to implement this decision. But, on March 12 of the same year, the Embassy of the

Islamic Republic of Pakistan in the Republic of Azerbaijan was opened.

When relations between the two countries were established, the Republic of Azerbaijan was subjected to military aggression by the aggressor Armenia, and its territories were occupied one after another. Pakistan, which did not remain indifferent to the violation of international law by Armenia and military aggression against Azerbaijan, unequivocally condemned it. This position was clearly manifested when Kalbajar was occupied. On April 30, 1993, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution No. 822 under the chairmanship of Pakistan. The position taken by Pakistan during the adoption of the resolution was a clear and concrete indication of its attitude towards military aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan. Along with condemning military aggression of Armenia, the Pakistani state sent more than 25 tons of humanitarian aid worth \$ 1 million to internally displaced persons from the occupied Nagorno-Karabakh of Azerbaijan and adjacent districts. This step was a practical demonstration of friendship and brotherhood in difficult times.

A new stage in the development of relations with Pakistan began in mid-1993. President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev took necessary measures to develop mutual relations between the two countries since 1994. Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sardar Asif Ahmed arrived in Baku on an official visit on January 24 of that year with the aim of signing a number of agreements and contracts. During the visit, a protocol on consultations was signed between the foreign ministries of the two countries.

At the invitation of the President of the Republic of

Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev, the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari paid an official visit to Baku on October 9-11, 1995. This was the first visit of the Pakistani state head to Azerbaijan. The issues of expanding bilateral political and economic relations were discussed during the talks. Among the signed documents was an 11-article agreement on cooperation between the two countries, which opened up new prospects.

During the official visit of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev to Pakistan on April 9-11, 1996, bilateral and regional issues were discussed at the table of the talks with President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. There was exchange of views on opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Islamabad, consultations to increase the exchange of delegations between the two countries, further expansion of inter-parliamentary relations, use of Pakistan's assistance in international organizations, closer cooperation of permanent missions to these organizations, etc.

During the visit, which was of great historical importance, necessary measures were determined to deepen mutual relations. The cooperation between the two countries in the political, military, economic, cultural and humanitarian spheres were discussed and relevant documents were signed. These documents strengthened the contractual and legal basis of mutual relations and gave a new quality to their development.

The visit of the President of Azerbaijan to Pakistan opened opportunities for cooperation in the area of defense between the two countries. Cooperation in this area was

especially important in a situation where the consequences of Armenia's military aggression continued. In such a situation, in accordance with the decree signed by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on April 18, 2002, which paid special attention to relations with Pakistan, Consul General in Tabriz Eynulla Madatli was recalled from his post and appointed as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. After this step, which brought relations to a new level, cooperation between the two countries expanded further in all areas. A simple list of several facts confirms the dynamics of development of mutual relations. Eg., , during the visit of the Defense Minister of Pakistan to Azerbaijan on September 16-20, 2002, with the aim of deepening cooperation in the field of defense, an agreement on cooperation in the defense and military sphere consisting of 17 articles was signed between the governments of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Azerbaijan-Pakistan economic cooperation was also developing. In this regard, the meeting of the joint commission between the two countries held in Islamabad on September 2-3, 2003 was significant.

In the course of the talks held during the official visit of the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf to Azerbaijan on June 8, 2004, the two states expressed their desire to further expand mutual support and cooperation.

The official visit of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev to Pakistan on April 12, 2005, opened a new page in the relations between the two countries. The President of Pakistan, addressing the President

of Azerbaijan, firmly expressed the position of his state as follows: *“We have firmly condemned Armenia’s military aggression against Azerbaijan and will remain faithful to this position and will always support the demand for ensuring the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan”*.<sup>1</sup>

At a dinner-party in honor of the Azerbaijani President on that day, President Pervez Musharraf emphasized: *“We have common cultural values, our desires and feelings are the same. There are many common criteria in our language and literature. There are thousands of common words that we use in conversation. Azerbaijani poets, from Nizami Ganjavi to Sahib Tabrizi, are read with interest in Pakistan... Our hearts beat as one. We are close to each other in all areas”*.<sup>2</sup>

On October 16, 2012, President Ilham Aliyev met with President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari, who was attending the 12th Summit of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and they discussed issues related to the broad aspects of bilateral relations.

The “Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan”, signed during the visit of Pakistani President Mamnoon Hussain to Azerbaijan on March 11, 2015, raised mutual relations to a new, higher level. Assessing the Joint Declaration, President Ilham Aliyev stated that this document covers almost all areas of our cooperation and is an important stage in the further development of our strategic relations. We are friends, brothers, strategic partners, and we will continue our

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<sup>1</sup> Əliyev İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 9-cu kitab. Bakı, 2012, s.134.

<sup>2</sup> İbid, s.143.

cooperation for the sake of our peoples, countries, as well as regional security and stability.<sup>1</sup>

The meeting between President Ilham Aliyev and Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in Davos on January 21, 2016, was significant in terms of the prospects for relations.

During the official visit of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to Azerbaijan on October 14, 2016, President Ilham Aliyev expressed the level of relations between the two countries as follows: *“We are very grateful to Pakistan for not recognizing Armenia for occupying Azerbaijani lands, and for not establishing diplomatic relations with Armenia. This is an indicator of brotherhood. The Azerbaijani people highly appreciate this brotherly attitude. We are also grateful that in 2012, the Pakistani Senate officially recognized the Khojaly massacre as genocide. This is another indicator of friendship and partnership. That is why Azerbaijani people love your country. We are very grateful for this support and, for our part, we always support you in all matters”*.<sup>2</sup>

During the visit of President Ilham Aliyev to Pakistan on February 28, 2017 to participate in the 13th Summit of the Economic Cooperation Organization, the meetings and discussions with President Mamnoon Hussain and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif focused on discussing specific projects and proposals of the two countries in the defense industry. Agreements were reached on the import of high-

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<sup>1</sup> Əliyev İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 67-ci kitab. Bakı, 2018, s.243.

<sup>2</sup> Əliyev İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 76-cı kitab. Bakı, 2018, s.226.

military industrial products from Pakistan to Azerbaijan.<sup>1</sup>

The following words of President İlham Aliyev, while receiving the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of Pakistan, General Zubair Mahmud Hayat, who visited our country on June 25, 2018 to participate in the military parade dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Azerbaijani Armed Forces, were an indicator of the depth of our relations: *“Azerbaijan is interested in further expanding military cooperation with Pakistan and purchasing more military equipment from Pakistan. Joint military exercises of the armed forces of our countries also serve this purpose”*.<sup>2</sup>

The meeting of President İlham Aliyev with Pakistani President Arif Alvi in Baku on October 26, 2019, and the meetings of the Speaker of the Milli Majlis of the Republic of Azerbaijan Sahiba Gafarova with the state, government and parliament heads during her official visit to Pakistan on June 4, 2021, had a significant impact on the sustainable development of cooperation. There are great number of such examples between the two countries. However, the experience of recent years shows that relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan have undergone great development in 30 years, expanding, deepening, strengthening and reaching the level of strategic alliance.

I believe that the work will be useful for our country's

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<sup>1</sup> Əliyev İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 78-ci kitab. Bakı, 2019, s.334.

<sup>2</sup> Əliyev İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 87-ci kitab. Bakı, 2019, s.310.



education system, especially for students specializing in the history of Eastern countries.

The publication and distribution of this book, which was prepared as a result of the continuous research of Doctor of Historical Sciences, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Eynulla Madatli, as well as his personal observations and analyses when he worked as the Ambassador of Azerbaijan to Pakistan in 2002-2010, on the eve of the 30th anniversary of diplomatic relations between our brotherly countries, is significant in terms of further strengthening the relations between our states and will undoubtedly arouse interest of wide readership.

I wish the author of this work, Eynulla Madatli, new creative successes, and I call on our other former diplomats to do appropriate work in this direction.

**Prof.Dr. Musa Gasimli**  
***Member of the Milli Majlis,***  
***Corresponding Member of ANAS***

## **GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN**

The official name of the country is Islamic Republic of Pakistan (since 1956).

Date of establishment: August 14, 1947. From this date until the adoption of the 1956 year's Constitution, Pakistan officially had a federal structure and authority as West Pakistan (the territory of present-day Pakistan) and East Pakistan (the territory of present-day Bangladesh). On March 30, 1970, by decree of President Yahya Khan, the name West Pakistan was abolished, and the four provinces that made up the territory were formed: Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). In 1971 East Pakistan was formed as the independent Republic of Bangladesh. Pakistan currently consists of four provinces and three territorial units: Gilgit-Baltistan, the Islamabad Capital Territory, and Azad Kashmir.

Form of the government: Civil (civil) democratic, parliamentary government in accordance with the Constitution.

Head of state: President

Head of government: Prime Minister

Parliament: Bicameral – National Assembly and Senate

Motto: in Urdu: “Iman, Ittihad, Nizam”; in English: “Faith, Unity, Discipline”.

## **Parliament**

In Urdu, it is called “Majlis-e-Shura Pakistan”. The last elections were held in 2018. It is the federal and supreme legislative body. The Parliament consists of two houses: the Senate and the National Assembly (“National Assembly” in Urdu is “Qawmi Assambly”). Members of Parliament are elected for five-year terms.

The Parliament of Pakistan was formed in 1956. The leader of the party or coalition that wins the elections is elected by the National Assembly as the Prime Minister. There are a total of 442 members in the Parliament, 100 of whom are senators and 342 are members of the National Assembly (MNA). The National Assembly has 60 seats reserved for women and 10 seats for religious minorities. 172 votes are enough to elect the Prime Minister.

The current (2022) Chairman of the Senate is Sadiq Sanjarani, and the Speaker of the National Assembly is Raja Pervez Ashraf.

## **Supreme Court**

The highest authority in the Pakistani judicial system is the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is Umar Ata Bandial. Along with the civil courts, the Federal Sharia Court operates throughout the country, and in the provinces, Sharia courts operate within their jurisdictions. The functioning of the judicial system is weak in tribal areas, as the tribal descendants still maintain their position.

## **National security and defense system of Pakistan**

The Indo-Pakistani wars over Kashmir in 1948 and 1965, and over Bengal, then known as East Pakistan, in 1971, forced the Pakistani state to create a large and powerful army and establish a reliable security system.

The Pakistan Army is headed by a four-star general, who is called the Chief of Army Staff. In wartime, all the armed forces of the country are under the command of the Chief of Army Staff. His military rank is “General”, and the ranks below it are as follows: Lieutenant General, Major General, Brigadier General. The army headquarters is in the city of Rawalpindi, near the capital. The naval command is also headquartered in Islamabad. The air force command is in Chaklala. Besides, the armed forces include paramilitary forces, border gendarmes, maritime security, coast guard, etc.

Pakistan’s Army is the sixth largest in the world, with over a million military and paramilitary personnel. Pakistan possesses nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them.

The military and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), established in 1947, play a significant role in national security system of Pakistan.

**National Anthem of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan  
(Kā Qaumī Tarānah)**

*Orijinal*

ترانہ قومی

پاک سرزمین شاد باد

کشور حسین شاد باد

تو نشان عزم علیشان

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 !

سایہ خدائے ذوالجلال

## Literal

Blessed be the sacred land,  
Happy be the bounteous realm.  
Thou symbol of high resolve,  
O Land of Pakistan!  
Blessed be the citadel of faith.

The order of this sacred land,  
The might of the brotherhood of the  
people,  
May the nation, the country, and  
the state,  
Shine in glory everlasting!  
Blessed be the goal of our ambition.

The flag of the crescent and star,  
Leads the way to progress and  
perfection,  
Interpreter of our past, glory of our  
present,  
inspiration for our future!  
Shade of God, the Glorious and  
Mighty.

## Poetic

May the holy land, stay glad;  
Beauteous realm, stay glad.  
Thou, the sign of high  
resolve—  
O Land of Pakistan!  
Citadel of faith, stay glad.

Order of the holy land,  
Power of fraternity of the  
populace;  
The nation, country, and  
domain;  
Ever luminous remain!  
The cherished goal, stay glad.

Flag with the star and crescent,  
The leader of progress and  
ascent,  
Dragoman of past, the pride of  
present;  
Soul of the future!  
Shadow of the God of grandeur

**Total area:** Pakistan is the 33rd largest country in the world with an area of 796,095,000 sq. km, divided into provinces: Baluchistan 347,190,000 sq. km., Punjab 205,344,000 sq. km., Sindh 140,914,000 sq. km., Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa 74,521,000 sq. km., Federally Administered Tribal Areas 27,220,000 sq. km. and the capital Islamabad 906 sq. km. Pakistan has a 1,046 km coastline along the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Oman. It borders India to the east, Afghanistan to the west, Iran to the southwest, and China to the northeast.

Pakistan is the second largest Muslim country after Indonesia.

Population: 227 million people (Data of January 2022), natural population growth rate is 2 %. The distribution of the population by provinces and territories is as follows: Baluchistan - 12.3 million, Punjab - 110 million, Sindh - 47.8 million, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa - 40.5 million, Gilgit-Baltistan - 1.8 million, Islamabad Capital Territory - 2.8 million, Azad Kashmir - 4.6 million people.

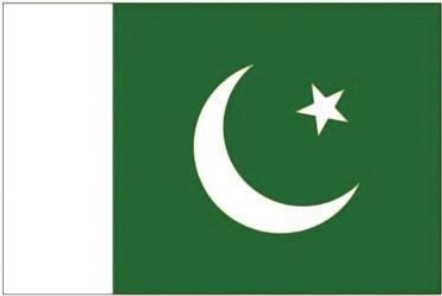
Gross domestic product is \$5973 per capita.

Religious affiliation: Muslims are about 97 %, Christians and members of other religions are slightly more than 3 %.

Currency: Pakistani rupee.

Language: national (state) language is Urdu, official language is English.

Regional languages and approximate percentages of speakers of these languages in the total population: Punjabi- 39 %, Pashto- 18 %, Sindhi- 15 %, Saraiki- 12 %, Balochi- 3 %, Kashmiri- 2.03 %, Hindko- 2 %, Brahvi- 1 %, Potwari-1 %, and other languages and their relatives.





## PREFACE

The new geopolitical situation that emerged in the world after the World War II, as well as the years of struggle of a number of peoples for independence, the expanding mass movements against colonial regimes, including the rule of Great Britain over a very vast geography, and thus the change in the world order as a whole, forced Britain to agree to the creation of independent states of India and Pakistan in the Indian Subcontinent, which it had colonized for about 150 years. British India was divided into two along a 1,600-km dividing line along religious and communal lines. Thus, the regions inhabited mainly by Muslims, regardless of the ethnic affiliation and ethno-geographical situation of the peoples living there, were united and a single independent state of Pakistan was formed. West Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa), East Bengal (later called East Pakistan), and the Sylhet district of Assam province together formed Pakistan, and Pakistan declared its independence on 14 August 1947. At the time, the population of Pakistan was 32.5 million.

It should be noted that the name “Pakistan” did not exist historically; it is said that this expression was first used in 1933 in Chaudhry Rahmat Ali’s pamphlet “Now or Never!” to mean “pure, clean land”.

However, it was not easy to unite a new people with different levels of development, to eliminate the wounds inflicted by colonialism and its continuing remnants, and to lead them to a completely new and different path of

development. Moreover, this painful state-building and nation-building was carried out in conditions of bloody conflicts with India. Here, the wise statesmanship and ummah teaching of the founder and first leader of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and his personal theoretical and practical activities ensured the parallel fulfillment of these difficult tasks. In the difficult and complex process of construction, the Muslim League, led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whom the people of Pakistan rightly called the Great Leader, played a decisive role. In the following years, a number of parties that appeared in the political life of the country were born within this organization or in competition with it.

When the question of determining the capital of the newly formed state arose, it was necessary to choose between Lahore and Karachi. Lahore, located approximately in the center of Pakistan, known at that time as the cradle of ancient culture and religious center, and considered an important and large city of the country, was located only 12 miles from the Indian border, and it didn't seem suitable from a security viewpoint. Therefore, it was decided to choose the city of Karachi, located in the south of the country, as the capital. Although Karachi was a small city, it was growing rapidly, and since located on the sea coast, it was a convenient port for sea transport and shipping, it could play an important role in the development of trade and industry of the country, and could influence the development of relations with neighboring countries and states in the Indian Ocean basin. Despite the fact that the infrastructure of the city and the climate of the region were not very suitable, it was decided to choose it as the capital, and Karachi remained

in this status for more than a decade.

During the reign of General Ayub Khan, in 1959, it was deemed appropriate to move the capital to a new city, which would be more suitable and have more opportunities for expansion, as well as being closer to the country's megalopolis, Rawalpindi, and its main airport. This city, called Islamabad, began to be built in the early 1960s according to the design of the Greek architect Doxiadis. In the 1981 year's census, the city's population exceeded 200,000, and currently its population is about 1 million, and it is a large and lush city, built in the most suitable way for a capital. Due to the tectonic situation, almost no high-rise buildings are built in the city, and those that exist are few.

Benazir Bhutto Airport is located at about 20 km distance from Islamabad, near the multi-million city of Rawalpindi.

## FROM ANCIENT TIMES UP TO THE ADOPTION OF ISLAM

Pakistan and India are the birthplaces of one of the world's oldest civilizations. Although Pakistan is a young country, having been established on August 14, 1947, the country has a fascinating and rich history, dating back to the ancient Indian civilization and the rich Islamic culture from the 8th century. Archaeologists confirm that archaeological finds provide valuable information about the urban and rural life of the rich Indus Valley, where the Harappan civilization dominated in the Indian subcontinent five thousand years ago.

From the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, centers of the Harapp civilization (Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, and others) existed here. At the end of the 2nd millennium BC, Vedic-Aryan tribes arrived here, got mixed with the local population, and by the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, Indo-Aryan tribes had already formed. In the 7th-6th centuries BC, Buddhist state units were formed in these territories. From the mid 6th century BC, most of the territories of the Indus Valley were included in the rule of the ancient Pars/Persian (*the word "fars" was pronounced in the Arab pronunciation, because the Arabs, who could not pronounce the sound "p", used the sound "f" - E.M.*) empire of the Achaemenids (558-330. BC).<sup>1</sup> In 549, the Persian ruler Cyrus (*since the name does not have an ethical meaning in Persian, this ruler is called Kurush in*

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<sup>1</sup> Pirniya, Hesén. Íran-e bastán, celd-e dovvom, Tehran, Dunya-ye-Ketab, 1373 (1994), p.1551(in Persian)

*Iran, and the Greeks called him Kṓρος (Kṓros), derived from the Old Persian name Kūruš - E.M.) captured the Median capital Ecbatana (Hamadan) and expanded his power further, and later the territory of present-day Pakistan was also included in this empire. In 327-326 BC, these vast territories, called by the Persians as the “Achaemenid” state, were occupied by Alexander the Great, who put an end to the rule of this dynasty and created 3 satrapies here. After Alexander’s death in 323, these territories passed first to the Mauryan Empire (317–180 BC) and then to Greco-Bactrian rule. During Parthian rule, the territories of present-day Pakistan were under this state.<sup>1</sup>*

In the 2nd century BC, an Indo-Greek kingdom was established in this area, which was overthrown by the Sakas, the ancestors of the Turks. And in the 1st century BC, the Sakian state was established here. This Indo-Scythian kingdom was formed in the 1st century BC. The ruler “Az”, called himself the king of kings, and this state fell at the end of the 1st century, first as part of the Indo-Parthian and then the Kushan states.

In the 1st-3rd centuries, the Indian Basin was part of the Kushan Empire, the center of which was the present-day city of Peshawar. From the beginning of our era, crafts, iron processing, agriculture, and cattle breeding were developing rapidly here. At that time, the territory of present-day Pakistan was also part of the Silk Road, and silk caravans departing from China, especially from Kashgar (*the central city of East Turkestan, now called*

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<sup>1</sup> Robert D. Kaplan. *The Revenge of Geography*. New York, Random House Trade Papebacks, 2012, pp.270-271.

*Xinjiang province*), moved along the territories of the present-day Karakorum Highway and reached Central Asia. Kushan coins found during archaeological excavations in the Hunza province of Pakistan, the Ladakh region of Kashmir, also in Punjab indicate that trade was flourishing in this empire.<sup>1</sup>

After the collapse of the Kushan Empire in the 4th century, the western regions of Pakistan became part of the Sassanid Empire (224–551), and the eastern regions of Pakistan became part of the Gupta Empire (4th–5th centuries). During these periods, the regions of Gujarat and Sindh were under the control of the Sakas, and the Saka-Shahi rulers lost their independent rule around 412 and accepted Sassanid suzerainty.

From the beginning of the 5th century, the Huns began to move towards the Indus Valley, as they managed to revive the great Hun Empire in Central Asia. They wrested these territories from the Sassanids, and in the second half of the century, the territory of present-day Pakistan came under the rule of the Hephthalites (White Huns).<sup>2</sup> At this time, Sakala (present-day Sialkot) became the center. According to Pakistani sources, the first Hun ruler in the Indus Valley (the Indus River valley) was Tujin (or Tunjin, the father of Torama). From the mid-5th century to the 20s of the 8th century, the Huns ruled the Punjab

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani. *History of Pakistan. Pakistan through ages*. Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2008, p.144.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Paul Roux. *Türklerin tarihi –Pasifik ten Akdenize 2000 Yıl*. İstanbul, Kabaıçı Yayın Evi, 2007, s.81.

province of present-day Pakistan and India and a number of other regions, as well as Kashmir. According to the records of Chinese pilgrims, the Hun ruler Khinqala (Khinkhila) was in power in Kashmir in 597-633.

The Huns, ancestors of the Turks, under the leadership of Torama, captured Kandahar in 460, followed by Punjab, Sindh, Rajasthan, and the area between the Ganges and Yamuna rivers. Although the feudal system established by the Huns strengthened the power of local nobles, the central government gradually weakened. As a result, the Rai dynasty consolidated its position in Sindh, local rajas strengthened their power in Multan and Lahore, the Naga Karkota rulers replaced the Huns in Kashmir, and in some places new Turkic immigrants from Central Asia displaced the Huns from ruling positions. Many small kingdoms began to emerge in the Indus Valley.

Both the Sassanids and the Western Turkic Khaganate fought against the White Huns. The reign of the Huns, which lasted about a century, left a deep mark on many areas of present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the vast majority of the Huns intermingled with the local peoples. J.P.Roux writes that the Kalachs (Halachas) living in eastern part of Afghanistan are also descendants of the Huns.<sup>1</sup>

In 664, the first Arab groups led by Al-Muhallab set foot on the Bannu and Swab regions of present-day Pakistan and North Waziristan through the Kandahar-Ghazna region. Around these years, in 666, the Turks (White Huns) conquered Kabul, Zabul and al-Ruhaji and consolidated their rule in these regions. At that time, their

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<sup>1</sup> Roux, J.P., s.82.

rule was called the Turki Shahi. When the Turks tried to capture the Sistan region, they encountered the Arabs who attacked this area for the same purpose. However, the Turks strengthened their rule here and ruled this region until 870. It is known that Kabul was founded by Bara Tegin (Great Tegin) and that the last ruler of this region was Lagaturman (Laghu Toraman, i.e. Little Toraman).<sup>1</sup>

In the same year, the Arab Yaqub ibn Lait put an end to the rule of the Turks in Zabul. In Kabul, the last Turki Shahi was defeated by the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mamun. Thus, 183 years' Turkish rule in this region was ended and the rule of Indian rulers, called Hindu Shahis, began. The first ruler, Kallar, married the widow of the last overthrown Turki Shahi ruler and adopted the title of Shahi. Al-Biruni wrote that there were two Shahi governments: the Turki Shahi and the Hindi Shahi. According to Ma'dudi, the Hindu Shahis were not a local Indian tribe, but came to this region with the Huns, and were the Janjua (Jouan Jouan) tribe, which belonged to the tribal alliances of the Huns.

The Hindu Shahis had special relations with the Naga Karkota dynasty that ruled Kashmir after the Huns.

After the establishment of Turkish rule in Ghazna, the Shahis were pushed out from all sides during the reign of Sabuk Tegin, and they ruled only in the Peshawar valley. During the reign of Sabuk Tegin's son Mahmud, the Shahis' rule in this region was also ended.

The presence of the Turks in these places was repeated several centuries later on a higher level and on a larger scale.

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<sup>1</sup> Dani, A., p.154.



## **THE ADOPTION AND SPREAD OF ISLAM**

It should be noted that trade relations of the Arabs with Sindh began long before the dissemination of Islam in this region. In 711, the troops of the Umayyad dynasty (761-750) under the command of Muhammad bin Qasim reached the eastern coast of the Arabian Sea, in the province of Sindh, and began a wide conquest. Some consider this date to be the beginning of the genesis of Pakistan in the future on the Subcontinent. Thus, the process of dissemination of Islam in South Asia began. At the same time, Islamic culture, along with religion, began to spread rapidly in this vast geography. There was also a natural interest of people in the teachings of the One God and the Prophet (pbuh) chosen by him. The division into strata and various classes in the Indian Subcontinent society, which had Buddhism and other polytheistic beliefs, and the inequality of people made this new belief, Islam, which proclaimed the equality of everyone before God, and was based on justice, even more tempting and attractive in this region. Islam did not distinguish between races and nationalities, and also protected the rights of women. At the same time, the beliefs that people had for centuries were not suppressed, and although their influence decreased, they continued to exist. Eg., the Sun Temple in Multan continued its activities.

The spread of Islam in the region at the beginning of the 8th century brought a completely new atmosphere here. After the fall of the Umayyads in 750, Multan became an independent principality, and the local Shahi dynasty established power in the northern regions. During the Abbasid Caliphate, as the influence of the central

government in Sindh and Mansour diminished, the influence of foreigners (*Kharijuyun*) and *Ismailis* began to grow here, and the region displayed more interest towards the sphere of influence of the Fatimid caliphs of Egypt. The *Alewis* who came from Yemen were gaining strength here. According to the historian Muqaddasi (Al-Maqdisi), who visited the region in 985, Multan was ruled by the Ismaili Dayi, and *Shiism* was widespread there, and *khutbah* (sermons) were delivered in the name of the Fatimid Caliph.<sup>1</sup> The influence of various Arab rulers and commanders was established in the central and northern parts of the Subcontinent. Eg., in the very north, in North Waziristan, the Arab-Yazidi commander Malik Ajdar had great influence, and even his burial place had become a place of pilgrimage. Although the governors of the Caliphate replaced each other in the region and each time attempts were made to strengthen the central government in these regions, the local feudal rulers aspired to greater independence.

Gradually, in Sindh, Multan, as well as in Central Asia, the process of the emergence of independent Arab, Turkish, Persian rulers who were less dependent on the center of the Caliphate was underway, and during this period, the place and role of the Turks was gradually increasing. Even in the Persian-speaking Samanid government established in Bukhara, the position of the Turks was strengthening. After gaining rule over Khorasan and Ghazni, the Samanid ruler Alp-Tekin moved towards the Indian Subcontinent and, having defeated the Pashtuns at the Khyber Pass, took possession of the Peshawar Valley. His successor, Sabuk-Tekin, continued these

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<sup>1</sup> Dani, A., p.154.

conquests. The positions of the Turks in Afghanistan were also strengthened. During the time of the Indian Turkic-Shahis, Islamic culture was flourishing in the region. More and more local rulers accepted Islam. In general, Sufi teachings played a decisive role in the spread of Islam in the Subcontinent. Even in regions where Buddhism was dominant, Sufi teachings was spreading. Eg., the local ruler of Kashmir, Rinchan, converted to Islam, and the Sufi thinker Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his disciples were influential in the dissemination of Islam in this region.

## INDIAN PENINSULA DURING THE REIGN OF THE GHAZNAVIDS

The Ghaznavid dynasty established the strongest state of the time and region in the years 963-1186 and had a vast territory. Until 1151, the capital of this state, which was established in the territory of present-day Afghanistan, was the city of Ghazni. The first ruler of this state was Alptekin, and 21 people ruled one after another in this state. The state experienced its highest period of development during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi (998-1030), and besides the territory of modern Afghanistan, he united eastern Iran, the northern provinces of present-day Pakistan, most of Punjab, and a number of provinces of Central Asia. Sultan Mahmud captured Lahore in 1022, laying the foundation for more than eight centuries of Muslim rule over a large region.<sup>1</sup> From 1151 onwards, Lahore was the capital of this state for about 30 years. Sheikh Ismail Bukhari, Sheikh Hussain Zanjani, and his disciple Hazrat Sheikh Ali (Data Ganjibakhsh), who arrived here in 1005, played a great role in the spread of Islam in Lahore, especially in learning the Quran and Hadiths. The mosque he built here and his work *Kashful-Mahjub*, dedicated to Sufi teachings, played a significant role in the dissemination of Islam and the expansion of Bukhara-Lahore relations. Under his influence, the *naib* of Lahore, Rai Raju, converted to Islam and took the name Sheikh Hindi.

The historical role of the Ghaznavids in this region, of

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<sup>1</sup> Jalal, Ayesha. The Oxford Companion To Pakistani History. Oxford University Press, 2012, p.303.

course, is not only political and military achievements. A very important aspect in this is that the Turkic, Persian-Tajik culture prevailing in Central Asia, the ethnic members who were the bearers of this culture, were the means for intermingling with the inhabitants of the Indian Subcontinent and establishing a richer Islamic civilization here. The spread of the Persian language in the region is also associated with the widespread use of the works of the great classics of Persian-language poetry, such as Persian poet Abdulqasim Firdawsi's "Shahnameh" and Azerbaijani poet Nizami Ganjavi's "Khamsa". The fact that names for various areas of life, from names of food and clothing (tandoor, kebab, nan, tike, shalwar qameez, shirvani, etc.) the same or similar to the Turkic and Persian names is the most obvious indicator of the interaction of cultures at that time.

After the collapse of the Samanids in Bukhara, three major powers emerged in Central Asia: the Seljuks in Khorasan and Iran, the Qarakhanids in Kashgar, and the Khoresmshahs in the center. After the fall of the Ghaznavids, the Ghurids that was considered to be Turkic tribes, gained strength in western Afghanistan.

In 1192, the Muslim Ghuri dynasty in central Afghanistan defeated the united Rajput armies and captured Northern India, opening the way for the Islamic army to the Ganges plains.

The Ghurids established power over a large area covering present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, and northwest of India. Although the reigns of the first six rulers of the Ghurids, a powerful state of South and Central Asia in 1000-1215, are not found in historical literature, they and their successors ruled this vast empire in the following

order: Muhammad ibn Suri, Abu Ali, Shis, Abbas, Muhammad, Qutb ud-Din Hasan, Izzeddin Hussein (1100-1146), Sayf al-Din Suri (1146-1149), Bahauddin Sam I (1149), Alauddin Hussein (1149-1161), Seyfuddin Muhammad (1161-1163), Giyas ud-Din Muhammad (1163-1173), Shihab ud-Din Muhammad (1173-1206), Giyas ud-Din Mahmud (1206-1212), Baha ud-Din Sam II (1212-1213), Aladdin Atsiz (1213), Aladdin Muhammad (1214-1215).<sup>1</sup>

The Ghurids reached the peak of their success under Shihab ud-Din (or Muizzuddin), who in 1186 brought an end to the Ghaznavid Empire and captured Peshawar and many provinces of the Punjab, including Lahore, after which the last Ghaznavid ruler, Khosrow Malik, abdicated through negotiations. The Sumro rulers of Sindh also submitted to them, and in later years the Ghurids also took control of the Ganges Valley. After the death of Sultan Shihab ud-din Ghurid, his governors preferred to remain independent in the provinces they ruled. Qutb ud-Din Aibak consolidated his power in Lahore and Delhi. The Ilbari and Khalij Turkic tribes were the decisive forces in his army, and he laid the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate.

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<sup>1</sup>. Энциклопедия Пакистана. Гуриды - Ю.В.Ганковский, Москва, Фундаментал Пресс, 1988, с.186.

## **THE DELHI SULTANATE: ITS EMERGENCE, RISE AND FALL**

Muhammad Ghuri's army consisted mainly of Turks and Afghans, and in early 13th century they founded the Delhi Sultanate. The well-known European orientalist H. Kissling and B. Shpuler noted that this sultanate was founded by the Turko-Muslim conquerors, and that this can be considered the foundation for the emergence of a Muslim empire in the Subcontinent.<sup>1</sup>

Six dynasties ruled here in succession: the Ghulams, the Khiljis, the Tughlakis, the Sayyids, the Lodis and the Suris. However, due to the weakness of the central government, the struggles between the sultans and local rulers always prevented this state from strengthening. Lahore was the capital city of the sultanate. During this period, Sufism played an important role in the development of Islamic thought in the region.

The Ghulam dynasty (1206-1290) founded by Qutb ud-Din Aibak (1206-1210), the Khilji dynasty (1290-1320) of Jalaluddin Firuz Shah II (1290-1296), the Tughluq dynasty (1320-1325) of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq Shah (1320-1325), the Sayyid dynasty (1414-1451) of Khidr Khan (1414-1421), the Lodi dynasty (1451-1489) of Bahlul Lodi (1451-1526), and the Surid dynasty (1540-1555) of Sher Shah Sur (1540-1545) ruled the Delhi Sultanate. After the dethronement of the Mughal emperor Humayun in 1540, Sher Shah Sur (1540-1545), followed by Islam Shah (1545-1554), Muhammad Adil Shah V (1554), Ibrahim III (1554-1555), and finally Ahmed Khan Sikandar Shah III (1555) from the

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<sup>1</sup> Кисслинг, Ханс; Шпулер, Бертолд. Великие Мусульманские Империи. Москва, «Центрполиграф», 2021, с.298, 319 с.

Sur dynasty ruled the Delhi Sultanate.<sup>1</sup>

From 1206 to 1526, the Delhi Sultanate sometimes growing stronger, sometimes weakening, played an important role in the wide spread of Islamic civilization, especially Sufism, and in the establishment of cultural and trade relations with the Turkic-Islamic world.

After Amir Timur (1336-1405) conquered Delhi in 1389 and took complete control of the northern part of the Indian Subcontinent and plundered it, the sultanate fell into political chaos, the central government weakened, and a number of sultanates emerged in and around Punjab: Bahmani, Jainpur, Gujarat and Malwa, and Rajputana. By the end of the 15th century, the Bahmani sultanate had disintegrated into five smaller sultanates. The Lodi attempts to strengthen central authority of the sultanate in the north also failed. Among these sultans, Sikandar Lodi (reigned in 1489-1517), distinguished by his diplomatic skills, military prowess, and strict Muslim piety, managed to rather expand his sultanate, but his son Ibrahim (1517-1526) was unable to unite the rebellious Afghan nobles into a single force, and his extreme ruthlessness led to the rise of certain opposition forces against him. As a result, the ruler of Punjab, Daulat Khan Lodi, who was a vassal of Ibrahim Lodi, entered into an alliance with Zahir-ud-din Babur against him.

As the Turkish-Muslim sultanates weakened, local Hindu rulers began to gain strength in the southern regions of the Indian Subcontinent. Thus, taking advantage of the weakening of the sultanate and the lack of coastal defenses on the Subcontinent, a Portuguese expedition captured the town of Gao from the Bijapur sultanate (Deccan region).

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<sup>1</sup> Энциклопедия Пакистана. Москва, 1998, с.188.



## THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

The most famous period of Pakistan history is, of course, associated with the activities of the Great Mughal Empire (*in Azerbaijani literature it is used as "Moghol", but in Urdu and English it is used as Mughal, and in English is sometimes also used as "Moghul" E.M.*). The Babur state, which was based on the Turkic-Muslim political and spiritual culture and gradually transformed into an empire, played a unique role in the development of Eastern culture, both in the Indian Subcontinent and in general, in Asia, alongside the Ottoman and Safavid empires and in mutual relations with them, both in politics and in the development of Eastern culture. The most reliable and valuable source about this period is undoubtedly the "Babur Nama" of the founder and first ruler of this state, Muhammad Zahir-ud-din Babur.

Moreover, the period is comprehensively reflected in the "Humayun-Nama" by Babur's daughter Gulbeden Beyim. The historical, cultural, and religious monuments built in connection with the cultural development during the time of Babur's successors Humayun, Jahangir, Akbar and Aurangzeb also provide extensive information about this empire. Researcher T.Ansari writes: "The Mughals were not even slightly behind the Ottomans in wealth and power. 20 percent of the world population lived in the territories under their rule, including present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Burma".<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ansary, Tamim . Destiny Disrupted. A History of the World Through Islamic Eyes. New-York,

The founder of the Mughal state, Zahir ud-din Muhammad Babur (1483-1530), was born in Andijan, present-day Uzbekistan. A descendant of Genghis Khan (1162-1227) on his matrilineal and Amir Timur (1336-1405) on his paternal side, Babur went down in history as the founder and first ruler of the powerful Mughal Empire of the East, and the author of the famous “Babur Nama” diaries.<sup>1</sup>

According to the traditions of the time, rulers in the Islamic countries of the East usually added high religious titles to their names, and Muhammad Babur took the name “Zahīr ud-Dīn” (zahir-ud-din - Arabic for “protector of religion”). The subsequent successor rulers also took such names: Humayun Nasir-ud-din, Akbar Jalal-ud-din, Jahangir Nur-ud-din, Shah Jahan Shihab-ud-din, Aurangzeb Muhiyy-ud-din). The name “Babur” (leopard) was given to Zahir-ud-din Muhammad by the respected poet and Sufi thinker of the time, Khoja Nasruddin Ubaydullah Ahrar.

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BBS Public Affairs, 2009, p.189.

<sup>1</sup> Babur Nama – Journal of Emperor Babur. Translated from the Chaghatai Turkish by Annete Susannah Beveridge, Abridged, edited and introduced by Dilip Hiro /Penguin Books India-2006); Zəhirəddin Məhəmməd Babur. Baburnamə. Çağatayca, türkçə və rusca nəşrlərdən çevirən, ön sözlün, qeydlərin və izahların müəllifi Ramiz Əsgər, Bakı, 2011; Babur-name. Zapiski Babura. Taşkent, Qlavnaya Redaksiya Ensiklopediy. Perevod M.Salye (Салье) ot Bobur-noma; Bokiati-i Boburiy. Uzbekiston Fanlar Akademiyasining Şarkşunoslik İnstitutu. Toşkent, Komuslar Boş Taxririya, 1993.

### **Babur's Family Tree** **By matrilineal**

Genghis Khan (1162-1227)

↓ Jaghatai Khan (2nd son)

↓ Mautukan Khan

↓ Yishuntava Khan

↓ Baraq Khan

↓ Dava Khan

↓ Aisan Buga Khan

↓ Tughlaq Timur Khan

↓ Khizr Khaja Khan

↓ Muhammad Khan

↓ Sher Ali Auglan Khan

↓ Weis Khan (1428)

↓ Yunus Khan (2nd son)

↓ Daughter Qutluq Nigar Khanum Wife of Omar Sheikh, mother of Babur.

**Note:** descendants of Genghis Khan bore the title “khan”, while daughters bore the title “khatun” or “khanim”.

### **By paternal line**

Amir Timur (1336-1405)

↓ Miranshah Mirza (4th son)

↓ Sultan Muhammad Mirza

↓ Abu Said Mirza (died in 1469)

↓ Omar Sheikh Mirza (4th son 1456-1494)

† Zahīr ud-Dīn Muhammad Babur Mirza (1st son)<sup>1</sup>

**Note:** *Amir or Mir means ruler, judge, the name of the ruler's sons was "Mirza", that is, the son of the Amir, or Mir, in Iran and Azerbaijan this also meant prince.*

*"Mir" has nothing to do with sayyids, and "Mirza" has nothing to do with "mirza" meaning writer or intellectual.*

Bamber Gascoigne, a well-known researcher of the Mughal period, writes that Babur, who was related to Genghis Khan on his maternal line and Timur on his paternal line and who deserved to be considered one of the great rulers of the East, was more proud of his kinship with Timur, who was a Turk.<sup>1</sup> Babur's mother, Qutluq

Nigar Khanum, and his maternal grandmother, Aysan Dovlat Beyim, were both well educated and played an important role in Babur's upbringing. Babur was proud of his origin and called himself a Timurid Turk. Eg., , while describing one of his meetings, he writes in the "Babur nama" that, according to the custom of the Timurid sultans, on such occasions he sat on an elevated throne.

Along with his native Turkish, Babur knew Persian, but he wrote his two main works in Turkish: "Explanation of Islamic Law" and "Babur nama" (English: "Babur Nama - Journal of Babur"). "Babur nama" was translated from Turkish (Chagatai Turkish) into Persian during the reign of Babur's grandson Akbar Shah (1556-1605).

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<sup>1</sup> Babur Nama. Journal of Emperor Babur. Translated from the Chaghatai Turkish by Annette Susannah Beveridge; Abridged, edited and introduced by Dilip Hira, New Delhi, Penguin Books India, 2006, s.VII-VIII.

<sup>1</sup> Гаскойн, Бэмбер. Великие Моголы. Москва, "Центрполиграф", 2020, с.14.

Unfortunately, the part of this invaluable historical source, covering approximately 18 years of Babur's reign, was lost and was not included in "Babur nama" published afterwards. These parts cover the years 1502-1503, 1508-1519, and 1520-1525. However, it was known that Babur had been keeping a diary since his youth, and he began dictating and writing down these diaries from 1527.

In 1921, Anette Susannah Beveridge (1842-1929) translated and published the "Babur nama" from Chagatai Turkish into English. This 906-page book was republished in 2006, edited by Dilip Hiro, a known expert on Southeast Asia, Central Asia and the Caucasus.<sup>1</sup>

In 1493, when his father, Omar Sheikh Mirza (1456-1993) died in an accident Babur was only 11 years old, and he was the ruler of Andijan. After his father's death, Babur ascended the throne of Fergana (12 June 1494), gradually gaining political experience and trying to increase the military power of his state, he had to face very serious obstacles. He was able to capture Samarkand in 1497, but was unable to consolidate his position there due to both his illness and the uprisings that broke out against him in Andijan. Soon after, he returned to Andijan to suppress the uprising of his opponents, but Andijan was already in the hands of the rebellious beys, and Babur with his small army had to leave for Khojand to his uncle. A little later, Babur, who took back Andijan with the help of his uncle, was severely defeated by the powerful Uzbek ruler Sheibani Khan. In 1501 and had to take refuge in Samarkand, but Sheibani Khan occupied Samarkand as

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<sup>1</sup> Babur Nama. Yournal of Emperor Babur. Penguin Books India, 2006.

well, and Babur had to flee from here. Sheibani Khan captured Babur's sister, Khanzade Beyim, and later married her. Babur, who moved to Khorasan aiming to escape and gather strength, gained many followers along the way, and he turned to Kabul, decided to establish his power there, and in 1506, he captured Kabul almost without a fight and became the ruler of this region.

This historical event is also reflected in the work "History of Abbas Decorating the World" by the prominent medieval historian and statesman of Azerbaijan, Iskander bey Munshi.<sup>1</sup>

The work briefly but interestingly describes the decisive support provided by Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavid state of Azerbaijan, to Babur's rise to power: At the request of Muhammad Babur Mirza, Shah Ismail issued the following decree: "Let him keep all the lands he can conquer in the province of Mesopotamia". The author writes that Babur left Kabul for his hereditary estate, took Khan Mirza with him in Badakhshan, and set off for Hisare Shadman... The glorious khagan (Shah Ismail) sent Ahmad Sultan Sufioglu and Shahrukh Sultan Mohrdar Afshar to his aid with a number of brave warriors of the battlefield... The Uzbek sultans, who learned about the attack of Muhammad Babur Mirza with the Qizilbash, left their capital and went to Turkestan, while Babur Mirza sat on the throne of his victorious ancestor in the city of Samarkand, and in that heavenly city, he had a sermon

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<sup>1</sup> Münşi, İsgəndər bəy Türkman. *Dünyanı bəzəyən Abbasın tarixi* (Tarixə aləmaraye-Abbasi". Fars dilindən tərcümə edən tarix elmləri doktoru, professor Şahin Fazil, Bakı, "Şərq-Qərb" Nəşriyyat evi, 1-ci cild, 2010, s.80.

read in the name of that great man (Shah Ismail), gave permission to the Qizilbash emirs to return, and sent worthy gifts to the shah...”<sup>1</sup>

After that, as the ruler of Kabul, for many years Babur fought with the support of Shah Ismail Khatai, the founder and first ruler of the Safavid state of Azerbaijan, to fully take possession of his ancestral lands. Although he regained control of Samarkand in 1511 with the support of Shah Ismail, he gradually lost influence among the Sunni population after dismissing the Qizilbash warriors and converting to Shiism at the request of the Safavid shah in exchange for his help, and eight months later, after the Uzbeks captured Samarkand by storm, he had to return to Kabul.<sup>2</sup> Babur, who was sometimes victorious and sometimes defeated in the struggle for power, finally further expanding his power he decided to strengthen his position in Kabul and march on India. After long and persistent wars, Babur captured Kandahar in 1522 and began preparing for the Indian campaign. Taking lesson from the defeat of his friend and patron Shah Ismail by the Ottoman Sultan Selim in the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514, Babur supplied his army with cannons and matchlock weapons. In the Delhi Sultanate, began disobedience and unrest against Sultan Ibrahim. Babur, who already had sufficient political experience and a fighting army, marched on India on April 21, 1525, defeated the ruler of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi at the Battle of Panipat, and laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire (1525-1858) there. Ibrahim Lodi was killed in the battle. Babur buried his

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<sup>1</sup> Münşi, s.39.

<sup>2</sup> Гаскойн, Б., с.32.

body with honors at the battlefield, and later a mausoleum was erected over his grave. Babur's 17-year-old son Humayun showed valor in this battle. Soon, Delhi, Agra, and other cities accepted Babur's rule. But, Babur faced strong resistance from Rana Sangram Singh, the leader of the Rajput princes in Mewar. Singh's army, which was trying to establish an independent Hindu state, on March 16, 1527, went into action against Babur's army at Khanya near Agra. Babur, who won the battle, further expanded his power at the expense of the territories of the Hindu princes, and the borders of this state stretched from Central Asia to Bengal, from the Himalayas to Gwalior. Following it, in fact, the process of formation of the Great Mughal Empire began. At that time, when the name "Mughal" was mentioned, both those of Mongol descent and generally Turkic-speaking Muslims were meant. It is known that the Mongols few in number were in a single whole with the Turks (Tatars), and the Turks formed their main striking force and military elite. Even in Russian historical and political literature, during the Mongol invasions, the Tatars were correctly given more prominence, and the Russian expression "Tatar-Mongols" was used.

Babur's daughter, Gulbeden Beyim (1522-1603), who was deeply knowledgeable about history and culture, after thoroughly researching the political, social and cultural life, family and household issues of India during the reign of her father Babur and brother Humayun, on the advice of the Grand Vizier Abulfazl Allami, during Babur's lifetime wrote the work "Humayun-nama". These valuable memoirs in Persian were published in English in London in 1902. The work "Humayun-nama" skillfully describes



various issues and details of the era and Babur's rule.

This valuable source describes in an interesting way the last days of Babur's life, especially how he visited his son Humayun in December 1530, in the Sambhal region he ruled and went around him three times for his healing, who was seriously ill, to bring him to Agra and recover, begging God to grant him his son's illness. As a result, Humayun recovered and Babur died soon after. Before his death, Babur gathered his children and appointed his eldest son Humayun as his successor. (His sons were Humayun, Kamran, Askeri, Hindali, and his daughters Gulrang, Gulchohra and Gulbeden).

It should be noted that Babur, who died in Agra on December 26, 1530, was buried in the Aram Bagh in front of the present-day Taj Mahal. A temporary mausoleum was built over the tomb. Temporary because, according to Babur's will, he was to be buried in Kabul. After about ten years, Babur's body was taken to Kabul and buried there on the "Shah-e Kabul Hill".<sup>1</sup> During the reign of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, a mausoleum and a mosque were built over Babur's tomb. The author of these lines had the opportunity to visit that mausoleum in 2006, while he was the ambassador of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (with his residence in Islamabad).

Babur had very enchanting qualities as a personality and ruler. Besides his political, military, and state administration skills, he demonstrated his deep knowledge in the fields of science, culture and art, exact and natural sciences, literature and linguistics, history and geography

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<sup>1</sup> Babur Nama, p.345.

in his divans (“Kabul Divan”, “Hind Divan”) and numerous other works. Professor Ramiz Asker characterizes his personality as follows: “...Babur, just like Gazi Burhan al-Din, Shah Ismail Khatai, Jahan Shah Haqiqi, Sheybani Khan, Hussein Baygara, Sultan Selim, Qanuni Sultan Suleiman and others, is both a ruler and a brilliantly talented writer”.<sup>1</sup>

The Azerbaijani Safavid state, founded in 1501 in the capital of Azerbaijan, Tabriz, played a special, and in many ways, decisive role in the formation of the Mughal Empire and its foreign relations, as well as in its relations with the great powers of the time.

After Babur’s sudden death in 1530, his 23-year-old son Nasir ad-Din Muhammad Humayun (reigned 1530-1540; 1555-1556) ascended the throne. Although Humayun was an intelligent and cultured statesman, he was not decisive and persistent enough. He tried to keep the great state he inherited from his father in one place and in one hand and take it further, and although he defeated the Gujarat Sultan Bahadur in the battle in 1535 and united a large part of this province under his rule, he was unable to strengthen central authority here. At that time, when he moved his army there to suppress the rebellion started by the Afghan Sher Khan (Shir Khan) in Bihar, Gujarat rebelled again. His indecisiveness in the fight against the Afghan rebels resulted in Humayun’s defeat at the Battle of Chaus in 1539. On 17 May 1540, Humayun’s army faced Sher Khan’s troops about 150 miles east of Agra, and the Afghans were victorious in this battle as well. Sher Khan

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<sup>1</sup> Əsgər, Ramiz. Zəhirəddin Babur - mülkün və səltənətin ulu sultanı. “525-ci qəzet”, 12 fevral 2021, s.11.

then declared himself padishah and marched to Delhi, establishing the Surya Empire, named it after his dynasty.

By mid-1542, Humayun had been trying to assemble troops in Lahore but was unable to do so, and was forced to retreat to Sindh in great hardship and deprivation. In October of the same year, Humayun's 15-year-old wife Hamida gave birth to Akbar, who would become the future ruler of the empire. Seeking refuge and help from his brothers, Humayun crossed the Indus River and set out for Kandahar in 1543. However, the ruler of Kandahar, Humayun's brother Askari, attempted to arrest Humayun on orders from his elder brother Kamran. At that time, Humayun's only hope was his compatriot, the ruler of the Safavid state of Azerbaijan, Tahmasib Shah (1514-1556). In December of the same year, with great difficulties Humayun and his closest people and family reached Herat. By order of Shah Tahmasib, the ruler of Herat showed care for Humayun and his entourage and hosted him for a month. Then Humayun spent another 40 days in Mashhad, visited the tomb of Imam Reza, and in July was received with honor by Shah Tahmasib at the shah's summer residence near Qazvin.

Like his father Shah Ismail demanded of Babur, Shah Tahmasib wanted Humayun to convert to Shiism. Considering that Humayun's wife Hamida and Humayun's closest friend Bayram Khan were Shias, it should not have been difficult for him to be converted to Shia Islam, and since Humayun, who had lost his throne, was in dire need of support, there was no way out.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, an envoy of

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<sup>1</sup> Iran and the World in the Safavid Age. Edited by Willem Floor and Edmund Herzig. London, I.B.TAURIS, 2012, p.106.

his brother Kamran from Kabul had come to Shah Tahmasib's palace and announced that if the Shah handed Humayun to him, he would give Kandahar to the Safavid state.

If this had happened, Humayun would have been killed. Because Humayun's brothers were not as merciful as he was. Humayun, in accordance with his father's will, had forgiven his brothers who had repeatedly opposed him and had been merciful to them.

After Humayun officially adopted Shiism, the Shah decided to restore his rule and appropriate preparations began.

It should be noted that Sher Shah, a member of the Suri dynasty who seized this ready-made power established by Babur, was a capable statesman, a strong personality with a military talent, and although it was short-lived, he took a number of measures to transform the Mughal state into an Afghan state. With his reformist statecraft measures, in a short time he established an efficient administrative system, established rules for the collection and management of state revenues, improved the legal system, and determined the postal and transportation order. However, in 1545, during the siege of the Kalanjar fortress in north of India, he became a victim of an accident and lost his life. After his death, the power of the Suri gradually weakened and collapsed into separate parts.

Humayun was patronized by the Safavid court for about 12 years. During this period, Humayun was deeply interested in rich Azerbaijani literature, culture, and music. He was welcomed grandiloquently in Tabriz, and after staying there for a while, he traveled to Ardabil to visit the

tomb of Sheikh Safi-ad-Din. Wherever he went in Azerbaijan, he was greeted with enthusiasm and benevolence by the people.

In July 1555, Shah Tahmasib sent a twelve-thousand-strong army of Azerbaijani Turks, led by Budag bey Qajar and Shahverdi bey Ustajli, to India.<sup>1</sup> Humayun attacked Delhi with this army, defeated the Afghans who had dethroned him, and regained his throne. In September of the same year, Humayun captured the city of Kandahar, which was under the control of his brother Askeri, and annexed it to the Mughal state. Soon after, upon hearing that Humayun was marching to Kabul with his army, the ruler of Kabul, Humayun's brother Kamran, left the city and fled. Thus, the dynasty founded by Babur and the Mughal state created by him were restored and continued its reign. In gratitude for this brotherly assistance, Humayun Shah ceded the city of Kandahar, with an annual revenue of 40 thousand tumans, to the Safavid state. It should be noted here that although the successors of Humayun and Tahmasib followed these friendly relations, from time to time the city of Kandahar passed from hand to hand and although not on a large scale, there occurred local wars between the two friendly empires. It should be noted that at that time Kandahar was a big city of important commercial and economic importance, and trade caravans from India used to pass from here to Iran and other countries. According to sources, annually 14 thousand loaded camels passed through this point on the

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<sup>1</sup> Əfəndiyev Oqtay. Azərbaycan Səfəvilər dövləti. Bakı, "Azər-nəşr", 1993, s.95.

ancient Silk Road.<sup>1</sup>

The Ottoman rulers, who were often at war with the Safavids, also tried to take advantage of this conflict and form an alliance with the Mughals against the Safavids, but they were unable to do so.<sup>2</sup>

During the Mughal Empire, of course, there were protests and uprisings against this power. The Sikh uprising in the first decades of the 18th century was the most persistent and influential among them. The execution of Guru Arjun by the Mughals led to a large-scale rebellion against the Mughals in Punjab. During the reign of the tenth Guru of the Sikhs, Govind Singh (1660-1708), the Sikh movement not only expanded, but also, through serious reforms, Sikh society was significantly improved and organized. The name “singh” (lion) was added to the names of the Sikhs. Although they occasionally struck a blow at the Mughals and even managed to capture some cities and fortresses, Govind Singh was killed in 1708, and the uprisings were suppressed. However, their guerrilla wars continued. Later, they also rebelled against the Durrani state, and even in the late 18th century established a Sikh state in Punjab under the rule of Ranjit Singh, which collapsed when the British put an end to it in 1848.

According to Roger D.Long, a professor at the University of Michigan and president of the Association for Islamic Studies in South Asia, the Mughal Empire was at its height, with a population of about 150 million, ac-

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<sup>1</sup> Əfəndiyev Oqtay. Azərbaycan Səfəvilər dövləti. Bakı, “Azərənşr”, 1993, s.95.

<sup>2</sup> Nəcəfli Tofiq. Səfəvi-Osmanlı münasibətləri. Bakı, “Turxan”, 2014, s.316-319

counting for a quarter of the world economy at the time.<sup>1</sup>

Researchers say the Mughal Empire was distinguished by its tolerance compared to other empires. In this state, dominated by the Sunni Hanafi sect of Islam, attitudes towards non-Muslims were lenient, and Hindus lived according to their religious rules by paying a tax, and continued their cultural traditions.

Rich, self-sufficient geography of Mughal Empire, where crafts and agriculture flourished, played a key role in its political, cultural, and commercial relations with the Safavid and Ottoman empires. These features of the Mughals also attracted attention of European countries. After Akbar Shah conquered Gujarat in 1573, the first contacts were established with Portugal. After this, relations with England, Denmark and France began to develop.

After the sudden and unfortunate death of his father Humayun, Muhammad Jalal-ud-din Akbar (1542-1605) became the ruler of the Mughal Empire (1556-1605). He had ascended the throne at the age of 13, and with the support of his general and regent, the Turkman Bayram Khan, in a short time, he managed to strengthen his power in Delhi and Punjab. In 1556, Bayram Khan defeated the numerous army of the Suri leader Khimun at Panipat, and a little later, the Suri prince Sikandar Shah, who had consolidated his position in Punjab, was also forced to submit to Mughal rule. After that, Akbar Shah chose Agra as the capital of the state.

Starting from 1562, Akbar Shah no longer needed his

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<sup>1</sup> D.Long, Rocer. A.History of Pakistan. Oxford University Press, 2015, s.XXIX.

protector Bayram Khan and began to rule independently. With his prudence and determination, he was able to turn the Mughal state into a powerful empire and in a short time he subdued a number of Hindu rulers, and, being related to the Rajputs, he also made them to serve in the army. With this policy, he also acquired a number of Rajput forts. It has been repeatedly emphasized in the works of Indian researchers that from his young age Akbar Shah was a talented commander, a wise and far-sighted statesman.<sup>1</sup>

Akbar Shah gained great popularity by exempting non-Muslims from the jizya tax they paid and allowed the Hindus to serve in the palace. Akbar Shah, who gradually expanded his empire, annexed the Gujarat sultanate in 1572-1573, Bengal in 1575, Kashmir in 1582, and then the Deccan provinces, and later brought Kabul under his rule.

In 1580-1581, a group of rebels in the eastern provinces who did not agree with religious policy of Akbar Shah took action to bring Akbar Shah's younger brother, Muhammad Hakim, who was the ruler of Kabul, to power. Akbar Shah himself led his army to Kabul and restored his rule there. He conquered Sindh in 1591, Orissa a year later, Baluchistan in 1594, and Kandahar in 1595, and added them into the Great Mughal Empire. After that, Akbar Shah turned to Deccan and added a number of provinces under his rule.

Akbar Shah, a great reformer, established ranks (*mansabdar*) in state administration, replaced in-kind taxes with monetary taxes in some provinces, created a control system over the jagirdars (derived by combining

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<sup>1</sup> Шампри, Аманда. Индия - полная история страны. Москва, Изд. АСТ, 2021, с.147.



two Persian words: *jāgīr* (“holding land”) and *dār* (“official”)) by having their horses marked with special marks, established a unified weight and measure system, reduced tolls, built extensive caravan routes and caravanserais, and improved the connection and communication between the capital Agra and other cities of the empire. He attached special importance to relations with the Safavids among neighboring countries, and his ambassadors were placed in the palace of Shah Abbas one after another.

Akbar Shah tried to eliminate religious and sectarian contradictions at the initiative of Abul-fazl Allami, and in 1582 he put forward a doctrine that he called “Din-e ilahi” that would cause serious disputes. He invited the highest clergy of all the religions of India: Hindu, Islamic, Christian, Jewish, Zoroastrian, and Buddhist, to his palace, where he listened to them, compared these teachings, and searched for the truth. He came to the conclusion that each religion had truths, but none of them separately covered all the truths. Therefore, he decided that a new religion could be created by mixing the best teachings of each of these religions and that this religion should be called “Din-e ilahi”.<sup>2</sup>

He was a protector of all religions and beliefs. He sought to achieve religious unity in his empire, transcending the boundaries of Islam, and desired that this teaching be accepted by all as religious and divine, but at the same time he was not in favor to do this through pressure and violence.

Unlike his predecessors-Muslim rulers, he always took

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<sup>1</sup> Ansary, T. *Destiny Disrupted. The History of The World Through Islamic Eyes*. New York, Public Affairs, 2010, s.193.

into account the interests of Hindus, and even in 1564, abolished the per capita *jizya* imposed on non-Muslims. Thus, he managed to gain the trust of all the subjects of the empire and turned Hindus into one of the pillars of his power. Akbar Shah did not force believers of other religions to convert to Islam, but rather created conditions for Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Ismailis and other believers to freely perform their religious duties in their religious places of worship. It is for this reason that Muslims, who were a minority in comparison with the total population of the Subcontinent, maintained their dominant positions in the state and society and managed to gain the trust of followers of other religions.<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of Akbar Shah, the Mughal Empire expanded its territory considerably, covering a vast area from the Himalayas to the Narbad River. Large-scale construction works and administrative reforms were carried out in the country. He further improved the tax system introduced by Sher Shah, so that for the accurate and fair determination of taxes, the main criterion was the measurement and assessment of land plots, and the average productivity of the land for several years. Taxes paid in kind had to be paid in money. He patronized culture and art, and like his predecessors, he built magnificent architectural monuments. Such monuments were most concentrated in the city of Fatehput-Sikri, construction of which he completed in 1576 and declared the capital of his empire. He took care of the development

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<sup>1</sup> Armstrong, Karen. *İslam – A Short History*. London, Phoenix, 2002, p.105.

of Persian-language poetry, history, and miniature creation.

After Akbar Shah, his son Selim (1605-1627), born of the Indian princess, continued his father's policy. According to reports, two sons of Akbar Shah fell ill from alcoholism and died during his lifetime. Selim had tried to take his father's place while he was still alive. Having no other choice, Akbar Shah appointed Selim as his heir shortly before his death, and Selim ascended the throne on October 24, 1605 under the name Nur ad-Din Jahangir. Unlike his father, Selim, who did not have the ability to be a statesman and commander, was more inclined towards art and religion, and treated Islamic clerics well and respected other religions as well. This was one of the necessary conditions for stability in the empire. Jahangir patronized science, culture and art. He married Nur Jahan in 1611. Jahangir himself was a talented artist and well-versed in literature. He expanded the borders of his state by subjugating the Mewar Rajputs in 1614 and the Kangra fort in the 1620s. However, his addiction to alcohol and narcotics often caused him to distance himself from state affairs, and in such cases, his beautiful and intelligent wife, Nur Jahan, took over the affairs of government and even issued decrees on behalf of the ruler. It should be noted that she was a very sagacious and practical woman, who was involved in sports, wrote poems, was closely interested in art and patronized its development. Along with all these, she was known as a wise and cunning politician.<sup>1</sup>

In 1626, the warlord Mahabbat Khan rebelled against

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<sup>1</sup> Ansary , T. p.191.

Jahangir and took him prisoner, but Nur Jahan, a prudent politician, managed to free him. It is noteworthy that in such circumstances, in 1626, the Safavid Shah Abbas I took back Kandahar from the Mughals.

During the reign of Jahangir, English merchants first appeared in the imperial territory in 1613 and, with the permission of the emperor, established a “trading post” on the western coast of the Subcontinent, in the port of Surat. In 1615-1618, the ambassador of the English king, Sir Thomas Roe, lived in Jahangir’s palace and represented his country. The East India Company (EIC), founded by Britain, established a center in the southeast of the Subcontinent at Madrasapatnam (now Madras). From this time on, the interest of European countries in the region began to grow, and this process later turned into serious competition. In 1711, Danish representatives arrived in Lahore. Trade relations between European countries and the Mughal state began to expand. Nevertheless, gradually the East India Company began to transform its trading mission into an occupying, colonial one, becoming not only a major economic power but also a structure with special armed forces and powers, and becoming the official representative of the economic and political interests of Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

After Jahangir, the empire was reigned by Khurram (1628-1656). Khurram, who was more intelligent and brave than his brothers Khosrow, Parviz and Shahriyar, began to rule the empire under the name of Shah Jahan. Undoubtedly, his path to power was not easy. He had to

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<sup>1</sup> Frankopan, Peter. *The Silk Rouds. A new history of the world.* London, Bloomsbury, 2015, p.276.

fight both his father's wife Nur Jahan and his brother Shahriyar. One of first tasks that Shah Jahan had to do was to consolidate power in Deccan and to keep more troops in the regions that showed disobedience. As a result of his military actions, he seized Ahmednagar and the fort of Dolatabad in 1632, and then Bijapur also accepted his vassalage. In short, Shah Jahan managed to further expand the borders of the empire, moved the capital to Delhi, and built the new city of Shah Jahanabad. During his reign, culture, fine arts and architecture flourished in the Mughal state. The Taj Mahal mausoleum, built in Agra in memory of his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal, who died giving birth to their thirteenth child in 1631, is the most magnificent monument dedicated to the memory of women not only in the East, but also in the world. *(This monument is the greatest contribution of the Old East to the honor of women and mothers after the famous Momina Khatun mausoleum built in the 12th century in the ancient city of Nakhchivan, Azerbaijan, over the grave of Momina Khatun, the mother of the Atabey ruler Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan. E.M.)* The Taj Mahal mausoleum, considered one of the seven wonders of the world, was built by the Turkish architect Isa Efendi. Many architectural monuments built in Lahore and Delhi during the reign of Shah Jahan testify to the high culture of the Mughal Empire.

In 1657, the four sons of Shah Jahan fought for power, and the most determined of them all, Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb, won. Aurangzeb had been the governor of Deccan from 1636 to 1644, had ruled in Balkh and Kandahar, and had strong military talent and military skill. He was a man of his word, consistent and resolute in

his policies. In the struggle for the throne, he had to isolate his sick father Shah Jahan in the fort in Agra and fight bloody battles with his brothers. Shah Jahan, who lived in isolation, died there in 1666. Aurangzeb first united with his brother Murad and killed his other two brothers, then Murad, paved the way for his rise to power. Aurangzeb took the title Alamgir (*Conqueror of the World*) at his coronation, and during his reign (1658-1707) the empire expanded further and Deccan was completely conquered, but after that this process stopped and in the following years the territory of the empire gradually began to diminish.

Aurangzeb was a devout Muslim and was very intolerant to other religions. In his policies, he never cared for the interests of non-Muslims, and demanded from the Hindus to be converted to Islam. To this end, he brought back the *jizya* for non-Muslims, increased taxes, and moved the capital to the city of Daulatabad. The destruction of a number of Hindu temples was in stark contrast to the policies of religious tolerance and multiculturalism pursued by the Mughal rulers until then. His destruction of the historic temple in Mathur in 1669 and the execution of the 9th Guru of the Sikhs, Tarkha Bahadur, in 1675 ignited a wave of rebellion. It should be noted that this religious sect, founded by Guru Nanak (1469-1539), had great political power. In 1499, Guru Nanak proposed that Sufism was the most suitable means and path for the union of Hinduism and Islam. His followers called themselves Sikhs, creating a new religion from a mixture of Hinduism and Sufism.<sup>1</sup>

The rebellion launched by Guru Nanak's new

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<sup>1</sup> Ansary, T. p.193.

successor, Gobind Singh, against the Mughal rule, as well as the Mughal wars against the Rajputs, were a very serious threat to this empire. This wrong policy against non-Muslims, who constituted more than half of the Subcontinent population, undermined the foundations of the multinational and multi-religious empire and endangered its internal stability. In the end, Aurangzeb had to wage a long and protracted struggle for years with the rebellious Rajputs, Marathas, Sikhs, Pashtuns and others. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, his eldest son Bahadur Shah took over the empire under the name “Shah Alam”. His short reign (1707-1712) could not ensure the stability in the country. In the following years, Jahandar Shah (1712-1713), Farouk Siyar (1713-1719), and Muhammad Shah came to power one after the other.

## **THE CAMPAIGN OF NADIR SHAH AFSHAR TO INDIA AND RELATIONS WITH THE MUGHAL STATE**

When the founder of the Afsharid state, the great Turkic ruler Nadir Shah (1688-1747), prepared to march on India, Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) was sitting on the Mughal throne. Rovshan Akhtar, who ascended the throne in 1719 after his father Bahadur Shah (1707-1712), adopted the name “Muhammad Shah”. However, his 19-year reign was a period when the Mughal Empire was greatly weakened and internal strife became widespread.

So, favorable conditions had arisen for Nadir Shah to invade India. Although Nadir Shah had previously demanded that the Afghans fleeing his persecution not be given shelter and that the borders be closed to them, Muhammad Shah had not fulfilled this demand. After that, Nadir Shah sent Muhammad Khan Turkmen as an envoy to the Mughal palace, but he did not receive a response; moreover, for a year the envoy was not sent back from the palace. Therefore, on May 21, 1738, Nadir Shah set out from Nadirabad to Ghazni, and from there to India. The campaign to India was intended to both replenish the depleted treasury and completely destroy and neutralize the Afghans, who were always causing problems. Of course, it was part of Nadir Shah's plans to seize the wealth of the wealthy Mughal state and thereby improve the supply of the huge army he had created, so his entry into India after the fleeing Afghans was actually a good excuse. At the same time, Nadir Shah remained faithful to traditional Safavid-Mughal relations and continued to be friendly to Muhammad Shah.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lockhart, Lawrence. Nadir Şah. İngilis dilindən tərcümə edən Nəriman Əbdülrəhmanlı, Bakı, “Qanun” nəşriyyatı, 2018, s.173.



The situation in the region changed with march of Nadir Shah to India in February 1739. After resting in Karabakh, west of Ghazni, Nadir Shah's army moved to Ghazni and from there to Kabul. Despite the request of the Kabul ruler, no additional military aid came from the Mughal state, and Kabul surrendered after a period of resistance. Nadir Shah sent a friendly letter to Muhammad Shah, but the envoy was killed by the Afghans in Jalalabad. Nadir occupied Jalalabad and advanced towards the Khaybar Pass. It should be noted that the Khaybar Pass is a difficult mountain pass connecting present-day Pakistan with Afghanistan, located at Safidkuh (Spingar White Mountain), 17 km west of Peshawar, 16 km from the Kabul River, with a total length of 53 km and a width of 3-3.5 km, and its width along 8 km does not exceed 180 m.<sup>2</sup>

Nadir Shah defeated the troops of Kabul ruler Nasir Khan in Peshawar and Khaybar, and entered Peshawar. After a month's rest, he crossed the bridge he had built over the Indus River and advanced into the interior of the country, capturing Wazirabad and Yaminabad. He dealt a heavy blow to the Mughal troops in the direction of Lahore. Realizing the imminent disaster, the ruler of Lahore, Zakariyya Khan, came to Nadir Shah and saved Lahore from plunder and massacre by giving 20,000 rupees in gold coins, several elephants and other valuable gifts. Nadir Shah kept Zakariyya Khan in his post as the ruler of Lahore. He sent a warning letter to Muhammad Shah not to resist, otherwise, there will be no mercy.

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<sup>2</sup> Fazle, Karim Khan. A Geography of Pakistan. Environment, People and Economy. Oxford University Press, 1991, p.22.

However, Muhammad Shah had no intention of surrendering, and began preparing for war by equipping his 300.000-strong army with 2.000 elephants and cannons.

On December 13, 1738, the Mughal troops, led by Khan Dawran, Qamar-ud-Din Khan (Etimad-ud-Dawla) and Nizam-ul-Mulk, set out from Delhi. But, contrary to their hopes, the Rajputs - Indian rajas, including Jan Singh, did not join them. The army, which had rested in Shalimar for 3 months, set out towards Panipat. Muhammad Shah also began to move from Delhi and reached Panipat on February 27, 1739. Meanwhile, Nadir Shah defeated the Mughal army near Karnal and entered the city. Nadir Shah's 6.000-strong reconnaissance troop, which crossed the Indus River, entered the first battle with the Mughal army and defeated them, and detailed information was obtained about the enemy's situation as well. On February 15, Nadir Shah's troops defeated the army of Saadat Khan, who had come to the aid of the Mughal Shah, and captured a large amount of booty. In the ensuing battle, Saadat Khan was captured, the army of Khan Dowran, who had come to his aid, was routed, and he himself was forced to leave the battlefield, seriously wounded. Despite this victory, Nadir Shah still did not attack the army of the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah, which was waiting for the moment. The Mughal army headed by Nizam-ul-Mulk had not entered the battle yet.

The captivated Saadat Khan advised Nadir Shah to invite Nizam-ul-Mulk to negotiate, and Nadir Shah agreed. According to L.Lockhart, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who received authority from the emperor, went to Nadir Shah's camp. On February 25, it was agreed that Nadir Shah

would be paid 50 thousand rupees and that he would return without continuing the conquest of India. At the same time, the Shah invited the Mughal emperor to dinner the next day. Since Muhammad Shah had no other choice, he accepted this offer and arrived at Nadir Shah's camp on February 26. He was met by the son of the Shah Nasrollah Mirza, and when he arrived, Nadir Shah himself approached and greeted him politely, making him sit next to his throne. They talked in their native Turkish, had dinner, and the six-hour meeting ended in peace. On that day, the Commander-in-Chief and Chief Treasurer Khan Dowran died of his wound. L.Lockhart, describing in detail the meetings of the two rulers in Karnal based on sources, notes that the total value of the booty acquired by Nadir Shah from his conquest of India was an unprecedentedly large sum for that time: 70 million kurur rupees, i.e. 700 million rupees.<sup>1</sup>

On 5 March, at the suggestion of Nadir Shah, Nizam-ul-Mulk advised Muhammad Shah to return to Nadir Shah's camp. Nadir Shah, who still kept the Indian army under siege, was thinking of obtaining more booty on the advice of Saadat Khan, who wanted to take the vacant positions of commander-in-chief and treasurer-in-chief in the Mughal palace instead of this service. However, Nizam-ul-Mulk planned to entrust this position to his own man.

Muhammad Shah arrived at Nadir Shah's camp accompanied by a detachment of 2,000 men. By this time, all the artillery of his army had been taken from them. Famous and important officials had been arrested by the

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<sup>1</sup> Lockhart, L., Nadir Şah, s.211.

Qizilbash detachments sent by Nadir Shah. The headless army was told “to go wherever they wanted,” and the army soon dispersed in small groups.

Nadir Shah appointed Saadat Khan as the Vakil-ul-Mutlaq, and kept the Delhi ruler, Lutfali Khan, in his post. On March 8, Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah stopped at the Shalimar Gardens near Delhi. Nadir Shah allowed Muhammad Shah to enter the city first and organize his welcoming. On March 20, Nadir Shah entered Delhi with a solemn procession and was greeted with an official procession. At the banquet, Muhammad Shah insisted on presenting his treasury to Nadir Shah, and thus remained on the royal throne. On March 21, on the day of Nowruz, a *khutbah* (a sermon) was read in Nadir Shah’s name, and coins were minted. The coins read: “Nadir is the sultan of sultans on Earth, the king of kings, the ruler of success”. (Persian: “*Hesht Sultan ber selatin-i cahan shah-i cahan Nadir sahib Sahib-e-Qiran* (This imperial title means “The Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction and refers to a ruler whose horoscope features a particular conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, portending a reign of world-conquest and justice”- editor.)

But the unexpected uprising in Delhi began with the deliberate spreading of news about the death of Nadir in the city, and several thousand Qizilbash soldiers were killed. After this, the next day, Nadir came to the city center with his army and ordered to punish those who killed Qizilbash soldiers and the rebels. The army began to plunder and loot the city, killing everyone. Muhammad Shah sent Nizam-ul-Mulk to Nadir Shah, who was waiting in the city mosque with a sword in his hand, with the request to prevent further massacres. Some sources write

that 20 thousand people, both guilty and innocent, were killed. Nadir Shah ensured order in the city and appointed Haji Fulad Khan as the kutwal (*galabey - an official with the powers of a governor who governed a city*).

With the conquest of India, Nadir Shah once again proved himself to be a conqueror-general and shah by capturing this rich country that had previously been conquered by Alexander the Great, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, and Amir Timur.

In order to further improve relations with the Mughal state, Nadir Shah married his son Nasrullah Khan to the granddaughter of the Mughal prince, Emperor Aurangzeb. By order of Nadir Shah, a rule was established for determining and collecting taxes. It was instructed to be gentle and not to be cruel with the city people. In the chronicles of the period, it was said that the taxes exceeded one hundred crores (1 billion rupees). Among the spoils of Nadir the most valuable was the Koh-i-Noor diamond on the peacock throne. According to Lockhart, the Ran Vikkamadit family gave this diamond to Humayun Shah, who had patronized the family. *(After Nadir's death, the diamond passed into the hands of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and later his grandson Shah Shuja gave it to Ranjit Singh, the Singh ruler of Lahore. When the British occupied Punjab in 1849, the East India Company acquired the diamond and presented it to Queen Victoria.)*

Before leaving India, Nadir Shah held a ceremonial reception, crowned Muhammad Shah personally, and rewarded the Mughal nobles. Muhammad Shah also gifted Nadir Shah a number of provinces bordering the Afshar state, and relevant documents were signed on this

occasion. He appealed the Indian nobles to unconditionally obey their ruler Muhammad Shah, advised the Shah to maintain a permanent cavalry force of 6.000 men, and forbade the nobles from maintaining troops. He declared his readiness to come to the aid of the Mughal emperor with an army if necessary. Nadir Shah's name was to be mint on coins in the country, and his name was to be mentioned in *khutbahs*.

It should be noted that there is extensive information and details about the conquest of India by Nadir Shah Afshar both in the early sources of the period and in the works of Indian and a number of world historians. Referring to early sources and other historical sources, Laurence Lockhart writes: "Muhammad Shah arrived at the camp of the Persian army and was received by Nasrullah Mirza (Nadir Shah's son - E.M.), whom Nadir had sent to meet and take him to the tent where the meeting would be held. When the emperor came, Nadir himself appeared before him, greeted his honored guest meeting the necessary rules, and emphasized that both were of Turkmen origin. Then Nadir linked Muhammad Shah's arm through his arm, led him to the tent and seated him near his throne. After a short conversation between them (the conversation was in Turkish), the shah and the emperor were given food..."<sup>1</sup>

Nadir Shah, who had conquered almost the entire Mughal Empire, returned with great spoils. After that, the central state in the Mughal Empire weakened further, and a number of small independent states and administrative units began to emerge. After the assassination of Nadir

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<sup>1</sup> Lockhart, L., Nadir Şah, s.196-197.

Shah in 1747, this division became even more widespread. The governorates of Heyderabad, And, Bengal and Marat began to function independently.

Nadir Shah planned to bring with him many craftsmen and artisans from India and to build the city of Nadirabad in Iran. The return to Iran began on May 16.

Sources also noted that during Nadir Shah's return to India, due to the climatic conditions, he suffered a lot of casualties and losses in crossing rivers and repelling raids. Finally, on December 12, the army crossed the western bank of the Sinai River and entered the Kabul province through the Khyber Pass. The spoils obtained from the conquest of India pleased Nadir Shah so much that he signed a decree exempting the Afshar country from taxes for 3 years and sent it to Iran by courier. He provided the army with salaries and rewards.

## THE STATE OF DURRANI

After the assassination of Nadir Shah, his Afghan commander, Ahmad Khan Abdali, the leader of the Abdālī tribe, united all the lands inhabited by the majority of the Pashtun tribes - Wazir, Momand, Masud, Afridi, Khattak, Shinwari (most of present-day Afghanistan, the regions of Pakistan neighboring Afghanistan, etc.), and called himself Ahmad Shah Durrani and established the state of Durrani.<sup>1</sup>

This state, center of which was the city of Kandahar, and then Kabul, functioned for about 72 years from 1747 to 1819. During the reign of Ahmad Shah (1747-1772), the territory of this state expanded greatly due to the favorable political situation in the region. Before coming to power, Ahmad Khan was the head of the respected Sadozai lineage of the Abdālī tribe of Kandahar. His father and grandfather were killed in battles when he was only 14, and he was taken care by the Ghilzais. After Nadir Shah captured Kandahar, Ahmad Khan took him into military service, and after a while, Ahmad Khan, who distinguished himself with his fighting skills, gained the trust of Nadir Shah as the leader of the six thousand-strong Abdālī army.

Ahmad Shah soon began to unite the Punjab, Sindh, Kashmir and Sirhind regions into this state, in addition to Afghanistan. He invaded Punjab twice in 1748-1749 and captured a lot of booty. After the death of the Mughal ruler Muhammad Shah in 1750, the conquest of Punjab became

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<sup>1</sup> Ewans, Martin. *Afghanistan –a new history*. London, 2001. Printed also at Lahor, Vanguard Books, p.5.



even easier. Although Ahmad Shah was promised a large amount of money, a year later, he attacked Punjab again. The ruler of Lahore could not get the necessary support from Delhi and was forced to surrender. Ahmad Shah kept this wise ruler in his post, and the Mughal ruler ceded Punjab and Multan to Ahmad Shah. The well-known orientalist Percy Sykes wrote about these events in detail.<sup>1</sup>

Also, in the context of the central government's weakening in Iran, especially the internal strife of the government after Nadir Shah, the weakening of the Mughal Empire and its inability to control its vast territories, the expansion of rebellions and conflicts, and the gradual loss of Mughal power due to the expansionist activities of Europeans, especially the British, the Durrani were able to annex northwestern India, eastern Iran, and southern Turkestan to their state. Ahmad Shah occupied Punjab in 1752 and plundered Delhi and Mathura in 1757. Having defeated the Marathas at Panipat, Ahmad Shah further strengthened his position in the lands he had captured.

After Ahmad Shah, Timur Shah (1772-1793), Zaman Shah (1793-1801), Mahmud Shah (1801-1803), Shah Shuja (1803-1809), Mahmud (second time 1809-1818), Sultan Ali Shah (1818) and Ayub Khan (1819) ruled. In 1819, the British put an end to the rule of the Durrani.

Taking advantage of the gradual weakening of the Mughal Empire, Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) established the Sikh state in Punjab (1799-1839), captured Lahore, one

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<sup>1</sup> Сайкс, Перси. История Афганистана - с древнейших времен до учреждения Королевской монархии. Пер. с англ. Д.Ф.Карповой, Москва, "Центрполиграф", 2021, с.281.

of the main cities of the Mughal Empire, and declared it the capital of his state, and in 1805, he also annexed Amritsar to his state. In 1818, he captured Multan, which means he had taken possession of a large part of Punjab. Taking advantage of the weakening of the Durrani state, Ranjit Singh occupied Kashmir in 1819, and took possession of the plains on the west bank of the Indus River, Peshawar, Bannu, Dereaghzi Khan, Dereismail Khan, and other places. He succeeded in establishing a centralized government with a regular European-style army. In 1849, this state collapsed and all administration passed to the East India Company.

It should be noted that expansion of Britain in the Indian Subcontinent and South Asia had begun as early as the mid-18th century. The British East India Company, which was granted rights and powers for trading monopoly in India and other South and Southeast Asian countries by Queen Elizabeth I in 1600, played a key role in weakening and finally ending the Mughal rule. The company constantly expanded in the Subcontinent, creating numerous armed forces.

In the second half of the 18th century, attempts of the Nawwabs (*naibs-deputies, authorized representative*) of the Mughal ruler Shah Alem (1759-1806) in Andhra and Bengal to repel the British were unsuccessful. He was defeated at the Battle of Bukhara in 1764 and was forced to live as a pensioner to the British. His successors Akbar Shah (1806-1837) and Bahadur Shah II (1837-1858) shared the same fate. The Mughal Empire was no longer an empire, but a state that dominated in Delhi and its environs.

In 1857-1859, a large-scale Indian popular uprising

against the increasing oppression of the British began in the Subcontinent, and the rebels declared Bahadur Shah II, the ruler of India, who had already lost power, but the British troops suppressed the uprising with blood. During the capture of Delhi, Bahadur Shah's sons were killed, and although he himself took refuge in the Humayun Mausoleum, which was considered inviolable at that time, was captured and imprisoned, exiled to Rangoon (Burma), where he died in 1862. Thus, the rule of the Mughal dynasty was put to an end by the British.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Энциклопедия Пакистана, р.193, “ Могольская империя” от Азимджанова С.А.

## **THE PERIOD OF BRITISH COLONIALISM IN THE SUBCONTINENT**

Most of the current states of South and Southeast Asia are countries that emerged from British colonial rule. Pakistan, India, and others had emerged as local adaptations of Western statesmanship and governance traditions and practices.

Although the British East India Company (EIC) was founded in 1600, its expansionist policy in the region, especially in a soft form, entered a more active phase after the 1740s. Gradually, English-language schools, colleges, missionary activities, to speak so, “soft power” tools prepared the ground for the future physical intervention of the British. In the Mughal state, the process of weakening central authority was gradually gaining momentum. As mentioned above, in the 1860s, a number of small Sikh principalities united in Punjab and established a state under the leadership of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. On the lands of Baluchistan, ruled the Khan of Kalat, Nasir Khan Baloch (1750-1795). In the late 18th century, the Talpur emirs established and ruled small principalities in Sindh.

With the complete weakening of the Mughal Empire, the British invaded Sindh in 1843, Punjab in 1845-1849 and annexed it to their colonies, and in the following decades they also captured the areas inhabited by the Pashtun tribes and Balochistan.

The British sphere of influence, which began in 1757 with the activities of the British East India Company merchants in the Indian Subcontinent, turned into the British colonial administration in 1858. By developing agriculture in the region, Britain created a rich raw material

base for the empire. Roads, irrigation systems and other infrastructure serving colonial interests were built, schools and colleges trained English-speaking local officials, and armed forces consisting of numerous local soldiers were formed under the command of British officers. These soldiers would take part in future wars for British interests. The British Empire had also taken control of Bengal since that year. The Company had been providing protection for its factories since 1740. On 23 June 1757, Robert Clive, victorious at the Battle of Plassey, began to establish the first outposts of the British Empire in Bengal.

In 1773, the British government passed the Regulating Act, which gave the title of Governor General to the orientalist Warren Hastings, who was entrusted with the administration of British possessions and territories in the Subcontinent. 11 years later, his successor, Lord Charles Cornwallis, was appointed Governor-General of India (1786-1793 and 1805). The Mughal Empire, already completely weakened and its central government losing its former strength, was unable to resist British expansion. This was also hampered by Hindus-Muslim confrontations. Under subsequent Governor-Generals, Richard Colley Wesley, then the First Marquess (1798-1805), British control of India expanded further. One after another, the territories of the Sikh state, which included the rich lands of Sindh and Punjab, fell into British hands.

During the governorships of Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835) and Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856), English began to supplant and replace Persian and Sanskrit in the courts and in the educational system. At the same time, customs and traditions began to be suppressed.

## REBELLION AGAINST THE BRITISH

In 1857-1859, a large-scale popular movement against British colonial oppression began in India, and the uprising of the sepoys (*hired soldier in India-editor*) turned into a general uprising. The rebels formed a Council under the leadership of Bakht Khan and began to take measures to expel the colonialists from India. On May 9-10, 1857, Bengali soldiers in the Meerut (*Meerut, a district north of Delhi*) garrison of the British Indian Army killed British officers, their wives and children, and marched to Delhi with the slogan "Chalo Delhi". The rebels seized Delhi and restored the rule of Bahadur Shah II (1837-1858), the last ruler of the Mughal dynasty.

However, by mid-1858, the organized movement of the rebels had already failed, and they had to leave Delhi and a number of districts. The guerrilla war continued sporadically. The leaders of the rebellion, Firuz Shah, Bakht Khan, Nana Shahib and others, died in unequal battles with the British. The 82-year-old Bahadur Shah had nothing left to give the rebels except moral support. His predecessors had long since become British pensioners. Thus, the last Mughal ruler, exhausted materially, financially, and even physically, was arrested and exiled to Burma, where he died in 1862.

Within some months, British troops in India and other nearby colonies united forces and inflicted heavy blows on the rebels. After this uprising, the British were forced to live in fear in their own enclaves. During the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), it was officially declared that that no race or religion should be prevented from having a place in future Anglo-Indian rule, and that the British

should not interfere with local religious traditions.

The British severely exploited natural resources. With the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 and its amendments, the indigenous people were considered potential criminals, and mere labour force. Only those, permitted by British were allowed to engage in “free trade”, and the traditional maritime trade of coastal peoples throughout South Asia was not allowed.

On November 1, 1858, by decree of Queen Victoria, the administration of India was taken from the East India Company and placed directly under the British throne, and the viceroy and Governor-General of India began to govern India on behalf of the kingdom.

It was not long before new protests and armed uprisings against British colonialism began, which turned into a national liberation movement and continued until World War II in one form or another. It should be noted that several major regions of present-day Pakistan: Sindh province, Karachi, Hyderabad, Shikarpur, Jacobabad districts, actively participated in the uprising, and the general leader of the uprising, Imam Bakht Khan, and his colleague Alif Khan Tarin, were the sacrifices of the Muslims of the Subcontinent.

## **STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COLONIALISM. NATIONAL THOUGHT AND AWAKENING**

As colonial oppression intensified, reformist structures and organizations emerged in the Indian Subcontinent, first in Bengal, then in other cities.

One of the Muslim intellectuals, Ser Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh in 1875. (This college was renamed Aligarh Muslim University in 1920). The Deoband Madrasah, founded in 1866, operated as a Muslim school. Unjust and unethical rule of Britain was already being sharply criticized, and the wave of protest caused by British colonialism in South Asia, where great religions and philosophical teachings coexisted, had begun to spread to the world. Widely distributed pamphlets by Syed Ahmad Khan were particularly important.

The Subcontinent was gradually experiencing a process of national thought and awakening. The Second Afghan War of 1878-1879, the dangerous adventures of the Indo-British military alliance in this difficult and unnecessary war, also affected political consciousness. In Britain, the Conservative Party secured Queen Victoria's title of Empress of India in 1877, formally establishing British colonial rule over India. The Vernacular Press Act, 1878, passed in Britain in 1878, sought to suppress free thought. This was also due to the fact that the Afghan war of the British was sharply criticized in the press.

The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885, brought together Hindu, Muslim, and Parsi intellectuals and petitioned the British Parliament. The magazine "India" printed in London published such appeals.



Along with the political awakening in the Subcontinent, religious and ethnic discrimination was gradually growing. Hindu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894) wrote a patriotic novel called "*Anandamath*" in 1882, which became the source of the "Band-e Mataram" (*Worship of the Motherland*) first of the Indian freedom movement and later of the National Anthem of the Republic of India. In this novel, the struggle of Hindu knights against Muslim rulers and governors was praised. Or, the prominent Muslim thinker and philosopher Shah Waliullah (Shah Waliullah, 1703-1762) called for jihad against the Hindus during the Mughal era, thus creating a rift between Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs.

The Muslim awakening and freedom movement that had begun in 1858 was slowly gaining momentum. The Dar-ul-Ulumu (religious seminary organized in Deoband) of Islamic scholars (*ulama*) was calling the Indians to the "Dar-ul-Harb" (Abode of war) against the British. The innovative Muslim leader Ser Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) and the British Oriental College he founded in 1875 served to awaken and enlighten the Muslim Indians, their knowledge of English education and culture, and acquaintance with sciences, and played an important role in strengthening the Muslim identity. Gradually, Deoband and Aligarh were transformed into centers where Muslim politicians were trained. In 1906, the All-India Muslim League (AIML) in Aligarh and the Jamiat-ul Ulema-i-Hind in Deoband played an important role in the formation and development of the Muslim movement. The idea of Muslims creating their own independent state, not dependent of the British and Indians, was formed here, and the first foundation stones of the future Pakistan

movement were laid. No doubt, Ser Syed Ahmad Khan played a particular role in the formation of this movement. He was born in Delhi in 1817. This was the period when the Mughal Empire in India was already completely weakened, and the centuries-long rule of the Turko-Muslims was also being lost. As is known, from 1858 onwards, the Indian Subcontinent completely fell under the direct rule of Britain, and traditional governance, political life, education, and social life began to be “westernized” in the English style.

Syed Ahmad Khan considered it necessary to prepare Muslims for new political conditions that would arise in India. In a series of speeches and articles in 1860, including the pamphlet “The Faithful Muslims of India”, he called the Muslims and Christians to unite and exhorted them not to oppose the British, to get a Western education and to demand their rights from the British through legitimate means. The British Eastern Muhammadan College, which he opened in Aligarh in 1874, also served this purpose. In his opinion, India should be governed by the Indian, who were the large majority, at the same time Muslims should also have basic rights.

At this time, the Congress was trying to convince the British that it had the right to be the sole representative of the entire Indian people. Therefore, in 1888, the United Indian Patriotic Association (UIPA) was founded on the initiative of Syed Ahmad Khan. Syed Ahmad Khan demanded that the Congress alone could not represent the entire Indian people, it was not democratic, and his position attracted most Muslim leaders and democratic-minded Hindu activists to a common understanding. Although this Association was not very active, Syed

Ahmad Khan suggested that after the British forces left India, the two communities, the Indian and the Muslim communities, would have to rule the country together... it was hoped that both sides would remain equal in their desire for the inadmissible and the seemingly impossible. Thus, he paved the way for the Muslim awakening, and in the future Muslim “nationalism”.

In 1904, the 48th Imam of the Ismailis, Aga Khan (1877-1957), attended the session of the All-Indian Muslim Educational Conference and was elected to the executive committee. Nawwab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Aga Khan decided to establish the All-Indian Muslim League, a political organization of Muslims, in Dhaka (formerly known as Dacca) in 1906. At the session of the organization in December 1907, Aga Khan was elected president (permanent), he held this position until 1913. Aga Khan wrote about this: “Mohsin-ul-Mulk and I, along with other Muslim leaders, have come to the conclusion that the only hope of independent political recognition by the British Government lies in a nation within a new nation”.<sup>1</sup>

Aga Khan was a constant supporter of Aligarh College, for which he had established a special fund for the education of Muslim students abroad. He opened the Institute of Technology in Aligarh in 1910. Without his efforts, the opening of a Muslim University at Aligarh would probably have been impossible.

One of the prominent figures who served the Muslim awakening was Mevlânâ Muhammad Ali (1878-1931). He

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<sup>1</sup> Bhatti, Muhammad Sohail. A Short History of Pakistan (1857 A.D. to date). Lahore, Bhatti Sons Publishers, 2010, p. 104

began his political activity with the establishment of the All-Indian Muslim League in Dhaka on 30 December 1906. He, along with Aga Khan and Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah (1877-1957), put forward demands that defended the interests of Muslims. Muhammad Ali founded the English-language weekly "Comrade" in 1911, followed by the Urdu newspaper "Hamdard" (published first in Calcutta and then in Delhi), which was active among Indian Muslims. Educated at Lincoln College in Aligarh and Oxford, M.Ali was loyal to the British administration and believed that the British could be persuaded on some issues through talks and discussions. He headed a mission to England to explain that the preservation of the Caliphate (in the image of the Ottoman Sultan) was important to all Muslims, but no one in the high British leadership received him. Muhammad Ali was arrested and detained in India in 1915, after which his attitude towards Britain changed.

In 1911, the British moved the capital of British India from Calcutta to New Delhi, which was built next to ancient Delhi. The new capital soon began to become the center of political processes.

Despite the deep differences between them, a common hatred of British rule was also growing among both Indians and Muslims, and this began to be more openly seen and expressed in one way or another during World War I. On the eve of World War I, there was no internal stability in the Subcontinent, and waves of protest against the colonial policy of the British were rising.

Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) was a prominent public and political figure and lawyer who was one of the leaders of the struggle against British colonialism, and the anti-

British movement in Punjab flared up even more after the police opened fire without warning on people who had joined his call for a one-day peaceful protest strike. On April 13, 1912, a British regiment of 1.185 men under the command of Reginald Dyer surrounded a crowd of 10.000 people gathered for a protest rally at Callianwala Bagh in Amritsar and opened fire without warning. In this massacre, 379 people were killed and 2.000 were injured, including a six-week-old baby. The Indian command left the dead and wounded on the square and declared martial law throughout the Punjab. The perpetrator of this massacre, which remained a black mark on the British as the Amritsar Massacre, R.Dyer was assassinated by a Punjabi Sikh in 1940.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that all the peoples of the Subcontinent fought against British colonialism in one way or another. In 1913, the prominent Bengali writer Rabindranath Tagore (Rabindranath Tagore, 1861-1941) was awarded the Nobel Prize for his literary works, which described the inner spiritual state of the Bengali people and how they preserved and kept alive their traditional life under British colonialism.

The Balkan War of 1912-1913 also disappointed Indian Muslims. Then, the Ottoman Empire's entry into the war in alliance with Britain's rival Germany in World War I seriously affected the activities of Indian Muslims, who thereafter considered themselves defenseless.

Despite being located far from Europe, the outbreak of the war brought disaster and deprivation to the peoples of

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<sup>1</sup> Field, Jacob F. A Short History of the World in 50 Places. London, Michael O'Mara Books Limited, 2020, p.239-240.

the Indian Subcontinent. Thus, on the fronts of World War I (1914-1918), eight hundred thousand Indian soldiers of various ethnic and religious affiliations fought as part of the British army. The human, natural, and agricultural resources of the entire Subcontinent were mobilized for Britain's victory. Although the military operations conducted in the war and the front line seemed distant, German ships were shelling the coastal areas of India. During the World War I, more than 50.000 civilians were killed and 70.000 were injured in the Subcontinent.

The Muslims of India pinned their hopes on the Ottoman Sultan. The Sultan was the caliph of all Muslims, including the Muslims of India, and Friday sermons were delivered in his name. Therefore, many strata of the population joined the movement called the Khilafat movement. Mevlânâ Abul Kalam Azad and Mevlânâ Muhammad Ali issued a fatwa and declared India a Dar-ul-Harb (abode of war). In a letter to the British Viceroy on April 24, 1919 Muhammad Ali wrote: "in such a secure environment, Muslims have two options: jihad or emigration". As a sign of protest, even thousands of Muslims emigrated to neighboring Afghanistan, but many of them returned after facing various hardships there. Clashes broke out between Muslims and Hindus in some areas.

It should be noted that one of the bright examples of the traditional friendly and solidarity relations between the people of present-day Pakistan and the Ottoman Empire, the most powerful empire in the Turkic-Islamic world, was the movement launched by Indian Muslims in 1918-1924 to protect the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate. When, in connection with the consequences of the World

War I, Britain and its allies took action to dismember and destroy the Ottoman Empire and to overthrow the Ottoman Sultan, who was also the spiritual leader and caliph of Muslims, support was also shown for Turkiye in India as part of the struggle against British rule. In September 1919, the Caliphate Committee was formed. The leading members of this movement, such as Muhammad Ali, Shawkat Ali, Abdul Kalam Azad, Zafar Ali Khan, Hasrat Mohani, Ubaidullah Sindh, and the movement itself were also supported by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League in 1921. After the national forces led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha established the Republic of Turkiye and the Caliphate was abolished, the Caliphate Committee of Muslims in India also ceased its activities. Thus, the Caliphate movement weakened after the decision of Turkish Parliament on November 21, 1922 to separate the Caliphate from the Sultanate, and on March 3, 1924, when Mustafa Kemal Pasha (1881-1938), the founder of the Republic of Turkiye, sent into exile the last representative of the Ottoman dynasty, Caliph Abdul Majid (1868-1944), who had ruled as Caliph from 1922 to 1924, the Caliphate movement in India came to a complete halt. (The Caliph lived in Paris and died there, but was buried in Medina.)

## **THE HINDU-MUSLIM OBSTACLES, NATIONAL- RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE SUBCONTINENT**

In such circumstances, Hindu-Muslim obstacles continued in the Indian Subcontinent and it was impossible to prevent them. Concerned about these processes, the great socio-political figure Mahatma Gandhi (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1869-1948) said angrily: “Let Hindus and Muslims crush each other’s heads and shed each other’s blood as their hearts desire”.<sup>1</sup>

But Muslims, as an important political community in India, had to mobilize and defend themselves, and Muhammad Ali demanded the Hindu majority in the country to take into account the interests of Muslims. He still considered a Hindu-Muslim alliance essential for India’s freedom. However, proposal of Motilal Nehru in 1928 (1861-1931) - the “Nehru Constitution” on the basis of Hindu nationalism led Muhammad Ali to conclude that Muslims would not be given a place in the Congress, and he appealed to Muslims to boycott the Congress. At the same time, he called for the preservation of the unity of Muslims within India and for them to have political power in the administration of the provinces where they were in the majority. He sent an official letter to the British Prime Minister Ramsay Mac Donald (1866-1937) about this. He reminded the government that otherwise, civil war would be inevitable. In fact, Muhammad Ali believed that the rights and freedoms of Muslims could be ensured within

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<sup>1</sup> D.Long, Roger. History of Pakistan. Oxford University Press, 2015, p.333.



India.

After World War I, the British Parliament granted the provinces in India some local self-government rights. However, there was no talk of political freedoms.

At the time, Mahatma Gandhi was living in South Africa and had put forward the idea of a nationalist movement, demanding equal rights for Indian immigrants there. Gandhi himself was trained by the British legal system. His ideas were put forward by Jawaharlal Nehru (Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) in the All-India Congress.

Ideas of human rights and equal rights for women put forward by Gandhi were also appreciated in European countries. After his return to India in 1915, he began to lead the Indian National Congress. Muhammad Ali Jinnah appreciated his idea of a united, secular, independent India, ensuring the rights of Muslims, the largest minority in the Subcontinent, and his ideas of Muslims to occupy a third of the seats in future political bodies and organizations.

On 13 April 1919, British forces in Amritsar, under the orders of British General Reginald Dyer, without warning opened fire on a rally in Jallianwalla Garden, in front of the Golden Temple (also known as the Harmandir Sāhib (lit. *House of God*)) marking the anniversary of the 1857 year's uprising. More than a thousand civilians were killed and many more were injured. Gandhi blamed himself for organizing the protest, and waves of anti-British protests continued in various forms throughout the 1920s. In 1922, the city police were attacked, and 22 policemen were killed.

After World War I, a new wave of freedom and independence movements broke out in the Indian

Subcontinent. This seriously worried Great Britain. Winston Churchill (Winston Churchill, 1874-1965) believed that India was a key country for the British economy. Because the national awakening and movements that began here were causing problems for the British government, and it was obvious that this process would gradually expand and strengthen. So, the Hindus under the leadership of M.Gandhi, and Muslims under the leadership of M.A.Jinnah, had started more active anti-British movements since the 1930s.

After the victory of the Indian National Congress, the leading force of the national movement, in the elections held in 1937, Hindu leaders declared clearly that they did not intend to share future power with the Muslim League led by M.A.Jinnah. This approach was a step far from political foresight and provoked Muslims to have their own autonomous authorities by the end of the 1930s. Thus, since then, especially during World War II, the desire to achieve their own independent statehood became even stronger among Muslims.

## **MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH – NATIONAL STRUGGLE THAT BEGAN FROM PRACTICISING AS A LAWYER**

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born on December 25, 1876 in Karachi to a noble Shia Muslim family. His father, Jinnahbai Punja was a merchant. He was a descendant of the Ismaili Khojas who emigrated to India from Iran in the Middle Ages. First he studied in Karachi, then at Lincolns Inn, and was recognized as one of the youngest lawyers in India. “Jinnah” is the Arabic word for *flank* - wing, side. Since birth certificates were not issued in Karachi until 1879, Jinnah himself chose December 25 as his date of birth. The young Jinnah, who worked as a lawyer in Bombay, began to engage in politics in 1906, and that year he participated in the Calcutta session of the All-India National Congress as the private secretary of Congress President Dadabhai Naoroji.

In 1910, the Muslims of Bombay (now Mumbai) elected him to the newly formed Imperial Legislative Council. For many years in his parliamentary activities, he was the voice of freedom and justice not only for Muslims but also for Hindus. As a member of the Congress Party, he worked for the freedom of India in the Imperial Legislative Council, for the cooperation and joint activities of the Congress and the Muslim League, and in 1916 he achieved the signing of the Congress League Pact. He was rightly called the “ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity”.

M.A.Jinnah resigned from the Imperial Council in 1919 as a freedom fighter, and left the Congress in 1920. Because Mahatma Gandhi was abandoning the policy of cooperation. M.A.Jinnah returned to active politics three

years later, reorganized the League, he had been President of which since 1916, and made serious efforts to strengthen the unity of Muslims; at the same time he believed that a Hindu-Muslim alliance was a necessary condition for the freedom of India. At various conferences in which he participated, he appealed the British authorities to prepare a new Constitution for India.

In 1927, the League split into two groups: one headed by Sir Muhammad Shafi and the other by M.A.Jinnah. But there were also several Muslim societies that were not included in these groups. It was only through the efforts of Aga Khan that they were brought together and united, and in 1929 an All Parties Conference was held. It should be noted that Aga Khan played a significant role in organizing the Round Tables of 1931 and 1933. At the same time, he always took into account the interests of the Hindus. Aga Khan was elected President of the League of Nations in July 1937 and after that he could not continue his socio-political activities in the Subcontinent. However, after completing his duties, he continued his socio-religious activities until the last days of his life, that is, until July 11, 1957, and implemented important projects in education, health, and other fields in Pakistan.

Jinnah, who went to England in 1931, returned his homeland with his family after Britain announced its White Paper on Indian constitutional reform in November 1933, at the insistence of his friend and colleague Muhammad Iqbal, and again took the helm of the All-India Muslim League. He further improved the League's structure and organizational methods, and defined the struggle and political program of Indian Muslims on a single platform. By 1939, having gained great confidence,

he had become the Great Leader of All-Indian Muslims, the Great Leader.<sup>1</sup>

In 1940, Jinnah put forward the concept of Muslim nationhood and wrote: “we are a nation with our own distinct culture and civilization, language and literature, fine arts and architecture, name and naming, values and harmony, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and traditions, abilities and ambitions, in short, a distinct worldview and life. According to all the rules of international law, we are one nation”.

Of course, although this demand of Jinnah faced severe pressure from both Congress and Britain, thanks to his efforts, the movement of nation and state building became one of the important constitutional issues of the subcontinent, and in the elections of 1945-1946, Muslims voted for the realization of this idea.

As a charismatic leader, Jinnah, along with playing an indispensable role in the formation of Muslims as a nation, also selflessly fulfilled the task of establishing an independent state for this nation and leading it in the most critical and complex time. During his one-year rule as the first head of the state of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam laid the foundation of statehood and the integrity of the nation (people) and determined the main direction of development and activity.

Qayd-i Azam believed that, as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had said, peace at home and peace in the world should be ensured. His motto “Live and let live” was based on the

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<sup>1</sup> The Oxford companion to Pakistani History. Edited by Ayesha Jalal, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp.250-255.

following principle: “Let the two great nations of the Subcontinent, the Hindus and the Muslims, live their lives in their own territories, in accordance with their rights and traditions, without interfering in each other’s affairs, in a way that will pave the way for the two peoples to live in peace and good neighborliness”.<sup>1</sup> His passionate love of freedom was addressed not only to the Muslims and Hindus, but also to the peoples of Asia and Africa who were oppressed by colonialism and were fighting for their freedom.

In Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam is seen as a nation and state builder on a par with the great leaders of the world, such as Washington, Bismarck, Garibaldi and Ataturk. In fact, he was as a mysterious enigmatic figure as Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Indian people.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah died in Karachi on September 11, 1948, after a long and painful illness. The magnificent mausoleum built over his grave has become a place of pilgrimage for all Pakistanis and foreign travelers for many years.

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<sup>1</sup> Bhatti S., p.427.

## **ALLAMA MUHAMMAD IQBAL AND THE IDEA OF A SEPARATE STATE FOR MUSLIMS**

Allama Muhammad Iqbal was a prominent poet, educator, philosopher, Islamic thinker, a bright personality with a free-thinking and progressive mindset, rich culture and worldview. He called for the awakening and development of the Islamic world, especially the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent, through a cultural and educational revolution. He called for the progress of all humanity, regardless of geographical location, religious-sectarian, racial, or social affiliation. In 1922, M.Iqbal was awarded the title of “Sir” by the British government. He headed the “Islam Protection Society”.

It should be noted that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan 's Aligarh Movement played a significant role in the development of the idea of Muslim freedom in India as early as the end of the 19th century. M. Iqbal creatively developed its legacy in new conditions and, earlier through his creativity, and in the 1930s through his direct personal political activity, gave spiritual and moral nourishment, political direction, and determination to the freedom movement.

Muhammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot, Punjab, in 1877 to a merchant family. After graduating from Government College in Lahore, he received his higher education in Germany and England. In 1907, he defended his thesis on “The Development of Metaphysics in Persia” at Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, earning the PhD in philosophy, and at the same time a degree of Doctor of law from the University of Cambridge, and practiced as a

barrister in London with a certificate from Lincoln's Inn. While still in London, Iqbal was active in the London branch of the Muslim League and became an active member of the Punjab Muslim League from 1910.

Upon returning to his homeland, Iqbal became a beloved poet who could win hearts with his poems in Persian and Urdu. He also led the moral front of the struggle of Indian Muslims against British imperialism.

Although M.Iqbal was appointed as the chairman of the Public Relations Committee of the All-India Muslim League (AIML) in 1919, he was not very active in this position. He did not even accept the offer of membership in the Punjab Caliphate Committee in 1920. As a poet and philosopher, he was more engaged in social and cultural activities, taught at Punjab University and did not get involved in active politics. However, the failure of the Caliphate movement in the mid-1920s, the nationalist movements of Hindus in the Indian National Congress and the intensification of pressure on Muslims brought Iqbal into politics. Following Syed Ahmed Khan, with his poetic works he instilled moral strength and bellicosity in the Muslim freedom movement. In 1926, M. Iqbal was elected a member of the Punjab Provincial Assembly and began to actively participate in the work of the Muslim League.

Iqbal appreciated the modern republic model Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and the Turks in general, established after the Caliphate and modern Islam. He wished that each Muslim nation would have its own separate state and said that one day we, like the Turks, should re-evaluate our cultural-spiritual-intellectual heritage and accept the renaissance in Islam. He included these topics in his lectures and discussed these ideas in detail in his work



“Reconstruction of Islamic Religious Thought” published in 1930. He put forward the necessity of a new approach to Islamic principles in the new circumstances that had arisen. He assessed *ittihad* (*ittihad* in Arabic means “union or unity”) as a movement inherent in the nature of Islam. Since India is a multinational, multilingual and multi-religious country, Iqbal did not consider it possible to apply the principles of European democracy here in the same way. He thought that Indian Muslims were more of a nation than a people. Like Syed Ahmad Khan and Maulana M. Ali, he believed that Muslims should ensure their full and free development on their own, on the basis of their own culture and traditions. Iqbal specifically proposed the creation of a *North-West Indian Muslim State*, which would include Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan. At that time, the number of Muslims living in those provinces was more than 80 million.

Iqbal, based on the intellectual values of Islam, also justified the necessity for Muslims to have their own homeland in India and inspired people to fight for it. After M.A.Jinnah became convinced that the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible, he firmly believed in the correctness of Iqbal’s position and without hesitation expanded his activities to realize his ideas.

Jinnah and Iqbal knew each other well and had mutual respect. Jinnah was not against the idea of Hindus and Muslims having joint electorates like Maulana Muhammad Ali, but over time he came to accept Iqbal’s idea of going to the polls with separate electorates, because he was convinced that only in this way could a government be formed that would respond to the demands

and interests of Muslims. Thus, after 1929, Jinnah and Iqbal began to speak and act from the same position.

It should be noted that this period was the most active phase in M.Iqbal's political activity, especially when in the early 1930s M.A.Jinnah left India due to the conflicts in the League and lived in London, M.Iqbal led the annual sessions of the All-India Muslim League in Allahabad and in his letters to M.A.Jinnah, he persistently urged him to return the subcontinent and lead the League, and in the end he succeeded. Although M.A.Jinnah was offended by some of the League members, his professional and fighting friendship with Iqbal and his commitment to the idea for which they fought prevailed overcame.

At that time, the League, under the leadership of M.A. Jinnah, played an important role in the political life of India. M. Iqbal, as the President of the Session, noted in his addresses: "I want to see Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan united and independent of the British Empire, as a single state with its own administration. I want to see it as a state that is a consolidation of the Muslims of North-West India".<sup>1</sup> These far-sighted ideas of M.Iqbal actually informed about the genesis of the future state of Pakistan. In this respect, M.Iqbal was the architect and spiritual father of the Pakistan that would be created in the future. With the lyrical philosophical ideas and feelings put forward in his poems, he gave priority to universal spiritual values and showed the ways to achieve the construction of a just future.

Iqbal was against the civil disobedience campaign

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<sup>1</sup> Bhatti S., p.420.

called by the Indian National Congress in 1930. He was not at all satisfied with the attitude of the Congress and its leadership towards Muslims. In particular, he was infuriated by the groundless criticism of the Muslim representatives at the Round Table Conference by the Congress leader J.Nehru (1889-1964). He did not accept the provisions that not take into account the rights of the 80 million Muslim people and the openly demonstrated Hindu nationalism.

Iqbal also expressed that the *Communal Award* announced by the British government in 1932 was not based on impartiality, and in fact, it led to civil discord. He even sharply criticized the lack of proper representation in the provincial administrations of Punjab and Bengal, where Muslims were in the majority. Iqbal saw that the time had come for Muslims to take action and supported Jinnah in his practical activities.

M. Iqbal characterized the 20th century as the century of *nationalization*, observing and comparing the processes and new trends taking place in the international world after the World War I, and taking into account the historical traditions and peculiarities formed in the Subcontinent over the centuries, he boldly expressed his theoretical and practical proposals. In one of his addresses Iqbal noted that the European model of democracy was not suitable for India and that the historical, traditional and other peculiarities of the peoples of the Subcontinent should also be taken into account. M. Iqbal put forward the “Two Nation” theory in 1930, and this was the most correct solution for the continuation of the existence of peoples in peace and cooperation in the Subcontinent, where Hindu-Muslim conflicts continued.

It should be noted that the idea and expression of “Two Nations” were first used by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He believed that Hindus and Muslims, although they had lived together for centuries, could not be one because their cultures, customs, and beliefs were different and they were separate nations.<sup>1</sup>

With this thesis, he also defined the national identity of Indian Muslims in a political sense. This was a message to Great Britain that it was necessary for Hindus and Muslims to have separate states. M.Iqbal also recommended Islamic ideology as an important attribute of a Muslim state, which was later officially adopted by the All-India Muslim League in 1940. He tried to convince M.A.Jinnah that a struggle should be waged to create a separate Muslim state in the Subcontinent.

The philosophical doctrine of “Khoudi (Khudi “Self” “Asrar-e-Khudi”, (Secrets of the Self)), which M.Iqbal put forward in his socio-political views and scientific and artistic creativity, called for the self-affirmation of the national identity of not only an individual, but also all Indian Muslims. It should be noted that the freedom of not only the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent, but also all Muslims of the world formed the basis of Iqbal’s idea and struggle. Along with this, Iqbal emphasized the issue of the freedom of all humanity in his scientific and artistic works, speeches and appeals. M. Iqbal, who was accepted as a progressive statesman and politician in the West, courageously fought against the double standards displayed in the attitude towards Muslims in the world. He stated that the intellectual, mental and spiritual capabilities

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<sup>1</sup> Bhatti, S., p.50.

of man are unlimited, and recommended that all efforts be directed towards the progress and development of humanity. He was against inequality, exploitation, discrimination, national, religious and racial discrimination, and fought against them. He called people to take an active life position, struggle, and self-confidence. Iqbal put forward these and other progressive ideas and calls in London during his participation in the Round Table devoted to the issue of how Hindus and Muslims should live together and how they should build mutual relations under the rule of Great Britain.

When Jinnah began the reorganization of the All India Muslim League (AIML) in 1936, Iqbal joined him with great energy. Jinnah appointed Iqbal, who was the President of the Punjab Muslim League, as well as the President of the Punjab Parliamentary Board. The Iqbal-Jinnah friendship, professional and practical cooperation played a decisive role in the future fate of the Muslims. In his letters to Jinnah, Iqbal emphasized that the Muslims should have their own independent state, not be included in the "Federation of India" (such ideas were also put forward at that time), and that only the Muslim provinces inhabited by different peoples could form a Federation together. In his letters to Jinnah in 1937, he justified this idea and emphasized that the establishment of a free federal state of the Muslims was in the interests of both Islam and peace and tranquility in India. Iqbal saw that only Jinnah could fulfill the fateful task of building a state for the Muslims of India and gave him moral support. But the supporters of Hindu nationalism, of course, were never willing to accept the self-determination of Muslims.

Muhammad Iqbal died on April 21, 1938, after a

lingering illness. Addressing a crowd at a mourning rally in Calcutta, M.A.Jinnah described M.Iqbal as a great poet of humanity, a far-sighted philosopher and thinker, saying: “He was a special friend to me, a person who inspired me and gave me moral support as a philosopher and guide”.

Despite the many years that have passed since M.Iqbal’s death, his literary, artistic, spiritual and religious heritage is valuable as a national treasure for Pakistani society. His Persian works “Asrar-e Khodi” (Secrets of the Self, 1915), “Payam-e Mashriq” (The Message of the East), the Javed Nama (Book of Javed), (1932), “Pas Chih Bayed Kard Ay Aqwam-e-Sharq?” (What should we do, O peoples of the East?), Armaghan-e-Hijaz (The Gift of Hijaz), in Urdu “Bang-e Dera” (The Call of the Marching Bell/ Call of the Caravan), “Bal-e-Jibril” (Wings of Gabriel), “Ilm ul Iqtisad” (Science of Economics), “Gulshan-e-Raz-e-Jadeed” (Garden of New Secrets), “Zarb-i-Kalim” (or The Rod of Moses) (Strike of the Kalim, i.e. Hazrat Moses), “Shikva ve Jawab-e Shikva”, “Kulliyat-e Iqbal”, in English “The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam”, “The Development of Metaphysics in Persia” and other works played an important role in the development of social, political, and philosophical thought in the subcontinent and the surrounding region, and these works still retain their value today. In particular, in his work “Javid Nama” (Urdu translation “Javed Nama”), which contains a wider range of issues related to world events, their analysis and impact on the region, he calls Afghanistan “the heart of Asia” and writes that if this heart aches, the entire Asia will be afflicted with pain. A number of foreign interventions in this country since the last quarter of the 20th century and

the processes that have occurred and are still ongoing as a result have shown how right Iqbal's far-sighted observations were. The dire consequences of the tragedy that befell the Afghan people are still being seen not only in Asia, but also in old Europe in the form of tens of thousands of refugees.

M.Iqbal was known in Western countries as a characteristic Eastern philosopher. Indeed, his philosophical worldview was derived from the teachings of Imam Ghazali and Mouvlana Jalaluddin Rumi. Although he had a deep and pure faith and was called "Allama"(meaning an influential scholar on religion) with great respect by his contemporaries and the wider public, M.Iqbal was an enlightened intellectual with a modern and global worldview, who saw science and religion in unity. He called Islam the religion that is the closest friend to science and education. He saw and instilled the unity and connection between God, the universe, and man. He stated that sectarianism in Islam hindered the unity and cooperation of Muslim peoples, emphasizing that most of them had strayed from Islamic values and had deviated from the path set by the Prophet of Islam and his companions. He encouraged Muslims to abandon dogmatism, act in accordance with the challenges of the modern world, and master modern scientific and technological achievements.<sup>1</sup>

Iqbal instilled the need for all nations to struggle to determine their own destiny, and he constantly called for this in both his speeches and his poems. In his famous

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<sup>1</sup> İslam. Tarix, Fəlsəfə və Hüquq. Ensiklopedik lüğət. Bakı, 2016, s.135.

poem “In the Presence of the Nation”, he said:

*God will grant greatness to a nation that writes its own destiny.*

*God will not deal with a nation whose peasants sow crops at the expense of others.*<sup>1</sup>

Iqbal believed that under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslims of the subcontinent would achieve their goals. The Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League in March 1940, which declared that the Muslims of India should have a separate homeland and state, was the culmination of his dreams.

The 27th session of the Muslim League was held in Lahore from 22 to 24 March 1940, and on 23 March the famous Lahore Declaration was adopted, which later came to be celebrated as *Pakistan Day*. The Resolution, proposed by Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq, called for the creation of two independent Muslim states in the northern parts of British India: one in the north-west comprising Punjab, Sindh, the North-West Frontier Provinces, Balochistan and Kashmir; and the other in the north-east comprising Bengal and Assam.

After the Pakistan Resolution was passed, M.A. Jinnah told his colleague Matlub Saeed: “Iqbal is no longer with us, but if he were alive, he would be very happy to know that we did exactly as he wanted”.<sup>2</sup>

However, on April 8, 1946, a conference of Muslim parliamentarians decided to establish a single independent Muslim state, Pakistan. At the time, the influence of the

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<sup>1</sup> İqbal, Məhəmməd. Seçilmiş əsərləri. Bakı, “Elm və təhsil”, 2020, s.88. Tərcümə edən Elxan Zəl Qaraxanlı.

<sup>2</sup> Bhatti. A Short History of Pakistan, p.420.



British government in the Subcontinent had weakened, and waves of protest against colonial rule had got a wide scope.

On August 16, 1946, in the mass protests against the British in Calcutta, 4,000 people were killed, thousands of houses and working places were looted, and neither the Muslim League nor the Congress were able to control these mass riots. It was already obvious that the British authorities were having difficulty controlling the situation in the subcontinent.

On August 15, 1947, after 71 days of heated negotiations, the British government was forced to grant independence to India and Pakistan. Although up to 15 million people were displaced during the Partition and one million people lost their lives, the state border between Pakistan and India was now established. Those who did not relocate, or who were unable to do so, remained in the minority and had to endure certain pressures. Unfortunately, the processes that have been ongoing from time to time regarding Muslims in India, the second largest Muslim-majority country in the world (after Indonesia), are still present in some cases.

## **THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN AND MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH**

After the end of World War II, as broader ways and opportunities opened up for national liberation movements around the world, when imperialist powers were faced with the obligation to grant freedom to their colonies, the establishment of two states in British India that met the demands of Hindus and Muslims became an inevitable necessity.

By early 1947, it was already necessary to make radical changes in British Indian policy. On January 29, a meeting of the working committee of the Muslim League was to be held, and M.A.Jinnah was to address it. Jinnah had just returned to the country, and was very weak and ill. Obstruction of the meeting by the government caused sharp protests. The British government had to take into account the emerging reality, and Prime Minister Clement Attlee declared in the House of Representatives that the Royal Government desired to transfer power in British India to local authorities by June 1948. The statement recommended the parties and movements there put aside their differences and be ready for the responsibility that would fall upon them. Naturally, both the Congress and the League regarded this statement with favour. However, the decision to form a provisional government headed by J.Nehru was rightly met with discontent by the Muslims. Meanwhile, the masses, worried that the power would be taken over by the Hindus and that the Muslims would be oppressed, were holding demonstrations in many parts of Punjab, especially in Lahore and Amritsar. On March 6 in London, Winston Churchill, speaking on behalf of the

opposition in the House of Representatives, declared that India was not just going to be divided, but to become a disorderly piece. He stated that he considered it wrong to entrust the interim government of India to the Hindu Nehru. Although Liaquat Ali Khan, representing the Muslim League, took office as the finance minister in this government, he had no influence on events, and against this background, the number of dead and injured in the clashes that broke out in Sialkot, Rawalpindi, and Amritsar was increasing.

On March 8, the Congress Working Committee meeting called the parties to come to an agreement and a consensus for a peaceful transfer of power. On March 12, Jinnah told journalists in Bombay that our ideology, goals and principles are not only completely different from those of the Hindu organizations, but are even the opposite. There was a time when the idea of Pakistan was met only with ridicule; I can declare with your permission that this is the only right decision that will bring honor to our people... God willing, we will have our Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> At that time, the Hindu leader Jawaharlal Nehru had a very negative attitude towards Jinnah, even hatred. Along with armed clashes between the two communities, a sharp ideological struggle also continued.

On 24 March 1947, Great Britain appointed *Mountbatten* as the 19th and last viceroy of India. The new viceroy, who met with both J.Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan, sent a letter of invitation to M.Gandhi and M.A.Jinnah to meet in Delhi. In the meantime, Mountbatten, who had

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<sup>1</sup> Уолперт, Стенли. Джинна – творец Пакистана. Москва, «Рудомино», 1997, с.360.

met and discussed with M.Gandhi many times, suggested to M.Jinnah that an opportunity should be created for him to form a government, a government that would serve for peace and security in India. This should be a government without an army, without a national guard. However, the *viceroy* did not like this idea and when a similar proposal was discussed with J.Nehru, J.Nehru also strongly opposed it. On April 5, the viceroy met with M.A.Jinnah. The conclusion he drew from his meetings with Jinnah on that day and in subsequent days was that Jinnah insisted on the creation of Pakistan through the partition of India, did not accept the idea of a united India, and did not even accept the offer to become the Prime Minister of India. It should be noted that in such a chaotic, uncertain political environment, conflicts and clashes between Hindus and Muslims spread even further, thousands of people were killed, subjected to violence, and looted.

At the time, the Grand Minister of Bengal, Suhrawardy, proposed the formation of a single coalition government of Hindus and Muslims in India, and the granting of independent statehood to Bengal. Of course, the Congress was categorically against the emergence of another Muslim state in the subcontinent.

On 10 April 1947, in a discussion with Liaquat Ali the British viceroy suggested that the partition of Punjab, Bengal and Assam between Hindus and Muslims could end the conflict, although this process would be very painful as well. However, this discussion did not lead to any concrete results.

In late April, the Muslim League won a clear majority in the Punjab elections. However, the Punjab governor, Chingiz (Jenkins), did not allow a single party to form a government, despite Jinnah's demands. Jinnah was in

favor of the new Pakistan remaining in the *British Commonwealth*, with all the attributes of a state, including its own army. Jinnah was against the partition of Bengal. He was negotiating with the Sikhs to include them in Pakistan as “Sikhistan”. Jinnah, like Nehru, did not view the proposal to divide Punjab and Bengal positively.

On 19 May, Mountbatten in London informed Prime Minister Attlee and the cabinet that if the formation of a Pakistani state was not guaranteed, the Muslim League might take up arms. Jinnah, in a telegram sent to the British government shortly afterwards, demanded a referendum in Punjab and Bengal before partition. On 2 June 1947, at the invitation of the viceroy in Delhi, the British government’s proposal was announced at a meeting of delegations led by Jinnah and Nehru. The next day, after discussion in the Working Committee, on 3 June, first Viceroy Mountbatten, followed by Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh, made short speeches on All India Radio. The Viceroy stated that the British government intended to transfer power in the subcontinent to a local government in June 1948. However, the parties did not choose the path of cooperation. Therefore, the government had decided to transfer power to one or two dominions this year.

It seemed that the question of the partition of the Indian Subcontinent was now inevitable. This was also evident from the radio speeches of Nehru and Jinnah. The partition, its principles and consequences were continued in the discussions.

The last meeting of the All India Muslim League, convened on June 9-10, 1947 at the Imperial Hotel in Delhi, was not peaceful and painless. 425 Muslim

representatives, under the chairmanship of Jinnah, discussed the lands and properties wealth they would lose during the partition of Punjab, while in the outside, various dissatisfied and subversive forces tried to disrupt the meeting led by Jinnah. However, the League guards did not allow them into the meeting hall and removed them. As a result of the political will and determination shown by Jinnah at the meeting, the League Council decided that Quaid-e-Azam M.A.Jinnah should be given authority to resolve all issues related to the creation of Pakistan. Naturally, there were also many forces among the Muslims who were dissatisfied with Jinnah's position and plans. Eg., , protested those who did not accept the fact that Calcutta remained in the hands of the Hindus and Jinnah's compromise on some issues.

On June 20, 1947, the Bengal Legislative Assembly passed a resolution to secede from India. Soon after, the legislatures of Punjab and Sindh declared that the divided parts of the provinces had become part of Pakistan. On June 27, Viceroy Jinnah discussed the details of the partition with Nehru and other officials. The well-known jurist Cyril Radcliffe from London was invited to the commission established in connection with the partition. The British authorities still had hope that they might be able to keep the parties under a single governor-general. However, after Jinnah declared to the Viceroy that he wanted to become the governor-general of Pakistan and Nehru the governor-general of India, on July 15, the Prime Minister introduced a bill on the independence of India. In the negotiations concluded on August 15, a law was passed establishing India and Pakistan as two independent dominions.

Although Nehru and Liaquat Ali, who represented the provisional government in the subcontinent, met occasionally during this period, in reality these declared governments did not have any activity. At the same time, it was to be known by 15 August who wanted to be with whom. Although a number of local rulers chose the Union of India without hesitation, the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Hindu Hari Singh, preferred not to join any of the dominions. But, soon he had to change this position.

On August 7, 1947, Jinnah arrived in Karachi with his sister Fatima. The residence of former Sindh governor became Jinnah's residence. Thus, Karachi was becoming the capital of the new country. The new governor of Sindh, Jinnah's old comrade-in-arms, Ghulam Hidayatullah, gave an official reception in his honor. In his address to the guests, Jinnah called on everyone to make joint efforts and work tirelessly so that the sovereign state of Pakistan would be truly united, strong and prosperous.

On August 11, the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held in Karachi and Jinnah was elected as its chairman. Jinnah declared that the first duty of the Constituent Assembly should be to prepare the Constitution of Pakistan and to act as the full and competent supreme federal legislative body of Pakistan. Laws and regulations should be enforced in the country, the lives, property and religious beliefs of citizens should be protected, bribery and corruption should be eradicated, nepotism and tribalism should be eliminated, and discord between religious communities and minorities should not be allowed. On this basis, no humiliation or unequal treatment should be tolerated.

On August 14, when Jinnah and Fatima set out to

attend the Constituent Assembly, they were greeted everywhere with slogans of “Long live Pakistan”! and “Long live the Quaid-e-Azam (Great Leader)”! The Viceroy delivered King George’s congratulatory address to the Assembly. Jinnah, in his reply, thanked His Majesty the King and declared that his country would remain a friend of Great Britain and would establish friendly relations with its neighbors and other countries. Thus, on August 14, 1947, Pakistan officially gained its independence by remaining in the British Partnership. A similar process was carried out in Delhi and India’s independence was declared. King George VI approved the law passed in this regard. M.A.Jinnah declared in his press conference that everyone’s religion, beliefs, culture and lifestyle, and property integrity would be respected in the country, that national and religious minorities would live as full-fledged citizens of Pakistan, and he hoped that the two emerging states: Pakistan and India would establish friendly and sincere relations. But soon, ethnic and religious clashes began in different cities. In Amritsar and its surroundings, armed Sikhs and Hindus began to kill Muslims, and in Lahore, Muslims began to kill Sikhs and Hindus.

In such circumstances, the formation of two states in the Subcontinent was announced: the Union of India and the state of Pakistan. The first Governor-General of Pakistan was the leader of the Muslim League, the prominent political fighter Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), who for many years led the struggle of Muslims to establish an independent state. The Union of India was led by the leader of the Indian National Congress, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964).



On August 18, Jinnah said in his address on the occasion of the holiday of Ramadan: “I pray the Almighty God to make us all worthy of our centuries-old history and to give us the strength to make Pakistan a truly great and powerful state among the world states”. Despite his illness, Jinnah was busy building the new state. In his address to the nation on August 24, he stated that the state would do everything within its powers to resettle Muslims who had been subjected to acts of violence, to Pakistan.

It was necessary to rebuild the army, navy, and economy, and to start from scratch in many areas. The fact that financial resources were not fairly distributed between India and Pakistan during the partition did not allow the situation in Pakistan to normalize. The newly formed state had to bear the entire burden of settling and providing for millions of refugees. The state, however, had serious financial problems. India refused to give the 550 million rupees that should have reached Pakistan during the partition. At that time, the Hyderabad Nizam (ruler) Mir Laiq Khan after meeting with Jinnah, allocated a loan of 200 million rupees to Pakistan. Jinnah informed the people about this, and India, of course, was very angry with this decision of Hyderabad.

In September 1947, Jinnah, despite his illness, discussed the escalating situation with India at a cabinet meeting in Lahore. He called on the British Commonwealth countries to support peace on the subcontinent.

Meanwhile, the Maharaja of Kashmir signed a “moratorium” agreement with Pakistan, allowing Kashmiri communications to pass through territory of Pakistan. However, this did not last long due to pressure on local Muslims, and in October Pakistan no longer

allowed these transportations. On October 23, armed volunteers from the Pashtun tribe moved towards Srinagar with a force of 5.000 people to help Kashmiri Muslims. The next morning, the Indian Army landed the First Sikh Regiment in Srinagar. The air forces and other military units were directed to Kashmir.

On October 27, Jinnah ordered the acting commander-in-chief, British General Douglas Grace, to send two brigades of the Pakistani army to Kashmir. However, this order was not carried out, the British generals did not want to take this step that would lead to the Pakistan-India war, they explained to Jinnah that the weak Pakistani army had no chance of victory without British officers. It was obvious that the British were absolutely on the side of India. They looked at India's annexation of Kashmir naturally, and moreover, the Maharaja had made such an arbitrary appeal without the knowledge of the Muslims.

Due to the superiority of Indian forces in Kashmir and their support from British forces, the Pashtun militias and elements of the Pakistani army were unable to achieve success. Addressing the people at a mass rally in Lahore on October 30, Jinnah urged them not to lose courage and to be ready to die for the honor of Pakistan and Islam if necessary.

The last session of the All India Muslim League Council was held in Karachi on 14–15 December 1947. At the session, attended by 300 delegates, 160 of whom were Indian Muslims, Jinnah, despite his illness, addressed the gathering and said that the Muslim League had achieved its goal and that since it had established Pakistan, the division of the League into an independent Pakistan and an Indian League was inevitable.

The council elected Liaquat Ali Khan as the organizing

secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML). On 22 December, when Liaquat Ali Khan flew to Delhi to attend a meeting of the Joint Defence Council, Indian Prime Minister Nehru issued a note to Pakistan demanding that it should not support the Pashtun troops and prevent them from moving in Pakistan. In the absence of a satisfactory response, on 31 December the Indian government appealed to the UN Security Council, demanding Pakistan stop the activities of the Pashtun militants in the border province of Kashmir, which was already part of India as a state. Otherwise, India would send troops to Pakistan.

On January 15, 1948, Pakistan responded to the UN Security Council regarding India's complaint. Liaquat Ali Khan, making a counter-accusation, declared that Pakistan did not support any act against India and presented a complaint against India. He stated that hundreds of thousands of Muslims had been killed, injured and humiliated in India and 5 million had become refugees, women and children had been victims of brutal crimes, and reported that they suffered losses of hundreds of millions of rupees. A demand was made to establish a special commission to stop India's aggression against Pakistan and to investigate them on the spot.

Towards the end of the year, the UN Security Council Commission achieved a ceasefire between the parties. However, the parties failed to agree on the withdrawal of troops from Jammu and Kashmir. The Commission also failed to secure a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

Despite his old age and illness, Quaid-e-Azam consistently took steps to strengthen defense of the country. He attached special importance to the establishment of the Pakistani army and navy. He used to

say that the invention of the atomic bomb in World War II showed how terrible future wars could be. In our flawed world, the weak and defenseless are attractive prey for the aggressor. Pakistan must be ready for any threat.

It should be noted that during these processes, Mahatma Gandhi sharply criticized the violent measures taken by the Indian government and the militant Sikhs and Hindus against Pakistan and Muslims in general. With his long-term hunger strike, he demanded the Indian government to pay the 550 million rupees owed to Pakistan and stop the massacres and looting against Muslims. Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi, a prominent political and public figure of the East and the world, a freedom fighter, became a victim of terrorism. On January 29, 1948, M. Gandhi was shot dead by the Brahmin-Hindu Nathuram Godse for his moral support for Muslims. Jinnah, who deeply regretted the murder of his political opponent, in his condolence letter, considered Gandhi to be one of the greatest personalities coming out from the Hindu community.

On 21 March 1948, the ailing 72-year-old Quaid-e-Azam visited Bangladesh, then known as East Pakistan, and addressed hundreds of thousands of people in Dhaka (Dacca). Jinnah's speech was in English, urging the Bengali-speaking population to adopt Urdu and English as the state and official languages.

At that time, the financial situation of the country, as well as its internal political situation, was very acute and critical. In the north, the Pashtuns wanted to establish a state of Pashtunistan, and in the east, the Baloch wanted to establish a state of Balochistan. Therefore, Jinnah traveled to Peshawar and gave an open-air speech to the people,

calling for close unity among all the people in a single Pakistani state. The health of Jinnah, who got wet in the rain here, began to worsen even more.

Nevertheless, on June 15, Jinnah addressed the Baloch people in Quetta. He thanked the central government of Balochistan for its financial support and called them to unite for a united Pakistan. Jinnah flew to Quetta for the second time, on July 6, for fresh air, with his sister Fatima. Here, in a mountainous town called Ziarat, 40 miles from Quetta, Jinnah remained under medical supervision, very thin and weak. The disease that had destroyed his lungs (tuberculosis) had turned into cancer. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and other close associates came to visit. Jinnah, who was brought to Quetta on August 13, 1948, addressed the people of Pakistan on August 14, the first anniversary of the formation of Pakistan, which was published in the newspapers. On September 11, Jinnah was brought to Karachi by a special plane. That night at 10:10 p.m., Quaid-e-Azam passed away. He weighed only 32 kg when he died.

Jinnah's daughter Dina attended her father's funeral, and then married Neville Wadi, a Parsi who had converted to Christianity. They lived in Bombay, and their son Nusli became a prominent businessman; and his sons also lived in Bombay, but had no connection with Pakistan. Jinnah's daughter Dina, after getting divorced from her husband, lived in New York. Jinnah's sister Fatima, known as the "Mother of the Nation", died in Karachi on 9 July 1967. \*

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\* **Note:** One of the well-known biographers of M.A.Jinnah is Stanley Wolpert. His book "Jinnah of Paskistan" (Stanley Wolpert. Jinnah of Pakistan) was published in 1984 by Oxford University Press..

## PAKISTAN IN THE 1948-1958s

After the death of M.A.Jinnah on 11 September 1948, the post of Governor-General of the country was entrusted to the Prime Minister of East Bengal, Khaja Nazimuddin (1894-1964). Liaquat Ali Khan continued as the Prime Minister of the country. Tamizuddin Khan (1889-1963) was elected President (Chairman) of the Constituent Assembly.

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan pursued a policy of strengthening the central state, while at the same time reviving the Pakistan Muslim League and paving the way for democratic values. The Objectives Resolution, prepared under his leadership, was adopted in 1949, and the principles enshrined therein: democracy, independence of the judiciary, freedom, equality, tolerance, Islamic social justice, and the freedom of minorities to practice and develop their religious beliefs and cultural traditions, formed the basis for future Basic Law of the country. However, the Bengalis were against their demographic superiority and the fact that their majority was treated equally with others.

In February 1949, the World Muslim Congress was convened in Karachi, and Pakistan took an active part in it. The convening of this Congress meant that the organization “Motamar al-Alam al-Islami”, which had been established in Mecca in 1926, was being revived. A similar congress was held in 1951. Pakistan declared its support for Palestine, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria, which were struggling for self-determination.

On October 16, 1951, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated by terrorists while addressing a Muslim

League rally in Rawalpindi. Many of his plans were left unfinished, and a series of chaotic events occurred in political life of Pakistan. Democratic values and principles suffered the most.

On 17 October 1951, Khaja Nazimuddin resigned from his post as Governor-General and assumed the office of Prime Minister. Former Finance Minister Malik Ghulam Muhammad became Governor-General (19.10.1951-15.10.1955).

Although Khaja Nazimuddin was a Bengali by nationality, a large protest rally was held in Bengal in January 1952 against him and the central government because the Bengalis could not fulfill their language demands. Several protesters were killed in the clashes, which laid the foundation for the discord between East Pakistan (now called Bengal) and West Pakistan. The martial law imposed in Lahore in 1953 against the *Ahmadi movement* also increased tensions in this province. In such a situation, the Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Prime Minister Khaja Nazimuddin from his post. Although the parliamentary system founded by Quaid-e-Azam continued in the country, Defense Secretary Iskander Mirza and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces Ayub Khan (1907-1974) became the real power holders. As Ghulam Muhammad's illness worsened, the power of these individuals also increased. The new Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali Bogra (1900-1963), was also a Bengali. Bogra had previously been ambassador of Pakistan to the United States and was appointed Prime Minister in April 1954. He was considered pro-American. He agreed to grant Bengali the status of the national language in Bengal. However, in

October 1954, his cabinet was dismissed. In October 1955, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali (1905-1980) was elected Prime Minister.

At the time, at the initiative of Defense Secretary Iskander Mirza a new political party, the Republican Party, was founded in Pakistan.

On 29 February 1956, the Constitutional Act of Pakistan was adopted, the country was renamed the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and Iskander Mirza was elected president. After this, the existing parliamentary system in the country, the 310-member National Assembly, which represented the provinces of West and East Pakistan on an equal basis, was weakened, new elections were not held, and it continued to function temporarily for two years. In September 1956, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali resigned as Prime Minister, and the unconditional rule of the Muslim League at the Center and in the provinces was ended. Huseyin Shaheed Suhrawardy (1893-1963) headed the new coalition government. He was soon replaced by Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar (1897-1960). In December 1957, a Republican Coalition Government was formed, headed by Malik Firoz Khan Noon (1893-1970). Finally, on October 7, 1958, President Iskandar Mirza dissolved the Parliament and the government and declared martial law in the country.



## SITUATION IN THE PROVINCES (1948-1958)

During these years, anti-center or centrifugal tendencies in the provinces of the country had not disappeared at all. Provincial assembly elections and government formations took place in a fiercely competitive environment. In Punjab, the Azad Pakistan Party was founded under the leadership of Mian Iftikharuddin and Sawkat Hayat. The religious party Majlis-e-Ahrar (1930) became active, and the Jamaat-e-Islami, founded by Maulana Abul Ala Maudidi, was active in the elections. The allies and opponents of the Muslim League operated in a climate of political competition.

In 1952, the Majlis-e-Ahrar party and the Jamaat-e-Islami launched a mass movement against the Ahmadis in Punjab. They demanded that the Ahmadis not be considered Muslims because they did not accept the fact that Hazrat (The Most Holy) Muhammad was the last prophet (Khatam-ul-Anbiya). This led to riots in Lahore in March 1953, which resulted in looting and plundering. As a result, the government of Kh. Nazimuddin had to resign. It should be noted that the *Ahmadiyya* (also called Qadiani, Mirzai) doctrine, which emerged as a Muslim sect, was founded in Punjab in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (...-1908). He declared himself the *Mahdi* and proposed to create a syncretic religion.

In East Pakistan, as well as in the Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Provinces of West Pakistan, political demands were being made for a worthy place in state administration and army of the country. Existing and newly formed parties opposed to the Muslim League were actively working. The “Awami League” (People’s League),

“Azad Pakistan” were among them. The Communist Party of Pakistan, founded in 1948, although not at a level to compete with the parties on political scene of the country, did not serve national unity in any case.

In December 1953, in East Pakistan, the United Front of opposition parties was formed. Bengal was demanded to have a large autonomy. In March 1954, the United Front defeated the Muslim League in the elections to the Legislative Assembly in East Pakistan and formed a government headed by A.K.Fazlul Haq (1873-1962). Fazlul Haq was the leader of the newly formed “Krishok Sramik” (Peasant-Labor Party). Therefore, the Central Government declared a state of emergency in East Pakistan. In May 1954, the United Front government was dismissed, and at the same time, the activities of the Communist Party were banned in both East and West Pakistan. After this event, the Central Government was forced to make certain concessions to the Bengalis; so Bengali, along with Urdu, received the status of an official language in East Pakistan.

On October 24, 1954, the central government declared a state of emergency throughout the country, and the Pakistan Constituent Assembly was dissolved. In such a tense political climate, Pakistan joined the military blocs SEATO (September 8, 1954), Baghdad Pact (September 23, 1955) and CENTO (August 1959).

Elections to the Second Constituent Assembly were held in June 1955. The Muslim League and the United Front Coalition formed a government. In October of the same year, all the provinces of West Pakistan were united into a single one. On October 6, 1955, the Secretary of Defense, Major General Iskander Mirza, was elected

Governor-General of the country.

On February 29, 1956, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution. According to the Constitution, the dominion of the federated Pakistan (West Pakistan and East Pakistan) was called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Jumhuriye Islami-ye Pakistan). On March 23 of the same year, Major General Iskander Mirza was elected the first President of Pakistan. In November 1956, six progressive parties and organizations in West Pakistan united to form the National Party, and a year later this party merged with the left wing of the Awami League to form the unified National People's Party.

However, on October 8, 1958, a military coup took place in the country; the Constitution was abolished, and the activities of political parties were suspended. The post of President was taken over by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1907-1974).

## **PAKISTAN IN THE 1958-1971s**

General Ayub Khan appointed military personnel to all key positions in administration of the country, from top to bottom. The main figures in domestic and foreign policy, ministers, ambassadors, etc., were mostly high-ranking military personnel. In October 1959, General Ayub Khan was given the rank of field marshal. Military courts were established in the country. The military government banned rallies, demonstrations, and strikes, and although it was later somewhat softened, censorship was imposed on the mass media and publications in the country.

It should be noted that although democratic principles were sometimes not followed, the strengthened unified central government succeeded in implementing a number of reforms, economy, production, trade, especially agriculture of the country revived, foreign economic and political relations developed and diversified, and relations with European countries and the USSR expanded.

A more active system was also established in the administrative management of the country. The country was divided into provinces, provinces into regions, regions into districts, districts into groups of villages or small settlements. Gradually, elected representatives were involved in local administration (at lower levels). Later, these elected representatives in the places became the electoral college in the country. Although the determination of the same number of voters from large and small provinces caused dissatisfaction, especially in the province of East Pakistan (Bengal), which has a large population and territory, this was implemented and on February 14, 1960, the voters elected M. Ayub Khan as

the president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. On March 1, 1962, a new Constitution of the country was adopted and, according to the basic law, the country passed to presidential rule.

The president was elected by the electoral college of parliament of the country and the legislative bodies of the provinces, which was considered the “basis of democracy”. On the basis of the 1962 Constitution, elections were held in April of the same year for the Parliament (National Assembly) and in May for the Provincial Assemblies. On June 8, 1962, at the first meeting of the National Assembly, M.Ayub Khan abolished martial law in the country and the Constitution began to operate. In December 1963, amendments were adopted to the Constitution, a number of restrictions were lifted, including the restoration of the activities of political parties. The Muslim League again became the ruling party, and President M.Ayub Khan, who retired from military service after the lifting of martial law, also headed the party.

After some time, a new group emerged in the country that broke away from the Muslim League and took an opposition position (Khoja Nazimuddin, Sardar Bahadur Khan, etc.). The Awami League (People’s Party) resumed its activities. Led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, this party demanded broad autonomy for East Pakistan. The National People’s Party, Jamaat-e Islami and Nizam-e Islam parties began to operate. In 1967, the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) was founded under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Z.A.Bhutto, who resigned from his post as Foreign Minister in 1966, joined the opposition to the government of M.Ayub Khan.

In the early 1965 presidential elections, a bloc of five parties - the National People's Party, the Awami League, the opposition Muslim League, the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Nizam-e-Islami - joined the struggle against the government of M.Ayub Khan. They nominated Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Quaid-e-Azam, the founder of Pakistan, as a presidential candidate. However, Ayub Khan, who used the resources of the government, was able to retain his post in the elections of January 2, 1965.

It should be noted that the continuity of power had a positive impact on the economic development of Pakistan. Despite the internal political struggle and the military-political tension with India, economy of the country developed significantly and strengthened. However, at the same time, discontent continued to grow in East Pakistan. In 1966, the leader of the "Awami League", Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, put forward a 6-point Program and demanded full regional autonomy for East Pakistan. In West Pakistan, demands were also voiced for the restoration of the former provinces on the basis of language and ethnicity. In 1968-1969, a wave of protests swept the country. The authorities were forced to make concessions, and in February 1969, the state of emergency was lifted in the country. The state of emergency had been imposed since September 1965 during the Pakistan-India military conflict, and many political activists that had been arrested were also released.

The ongoing conflicts on this basis resulted in the outbreak of a second armed conflict between the two countries in August-September 1965. The use of large military units, air forces, artillery and tanks in the military operations launched in Kashmir and other border regions

began to worry the world community and international organizations. With the intervention of the UN Security Council, Pakistan and India achieved a ceasefire on the line of contact of the troops on March 23, 1965. With the close mediation of the USSR, the parties withdrew their armies to the positions before the conflict. On the initiative of the USSR leadership, the parties met in Tashkent on January 4-11, 1966. After extensive negotiations with the participation of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, A.N.Kosygin, the President of Pakistan, General Ayub Khan, and the Prime Minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, on January 10 was signed the Tashkent Declaration. The leaders of both countries declared their firm determination to establish normal peaceful relations between their countries, and to establish mutual understanding and friendly relations between the two peoples. Although many of the provisions set forth in the Declaration were later implemented, the failure to resolve the Kashmir issue in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions remained the hotbed of tension in the region.

M.Ayub Khan announced that he would not run for president in the presidential elections to be held in early 1970. Soon after, the government agreed to restore the parliamentary system in the country and hold direct general elections. However, since the government did not agree to the restoration of the provinces and the provincial governments to have their previous rights, mass discontent began. In this situation, M. Ayub Khan resigned from the presidency on March 25, 1969 and handed power to the commander-in-chief of the Pakistani army, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan (1917-1980). Yahya Khan took office that day and declared martial law in the country,

abrogating the 1962 Constitution. He offered Z. A. Bhutto, the chairman of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), to support the military government. Bhutto agreed to cooperate on the following conditions: the implementation of an independent foreign policy; The re-division of West Pakistan on the basis of the previous provinces and the restoration of the status of the provinces; holding elections within a year. Yahya Khan agreed with these conditions. After that, the PPP's activity in the political life of the country began to increase even more.

Soon after, the new government restored the separate provincial status of the four provinces of West Pakistan: Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and the North-West Frontier Province. In December 1970, general elections were held in Pakistan for the central and provincial legislative bodies. The electoral colleges, which had not proved themselves, were abolished.

The "Awami League" won the elections in East Pakistan, winning 160 out of 162 seats. This gave the "Awami League" leader Mujibur Rahman (1920-1975) more than half of the votes in the 300-member National Assembly, allowing him to form a government. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in West Pakistan only won a majority in Punjab and Sindh. Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Province were dominated by the regional National Awami Party, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema'i Islam and the Qayyumi Muslim League, which had no intention of supporting the PPP.

President Yahya Khan convened the first session of the National Assembly of the country's parliament in Dhaka on March 3, 1971. However, Z.A.Bhutto, who was dissatisfied with the results of the elections and did not



agree with the formation of the government by the Awami League, announced that his party would boycott the session of the National Assembly, so the president had to postpone the date of the convening of the parliament. Riots broke out in East Pakistan, especially against those from West Pakistan, and armed attacks against the army continued. Additional troops sent by Yahya Khan by air also failed to control the situation. The fact that West Pakistan had no border or land connection with East Pakistan, the presence of a large Indian territory between them, and significant support of India for Mujibur Rahman made the tendencies of secession from the center even more effective here.

Thus, since the elections were held on a proportional basis throughout the country, the “Awami League” also won a majority in the parliament of the country due to the large population in East Pakistan. In fact, Mujibur Rahman, who had won the right to become the Prime Minister of the country, preferred not to take this high position, but to separate Bengal, which was called “East Pakistan” until then, from Pakistan and establish an independent state. In this situation, President Yahya Khan declared the “Awami League” illegal and ordered to arrest Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. His arrest incited the Bengalis to revolt. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Pakistani government and army in suppressing the revolt, the Indian army crossed the border along the territory of East Pakistan on November 21, 1971 to support the Bengalis and began an offensive.

In the new circumstances, the representatives of the “Awami League” Party in the National Assembly demanded that East Pakistan be granted full regional

autonomy by law. The military regime refused to fulfill this demand. As a result, the East Pakistani legislators seceded from Pakistan and formed the independent Republic of Bangladesh, supported by India. This paved the way for a new Pakistan-India military conflict.

The war began on December 7, 1971 and escalated rapidly. It had grave consequences for Pakistan. It was not easy to conduct a successful military operation in an enclave surrounded by Indian territory, and soon 90,000 Pakistani military and civilian personnel were forced to surrender in Dhaka. Two days later, the Pakistani army also suffered a setback on the western front, and the large army unit had no choice but to be captured. Thus, with the ceasefire and the signed document on December 17, 1971, East Pakistan seceded and became the Republic of Bangladesh, and from then on the concept of West Pakistan was no longer needed.

It should be noted that on December 7, when the war with India began, Yahya Khan had appointed Z.A.Bhutto as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Bhutto's visit to the US, meetings with Presidents Nixon and Kissinger, and his appeal from the UN tribune did not remain without effect, and on December 17, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (1917-1984) unilaterally declared a ceasefire. Pakistan also accepted this and the war was stopped. On December 20, 1971, as soon as Z.A.Bhutto returned the country from the trip, President Yahya Khan invited him to the Presidential Palace and resigned, handing over power to the Leader of the Pakistan People's Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

## PAKISTAN IN THE 1972-1977s

Z.A.Bhutto government made a number of progressive and necessary changes in domestic and foreign policy of the country. The role and influence of the state in the economy was strengthened, some important and significant industries and trade sectors were nationalized, agrarian reforms were carried out, and measures were taken to prevent monopolies. Z.A.Bhutto was an admirer of political leaders and heads of states such as M.K.Ataturk (1881- 1938), Jamal Abdul Nasir (1918-1970), Bung Sukarno (1901-1970) and, like these leaders, by pursuing an independent policy he intended to develop her country as “Islamic socialism”. Being a Sindhi, he was interested in Sindh and Sindhis to take an active part in the development of the regions. His opponents accused him of authoritarianism.

In April 1972, the Z.A.Bhutto government suspended the martial law implemented in the country since 1969. On March 14, 1973, a new Constitution came into force. The new Constitution established a federal system and a parliamentary republican government. Education in state educational institutions was declared free. Very important decisions were made in the fields of medicine, social insurance, and trade unions. May 1 was declared Labor Day in Pakistan. *The main slogans of the PPP, roti, kapra aur makan (bread, clothes, and housing), zamin kashtkaron ko (land for the farmers), and musavat-i Muhammadi (in the sense of equality set by the Prophet Muhammad),* were considered a type of “Islamic socialism”, and this policy not only increased the party’s prestige but also strengthened Bhutto’s power.

Z.A.Bhutto government took a number of measures to raise position and prestige of the country in the international arena. The country withdrew from CEATO and the British Partnership, established friendly relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. Z.A.Bhutto visited the USSR in May 1972 and October 1974. It improved relations with the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Steps were taken to normalize relations with India. It were made very active diplomatic efforts to resolve the difficult issue for the release of 70 thousand soldiers and 20 thousand civilians held by India as prisoners of war and their return to Pakistan.

The political tension in the region was eased by the Simla Agreement signed with India in the summer of 1972. According to this Agreement, Pakistan had to recognize the independence of Bangladesh and accept India's proposals regarding Kashmir. That is, it had to accept the existing Line of Control, the line of contact, and agree to some minor changes along this unofficial border.

Finally, in February 1974, Pakistan officially recognized the People's Republic of Bangladesh, which had joined the Islamic world, at the Summit of Islamic countries held in Lahore. Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi (1942-2011) had traveled to Dhaka to bring Mujibur Rahman to Pakistan, and he succeeded. As a result, India also agreed to return the Pakistani prisoners.

In May 1974, "peaceful nuclear test" of India caused a new cooling of relations between the two countries. Z.A.Bhutto, who was now Prime Minister of the country, aimed to have nuclear weapons at any cost, even if the Pakistani people were starving and had to eat grass. The

military expenditure of the country was soon doubled. It should be noted that these bold steps of the Pakistani government were not welcomed in the West. Bhutto's "Nuclear Program" was particularly worrying for the United States, and there was a negative attitude towards Pakistan in Congress and the White House. In August 1976, Henry Kissinger visited Pakistan and demanded to stop its nuclear program. But, the Pakistani government, realizing that the nuclear power would be the main guarantor of the country's territorial integrity and security, resisted these pressures.

The greatest achievement of the Bhutto government was the adoption of the 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This Basic Law, adopted by the voters of the national parliament and provincial assemblies on April 10, came into force on August 14, on the day of the 26th anniversary of Pakistan's independence, and played an important role in the further development of the country. The Constitution established a strong parliamentary system in the country. According to the Constitution, the Prime Minister, who was the head of the government, was elected by the National Assembly. The president of the country was elected at a joint meeting of the two houses of parliament. The provincial assemblies were formed according to a unicameral system. The judiciary operated independently. The death penalty was considered for an attempt to overthrow the elected government. Women's freedom was ensured, and their active participation in the life of the country was supported.

However, opposition to Bhutto government within the country was growing. Separatist activities were reviving in

the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP, now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan, and even demands were made for the merger of the Frontier Province with Afghanistan. A number of Baloch vicegerents rebelled, claiming that the government was not providing development for the province, and in particular the Mengal and Marri tribes had begun a guerrilla war against the Pakistani army. Bhutto government was forced to dismiss the governments of both provinces and entrust the administration to the provincial governors. In 1975, the governor of NWFP, Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao, from Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, was assassinated. This was followed by the arrest of some leaders of the separatist forces. On November 10, 1974, the car of Ahmed Raza Kasuri, a prominent lawyer and politician, and a member of the National Assembly, was fired upon by unknown gunmen. Although he survived, his father, Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan, was killed. A few days later, Kasuri brought his father's bloody shirt to the National Assembly and declared that the assassination was organized by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He had previously stated during police interrogation that Bhutto was guilty.

In 1975-1976, amendments to the Constitution tightened some rules and the National People's Party closed. Discontent among the population increased. Nine political parties of the country united against the Pakistan People's Party and formed the Pakistan National Alliance. The leading parties here were the Muslim League, "Jamaat-e Islami" and "Jamiat-ul-Ulema Pakistan" and the People's Democratic Party, "Tehrik-e Istiqlal" and others that supported them. However, despite all this, in the elections held on March 7, 1977, the Pakistan People's

Party (PPP) managed to win about 80 percent of the votes in parliament and a new government was formed headed by Z.A. Bhutto.

However, the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), not recognizing the results of these elections, rallied the people on March 11, demanding the resignation of the government and the holding of new elections, and boycotted the provincial elections. The protest rallies soon turned into clashes and confrontations with the police. Mosques became the headquarters of the opposition. The arrests and other repressive measures taken by the government further inflamed the protests in the country. 30 people died in the clashes in Lahore, and many protesters were injured. Besides accusing Bhutto of election rigging, they also blamed him for the loss of Eastern Pakistan. The main catch-phrase of the alliance was “Nizam-i Mustafa”, that is, achieving Islamic governance according to the rules laid down by the Prophet. Political stability was disrupted, and an economic crisis began. All this created the basis for the army to seize power again. Although the army’s chief of staff, General M.Zia-ul-Haq (1924-1988), appointed in March 1976, supported the government at the beginning of these processes, Bhutto lost this support in July. On July 5, General Zia-ul-Haq seized power and established a military administration, and in September 1978 he was elected president of the country.

## **PAKISTAN IN THE 1977-1988s**

During the rule of Zia-ul-Haq (July 1977-August 1988), all democratic rules and institutions were curtailed (imposed a restriction on), a machine of repression was launched in the country, reforms were suspended, military courts ruthlessly punished political opponents, a court case was opened in connection with the murder of Nawab Ahmed Khan Kasuri at the request of his wife and son, and charges against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were put forward, all of which resulted in his arrest after a while. President Zia-ul-Haq did not interfere with the court's decision, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was executed on April 4, 1979. However, political parties were not officially banned, and the Constitution was temporarily suspended. In September 1978, when the five-year term of President F.I. Chaudhry ended, the military chief of staff, General Zia-ul-Haq, took over the presidency. A year later, the activities of political parties were also suspended. President Zia-ul-Haq quickly began to Islamize state policy. The Federal Sharia Court was established under the Supreme Court. Laws that contradicted Islamic principles were no longer valid. Along with Muslim countries, relations with the United States were improved, and large-scale cooperation began, especially in the military-economic sphere.

With the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Union in 1979, the center of the entire Afghan resistance movement against the Soviet occupation passed to Pakistan. Pakistan, although temporary, became a natural ally of the United States in the fight against aggressive policy of the Soviet Union. This not only created serious problems in Pakistan-USSR relations, also strained relations of Pakistan which was supplied with weapons and military equipment by the United States, with India. The entry and settlement of up



to 3 million Afghan refugees from Afghanistan in Pakistan increasingly complicated the economic situation and the internal political situation of the country. As a result of the referendum held in the country on December 19, 1984, Islamization policy of Zia-ul-Haq received a positive response, and thus Zia-ul-Haq won the right to be president for a second term. In February 1985, non-party elections were held under martial law. The National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies were elected, and a month later the Senate was elected. Muhammad Khan Junejo became Prime Minister of the country.

President Zia-ul-Haq expanded the powers of the President by amending some articles of the 1973 year's Constitution. Martial law was lifted in the country in December 1985. However, Zia-ul-Haq retained his post as Chief of Staff of the Army. After several years of reconciliation, the relationship between the President and the Prime Minister gradually began to cool. Shortly after the successful negotiations on Afghanistan in Geneva on April 14, 1988, with the participation of the Personal Representative of the UN Secretary-General, President Zia-ul-Haq dissolved the parliament, central and provincial governments, that is, he began to lead the government himself, and set general elections for November 1. However, on August 17, 1988, he died in a plane crash along with a group of high-ranking military commanders and diplomats. The US Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Pakistan, Arnold Lewis Raphael, was also among the passengers who died, and despite all efforts, the causes of this accident could not be clarified. Thus, the long rule of General Zia-ul-Haq was put to an end. However, a number of measures, legal changes, especially the policy of Islamization, and the

promotion of the activities of religious and political parties and organizations that he implemented during these years laid the foundation for a number of painful problems that would arise throughout the subsequent history of the country.

## **BENAZIR BHUTTO AND NAWAZ SHARIF GOVERNMENTS (1988-1998)**

After the death of President Zia-ul-Haq, Senate Chairman Ghulam Ishaq Khan began temporarily to act as President in accordance with the Constitution. A state of emergency was declared in the country. An Emergency Council was formed under the President. It included five leading ministers of the Central government, heads of provincial governments and chiefs of staff of the three branches of the army. General Mirza Aslan Bey was appointed Chief of Army Staff. Elections to the National Assembly were held on November 16, 1988. In the struggle between the Pakistan People's Party and the Islamic Democratic Alliance, which included nine parties and movements, the Pakistan People's Party won by a small margin and formed a coalition government in December headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's daughter and PPP leader Benazir Bhutto. In the provinces, the Pakistan People's Party formed the government alone, as it won an absolute majority in the province of Sindh. However, in Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, the Islamic Democratic Alliance won a majority of the votes and formed governments. In Balochistan, the split of votes complicated the situation.

On December 12, an electoral college consisting of members of the National Assembly, Senate and Provincial Assemblies elected Ghulam Ishaq Khan as the president of the country in accordance with the Constitution. The state of emergency was lifted in the country, the Emergency Council was dissolved, and political freedoms and democratic principles were restored.

In December 1988, the meeting of the heads of government of Pakistan and India and the signing of a number of documents normalized mutual relations.

However, B. Bhutto government was operating with difficulty under pressure from both the army and the opposition, and less than a year later, an attempt was made in parliament to pass a motion of no confidence in the government, but it was unsuccessful. In the spring of 1990, ethnic and religious clashes in Sindh province resulted in bloody conflicts. The government was forced to call the army for help. In order to reduce the growing tension in the country, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the National Assembly, dismissed the Prime Minister and his cabinet. An interim government was formed, consisting of opposition leaders, and Q.M. Jatoi headed this government. On October 24, 1990, the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) won early elections to the National Assembly, and its leader, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, was elected Prime Minister.

It was not long before the disagreement between the Prime Minister and the President became serious. N.Sharif tried to repeal the constitutional amendment, especially the 8th amendment, which gave additional and greater powers to the President. However, the experienced politician G.Ishaq Khan managed to create a split in the IDA. Thus, the “Jamaat-e-Islami” left the Alliance, many prominent figures left the government and the Alliance. Propaganda against the Prime Minister expanded both on the legal level and in the mass media with the active participation of various parties and organizations. Finally, by the presidential decree of April 18, 1993, the National Assembly and the government were dissolved. An Interim Government headed by M.Sh.Mazari

was formed. However, the overthrown government managed to obtain a decision through the Supreme Court that the presidential decree was illegal.

Thus, on May 26, 1993, the National Assembly and the government were restored. After that, the disagreement between Prime Minister N.Sharif and the President deepened and on the eve of the Presidential elections to be held in December of the same year, it turned into a political crisis. In this situation, the Army leadership demanded the resignation of both the Prime Minister and the President, and achieved this.

In the extraordinary parliamentary elections held on November 6, 1993, the Pakistan People's Party formed a coalition government with the support of a number of small parties and independent deputies. The PPP, led by B.Bhutto, also formed governments in Sindh and Punjab. On October 6, 1993, the candidate of the government bloc, Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari (1940-2010), a Baloch by nationality, was elected president of the country. However, the attempts of B.Bhutto government to get the country out of its financial difficulties were unsuccessful, the diversity of interests in the government coalition did not allow for the implementation of a number of progressive reforms and measures, the prevention of bureaucratic obstacles, and widespread corruption. The national currency, the rupee, was gradually losing its value, inflation was rapidly increasing, and prices were rising. In such circumstances, the International Monetary Fund also refused to provide new loans. As corruption engulfed the country, the shadow economy also flourished.

According to politicians in opposition to the government one of the reasons for B.Bhutto's decline of

authority in public was that the Prime Minister failed to take necessary measures against bribery by some officials appointed to high positions in the government. At the same time, the discrimination of the government in relation to the provinces, ignoring the position of the country's political elite and the army, and the subjective approach in appointing people to high positions also caused justified dissatisfaction. In short, B.Bhutto's failure to take lesson from the mistakes she made during her previous term as Prime Minister led to defeat<sup>1</sup> of both her and the Pakistan People's Party. In such circumstances, internal political relations also became tense. Cases of terrorism on the basis of sectarianism increased in the country. The government's conflicting relationship with the Supreme Court and the President, and its attempts to gain more power, led to President F.A.Legari being forced to dissolve the Parliament and the government on November 5, 1996. The leadership of the interim government was entrusted to M.M. Khalid. In January 1997, the President established the Defense and National Security Council in an advisory capacity. The inclusion of the commanders of the Armed Forces in the Council significantly strengthened the participation of the military in the political life of the country.

In the early elections held on February 3, 1997, although the Jamaat-e-Islami and some other religious parties boycotted the elections, the elections took place and the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) led by Nawaz Sharif won and N.Sharif became the Prime Minister. With

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<sup>1</sup> Shaikh, Masud Akhtar. *Democracy in Tears*. Islamabad, 2006, p.71.

the support of its allies the PML-N formed governments in all provinces except Balochistan. A number of economic innovations were made. The day off was changed from Friday to Sunday. A decisive fight against corruption and terrorism began. The accounts of the Bhutto family were frozen. Punishments for some crimes (arms trafficking, terrorism) were tightened.

In April 1997, the government succeeded in repealing the 8th Amendment to the Constitution. This significantly limited the powers of the President. The President could no longer dissolve Parliament at his own discretion or dismiss the government. He could also not appoint high-ranking government and military officials at his own discretion. He could do this with the consent of the Prime Minister. This caused the Prime Minister to have a problem with the Supreme Court. N.Sharif could not be held accountable for the new law that he had passed in Parliament. Therefore, the Supreme Court declared it and the repeal of Article 8 of the Constitution illegal. The President also refused to sign the law passed by Parliament. N. Sharif took action to impeach the President. The unrest swept the country again. The Pakistan People's Party, as well as religious parties, became more active. The army leadership had to intervene again. On December 2, 1997, President F.A. Legari resigned. In accordance with the constitution, the post of state head was entrusted to the Chairman of the Senate, Wasim Sajjad, until the elections. W.Sajjad, a member of the PML, changed the leadership of the Supreme Court and appointed Mian Ajmal, a supporter of N.Sharif, as its chairman. In the presidential election held on December 31, Senator Muhammad Rafiq Tarar (1929-2001) from the PML was elected head of state.

## **PAKISTAN DURING GENERAL PERVIZ MUSHARRAF, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF PAKISTAN IN 1998 – 2002s**

Pervez Musharraf (born 1943) was the Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan from 1998 to 2007, the Chief Executive of Pakistan from 1999 to 2002, and the President of Pakistan from 2002 to 2008.

Pervez Musharraf was born on August 11, 1943, in the old Mughal area of Delhi, in an Urdu-speaking intellectual family. His father, Syed Musharrafuddin, was a graduate of the famous Aligarh Muslim University in India, and his mother, Zarreen, studied at Delhi and Lucknow Universities, earned a master's degree from Lucknow University, and worked as a teacher.

On August 15, 1947, Musharraf's family moved to Karachi, and his later life was spent in the state of Pakistan, which the Muslims of the Indian Subcontinent succeeded in establishing. P. Musharraf writes about this in his memoirs "In the Line of Fire": "The turbulent events that took place in the first months and years after leaving India completely changed that little boy who had been displaced. Like a tree uprooted, this little boy found a native land where he could put down deeper roots. He settled in this land forever".<sup>1</sup>

In 1949, in connection with the appointment of P. Musharraf's father as the chief accountant at the Pakistani embassy in Turkiye, P. Musharraf and his brothers Javid and

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<sup>1</sup> Müşərrəf, P. Atəş xəttində. İngilisçədən tərcümə edənlər: Nigar Mədətli və Lalə Rzayeva. Bakı, "Təhsil", 2007, s.30.



Nahid moved to Ankara with their parents, and the 7 years of life and education there played an important role in his future life.

P. Musharraf writes: “A large part of Pakistani cuisine is of Turkish origin. Similarly, Urdu, our mother tongue, which my parents spoke, also took its name from the Turkish word “ordu”. Two characteristic features of the Turkish people have taken a special place in my memory. One is that they have a deep sense of patriotism and are proud of everything Turkish, and the other is their great and special love for Pakistan and Pakistanis”.<sup>1</sup>

P. Musharraf entered the Pakistan Military Academy in 1961 and graduated with the rank of senior lieutenant. He participated in the Indo-Pakistani War (17 days) that began on September 6, 1965. This war ended with the mediation of the UN Security Council. Both sides suffered losses, neither gained a strategic advantage, but India suffered more losses as the attacking party. P.Musharraf’s active participation in the battles as the commander of the artillery section was rewarded by the army leadership. He began serving in the Commando military section of the Special Service Group (SSG) of Pakistan in 1966. P.Musharraf was promoted to the Command and Army Staff College in 1974 with the rank of major. In 1978, Lieutenant Colonel P.Musharraf commanded the 44th Artillery Battalion, a year later he was appointed a lecturer at the Command and Army Staff College. He was sent to the National Defense College, Islamabad. He became the Senior Advisor in the Directorate for the Military Operations in 1983-1984, and in 1985 he was appointed

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<sup>1</sup> Müşərref, P., s.32.

a brigade commander of the 25th Bhawalpur Infantry Division. In 1990, he was sent to the Royal Defense College in London and after completing a one-year course, returned home. He was promoted to the rank of Major General and was appointed commander of the 40th military unit. In 1993, he was appointed Director General on Military Operations. In those years, Pakistan actively participated in the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia, along with US troops, and in Bosnia. These activities were very worth-while, and P. Musharraf was seconded to these countries to supervise the work of Pakistani military units, give instructions, and study problems. P. Musharraf was sent to the elite Strike Corps of the Pakistani army as a lieutenant general in 1995 and at the same time continued to serve as Director General for the Military Operations.

It seemed inevitable that P. Musharraf would retire as a lieutenant general in 1997. Because the next position he could be promoted to was the chief of the army staff, General Karamat, who had nominated General Ali Kuli Shah Khattak, which disappointed P. Musharraf. However, on October 7, 1998, an event occurred that would change his entire future life. P. Musharraf, who was summoned to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at night, was appointed army chief and General Karamat was sent to retirement.

It should be noted that after becoming Prime Minister, N. Sharif managed to make changes to the constitution, depriving the President of the power to dissolve the National Assembly and the government, as well as to appoint the three heads of the armed forces and the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. An unpleasant situation arose in the country between the Prime Minister and the President as well as with the Supreme Court. The

President tried to restore the situation by winning over the Chief of the Supreme Court to take his side. In such cases, the military could be expected to intervene.

The dismissal of Army Chief General Karamat in this manner was, of course, met with discontent in the army. After Nawaz Sharif reduced the powers of the President to nothing, his voluntarist decisions in the affairs of the army, especially in appointments to high positions, did not respect the order and tradition in the armed forces, and caused considerable discontent, and the position of the Chief Minister in connection with the military conflict between Pakistan and India in Kargil in the autumn of 1998 already became a spark.

Although the conflict between Pakistan and India in the Siachen Glacier region of Kargil between October 16 - 18, 1998, did not lead to major military operations, significantly strained relations between the two countries. India claimed that it had been attacked by Pakistan and was massing troops in the region. Pakistan believed that India was using this as a pretext to seize the region and put an end to the struggle of Kashmiri mujahideen there. Pakistan believed that India was violating the Simla Agreement and committing provocations along the Line of Control along the border. And even the visits of Indian Defense Minister Fernandes to the region in 1998 increased these suspicions. Therefore, the Pakistani army, taking preventive measures, reinforced a 120-km section of the border in that region with additional forces in the spring of 1999 and established more than a hundred posts. This paved the way for the activation of the Kashmiri mujahideen. Clashes began in May. The Indian air force began bombing not only the positions of the Kashmiri

mujahideen, but also the positions of the Pakistani army. One of their helicopters and two planes were shot down. In such conditions, India attracted large military units to the region, and the conflict expanded. According to the head of the army, General P.Musharraf, in these conditions, Pakistani Prime Minister N.Sharif “showed a lack of will, did not take any steps to unite the people around him in order to gather moral support, which was very necessary for the army”.<sup>1</sup>

On July 4, 1999, after a telephone conversation between US President Bill Clinton and the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India, the war was stopped and a ceasefire was declared. According to P.Musharraf, N.Sharif had taken a surrender position by giving the order to withdraw the Pakistani army from the positions it had gained in the region unilaterally and without any conditions, unjustly blamed the army leadership for allegedly involving the army in the operation without his knowledge, and called these operations of the Pakistani army “shameful”. However, the Prime Minister was informed about the progress of the operations at every stage. On July 9, 1999, N.Sharif met with P.Musharraf on the day of his visit to the United States and learned his opinion on the ceasefire. N.Sharif considered the army commander guilty of what had happened. However, the Indian army suffered more losses, failed to capture the strategic glacier and the watershed waterfall, and failed to breach the Line of Control in Kashmir.

According to P.Musharraf, the military activities of Northern Infantry Group of Pakistan and other forces

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<sup>1</sup> Müşərrəf, P., s.125.

should have been assessed, greater support should have been provided to the Kashmiri mujahideen, and a ceasefire should have been agreed upon with appropriate conditions.

This conflict between the army commander and the Prime Minister, which had begun after the forced resignation of General Karamat, had intensified after the Kargil crisis. In such a situation, the Prime Minister decided to dismiss the army commander, Pervez Musharraf, from his post.

On October 12, 1999, the Army Chief, General P.Musharraf, was returning from an official visit to Sri Lanka. As P.Musharraf mentioned in his above-mentioned work, his Airbus PK 805 flight from Colombo to Karachi, with 198 passengers on board, was not allowed to land in Karachi. The pilot was even offered to leave Pakistani airspace and land in a foreign country. There was no doubt that this order was given by N.Sharif. For the fuel consumption, the plane could have reached either Ahmedabad, India, or Oman. Only at the last minute was granted permission to land at the small Nawabshah airport, 160 km from Karachi, but before the plane had traveled half the way, the pilot was informed that he had been granted permission to land in Karachi by air transport, and the adventurous flight safely landed at Karachi port. Musharraf was spoken to via the aircraft communication, and it turned out that when P.Musharraf started flying on the plane, the Prime Minister had dismissed him and appointed Lieutenant General Ziauddin Butt in his place. The army, outraged by this decision, revolted, and at the last moment Karachi airport was already under the control of the army. From that moment on, a new era began in Pakistan, the rule of the army.

A new government was formed in a short time. As the country's chief executive and army commander, Pervez Musharraf identified his management team. It should be noted that at that time the economic situation in Pakistan was very deplorable. 34 percent of the population had a daily income of less than \$ 1. Exports amounted to only 9 billion US dollars. Corruption was widespread in the country.

On October 17, 1999, Pervez Musharraf addressed the people on television. He outlined the main priorities of his administration and emphasized the main directions of action. These were the following: restoring national morale and confidence; strengthening the federation; eliminating differences of opinion between the provinces and ensuring national unity; reviving the economy and regaining the trust of investors; establishment of legal order and restoration of justice; removal of state institutions from political activity; transfer of power to ordinary people; restoration of national welfare; ensuring effective governance; achieving social development, including health, education and women's independence; poverty reduction; carrying out political reforms for the sake of sustainable democracy. The above directions were taken as the basis for the policy implemented in subsequent years. In order to prevent the plunder of public funds and property, the National Accountability Bureau was established. The National Reconstruction Bureau was established and retired Lieutenant General Tanveer Hussain Naqvi was appointed as its head.

On May 12, 2000, the Supreme Court of Pakistan legalized the removal of the Nawaz Sharif government and the seizure of power by the military. However, Pervez

Musharraf was required to hold general elections in the country within 3 years and not to make any changes to the Constitution of the country.

One of the main priorities of the Pervez Musharraf government, although not officially announced, was to strengthen the country's defense power. Considering that India had tested its first atomic bomb in 1974, and had tested five nuclear bombs between May 11 and 13, 1998, Pakistan had entered the ranks of nuclear states shortly after, on May 28, 1998, by conducting five tests. Therefore, it was necessary to find ways to develop the economy and defense industry of the country, which was subjected to severe sanctions.

In order to overcome the difficulties ahead and implement his plans, Pervez Musharraf found it necessary to eliminate his opponents in the country and establish a new political party that he could rely on until the upcoming elections. At the request of Prince Abdullah, the crown prince of Saudi Arabia, who would later become king, Pervez Musharraf agreed to release Nawaz Sharif, who was expected to be sentenced to life imprisonment, and send him and his family to Saudi Arabia, on the condition that N.Sharif should stay out of politics for ten years. N. Sharif also had to give some of his properties to the state. The agreement also stipulated that Nawaz Sharif would not travel to countries other than Saudi Arabia, and he was granted this permission only in early 2006 when he appealed to Pervez Musharraf and asked for permission to go to London to visit his sick son.

At the suggestion of P.Musharraf, well-known politicians from Gujarat in the Punjab province, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and his brother Chaudhry Parvez Ilahi,

undertook to revive the Pakistan Muslim League (PML), founded by the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam, and to bring it into political life in the form of PML (Q) (meaning Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah), by adding the letter “Q” to distinguish it from PML (N). Soon, many people joined the PML (Q) wing, while those who did not join remained supporters of PML (N), i.e. Nawaz. Tariq Aziz, a trusted man of Pervez Musharraf, played an active role in the creation of the new party. Thus, on August 20, 2002, PML (Q) was formed. However, Pervez Musharraf was taking other measures to avoid losing the event and was not going to pin all his hopes on winning the election. Therefore, he decided to hold a referendum in the country on April 30, 2002. In the referendum, citizens were asked to answer the following question: “Do you agree to elect General Pervez Musharraf as President for a five-year term in order to save the local government system, establish democracy, continue reforms, put an end to sectarianism and extremism, and implement the goals of the Quaid-e-Azam (Great Leader)?”

Having received a positive response from the referendum participants, Pervez Musharraf began to be prepared more confidently for the elections to be held in October of that year, and a number of important decisions were made in this direction. Thus, in connection with population growth (according to the 1997 census, the country’s population was 140 million people, and the growth was more than 2 percent per year), the number of deputy seats in the National Assembly was increased from 217 to 342. 272 of the seats were to be elected by general elections, the rest were to be elected by special quotas, 60 of which were women and 10 were to be non-Muslims.



This ratio was to be observed in the provincial Assemblies as well.

In order to be elected as a deputy, it was required to have secondary education and then a 4-year college or higher education. This would ensure that the parliament would consist of educated representatives, and it would also prevent a number of wealthy or tribal but uneducated people from finding their way there.

A law was passed which stated that a person could only be elected president or prime minister twice. This law served to prevent Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto from participating in such elections again, and at the same time, it could be considered democratic. This law also served to remove the monopoly of power from certain important families and prevent it from being transferred to each other. So, these decisions cut off the path of B.Bhutto and N.Sharif, who could become opponents of Pervez Musharraf in the near future, to politics.

The National Security Council (NSC) was established under the leadership of Pervez Musharraf. This council included 13 members: the President, the Prime Minister, the chief ministers of the four provinces, the speaker of the parliament, the leader of the opposition in the parliament, the chairman of the Senate, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the commanders of the land, sea, and air forces. Although the NSC, which met once a quarter, was not an executive body, it had high powers. It should be noted that the opposition leader, the leader of the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), which united 6 religious parties, Fazul-ur Rehman, refused to participate in the work of the NSC, and the religious parties in this bloc adopted a policy of boycotting the NSC. In 2002, the Local Government

Law was adopted and local administration was transferred to the *nazims* - mayors of municipalities. In 2000-2001, local government elections were held (community, education (district), provincial, and city councils). A quarter of the council members were women, and seats were also reserved for non-Muslims.

Finally, general elections were held in the country. The PML(Q) won a majority in the National Assembly, but only in Punjab did it win an absolute majority and form a Provincial government. In Sindh province, B.Bhutto's renewed Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) won a majority, but it was not enough to form a government and needed a coalition partner. In Balochistan, the PML(Q) won, but it also needed a coalition partner. In the North-West Frontier Province, the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), an alliance of religious parties, won and formed a government.

Since the PML(Q) could not form a government on its own at the center, it formed a government with members of the Pakistan People's Party, which had split from B.Bhutto and organized under its previous name, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). The MQM had gained superiority, especially in Karachi, and had become the fourth largest party in the National Assembly. In such an internal political situation, Musharraf intended to add the Legal Framework Act (LFA) to the Constitution, and to achieve this, he needed to have a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly. For this purpose, negotiations were held with the MMA and the PPPP.

The amendments to the constitution were to legalize the institutions created by Pervez Musharraf and restore

the President's right to dissolve the National Assembly. P.Musharraf also promised to retire from the army and take off his military uniform by December 31, 2004. In this way, the 17th amendment to the Constitution was adopted. However, the MMA clerics opposed this on the issue of confirming the legitimacy of the National Security Council. Despite this, the law was adopted by a simple majority. Based on the fact that the MMA violated the agreement, Pervez Musharraf also gained the right to hold the positions of both president and army chief until 2007 in accordance with the Constitution. (P.Musharraf had been exercising the powers of the President since June 20, 2001).

On the eve of the 2002 elections, the PML(Q) elected Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, a prominent politician from Balochistan, as the party leader, and after the elections, he became the Prime Minister.

**PAKISTAN UNDER THE  
REIGN OF PRESIDENT PERVIZ MUSHARRAF  
(2002-2008)**

*The political and economic situation in Pakistan  
after the September 11, 2001 terror*

The September 11, 2001, incident in the United States was actually a large-scale attack on the United States by the Al-Qaeda organization, which was supported by the Taliban in Afghanistan. It was Pakistan that maintained diplomatic relations with the Taliban government and supported this government when it was formed. So, if the Taliban leader Mullah Omar did not hand over Osama bin Laden to the United States, Pakistan would have become a target of the United States along with Afghanistan. Therefore, the day after the terror, the US demand from Pakistan was very strict and concrete/specific. This was clearly evident from the statement that Secretary of State Colin Powell made to Pervez Musharraf on the phone: "Either you are with us or against us". Pervez Musharraf preferred to be with the United States.

It should be noted that the World Trade Center in New York was first targeted by terrorists in 1993, when six people died in the explosion. One of the terrorists, Ramzi Yusuf, fled to Pakistan and was arrested by Pakistani security forces in 1995.

After the terror, Pervez Musharraf spoke on television and sharply condemned the terror. However, the course of events did not bode well for Pakistan. Of course, the reasons for Pakistan's support the Taliban were rooted in

the country's national interests. Because after the Soviet troops left Afghanistan, thousands of armed, trained, and combatant Taliban fighters in both Afghanistan and Pakistan were left unemployed, unpaid, and homeless, and they began to struggle for power in their own countries. Moreover, after the Soviet troops left the country, the government in Afghanistan made territorial claims to Pakistan and took step-by-step measures in alliance with India. Therefore, both the Pakistan state and the religious-political parties and organizations in the country supported the Taliban, but they did not even imagine the steps that the state they were going to establish would take next.

Pakistan was interested in establishing a controlled government in Afghanistan in the mid-1990s, which it could influence. The Northern Alliance, which controlled Kabul and part of the country until 1996, did not promise this because they were actively supported by Iran and India and did not trust Pakistan.

In fact, the fight against terrorism was also very necessary for Pakistan itself. In early 2001, Pervez Musharraf's ban on a number of religious radical organizations and their armed wings in the country inflamed the hatred of extremist forces for the civil-minded Pervez Musharraf government. There was strong resistance from radical religious figures to the democratic reforms implemented in the country. Religious figures did not want to lose the rights and powers they had acquired during the time of General Zia. However, the Pakistani people as a whole, were on the side of innovation and reforms, on the side of the country's path of civil development, not its radicalization. Therefore, the Pakistani leadership made the right choice and considered

it appropriate to take part in the anti-terrorist front, as well as to solve its internal problems within this framework.

On September 13, the US Ambassador to Pakistan, Wendy Chamberlain, presented seven demands of her country to President Pervez Musharraf. These were as follows:

1. Stopping Al-Qaeda's activities, arms shipments, and all financial and technical assistance supporting Bin Laden across Pakistani borders;

2. Providing takeoff and landing facilities for US aircraft to conduct military and reconnaissance operations;

3. The US use of Pakistani military bases, including naval and air force bases, to combat terrorism;

4. Immediate sharing of Pakistan's security, intelligence, and immigration information to prevent terrorist attacks against the United States, its friends, and allies;

5. Continuing to condemn the September 11 terror acts, preventing negative opinions and propaganda directed against the United States and its allies;

6. Stopping all supplies, including fuel, to the Taliban government and preventing volunteers sent to support this government from crossing into Afghanistan;

7. Severing diplomatic relations with the Taliban government, stopping aid to it, and assisting the United States in neutralizing Osama bin Laden and his associates.<sup>1</sup>

The Pakistani leadership accepted these demands, but since it was not feasible to comply with the requirements

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<sup>1</sup> Musharraf, P. In the line of fire. A Memoir. London. Sidney. Toronto. "Simon and Shuster", 2006, pp.204-205.

of Articles 2 and 3, the US was given only the Shamsi bases in Balochistan and Jacobabad in Sindh, and it was considered appropriate for the US Air Forces to use only those bases. Thus, Pakistan unwittingly became the center of the fight against terrorism.

Here we would like to draw attention to a confession by Pervez Musharraf: “We (i.e., the Pakistan – E.M.) trained mujahideen, indoctrinated them with religious ideas in seminaries, armed them, fed them, and sent them to Afghanistan for jihad against the Soviet Union. We did not think about how to return them to normal life after the jihad was over... Even the US did not think about how an educated person like Osama bin Laden would later use the organization that we had allowed to be created. The worst thing is that after the Soviet Union was expelled from Afghanistan, the US did not think about carrying out development and construction work in that country. The US left this poor country to its fate, ignoring the fact that this country full of weapons could become a hotbed of terrorism in the future”.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that the Taliban, as a movement and armed force, began its activities in 1994 in the town of Maiwand, west of Kandahar, as a small Taliban (meaning “students”) group of Mullah Omar, and in a short time, Mullah Omar became the leader of an organization that grew day by day with the title of “emir”. In 1996, a 1.500-member council appointed M.Omar as “Amir-ul-Mu'minin” (meant “Commander of the Faith”). In a short time, the Taliban had already managed to control 90 percent of the territory of Afghanistan, and Pakistan saw this force as a

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<sup>1</sup> Müşərrəf, P. Atəş xəttində. Bakı, “Təhsil”, 2001, s.243.

force that would overthrow the Northern Alliance, which was pursuing an anti-Pakistan policy, and pursue a policy in accordance with Pakistan's interests. However, this hope of the Benazir Bhutto government did not come true. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, which initially supported the Taliban, also failed to live up to their hopes. The United States also remained a bystander to the emergence of the Taliban.

The Taliban movement, which was mainly composed of Pashtuns, also had support from Pakistani Pashtuns, while all of Pakistan's radical religious organizations supported the Taliban and Bin Laden, who had been living in Jalalabad, southern Afghanistan, since 1996. The Al-Rashid Union, established in Pakistan, provided the Taliban with technical and information services from Karachi.

However, after Mullah Omar established his power in Afghanistan, he did not want to deal with the countries that supported him any longer. In 1998, he rejected the demand to expel Osama bin Laden from the country or hand him over to Saudi Arabia. After the bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania by Al-Qaeda, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia advised and insisted on the Taliban to expel bin Laden from the country. The meetings of the Director General of the Pakistani Joint Intelligence Service with Mullah Omar and his representatives also failed. The Taliban even fatally beat the Pakistani ambassador in Kabul. Both the cruel punitive measures and the ignorant governance carried out under the guise of Sharia law within the country, as well as the demonstrative bombing of the famous Buddha statues in Bamiyan, formed a completely negative image of this regime all over the world. After



September 11, a completely new situation arose, and the Taliban's refusal to expel the Al-Qaeda leader made the US war against Afghanistan inevitable.

It should be provided some information about Bin Laden here. In 1986, Osama Bin Laden established his headquarters in the village of Jaji, near the Pakistani border (16 km) in eastern Afghanistan, and called it "Lion's Den". In 1987, he carried out a successful operation against Soviet forces in that region, which made him famous. At that time, Osama attracted Ayman al-Zawahiri, an Egyptian doctor who was treating wounded mujahideen in Peshawar, to his side. The name Al-Qaeda was first used in 1988 by Bin Laden's teacher, Dr. Abdullah Azam, in an article in the magazine "Jihad". The organization he envisioned was Al-Qaeda, which means "base/foundation" and served the Islamic awakening, and Osama bin Laden became its leader. In 1998, Osama bin Laden created the "Islamic World Front" organization, and jihadists from various countries of the world began to be invited to it. In such a situation, Afghanistan had lost its role as the "eastern junction of history" and had become the "Bermuda Triangle of the East".<sup>1</sup>

This organization founded by Bin Laden soon grew into an international network and, of course, strengthened its foothold in Pakistan. This was happening at a time when Pakistan, which had hosted more than three million Afghan refugees since the end of the Soviet occupation and the US had stopped providing aid to it, had developed a strong anti-American feeling over the years, and this could be

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<sup>1</sup> Durrani, Asad. *Pakistan Adrift. Navigating Troubled Waters*. London, Hurst and Company, 2018, p.165.

considered a strong enough factor. Nevertheless, it was the right decision to take part in the anti-terrorist movement from the very beginning in order to protect the country from becoming Taliban and from the inevitable US strikes.

Obviously, Pakistan suffered for many years. Because of its support for the United States, radical groups in Pakistan began targeting the government of Pervez Musharraf, him personally, army commanders, diplomatic missions of some Western countries, and the country's Christian community.

On November 16, 2002, the electorate consisting of the Senate, the National Assembly and the Assemblies of the four provinces elected Pervez Musharraf as the President of Pakistan. After Mir Zafarullah Jamali was elected Prime Minister, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was elected leader of the PML (Q). Not long after this, certain disagreements began to arise from time to time between the party leader and the Prime Minister. Soon after, at the suggestion of President P.Musharraf, M.Z.Jamali resigned, and PML (Q) leader Ch. Shujaat Hussain served as acting Prime Minister until a new Prime Minister was elected. With the suggestion and support of Pervez Musharraf, Shaukat Aziz, who had extensive experience in a responsible position at the World Bank and was well-known in the West, was elected Prime Minister. This was a very necessary step. Economy of Pakistan was in a very difficult situation, and reputation of Shaukat Aziz in international arena should have helped attract loans to the country. In 1999, foreign debt of the country reached 39 billion US dollars. Poverty was close to 34 percent. It was impossible to pay the interest on the loan. However, the situation changed significantly with joining of Pakistan the

anti-terrorist coalition, and with the support of the Paris Club, Pakistan began to pay 2 billion dollars instead of the annual 5 billion US dollars of loan debt.

Regarding President P.Musharraf, an opinion of Roger D. Long, a professor of Oriental history at the University of Michigan in the USA, is interesting. Comparing General P.Musharraf with previous military presidents, the author writes: “If Ayub and Zia were fighting communism, Musharraf was fighting a war on terror. He received billions of dollars in military and financial support from the United States and directed them to the revival of the Pakistani economy. That is why the economy flourished during the years of Musharraf’s rule after September 11”.<sup>1</sup>

In 2002, terrorists created terrorist acts in a Christian church in the capital Islamabad, a Christian school in Mari, and a Christian hospital in Taxila. French military engineers working on a submarine for the Pakistani Navy in Karachi, and the US consulate in Karachi was attacked, and US journalist Daniel Pearl was kidnapped and killed. The organizer of this attack, a British citizen, Omar Sheikh, was arrested by the Pakistani security services in February 2002. His collaboration with Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar was revealed.

On June 10, 2004, a terrorist attack was carried out against the commander of the Karachi military corps, Lieutenant General Ahsan Saleem. Although there were casualties, the commander managed to survive. On July 30, 2004, Finance Minister of Pakistan Shaukat Aziz was targeted by a terrorist. The car of Shaukat Aziz, who was

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<sup>1</sup> D.Long, R., p.703.

returning from a speech before his voters near Islamabad, was stopped and blown up, but the armored vehicle that Pervez Musharraf had given him the day before rescued his life. The assassin who hit himself against the window of the car and blew himself up, did not reach his target. Although the driver was killed, Shaukat Aziz survived. It turned out that this terrorist act was carried out by the radical religious organization Jaish-e-Mohammad.

In a short period of time, President P.Musharraf and Prime Minister Sh.Aziz implemented a number of necessary measures to revive the country's economy. If in 1999 Pakistan's exports were only \$ 300 million, in 2006 this figure reached \$ 18 billion. The procedure for sending money to the country by Pakistani emigrants, and the banking system was regulated, and in this year more than \$ 4 billion was transferred to the country. In 2005, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) doubled in the last five years and reached \$ 125 billion. External debt decreased by \$ 3 billion. Per capita gross domestic product (GDP) increased from \$ 460 to \$ 800. Foreign exchange reserves of the country reached \$ 12.5 billion. Considering that 65 percent of the population lived in rural areas, increased attention was paid to the development of agricultural infrastructure projects, and poverty gradually began to decrease.

## **THE “ENLIGHTENED MODERATION” POLICY OF P.MUSHARRAF AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RADICAL FORCES**

Although the “enlightened moderation” proposed by P.Musharraf as an alternative to ignorance and radicalism was not unanimously accepted by Pakistani public opinion, it was calculated to change public consciousness and moral culture and put it into a more appropriate and constructive course. State-building based on enlightened, intellectual Islam and society, away from terrorism and extremism, required a transition from the mujahideen (jihad) psychology of the 1980s-1990s to a moderate and constructive Islamic thought. This proposal, put forward in Pakistan at a time when the considerations for “clash of civilizations” were widespread in the West, was accepted at the Summit of Islamic countries held in Malaysia in 2004. At the summit, P.Musharraf proposed to make the Organization of the Islamic Conference (now the Organization of Islamic Cooperation) stronger and more prompt through reforms, and this proposal was met with enthusiasm, and a working group consisting of experts from 9 member countries of this organization was established. At the special Kaaba Summit held in Mecca in December 2005, this group was tasked with revising and preparing the OIC Charter. During his years in power, P.Musharraf did important work for the promotion of Sufism and enlightened Islam in Pakistan.

In the summer of 2007, radical religious militants gathered in the pro-Taliban Lal Masjid (it was called so because its walls and fences were red.- E.M.) in one of the central neighborhoods of the capital Islamabad,

announcing to the government that they had established a legal system based on Islamic law - Sharia - in the capital, and threatened the government with terror if it opposed this. The head of the mosque, Maulana Abdul Aziz, said during Friday prayers that if the government did not implement the rules of Sharia, it would face suicide bombers if it attacked Lal Masjid and its counterparts. (In those days, this news caused excitement in most media organizations in the country, and everyone was eagerly awaiting the government's reaction. - E.M.). Soon, on the instructions of President Musharraf, government representatives led by the leader of the ruling party, Shujaat Hussain, began negotiations with the leadership of Lal Masjid and asked the radicals first to release the hundreds of people they were holding hostage, but this request was not fulfilled. Despite this, the government gave them time to lay down their weapons and obey the laws of the state, in return for which they were guaranteed not to be touched. This demand was also rejected, and after that the President decided to launch a military operation against the radicals. Residents of the neighborhood, staff of diplomatic missions there, including employees of the Azerbaijani embassy located in that area, were also evacuated from the region. The operation, which was launched with heavy equipment and air support, was completed in a short time. Lal Masjid was taken, 1.300 men, women, and children were released, some of the militants were killed, and more than 600 suicide bombers talibs (students) were captured. After that, terror acts by radical forces broke out in several places across the country.

On July 6, 2007, terrorists opened fire President Pervez Musharraf's plane at the main airport of the country in Rawalpindi, near Islamabad. On September 13, 2007, they carried out a terrorist attack against a special unit of the Pakistani armed forces affiliated with President Pervez Musharraf, killing 16 soldiers and officers.

## **FIGHTING TERRORISM IN TRIBAL AREAS**

It should be noted that in some parts of Pakistan, the fight against terrorism has become a crucial task for the government. After September 11, a number of Al-Qaeda groups secretly crossed into Pakistan and found refuge in the vast territory officially called the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Pakistani intelligence agencies captured 689 of them, handed over 369 to the United States, and received millions of dollars in rewards from the United States in return. The United States offered a reward of five million dollars for the capture of Palestinian Abu Zubaydah alone. Or Khalid Sheikh (an Iranian), who was captured in February 2003, was at the top of the FBI's wanted list. He had attempted to blow up the World Trade Center in New York back in 1993.

Hamza Rabia, who was captured on July 21, 2004, was known to have planned terror attacks at Heathrow Airport and the Underground in London, and the British authorities were informed about this. With dozens of such examples, one can talk a lot about these secret wars waged with Al-Qaeda in Pakistan.

Obviously, the biggest target of terrorists in Pakistan was the President and army commander Pervez Musharraf due to his participation in anti-terrorist activities.

Although the terror attempt on President Pervez Musharraf on December 14, 2003 did not achieve the final result, the bombing of the bridge over which his escort was passing in Pawalpindi caused significant casualties. Shortly thereafter, Pakistani intelligence agencies captured Abu Faraj al-Libbi (Mustafa Muhammad), who was wanted by the United States. President Pervez Musharraf informed US President George W. Bush of this news. Al-Libbi was the third target of the United States after Osama and Ayman al-Zawahiri.

After these persecutions and arrests, al-Qaeda members increasingly sought refuge in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan, which borders Afghanistan.

The population of the tribal areas, which cover an area of 27.220 square kilometers and border Afghanistan, adjacent to the North-West Frontier Province, was more than 4 million at that time. It should be noted that there are 7 tribal areas on the 1.360-km border with Afghanistan: Khyber, Bajaur, Mohmand, Orakzai, Khurram, North Waziristan, and South Waziristan. The mountainous region had a semi-autonomous status in Pakistan, traditionally ruled by tribal chiefs and *maliks*/chieftains who held military and political power, while the federal government was represented here mainly by tax officers and local police called *kassadars*/cashiers. The local population had the right to free movement on both sides of the border since the time of the British. The Durand Line Agreement of 1893 ensured the socio-trade relations of these tribes on the border of India and Afghanistan. The Pakistani army was first allowed to enter the tribal areas in 2000 to build roads. Pakistan's confrontation with



terrorists who had gathered in tribal areas of Pakistan after the US operation in Tora Bora in December 2001 posed even greater threats.

In the autumn of 2003, 19 terrorists, including four foreigners, were arrested, and high-ranking Al-Qaeda militants, Jordanian Samarkandi and the head of the East Turkestan Islamic Movement, Hassan Masum, were killed.

In March 2004, the Pakistani army conducted its first large-scale operation in the Vana Valley of South Waziristan. A larger operation began in the autumn. Since Al-Qaeda, which mainly consisted of Arabs, Uzbeks, Afghans and Chechens, was actively moving, it was impossible to destroy them. 80.000 soldiers and officers of the Pakistani army, a lot of combat equipment, and the air force were involved in these operations, and Pakistan suffered significant losses. However, significant steps were taken to actively pursue, capture, or destroy terrorists, thereby taking necessary measures for the internal security of the country.

During the time of P.Musharraf, all extremist organizations in the country were banned. Control over mosques was strengthened, secular sciences were taught in religious madrasahs and exams were held. It should be noted that earlier in these areas there was no question of opening not only girls' schools, but also boys' schools. Religious figures and *sardars*/ vicegerents were against the education of young people, because it seemed impossible to manage educated, modern-minded people in traditional ways, and therefore there was serious resistance to educational measures of the government.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Şaikh, M., p.247.

## **THE EARTHQUAKE OF THE 2005 AND THE RECONSTRUCTION WORKS**

On October 8, 2005, at 8:52 a.m., a terrible earthquake shook the northern regions of Pakistan. The 7.6-magnitude earthquake devastated an area of thirty thousand square kilometers, killing 73.000 people and leaving 3.5 million homeless. The city of Balakot, with a population of 30.000, was completely destroyed. Even in the capital, Islamabad, which was far from the earthquake zone, 500 houses were damaged, and the newly built multi-story Margalla Tower collapsed. 70 residents of the building, including 12 foreign diplomats, died. The Pakistani state and people faced a difficult test.

The author of these lines also had the opportunity to experience the excitement of this devastating earthquake and to see its painful consequences.

Pakistan, which stood alongside the US and its allies in the anti-terror operation and provided all possible assistance to the US and NATO operations in Afghanistan, as a result of P.Musharraf's policy based on the national interests of the country became the center of world attention. The international community and organizations, as well as many states, gave a helping hand to Pakistan. On the same day, following the Republic of Turkiye, British relief workers began rescue operations in Islamabad. The next day, on the instructions of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, a 40 relief workers and a medical team were sent to Pakistan by a special plane. Rescuers and doctors, met by the author of these lines, the Azerbaijani ambassador to Pakistan, and Pakistani authorities, were taken to the earthquake zone - the completely destroyed and

devastated city of Balokot - and immediately began rescue work.

On the instructions of President Pervez Musharraf, the *Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority* (ERRA) was established to lead the rescue, relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation work. All the resources of the country and the Pakistani army were mobilized for this work. First of all, cash funds began to be distributed to the survivors. The Azerbaijani government, through Ambassador Eynulla Madatli, presented a check for US \$ 1.5 million to the relevant body. Aid began to be brought from Turkiye, Saudi Arabia, the United States, Great Britain and other countries. Mobile shelters and food supply sites were opened in the North-West Frontier Province and Azad Kashmir. After a month of continuous rescue work, reconstruction and rehabilitation work began. This was a long process.

The Pakistani government decided to hold a Donors' Conference to provide international aid. According to rough estimates, the country suffered losses of US \$ 5.2 billion. 72 countries, including the UN leadership, participated in this conference. A total of \$ 6.4 billion were obtained in the form of grants and soft loans at the conference. At the same time, local and foreign aid began to flow into the Presidential Relief Fund. The Azerbaijani embassy also provided its financial assistance to the brotherly country. The donors' conference was attended by Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Chairman of the Azerbaijan-Pakistan Joint Intergovernmental Commission Yagub Eyyubov. Pakistan's soft image was also bearing fruit. Despite its limited capabilities and the ongoing problems of one

million refugees and internally displaced persons as a result of the Armenian occupation, the young Azerbaijani state continued to provide assistance to the people of fraternal Pakistan.

Pervez Musharraf devoted a lot of attention and funds to the development of education in the country. Various measures were taken in the country for this purpose. In Punjab, in order to encourage girls to attend school with 80 percent attendance, 200 rupees were given per month. Textbooks were distributed free of charge in government schools. In order to develop higher education, a Higher Education Commission was established under the chairmanship of Dr. Ataur Rehman. 47 new universities were opened. The funds allocated for higher education were increased from \$ 10 million to \$ 350 million. A program was launched to award 1.500 doctoral degrees per year in engineering and exact sciences by 2010. A distance education program covering 59 universities was launched, 16 thousand well-known scientific journals were placed on the website, and technical and vocational education was improved and expanded.

At the beginning of the 21st century, there were 14.000 madrasahs in Pakistan with 1 million students. About 20 percent of them were under the control of various radical religious organizations, and the rest were under the control of “Wafaq-ul-Madaris” (Madras Foundations). A significant number of these madrasahs, which provided purely religious education, were included in the state education program, and other sciences were also taught in them. Such measures were of great importance both in terms of the development of education in the country and in terms of ideology.

Pervez Musharraf established the National Commission for Women's Affairs to eliminate violence against women in the country and involve them in education and governance. Training schools were opened to train women administrators. Up to 30,000 women underwent these trainings. On the initiative of the president, 7 members of the Federal government became women. Also 6 women held ministerial posts in provincial governments, 12 women held positions in the Senate and National Assembly committees. For the first time, a woman began to head the State Bank of Pakistan, two women were appointed judges of the Sindh High Court. One woman was promoted to the rank of Major General in the Pakistani army. Lawyers, military personnel, and even pilots were trained from among women.

The National Assembly of the country adopted a law prohibiting "honor killings" or "shame killing" (karo-kari). However, it was not possible to eliminate this harsh and cruel tradition in a number of backward regions by law alone. In particular, the "Hudud (Limit) Law", adopted during the time of General Zia, who defended radical religious figures, harmed Islamic values, humiliated women in society, discriminated against them, and did not give them the opportunity to demand their rights. In order to eliminate this, P.Musharraf set appropriate tasks for the National Commission for Women's Affairs. Of course, it was not easy to eliminate such cases all at once in conditions where ignorance reigned in many places.

It should be noted that although he came to power as a result of a military coup, P.Musharraf did a lot during his presidency to establish a soft image of Pakistan and promote it in the world. The establishment of the Pakistan

National Heritage Museum (Luk Virsa) is also of this kind. The National Academy of Performing Arts was opened in Karachi, the National Art Gallery was created in Islamabad, and the National Arts Council was established. Press freedoms were expanded and a number of private television channels began operating. In 2004, President P.Musharraf began to implement the policy of “Enlightened Moderation” against the Islamic fundamentalism that had arisen in the country. This had to be a broad ideological and cultural program that also included understanding and communication between Islam, and the Islamic world in general, with various peoples and nations of the world. P.Musharraf, who even contemplated establishing relations with the Jews and their state, considered it necessary first to rid society of the influence of radical forces.

P.Musharraf and Prime Minister Sh. Aziz tried to implement a number of reforms since 2004, but they were met with resistance, and although attempts made upon their life failed, terrorism and sabotage by Al-Qaeda and the Taliban continued in the country. On September 5, 2006, the government signed a confidence agreement with the Taliban, but there was no trust.

On March 9, 2007, President Pervez Musharraf issued a decree to suspend the activities of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He accused Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry of corruption and abuse of power. This decision of the President caused a wave of mass protests among judges and lawyers in general in the country, and on March 12, it turned into a long-lasting large-scale protest movement. All opposition parties supported this movement of judicial employees, called the

“Black Jackets”. On July 20, the judges of the Supreme Court met and decided Iftikhar Chaudhry to continue his duties. The President was forced to agree with this.

The problems facing the Musharraf government have become more serious after the killing of prominent tribal leader Akbar Bukhti in anti-terror operations in the country. Political stability had been disrupted in Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Province.

Nawaz Sharif, who tried to take advantage of the situation in the country, attempted to return to Islamabad, but was forced to turn back at the airport.

On October 2, 2007, President P.Musharraf appointed Lieutenant General Ashfaq Kayani as his deputy Chief of Army Staff (i.e.,his). On November 28 of the same year, he resigned from the Army leadership and appointed A.Kayani to the same position (Chief of Army Staff). Following this, the opposition parties and groups in the country became more active and turned into an organized force. Even new Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, whose powers were significantly limited by the President, declared that he would support the Parliament if it impeached President P.Musharraf.

On October 8, 2007, in the day of the second anniversary of the 2005 earthquake, the President organized a visit to the north of the country, inviting ambassadors and media representatives from countries closely involved in the restoration and reconstruction work in Pakistan. When the second helicopter flying after P.Musharraf's helicopter failed to reach the landing point, it was revealed that the helicopter had crashed in a high mountainous area near the city of Muzaffarabad for an unknown reason. Four people, including a brigadier

general, died and eight others were injured. It should be noted that the third helicopter was carrying several ambassadors and media representatives, as well as the ambassador of Azerbaijan (the author of these lines) and the ambassador of brotherly Turkiye. Although it was later reported that the helicopter had crashed due to a technical fault, there were talks that it was a terror attack and that the target was the President.

On October 18, 2007, after 8 years of exile (in Dubai and London), Benazir Bhutto returned Pakistan to participate in the parliamentary elections of 2008. Although in a short period of time, twice was attempted on her life, she survived, but 136 people were killed and 450 were injured.

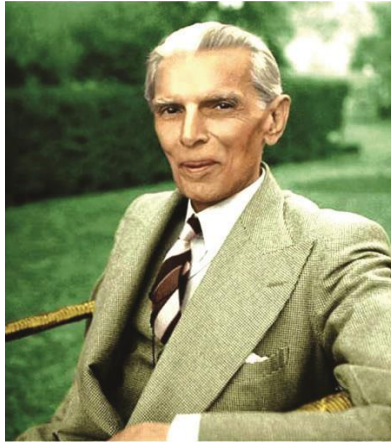
On November 3, 2007, the country fell into a deep crisis when P.Musharraf dismissed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Iftikhar Chaudhry and 14 judges from their posts. For the situation, a state of emergency was declared in the country. Private and foreign media channels were closed. In such a situation, P.Musharraf was elected to a second term as president on November 28, 2007. However, the political crisis in the country had deepened considerably, and in addition, Nawaz Sharif's supporters were holding demonstrations in support of his return the country, and government forces were arresting them, thus increasing the tension.

A terrible terrorist act against Benazir Bhutto in Rawalpindi on December 27, 2007 and her death turned the country into a boiling pot. Therefore, the Election Commission postponed the parliamentary elections scheduled for January 8, 2008, to February 18.

B.Bhutto's assassination further inflamed the anti-



## PHOTOS



Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam  
Muhammad Ali Jinnah



Muhammad Iqbal, the spiritual architect of Pakistan



President Heydar Aliyev being welcomed at Islamabad  
Airport, April 9, 1996



President Heydar Aliyev, President of Pakistan Farooq  
Ahmed Khan Leghari and Minister Asif Zardari



Meeting of the Presidents of Azerbaijan and Pakistan.  
Islamabad -1996



President Heydar Aliyev and Prime Minister of Pakistan  
Benazir Bhutto, Islamabad, 1996



President Heydar Aliyev plants trees in  
Shakarparian Park of Islamabad



President Heydar Aliyev and President of Pakistan  
Pervez Musharraf. Tehran-2000



Meeting of the heads of states of  
Azerbaijan and Pakistan. 2002



President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf at Heydar Aliyev  
Foundation. Baku, 2004





President Ilham Aliyev being welcomed at the Eyvan-e Sadr Palace in Islamabad, April 2005



President Ilham Aliyev with the members of the Pakistan-Azerbaijan Friendship Society. Islamabad, 2005



Pakistani senators received by President Ilham Aliyev



Ambassador of Azerbaijan E Madatli, his wife Naila Madatli and embassy counsellor Sabir Agabeyov with President Pervez Musharraf - 2002



President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev at the Azerbaijan Embassy. Islamabad, 2005



Azerbaijan President Ilham Aliyev and President of Pakistan Asif Zardari





President Ilham Aliyev and Prime Minister of Pakistan  
Nawaz Sharif. Islamabad



Presidents Ilham Aliyev and Mamnoon Hussain



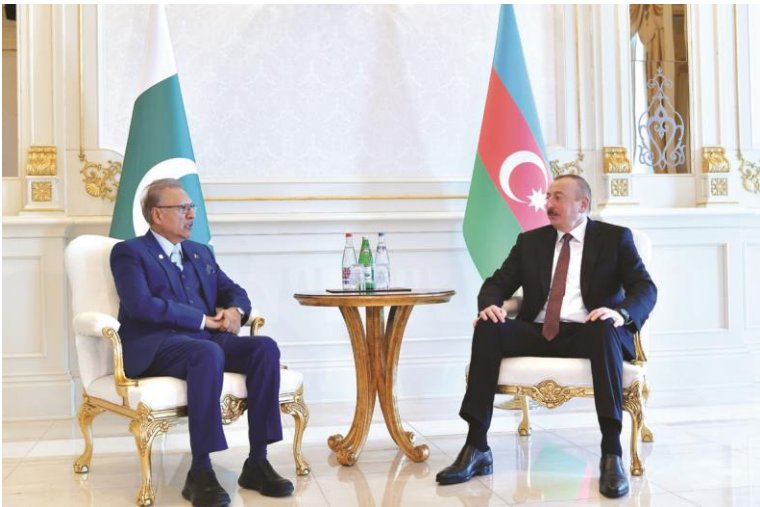
Presidents Ilham Aliyev and Mamnoon Hussain



Mehriban Aliyeva awarded the Order of Pakistan



President Ilham Aliyev and Prime Minister Imran Khan



Presidents Ilham Aliyev and Arif Alvi

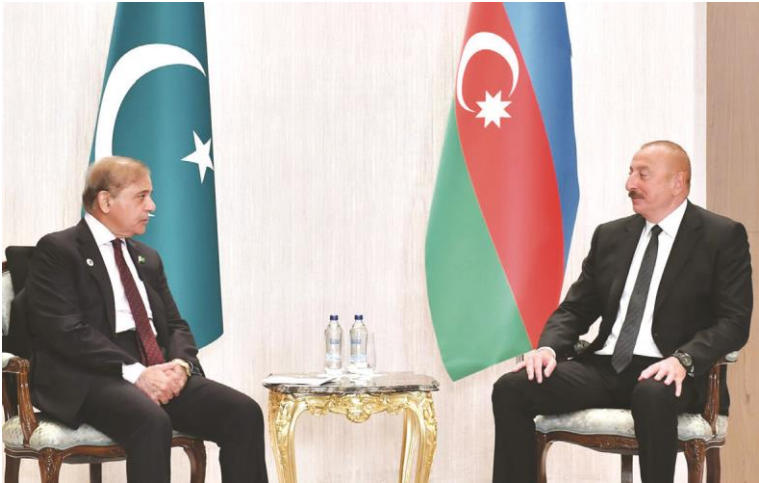


Minister of Defense of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
Zakir Hasanov and Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan  
Qamar J. Bajwa. March 22, 2022, Islamabad



Meeting of the Minister of Defense of Azerbaijan Colonel  
General Zakir Hasanov and Prime Minister Imran Khan





President Ilham Aliyev and Prime Minister of Pakistan  
Shahbaz Sharif. Samarkand, September 16, 2022



Swearing-in ceremony of Foreign Minister of Pakistan  
Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, April 2022



Meeting with former President of Pakistan, Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari. Islamabad-2003



Meeting with Mrs. Fehmida Mirza, Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan -2010



Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Pakistan –  
Islamabad, Diplomatic Campus, 2009



The school built by the Heydar Aliyev Foundation in  
Kashmir



Executive Director of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation Anar Alakbarov, Member of Parliament Eldar Ibrahimov at the opening of the school – February 2008



Prominent Turkologist of Pakistan, Colonel, writer Masood Akhtar Sheikh (left) et al. Islamabad, 2003





Meeting with Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi at an official event. Islamabad-2010



At an official event in Islamabad with Pakistani Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani, 2009



Pakistani President P. Musharraf and Ambassador of Azerbaijan E. Madatli. Islamabad, 2002



Parting meeting of Ambassador Eynulla Madatli with President Asif Zardari. Islamabad-2010



Ambassador of Azerbaijan meets with the Chairman of the Senate of Pakistan, Muhammad Mian Sumro. 2008



Azerbaijani Ambassador to Afghanistan, Prime Minister Shavkat Aziz, at an official event with Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri – 2005



Meeting with prominent historian, Professor Ahmed Dani  
at the Azerbaijani Embassy



Pakistani Ambassador Bilal Haye presents his credentials  
to the President of Azerbaijan - September 2020





Azerbaijani Ambassador to Pakistan Dashgin Shikarov  
opens charity event - 2012



Azerbaijani Ambassador to Pakistan Ali Alizadeh  
at a charity event - Muzaffarabad, Rara



Azerbaijani Ambassador to Pakistan Khazar Farhadov  
meets with Minister Zubeyda Jalal



Ambassador of Pakistan to Azerbaijan Bilal Haye and  
former Azerbaijani Ambassador to Pakistan Eynulla  
Madatli



Azerbaijan-Turkiye -Pakistan brotherhood. Martyrs' monument erected on the Guba-Gusar road



An expression of inviolable brotherhood

**Daily Ittehad**  
November 12 November 2020  
Glorious 44 days leading to Great Victory of Azerbaijan

**PRESIDENT ILHAM ALIEV SHOWED CHARACTER AND LED HIS FORCES FROM THE FRONT**  
**AZERBAIJAN, BRAVE AND SOVEREIGN NATION**  
Azerbaijan showed that they are a sovereign nation and would fight for their land unconditionally

**ILHAM ALIEV**

There is a unique spirit of the land. The "Glorious 44 days" is not just a military victory, it is a victory of the Azerbaijani people. The people of Azerbaijan have shown that they are a brave and sovereign nation and would fight for their land unconditionally. The people of Azerbaijan have shown that they are a brave and sovereign nation and would fight for their land unconditionally. The people of Azerbaijan have shown that they are a brave and sovereign nation and would fight for their land unconditionally.

**The Patriotic War under the leadership of Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Azerbaijan, President Ilham Aliyev that ended with a victory of the brave Azerbaijan army against a new era in the history of the Republic of Azerbaijan.**

The Patriotic War under the leadership of Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Azerbaijan, President Ilham Aliyev that ended with a victory of the brave Azerbaijan army against a new era in the history of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

### Azerbaijan celebrated victory Day anniversary in Islamabad

**SPEECH BY THE AMBASSADOR OF AZERBAIJAN AT THE "VICTORY DAY" RECEPTION**

His Excellency Ambassador of Azerbaijan in Islamabad, Eynulla Madatli, addressed the reception. He spoke about the 75th anniversary of the Victory Day and the role of Azerbaijan in the war. He also mentioned the importance of the Victory Day for Azerbaijan and the world.

### The Great Return

The Great Return is a book by Eynulla Madatli. It tells the story of the Azerbaijani people's struggle for independence and freedom. The book is a tribute to the brave soldiers and the resilient people of Azerbaijan. It is a must-read for anyone who wants to understand the history of Azerbaijan and the role of the Azerbaijani people in the world.

## Azerbaijan's victory in the Patriotic war in the Pakistani press



Musharraf feeling in the country, and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won the elections and formed a coalition government with the conservative Pakistan Muslim League (PML). Yousuf Raza Gilani was elected Prime Minister as a PPP representative. Following this, the impeachment movement against President P. Musharraf was also launched.

On August 18, 2008, P.Musharraf announced his resignation after nine years in power.

## **PAKISTAN AND THE NUCLEAR WEAPON**

On May 28 and 30, 1998, six nuclear tests of Pakistan, immediately following India's five nuclear tests that month, caused great alarm in the West. This was also a clear manifestation of the unfriendly attitude towards the great Muslim state that was the first to possess nuclear weapon. India had had an atomic bomb since 1974 and had not faced serious sanctions. A real isolation campaign was being launched against Pakistan.

The legendary creator of Pakistan's nuclear weapon, Abdul Qadeer Khan (1936-2021), worked at an institute called URENCO in the Netherlands. In 1975, Dr. A.Q. Khan, who offered his services to the Pakistani government in the field of uranium enrichment, was invited to his homeland and brought with him the drawings of centrifuges for obtaining enriched uranium necessary for nuclear weapons. Other technological details were also obtained from various Western countries in the following years and the nuclear program began to be implemented. The initiation of this top-secret program was the service of Prime Minister Z.A.Bhutto, and this program was implemented under the direct leadership of the president and then the army commander. Dr. Khan's organization - Khan Research Laboratory, was responsible for the implementation of this program and he was given broad powers for his activities in this field.

After the 1998 tests, Dr. Khan was called the "father of the Islamic bomb" by some circles in the country, which did not bode well for Pakistan. After P.Musharraf became the head of state, he strengthened state control over Dr. Khan's activities and for this purpose the National Command Authority/Body was created. Khan's

unauthorized trips to some foreign countries were stopped, and his relations with Iran and North Korea were put under control. On May 30, 2001, Dr. Khan was dismissed from his post and sent to retirement. Taking into account that he was considered a national hero, P.Musharraf appointed him as a councillor with the status of a federal minister, and Khan continued his not-so-quiet life in his mansion in Islamabad. The situation began to tense, especially after it became clear that certain activities through his network in Dubai were still ongoing, and after US officials expressed certain concerns in this regard. Dr. Khan was alleged to have provided centrifuges to North Korea. Suspicions also fell on Dr. Khan when nuclear contamination was observed in Iran in 2003.

In September 2003, while attending the UN Summit, President Pervez Musharraf received George Tetent, Director of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), at the request of US President George W.Bush. Tetent showed Dr. A.Q.Khan's centrifuge drawings and stated that they had been transferred to other countries and some supplies had also been provided. After that, Pervez Musharraf promised to conduct a detailed investigation. It turned out that Dr. Khan had been transferring nuclear technology to some countries through a base in Dubai since the mid-1980s. This information was shared and the US demanded Dr. Khan. Because Pakistan was seen as a dangerous country that was spreading nuclear weapons. Naturally, the President did not agree to this demand, but he managed to close this scandalous issue by having Khan appear on Pakistani television, admit his mistake, and apologize to the President. Dr. Khan was then forced to live under house arrest in his mansion.

## PAKISTAN IN THE 2008-2012s

In November 2007, President Pervez Musharraf allowed Nawaz Sharif to enter the country. N.Sharif was registered to participate in the elections to be held in January 2008 and immediately joined the movement against President Musharraf. However, his party PML-N was able to win only 25 percent of the votes. Asif Zardari, who took over the leadership of the Pakistan People's Party after the assassination of his wife Benazir Bhutto, was able to overcome his opponent and the PPP won a third of the votes. So in March, although the two parties did not trust each other, they formed a coalition government to stand against President Musharraf. The coalition immediately filed a motion for impeachment against President Musharraf. On August 18, 2008, P.Musharraf had to resign.

On 24 May 2008, Yousuf Raza Gilani, a prominent leader of the Pakistan People's Party, was elected Prime Minister of the country. The new government prepared a bill to change political structure of the country and replace the existing semi-presidential system with a parliamentary democracy, and this was unanimously adopted as the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan. Thus, the powers of the President were reduced to ceremonial powers and all executive powers were transferred to the Prime Minister.

On September 6, 2008, Asif Zardari was elected the President of Pakistan. He is the son of Hakim Ali Zardari, a great landowner from Sindh. He studied business in Karachi and London. His marriage to Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Z.A.Bhutto, the president and prime minister

of Pakistan, brought him into politics. In the 1990s, A. Zardari, who served as a minister in B. Bhutto government in the 1990s, and then as a senator, and who was tried on corruption charges. Being elected president of the country after serving an 8-year prison sentence was of course the result of the sympathy of Pakistan People's Party for its leader, the late Benazir Bhutto, and the great majority of the people's support for this party at that time. The author of these lines met with President A. Zardari several times in connection with his official duties and had a parting meeting with him in June 2010, when he completed his diplomatic service in Pakistan.

In February 2009, the conflict between A. Zardari and Nawaz Sharif intensified, which resulted in the house arrest of N. Sharif. However, in July, the Supreme Court brought in a verdict of not guilty.

In 2010, Pakistan faced the most devastating flood disaster in the country's history. The Indus River, which overflowed its banks as a result of continual monsoon rains, caused severe damage and loss of life in Punjab and Sindh. 1.500 people died, and the flood, which devastated almost a quarter of the country, damaged the homes of several million residents, and seriously damaged crops and livestock farms. The Republic of Azerbaijan sent humanitarian aid to the brotherly country.

The government of Yousuf Gilani conducted successful operations against the Taliban in the northwest of the country in 2009-2011. Relative stability in the field of law and order and security began to be established in the country, and a number of steps were taken to liberalize the media and television channels. However, sporadic terror acts continued in some regions, and the

assassination of Salman Taseer, the governor of the country's largest province, Punjab, by radical religious forces in January 2011 was a serious warning to state institutions and individuals who were trying to soften the strict Islamic laws in the country.

The killing of Osama bin Laden, who had been living in hiding for a long time in a neighborhood near the Pakistan Military Academy in Abbottabad, Pakistan, in a secret and sudden operation conducted by a US special forces team on May 2, 2011, significantly cooled Pakistani-US relations. Questions arose both within the country and in the West about how Bin Laden was able to live in such a key location for years without attracting the attention of Pakistani intelligence and security agencies. Responding to US accusations, the Pakistani government created obstacles to NATO supplies to Afghanistan. Relations with Russia began to improve beginning from 2012. Foreign Minister Hina Khar visited Russia. However, as noted in the Pakistani press of those years, the weak performance of President A.Zardari and the failure of the PPP-P government to make the necessary efforts for the development of the country, especially the increase in corruption in the country, paved the way for Nawaz Sharif, who had gained a reputation as a successful businessman and supporter of economic reforms, had rich political and administrative experience, and had previously been the head of government twice.

In the next elections held in May 2013, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), led by N.Sharif, won and had the right to form the government.

## **THE THIRD GOVERNMENT OF NAWAZ SHARIF (2012-2017)**

On June 19, 2012, the Supreme Court dismissed the PPP government of Y.R.Gilani. On June 22, 2012, Raja Pervez Ashraf was appointed Prime Minister by the PPP, and about 9 months later, this government also had to resign due to the next parliamentary elections. On May 28, 2013, Nawaz Sharif was elected Prime Minister of the country for the third time. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, led by him, won 124 votes and 18 independent MPs joined them, enabling N.Sharif to form a government. 33 MPs from the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party, led by Imran Khan, left the National Assembly in protest. On June 7, 2013, N.Sharif took office as Prime Minister. At the time, economy of the country had weakened significantly and corruption was widespread. Nawaz Sharif took a number of measures. First, agreements were signed with the People's Republic of China to implement necessary infrastructure projects in the country. The People's Republic of China allocated tens of millions of dollars in loans for the implementation of infrastructure projects of Pakistan, and work began on creating the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. The development of Gwadar seaport of Pakistan and the construction of a railway line connecting China's Xinjiang (formerly East Turkestan) province with Pakistan were agreed upon.

Nawaz Sharif, as he did in 1997, brought well-known, successful entrepreneurs and businessmen into the state administration. These appointments revitalized the banking sector and they began to work profitably. The

most important banks, Habib Bank and United Bank, were privatized. These reforms were compared to the reforms of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the 1990s. Sartaj Aziz, who served as Finance Minister and Foreign Minister during N.Sharif's previous Prime Ministerial terms and was the leader of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, explained N.Sharif's appointments to the "Financial Times" as follows: "The formula is very simple. You appoint good people, you allow them to appoint their own people and you give them authority. The state helps as much as it can".<sup>1</sup>

Economy of the country gradually began to revive, the rupee exchange rate stabilized and inflation gradually decreased. Foreign trade was significantly liberalized, especially economic and trade relations with neighboring countries were expanded. In November 2013, N.Sharif laid the foundation stone of the 2200MW Nuclear Power Plant in Karachi at a cost of \$ 9.59 billion.

The government began a policy of improving relations with India, as well as with Afghanistan. N.Sharif took a line of understanding with the Tehreek-e Taliban-e Pakistan (Pakistan Taliban Movement) and a number of religious groups active in Pakistan, but this policy did not prove its value in the following years, and N.Sharif was forced to make firm and drastic decisions. He hanged the terrorist Mumtaz Qadri that had assassinated the Punjab Governor Salman Taseer, who opposed the "Blasphemy Law". He banned the activities of the "Tablighi Jamaat" in the field of education in Punjab. He rejected the demand of the "Sunni Tehreek" to impose Sharia law in the

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<sup>1</sup> "Financial Times", 13 May 2013.



country. He declared the Hindu festivals of Diwali and Holi in Pakistan, and the Christian Easter holiday, official public holidays.

N.Sharif named the Physics Center of the Qaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad after Nobel Prize-winning professor Abdus Salam, established the Abdus Salam scholarship for doctoral students in the country, and allocated 500 million rupees for the development of literature and culture in the country. He called religious scholars to propagate true Islam among the people and to oppose terrorism.

On October 27, 2016, by the decision of the government of N.Sharif, a meeting of ministers of the Central Asian Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) organization was held in Pakistan. An Open Skies Agreement was proposed among the member countries of the organization.

On March 3, 2017, N.Sharif signed a decision on the merger of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the province of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. This was a very bold step, which no head of government had taken until then, strengthening the unity and internal stability of the country, and increasing the effectiveness of the implementation of state policy in that region. The government decision provided for the allocation of 110 billion rupees for future development projects in the region.

Meanwhile, protests against N.Sharif's rule in the country in 2014 and strained relations with members of the Army weakened the government's foundations. According to local political analysts, N.Sharif's authoritarian rule and attitude, as well as the corruption he

indulged in, overshadowed the reforms implemented by this government and gradually brought its end closer.

On July 28, 2017, the activities of the Nawaz Sharif government were suspended by the Supreme Court, and Nawaz Sharif was arrested and sentenced to ten years in prison and banned from politics for life. The reason for this was the *Panama Papers* scandal in 2016. It was revealed that Nawaz Sharif's family had connections with 8 offshore companies and that they were involved in money laundering and corruption. An investigation commission established by the Supreme Court upon the request of political opponents revealed it.

Following the Supreme Court's decision, Nawaz Sharif was dismissed from both his post as Prime Minister and as a member of parliament on July 28, 2017.

On July 6, 2018, the Supreme Court sentenced Nawaz Sharif's daughter Maryam Nawaz to 7 years in prison and his son-in-law Safdar to 1 year in prison. Finance Minister Ishaq Dar was also brought to justice. In December of the same year, Nawaz Sharif was also sentenced to 7 years in prison. Previously, Nawaz Sharif had been sentenced to 10 years in prison, but was released after two months in prison.

In November 2019, after serving a year of his sentence, N.Sharif applied to go abroad for treatment. The Lahore High Court overturned the decision banning him from leaving the country. N.Sharif was released on bail on the condition that he pay \$44 million in damages to the state. N.Sharif was taken to Doha, the capital of Qatar, by ambulance and flew to London from there. His daughter was also released from prison.

Members of N.Sharif government attributed the

government's failure not to the Prime Minister's incorrect, subjective management, but to the obstacles created by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and Tehreek-e-Qadri parties, which have been in opposition to him since the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

PML-N leader Javed Latif told media representatives in Lahore that N.Sharif, who went abroad for treatment, will return Pakistan in 2021 and become the Prime Minister of the country for the 4th time and will “lead the country out of crisis”. It should be noted that N.Sharif was the 12th, 14th and 20th Prime Minister of Pakistan, respectively.

Some thought that Shahbaz Sharif, the Chief Minister of Punjab province and brother of Sharif, could replace him. However, this did not seem realistic, as the court decision had further energized the country's opposition. Shah Ahmed Qureshi, the deputy chairman of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party (Imran Khan's deputy), called the day a “historic day”.

On August 1, 2017, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, the leader of the Pakistan Muslim League (N), became the country's Prime Minister, and his government remained in power until the next elections.

On August 18, 2018, in the elections to the National Assembly held under high security conditions provided by 350.000 military personnel and security forces, Imran Khan, the head of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party, was elected next Prime Minister of the country.

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<sup>1</sup> “Dawn” Today's Paper, March 21, 2022.

## THE IMRAN KHAN GOVERNMENT

Imran Ahmed Khan Niazi (born 5 October 1952) is the 22nd Prime Minister of Pakistan. He has been the leader of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party for many years. He was born in Lahore to a Pashtun family. He graduated from Keble College, Oxford in 1975. A renowned cricketer since 1971, Imran Khan won the 1992 Cricket World Cup as captain of the Pakistan National Cricket Team. From 2005 to 2014, he was the Chancellor of the University of Bradford in the United Kingdom.

Imran Khan, in memory of his mother, launched a campaign to build a hospital for cancer patients, and in 1994, he opened a \$25 million hospital in Lahore. In 2015, he opened a similar hospital in Peshawar. The Shaukat Khan Memorial Cancer Hospital and its Research Center, which Imran Khan opened, are just a few of his charitable activities in the country, and for this he has won the favor of the people.

Imran Khan founded the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party in 1996, became its chairman, and was elected as a member of parliament from Mianwali in the 2002 elections, representing it as an opposition member of parliament until 2007. His party boycotted and did not participate in the 2008 elections, but in 2013, it was the second-largest outvoted party in the elections and led a coalition government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. (Party representative Mahmud Khan).

Imran Khan's worldview and ideological idea were significantly influenced by the philosophical and literary views of Muhammad Iqbal. His political platform includes Islamic values, liberal economics, building a welfare state,

bureaucracy-free governance, anti-corruption legislation, clean government management, an independent judiciary, a fundamentally changed police system, and the principles of a democratic Pakistan without military rule. In his opinion, an agreement can be reached through negotiations, not war, with the Taliban. He was against the deployment of the Pakistani army in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). During his years in opposition, he condemned the United States' use of drones to strike targets in Pakistani territory, and opposed the army's Lal Masjid operation in the capital during the rule of President Pervez Musharraf.

In 2014, when the Pakistani Taliban declared the country's Ismaili Muslims "non-Muslims" and made armed threats against them, and persecuted the small Kalash people, a polytheistic people who had remained in the region during the campaigns of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC (this northern region is also called Kafiristan (land of giaours) among the locals), Imran Khan issued a statement calling the attempt to forcibly convert members of other religions to Islam an un-Islamic step and condemned the forced conversion of Hindu girls to Islam in Sindh. He also called for a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir conflict through negotiations. He called the government to mediate to ease the tensions between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Saudi Arabia. He declared that if elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, he would try to return to the ideology of M.A. Jinnah in the country.

It should be noted that since joining politics, Imran Khan has managed to maintain his principled position. He did not accept the job offers of General Zia ul-Haq and Nawaz Sharif at different times. However, since 1994,

along with his public activities, he has increased his political activity, and on April 25, 1996, he began his political activity by founding the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party.

Imran Khan supported General P.Musharraf's military coup in October 1999. He believed that Musharraf would uproot corruption and political mafia. In the 2002 Referendum, he also declared his support for the government of Pervez Musharraf as a member of the National Assembly, although at that time most of the country's political opposition considered this referendum unconstitutional.

On October 2, 2007, Imran Khan's party united under the All Parties Democratic Movement (APDM) and boycotted the parliamentary elections scheduled for October 6 by President P. Musharraf. Since P. Musharraf did not resign from the leadership of the Army, 85 MPs, including Imran Khan, renounced their mandates. When P.Musharraf declared a state of emergency in the country on November 3, 2007, Imran Khan was also placed under house arrest, but this did not last long.

On November 14, 2007, Imran Khan was arrested for participating in a protest rally by students of the Punjab University and sent to the Dera Ghazi Khan prison in Punjab, but was released a few days later. On October 30, 2011, Imran Khan addressed 100.000 supporters in Lahore, calling the government to change its policies, and a similar rally was held in Karachi on December 25. Since then, Imran Khan has been seen and accepted as a real opponent on the Pakistani political scene. His party has also begun to act as a force with political power both at the provincial and national levels. Imran Khan, who actively

participated in the march on Islamabad by thousands of protesters against US drone strikes in South Waziristan in October 2012, emerged as the strongest opposition to the PML(N) in 2013, and his *New Pakistan Resolution* gained increasing support.

Imran Khan, who ran for office on April 21, 2013, promised to withdraw Pakistan from the US-led Counter-Terrorism Alliance and bring peace to the Pashtun tribal areas. If his party wins, everyone in the country, regardless of their wealth or poverty, will be covered by a single education system. As a result, the PTI, which won 24 percent of the vote in the May 11, 2013 elections, rose to the status of the country's third largest party after Nawaz Sharif's party and the PPP. The PTI formed a government in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province. Imran Khan believed that peace and cooperation could be achieved through negotiations with the Pakistani Taliban, but tensions increased after the US killed Taliban leader Hakimullah Mehsud.

Imran Khan's party was in coalition with the Qaumi Watan Party (QNP) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), and upon learning that its coalition partners were involved in corruption, Imran Khan terminated the partnership with the Qaumi Watan Party (QNP) and ministers belonging to this party were removed from the government. The Chief Minister of the province, Pervez Khattak, obeyed Imran Khan's will.

When it was revealed that Nawaz Sharif had committed fraud in the previous elections, Imran Khan organized a protest march from Lahore to Islamabad on August 14, 2014, demanding the Supreme Court to take appropriate action and Nawaz Sharif to resign. Despite

resistance from PML (N) supporters along the way, Imran Khan's marchers entered the capital on August 15. On September 1, 2014, protesters staged a protest in front of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's residence, accompanied by confrontations. Three people were killed and nearly 600 people were injured on both sides. Although the protesters did not achieve their goals, these actions had an impact on the future fate of Nawaz Sharif government.

On July 28, 2017, the Supreme Court of Pakistan removed Nawaz Sharif from the post of Prime Minister. It should be noted that N.Sharif was accused of money laundering and corruption crimes during his two previous terms as Prime Minister. However, in 2016, when documents called the "Panama Papers" were published on social networks and in the media, his family's connections with offshore companies were revealed. The fact that he did not declare these properties abroad in the elections was enough to open a criminal case against him.

In the July 27, 2018 elections, Imran Khan's party managed to win 116 out of 270 seats in Parliament. Imran Khan was the first party leader in the political history of Pakistan to win a majority in all the provinces of the country in the elections. The Imran Khan government has initiated and implemented a comprehensive reform program.

Minority parties, especially the PML (N), attempted to challenge the election results by claiming that the judiciary and military institutions of the country supported Imran Khan's victory in the elections, but this failed. Even the European Union election observation mission expressed satisfaction with the elections.

On August 17, 2018, Imran Khan was elected Prime



Minister of the country with 176 votes in the National Assembly and took office the next day.

Imran Khan is a prominent figure in Pakistani society, his father is a Pashtun from the Niazi tribe, and his mother, Shaukat Khanim, is an Urdu-speaking woman from Karachi. Imran Khan studied at Aitchison College and Cathedral School in Lahore, and graduated from the Royal Grammar Keble College in England, studying Philosophy, Politics and Economics. Imran Khan's first wife, Jemima Marcelle Goldsmith (1974), was an English film screenwriter, television company founder, editor (newspaper and magazine Britain, USA), and they have two sons. They married in 1995, and divorced in 2004. Jemima bore the surname "Khan" until 1914, when Imran Khan married journalist Reham Khan. Imran Khan is currently living with his third wife, Bushra Bibi Khan, whom he married in 2018. Like Imran Khan, his wife is also a Sufi. Imran Khan has three children from previous wives. Bushra Khan also has three daughters and two sons from her previous husband.

Imran Khan, who announced the cabinet members shortly after taking oath in the National Assembly, retained the post of Interior Minister and made appointments to all key positions in the center and provinces. He appointed Lieutenant General Asim Munir from the army as Director General of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Governors, Chief Ministers, and Speakers of Provincial Assemblies were renewed with new appointments.

At the same time, as political researchers have determined, the unstable security situation in Pakistan and the economy that was deeply corrupt, as well as the

separatist movements created by ethnic-sectarian radical parties and groups in the outskirts of the country, fell on the shoulders of the Imran Khan government as a heavy legacy. Terrorism had not been eradicated from the country and some parties were in collaboration with these organizations. There was a serious need for fundamental changes to get the country out of this situation and make it a leader in the region. However, this situation in the country satisfied both a number of parties and groupings, as well as influential figures represented in the political elite and involved in bureaucratic administration for years.

In order to achieve these fateful changes, Imran Khan preferred to rely on new forces, especially the youth, who constitute 60 percent of the country's population, rather than on the traditional political elite. Those who compare Imran Khan to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in political leadership and in the fight against negative situations describe Z.Bhutto as "Qayd-e Awam" (Leader of the People), and Imran Khan as "Qayd-e Jawan" (Leader of the Youth).<sup>1</sup>

Imran Khan started the fight against corruption. He laid the foundation for large-scale work to improve financial situation of the country. He implemented measures to establish rules for renewable energy production, environmental issues, taxation and investment, and began extensive reforms in the fields of education and healthcare.

In foreign policy, avoiding border conflicts with India, supporting the peace process in Afghanistan,

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<sup>1</sup> Junaid Ahmed. From Quaid e Awam to Quaid e Jawan: Understanding the Leadership of Pakistan. Global Village Space, 19 March 2022.

strengthening relations with China and the United States and striving to raise Pakistan's influence in the world are some of the important tasks set by Imran Khan. In the first week of the Imran Khan government's work, the US government allocated \$300 million to Pakistan for military assistance. Pakistan's active participation in the fight against terrorism, as well as its efforts to involve the Afghan Taliban to peace talks, were the reasons for this generosity of the US.

Imran Khan expressed his desire to transform Pakistan into a country governed by law, where justice is ensured, Islamic and civilized values are in unity, and where there is no waste and luxury. In foreign policy, he advocated a policy of improving relations with China, while at the same time improving relations with Afghanistan, the United States, the Russian Federation, and India, and a balanced position towards Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Imran Khan attached importance to strengthening friendly relations with Turkiye in foreign policy and established a relationship based on mutual trust and friendship with the President of the Republic of Turkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Pakistan-Azerbaijan relations, which have always been based on friendship and trust in a positive direction, have also begun to develop at a higher level.

Regarding relations with Israel, Imran Khan stated that his country will continue its policy of non-recognition of Israel until a Palestinian state is established.

In the economic sector, the reforms and consolidation measures implemented by Imran Khan had revived the financial situation and improved the business environment, allowing Pakistan to move up 28 places in

the World Bank's "Doing Business" ranking in 2019.

The Free Trade Agreement signed with China has created conditions for the expansion of mutual imports and exports in all areas, especially in the traditional defense and security fields. Besides, safe and secure conditions for foreign investment in the country began to be established.

The new government paid close attention to religious minorities and implemented measures to meet their religious needs. A number of projects were launched to ensure the country's social protection and welfare.

In February 2019, after a suicide bomber killed 40 Indian security personnel, the Indian Air Force launched airstrikes on Pakistani territory in an attempt to destroy the forces based there. Pakistani forces shot down two of their aircraft, and the pilot who survived was returned to India shortly after. The Pakistani government has since stepped up its fight against terrorism. Aiming to overcome the economic crisis, the Pakistani government requested a \$12 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund. The Pakistani government, which had received financial support from the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia, already achieved significant stabilization in January 2019.

During the 2020 year's pandemic, \$1 billion was allocated to support the poorest segments of the population. The adopted "Ehsas" program became the largest charity program in the country, covering the poorest segment of the population.

As a result of the government's policy to revive the textile industry, the export of these goods doubled. The allocation of \$ 450 million from the World Bank for renewable energy sectors was achieved. Afforestation projects were implemented to prevent climate change. The

work of the service and communication sectors was improved. An anti-corruption agency was created. The activities of the National Accountability Bureau were activated. For all these works, Imran Khan was declared the most influential person of the year by the “Time” journal in 1999.

Imran Khan has always demonstrated a principled position against Islamophobic activities in the West for many years, and even when he was not in power, he criticized certain circles in the West and Islamophobic individuals in his speeches. For this reason, he himself was subjected to pressure. Eg., , on March 18, 2012, Imran Khan, who was invited to the conference “India Today”, refused this invitation because the notorious Salman Rushdie was present there.

## **NON CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ELECTION OF SHAHBAZ SHARIF AS PRIME MINISTER**

In October 2020, Imran Khan sharply criticized Nawaz Sharif, who had left the country a year ago and settled in the UK, for “dancing to India’s tune”. Following this, all the forces opposing Imran Khan, including those supporting N.Sharif: PML-N, PPP and others, began to organize under the name of Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM). The opposition accused Imran Khan’s government of acting under the dictates of the military, and held protest rallies.

Imran Khan believes that N.Sharif, who was released from prison and settled in London, is engaged in activities contrary to the interests of Pakistan with the support he received from India.

The Covid-19 pandemic, which began to spread widely in March 2020, was also a difficult test for Pakistan. Although the government did not go into a complete lockdown in the first months, it caused severe social and economic disruption, increased social discontent. On November 14, 2021, organized by the Pakistan Democratic Movement, they held protest marches against the government for not taking measures to prevent inflation, and calls were also made for N.Sharif to return the country. Despite their boycott, Imran Khan managed to win a vote of confidence in March 2021.

Since the beginning of 2022, the opposition in Pakistan launched a more active and persistent struggle against the Imran Khan government. On March 8, 2022, the leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, Shahbaz Sharif,

proposed a no-confidence motion against Prime Minister Imran Khan. In order for the bill, which was supported by other opposition parties, to fail, Imran Khan needed 172 votes in the 342-member National Assembly. When he was elected in 2018, his coalition had only 179 members: 155 from the PTI, 7 from the MQM-P, 5 from the PML-Q, 5 from the Balochistan Awami Party (BAP), and 3 from the Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA). However, in March, the announcement of some coalition partners leaving Imran Khan and the prospect of others taking similar steps put the government in a difficult political crisis.

On March 28, a protest march was launched from Lahore to Islamabad under the leadership of PML-N leader Shahbaz Sharif, as per the advice of Nawaz Sharif from London. PML-N members of the country parliament, party members from Punjab and other provinces, and women parliamentarians and activists led by Nawaz Sharif's daughter Maryam Nawaz joined the march.

A rally in support of the Imran Khan government was also held in Islamabad. Imran Khan, in his address to his supporters, said: "These people (opposition leaders) have united against me to protect their corruption. The policy of the PML-N and the PPP is to protect the wealth stolen by them. I will not betray my God and my country. I will never humiliate myself and sit at the same table with Shahbaz Sharif, I will not take recommendation and advice from him, I will not be together with national criminals".<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that although the united opposition

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<sup>1</sup> The News, March 24, 2022.

accuses the Imran Khan government of a number of charges, mainly issues such as “poor governance, wrong economic policy, and rising inflation”, there is no accusation of corruption. It should be also noted that, of course, there are shortcomings in the government management activities; in almost four years, Imran Khan appointed four finance ministers and changed six finance secretaries. According to some experts, since Imran Khan pursues an independent foreign policy, rejects some of the Western demands, and especially since Pakistan does not join the sanctions imposed by the United States and its partners against the Russian Federation, which is waging an aggressive war in Ukraine, his replacement is also desired in the West, and the opposition is supported for this purpose. Imran Khan’s working visit to the Russian Federation on February 23-24, 2022, caused particularly serious discontent in the United States, and Pakistani Ambassador Asad Majid was summoned to the State Department and demanded that the visit be suspended.

It should be noted that Imran Khan’s working visit to Moscow was mainly related to cooperation in the energy sector, and Imran Khan, in his meeting with the Russian President, emphasized the need for a diplomatic solution to the increasingly tense Russian-Ukrainian relations. It was not yet known whether Russia would attack Ukraine. Therefore, Imran Khan and his party considered the accusations of the Imran Khan government by the United States to be a clear interference of the West in the internal affairs of Pakistan.

After the opposition parties raised the issue of no-confidence in the Imran Khan government in the National Assembly, Imran Khan, who stated that he would not



surrender easily, appealed to the president of the country and asked him to decide on the dissolution of the Parliament and holding new elections within three months, as well as to accept the resignation of the government. Thus, the no-confidence motion of opposition was not put to a vote. After that, the opposition leaders appealed to the Supreme Court on the grounds that this position of the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the National Assembly was contrary to the Constitution.

On April 9, 2022, the situation was resolved when the Supreme Court of Pakistan found that the Prime Minister's proposal to dissolve Parliament and hold new elections was unconstitutional after the no-confidence motion was submitted to the parliament. Imran Khan announced in his address to the people that he accepted the Supreme Court's decision. On the same day, the opposition MPs in the National Assembly passed a no-confidence motion against the Imran Khan government by 174 votes. In a meeting in which the MPs of the party led by Imran Khan were absent, Shahbaz Sharif, the president of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), the brother of former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and the opposition leader in Parliament since August 2018, was elected Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif is a well-known representative of the high political elite of Pakistan. He received his secondary and higher education in Lahore (Government College University Lahore), and accumulated rich experience in both business and government administration for many years. He was active in politics during the time when his elder brother Nawaz Sharif was the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and from

February 1997, he played an important role in the political life of the country as the Chief Minister of the Punjab province. However, after the military coup in October 1999, he was arrested together with his brother Nawaz Sharif and soon left the country and lived in London. Shahbaz Sharif, who returned the country with Nawaz Sharif in November 2007, became the Chief Minister of Punjab in 2008 with the victory of the PML-N in the Provincial Assembly elections in the Punjab province and in the 2013 year's general elections was re-elected to this position for the third time. He resigned after the PML-N's defeat in the 2018 general elections, but continued his active political activities as the opposition leader.

According to experts, rich experience of Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif will be useful in developing Pakistan's economy, improving the government's relations with political parties, religious movements, and the army, ensuring law and order and security in the country, and further expanding cooperation with neighboring countries.

Appointment of coalition partner of Shahbaz Sharif, PPP chairman, 33-year-old Oxford graduate Bilawal Bhutto Zardari as Foreign Minister, and his other partners' respective positions in the government, creates confidence that the new government will be stable and successful, and that its influence in the region and internationally will be strengthened.

## ETHNIC LANDSCAPE AND LANGUAGES IN PAKISTAN

Current administrative-territorial division of Pakistan consists of four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. As a citizen, everyone in the country is called Pakistani, politically there is a single Pakistani people, in Urdu this is expressed as “millat-i-Pakistan”, but the country is very diverse due to its ethnicity and linguistic variety. For this reason, many languages have historically been spoken in the country, and this is still the case today.

**Urdu** is the national language of Pakistan. Like other Pakistani languages, it belongs to the Indo-European language family, and is part of the Indo-Aryan group. Long before the spread of Islam in the Indian Subcontinent, the ancient Sanskrit language was used in this region, and the Aryans spoke this language. According to researchers, this language was more of a language of worship and ceremony. However, as a result of the gradual development of local languages and the spread of Islam starting from the beginning of the 9th century, the penetration of Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages into these languages and their enrichment, Sanskrit gradually ceased to be a common means of communication and became a dead language like Latin.<sup>1</sup> It is accepted that the current modern Hindi language was formed on the basis of this language, but it went through an evolutionary path just like Urdu. In our opinion, this is precisely why these two major

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<sup>1</sup> Fatehpury, Farman. History of the Pakistan Movement and the Language Controversy. University of Karachi, BCCT, 2001. p.43.

languages of the subcontinent are so close to each other, despite having Sanskrit and Arabic alphabets.

Although the ethnic carriers of this language were approximately 10-20 million people when Pakistan was formed, according to unspecified data, tens of millions of people knew this language, and it was not by chance that this language was adopted as the national (state) language of the country. Most of the Muslim population of India also speaks Urdu there, and Urdu is one of the 15 official languages of India. This language began to take shape after the Turkic and Persian-speaking population who came to the region in Delhi and Lahore in the 11th-13th centuries intermingled with the local population. In the early periods of the Delhi Sultanate, Urdu writers, such as Baba Farid, had already appeared. In later periods, it developed as a literary and court language. Although there are certain differences between Urdu, which has the same genetic roots, and Hindi, which is currently spoken in India, they can essentially be called the same language. The main difference is that Urdu has many Persian-Arabic-Turkic words, while Hindi has few of them, and there are many expressions that come from Sanskrit. Of course, Urdu also has Sanskrit words. Hindi has a Sanskrit alphabet, while Urdu has an Arabic alphabet with increased signs. Books and other publications are in the *Nastaliq* script, and the *Shikaste* style is used in manuscripts. The Turkic army and Sufis played a role in the establishment of Urdu in the country. During the Delhi Sultanate and the subsequent periods, the language spoken in the mainly Turkish and Persian-speaking army was called “Urdu” after the name of the ordu (army). Urdu gradually became the common means of communication

for the Muslims of the Subcontinent. In the second half of the 19th century, the *Two States Theory* put forward by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan strengthened this tendency. Thus, a dividing line appeared between Urdu and Hindi, and the further development of these languages continued in a condition of gradually decreasing mutual contact. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan even established the *Urdu Defense Committee* in Allahabad on December 9, 1873, to protect the Urdu language from the influence of Hindi. In the following years, similar committees and societies were established by Muslim intellectuals, and poets and writers made self-sacrifice for the development and enrichment of this language. The All India Muslim League (AIML) has always been the protector and patron of this language since its inception. In 1946, at the AIML conference held in Delhi, Muhammad Ali Jinnah emphasized that only Urdu would be the national (state) language of the emerging Pakistan, because this language is the embodiment of Muslim culture, civilization and unity.

However, during these years, the development of Urdu continued in a state of fierce competition with Hindi. But Mahatma Gandhi showed understanding this issue and appreciated Urdu language, which had an impact on the acceptance of this reality by everyone. In one of his speeches in 1937, M.Gandhi stated that Urdu is the religious language of Muslims, its writing is in the Quranic alphabet, Muslim rulers have implemented and spread this language. Muslims can own and develop this language if they wish.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fatehpury, Farman. History of the Pakistan Movement and the Language Controversy. University of Karachi, BCCT, 2001,p.359.

Since 1947, the development of Urdu and Hindi languages has continued in different directions. This language is the state language of Pakistan; it is accepted and taught in all provinces, and is enriched by related languages and English. In India, it is the language of most literature and films; in short, it is a means of communication for hundreds of millions of people.

According to studies, the ethnic carriers of Urdu, which is the common language of hundreds of millions of people in Pakistan and India, are not so many in comparison. In the early days of Muslim rule in India, this language was first called Hindi, and later Urdu in the Turkish sense of army, the residence of the army.

In the 16th century, “Urdu”, enriched with Arabic-Persian and Turkish expressions, had become a widespread and rich literary language. The fact that this language was not limited to a specific geography and did not belong to a specific ethnic nationality ensured its universality. The British also called it *Hindustani* for this reason. This language also served as a means of connecting and uniting the Muslim community of the subcontinent. Therefore, it was not by chance that this language was chosen as the national (state) language of Pakistan in 1947.<sup>1</sup>

In terms of speech and communication, Urdu and Hindi are almost identical, but differences in writing, alphabet, technical and literary vocabulary, and their use in two different countries have led to their being called separate languages.

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<sup>1</sup> Mattehnews, David and Dalvi, Mahomed Kasim. Urdu. Teach Yourself Books, London, 1999, s.VI.

Since Urdu also belongs to the Indo-European language family, and the political and cultural hegemony of England for about 150 years has not left this language unaffected. Although this cannot be justified, English words are often found in Urdu oral speech and writing, on signs and plaques in Pakistan, which is one of the aspects that prevents the development of the language on its roots.

Linguists believe that after the Indian subcontinent came under Arab rule in the 8th century, the Arabic alphabet was used here with some additions, and from the 12th century, the writing of the Turkic language used in Delhi was also done with this alphabet and formed the basis of “Urdu”. The Urdu alphabet consists of 35 letters and signs.

Urdu has produced a rich literature over the centuries. Amir Khusrow Dehlavi, Quli Qutb Shah, Mulla Vachi, Maar Taqi Maar, Ghalib, Muhammad Iqbal produced excellent examples of poetry in Urdu. After 1947, Urdu began to develop further in Pakistan with the works of Nasim Niazi, Muhammad Aslam, Rais Ahmed Jafri, Rashid Akhtar Nadvi, Qudratul-lah Shahab and others. In the late 1950s, Qurratul-ein Haider, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Amjad Islam Amjad, Jamil-ud-din Ali and dozens of other well-known writers created excellent works of art in this language. In the second half of the 20th century, Intizar Hussain, Anwar Sajjad, Khalida Hussain, Ali Haydar Malik, Zafar Iqbal, Parvin Fana Sayyid, Zahra Nigah, Fahmida Riyaz, Shahida Hassan, Tanvir Anjum, Ishrat Afrin, Fatima Hassan, Iftikhar Arif, Fateh Muhammad Malik and dozens of others created a rich literary heritage in Urdu. Since it is the state language, the translation and dissemination of scientific and literary heritage in other

languages into this language further enriches the Urdu language.

Professor Muhammad Yusuf Khushk, Chairman of the Pakistan Academy of Letters (PAL), writes: “Modern Urdu literature is the fruit of all these movements (i.e., the literary heritage created in different languages - E.M.). It contains within itself the waves of all the currents of thought and sense”.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the state institutions of Pakistan, the Academy of Letters and the National Language Authority (NLA), play an important role in the development of this language.

**Punjabi** (*Panjabi*) *Punjabi is a language spoken by about 70 million people in Pakistan* and a slightly smaller population in India. Punjabi, Saraiki and Potohari are the most widely spoken languages in Punjab. Punjabi is the official language of the divided Punjab provinces of both countries. It is distinct from Urdu and Hindi, but shares many similarities and affinities with Sanskrit and Persian-Arabic borrowings.

It is known that the first literary examples in this language were written in the 13th century by Baba Farid Shekar Ganj (died in 1265). In the 15th century, his descendant Sheikh Ibrahim Farid, in the 16th century in Lahore Madhu Lal Hussain, in the 17th century Sultan Bahu (1631-1691), in the 18th century Bullhe Shah, Waris Shah and others created high literary and artistic works in this language.

Among the modern writers in Punjabi, Afzal Ahsan Randhawa, Najm Hussain Syed, Fakhar Zaman, Shafqat

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<sup>1</sup> “Dünya ədəbiyyatı” – Pakistan. Bakı, Bədii tərcümə və ədəbi əlaqələr mərkəzinin nəşri, 2021, sayı-1, s.21.



Tanvir Mirza, Farkhanda Lodhi, Ahmed Salimi, Nasrin Anjum Bhatti, Mushtaq Sufi, Rifat Abbas, Khurram Bhawalpur, Shaukat Mughal, Shayasta Habib, Ustad Daman, Baba Najmi and others have written interesting works.

The **Saraiki** (*Multani*) language is widespread in the south of the Punjab province, spoken by more than 30 million inhabitants, and is close to the Punjabi language. This language is also called Multani among the people. (The language spoken by people living in the Multan caravanserai, built by the Baku ruler for trade caravans and their members coming from the ancient Silk Road city of Multan in India (now a city in Pakistan) in the 16th century, and trading in Baku, was called Multani at that time, and this word lived in the memory of the local community in the form of moltani - E.M.).

**Balochi** (local pronunciation: balozu) is an Indo-European language spoken by about 5 million people in Pakistan, mainly in the province of Balochistan. However, there are also many speakers of Barawi and Pashto. Words borrowed from Arabic, Persian, Dari, Urdu, Pashto and other languages predominate. In the Sistan-Baluchistan province of Iran, which borders Pakistan, the local language is Balochi, and 2 million people speak Balochi. In Pakistan, there is education, publications, radio and television broadcasts, etc. in this language. The Arabic alphabet is used. The standardization of the writing rules of the Balochi language occurred relatively late compared to other languages in Pakistan.

After the establishment of the state of Pakistan in 1947, the “*Oman*” journal, founded by Maulana Khair Muhammad Nadvi in 1950, played an important role.

Maar Gul Khan Nasir, a well-known figure in modern

Baloch literature, had a special role in the development of Baloch literature. Poets and writers Mir Amanullah Gichki, Sher Muhammad Marri, Bashir Ahmad Balochi, Karim Dashti, Surat Khan Murri, Aziz Muhammad Bugti, Syed Zahur Shah Hashmi, Ghul Khan Nasir, Muhammad Hussain Anka and others are well-known representatives of this literature. Munir Ahmad Badini has written interesting novels in Balochi language.

**Pashto** (Pashto, Pakhto) is the native language of the Pashto people, spoken by more than 25 million people in Pakistan and about 22 million people in Afghanistan (about half of the population). According to researchers, the history of this language dates back to the 8th century. The writing of the Pashto language began in the 15th century, and a 41-letter alphabet was created by adding a number of letters, signs, and diphthongs to the Arabic alphabet. Although this language is one of the two official languages in Afghanistan (the other is the Dari language, which is similar to Persian in Iran with some differences); in Pakistan Pashto is mainly used in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (formerly the North-West Frontier Province), Balochistan, and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The Pashto language, which was formed from the joining of Persian and Hindi, has a complex grammatical structure. Both Pashto and Indiko languages have produced rich literature from time to time. Khoshhal Khan Khattak (1613-1689), who wrote in Pashto alongside the Persian language in the 17th century, was the most famous of these. Among the poets and writers of the modern era, Abdul Bari Jahan, Abdul Shakir Rashad, Ajmal Khattak, Ghul/Qul Paca Ulfat, Amir Hamza Khan Sinwari, Sadat Hassan Manto, Abdullah Hussain, Munir

Niazi, Sanubar Hussain, Samundar Khan Samundar, Dost Muhammad Kamil, Amir Hamza Shinwari, Abdul Wahid Tikedar, Ajmal Khattak, Abdul Ghani/Qani Khan, Reza Hamdani, Fariq Bukhari, Hashem Babar, Foziya Anjum and others have created interesting examples of poetry and prose in Pashto.

**Sindhi** is spoken mainly in the Sindh province of the country and is one of the oldest languages in the Subcontinent . It is spoken by more than 30 million people in Pakistan. It uses the Arabic alphabet and added symbols and letters. Poetry in Sindhi emerged in the 11th-14th centuries during the Sumru dynasty. Shah Karim Bulri (1537-1623) and Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (1689-1752) wrote works in this language. The poem “Umar-Marvi” by Shah Abdul Latif is one of the best examples of the vivid expression of this language. Bago Ban, Charn Siming, the poetry of the poetess Mai Markhan Shaiq, and Sindhi epics were created in this language. Ghazi Gazan, Sajal Sarmast, Sami, Shah Inayat, Mirza Galich Baig, Dewan Manohar Das, Lutfullah Badvi, Saiq Ayaz, Nurul Huda Shah, Samira Zarin, Mehtab Mahbub and dozens of others have written and created in this language.

**Kashmiri** (Koshur) is a Dardic group of Indo-Aryan languages. It is mainly spoken in Jammu and Kashmir, and is one of the 15 official languages of India. In Pakistan, it is the language of “Azad Kashmir”, as well as the Kashmiris scattered in other parts of the country. The Urdu form of the Arabic alphabet is used. Approximately 6 million people in both countries speak Kashmiri.

Along with these languages, there are several other local languages spoken by millions of residents in Pakistan.

## ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS AND SECTS IN PAKISTAN

In the late 7th and early 8th centuries, the Arabs began to spread Islam in Sindh and Multan, which were located in the Indus Valley, in the territory of Pakistan. The large scale process began after Muhammad ibn Qasim, a general of the Umayyad Caliph Walid (705-715), conquered Sindh in 711-713. However, Arab troops had previously invaded the Indus Valley, for the first time in 664, but had not been able to gain control.

In the following centuries, most of the northern parts of the subcontinent were already under Muslim rule. Hindus, who had suffered from religious and caste inequality and low social status throughout their lives, eagerly converted to Islam, which promoted equality for all. During the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire, Islam spread to wider areas of India. Also, some Buddhists readily converted to Islam in order to be exempted from religious taxes. It should be noted that the spread of Islam by force was not allowed. Various religions existed alongside Islam, and this tradition continued. Eg., , the religious tolerance in the Mughal Empire could have been an example for the whole world at that time. In the Middle Ages, Arabs from Arabia and their descendants, as well as Muslims of Turkish, Persian and other origins, were certainly distinguished in society. They were called *Ashraf* and were considered the upper class, in a certain sense, elite Muslims in society. The part of the local Hindus and Buddhists who adopted Islam was called *ajlaf* (ajlaf), that is, the lower class, but this was not at all a sign of humiliation, but in fact a form of differentiation. The

*Ashrafs* were also divided into four groups: *Sayyids*, who claimed to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad; *Sheikhs*, descendants of the Prophet's followers; *Pathans*, descendants of the Muslim leaders of the Afghans; *Mughals*, descendants of Turkish, Persian and Tajik nobles.

In the Indian subcontinent, the Hanafi sect of the predominantly Sunni branch of Islam, along with this the Shiite sect, was also spreading in certain places. In some places, the Shafi'i wing of Sunnism and the Ismaili wing of Shiites were also taking root. Sufism was also widespread in South Asia during this period. The word Sufi means "the one who wears wool (*ṣūf*) clothes" in Arabic. This teaching of the Sufis, who had no particular desire for worldly goods, called for the realization of God and his union with Him, was the ascetic direction of Islam.

The sphere of influence of Sufism in the subcontinent was gradually expanding, because the presentation and spread of Islam in this form was more attractive. The teachings of Sufism, which were already widespread in neighboring countries, and Sufi thinkers with hundreds of thousands of supporters and followers, were received with interest here.

Sufis from Azerbaijan, Iran, Turkestan were spiritually closer to the Muslims of the subcontinent. The outstanding Azerbaijani philosopher and theologian Shahab al-Din Umar al-Suhrawardi (1145-1235) had numerous followers throughout the East. The sheikh of Khorasan, Baha-ud-din Zakariyya (1182-1268) organized a society in Multan for the spread of this teaching, which was met with great respect in the Delhi Sultanate.

The *ṭarīqas* of the Naqshbandiyya, *Qādiriyya*,

Suhrawardiyya, and Chishtiyya/*Chishtī*, which are more widespread than the Sufi orders and maintain their influence in Pakistan to this day, still attract people. Both Sunni and Shia wings of the Naqshbandiyya were spread. The founder of the Naqshbandiyya, Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Muhammad Naqshband (1318-1389 Bukhara), and his teachings were widely spread among Sufis not only in Central Asia, but also in South Asia. Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī (1414-1492) and Ali-Shir Nava'i (1441-1501), well-known figures of the era, were members of this order. Sheikh Ahmad al-Faruqi Sirhindi (1563-1626), one of the well-known representatives of this sect in North India, raised a wave of protest against the “Din-e ilahi” initiative of the powerful Mughal emperor Akbar Shah.

From the 16th century, *Roushanism*, *Mahdiism*, *Bahaism*, and *Ahmadism* also spread in the areas inhabited by Pashtun tribes, namely the present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the former North-West Frontier Province, and the Tribal Areas (FATA). The founder of *Roushanism* was Bayazit Ansari (1515–1585) from Waziristan. Ansari, who took the name Piri-Roushan, advocated the equality of people before God and opposed political and religious exploitation. A movement called the Pashtun movement also emerged, which was mainly directed against the Great Mughals and played a significant role in the ethnic consolidation of the Pashtuns between 1560 and 1638. The Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1627–1658) put an end to this movement.

The sects “Tarika-e Muhammadiyya”, “Ahl-e Hadith”, “Ahl-e Quran” also emerged, which were based on returning to the early Islamic era. Tarika-e Muhammadiyya (“The Way of Muhammad”) was founded

by Sayyid/Syed Ahmad Barelvi in the 1920s. This teaching required strict adherence to the Quran and Sunnah, and since it was close to Arabian Wahhabism, the mujahideen of this movement were called even Indian Wahhabis. They fought against the Sikhs, and then against the British colonialists.

In the 20th century, *Jamaat-e Islami*, which referred to Islamic fundamentalism and called for a return to it, and the Muslim League, which sought to reconcile Islamic values with modern Western ideas, began to appear on the political scene.

It should be noted that 97 percent of the population of Pakistan is Muslim. Out of these, about 10 percent are Shiites, the rest are Sunnis. Shiism, which emerged in the 8th century during the reign of Caliph Uthman (644-656), had two currents: the moderate Imamis, Zaydis, and Jafaris, and the radical Ismailis, Alawites, and Nusayris. Now there are a number of other branches of these currents. The imam, or leader called Khoja, who bears the title of Aga Khan, is the leader of the Ismailis of Pakistan. According to the Ismailis, who formed within the Shiite sect, after the death of the sixth Shiite imam, Jafar as-Sadiq, in 765, the imamate should not have passed to his son Musa ibn Jafar (Kazim), but to his other son Ismail, who died prematurely, and his heirs. The Ismailis originated in Iraq and spread widely in Iran, North Africa, India and other countries. They believed that the inner meaning of the Sharia was superior to its outer meaning, and for this reason they were also called "Batinis". In the Indian subcontinent, the Ismailis had organized organizations in Sindh, Punjab, and even Gujarat as early as the 9th century. They also used Sufism to spread their

teachings. In the territory of present-day Pakistan, Ismailism, with its two branches: Mustali and Nizari, had a wide influence on state and public life. The founder and first leader of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was also an Ismaili.<sup>1</sup>

The current leader of the Ismailis is His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan. Prince Karim Aga Khan is officially considered the 4th Aga Khan and is the hereditary spiritual leader of the Ismailis. He was born in 1936. His father was Ali Khan, and his grandfather was the famous Aga Khan Sultan Muhammad III (1877, Karachi 1957, Switzerland). His father was Aga Khan II Ali Shah, and his mother was Aliya Shamsul-Mulk, the niece of Muhammad Shah Qajar (1834-1848), the ruler of the Qajar state. He became the Imam of the Ismailis in 1885, and a year later was awarded the title “Your/His Excellency” by the British authorities. He led the delegations of Indian Muslims, was the president of the All-India Muslim League in 1907-1912, and played an important role in organizing the League of Nations. In 1919, during the Paris Peace Conference, the head of the Azerbaijani delegation, Alimardan Bey Topchubashov, met with the Aga Khan and asked him to influence the British government on the issue of recognition of Azerbaijan Republic. Aga Khan III was a great politician and educator. As early as 1921, he was the rector (vice-chancellor) of Aligarh University in Pakistan. In 1937, he was elected president of the League of Nations Assembly. The current Aga Khan IV, Karim Agha, is also a great

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<sup>1</sup> Jalal, Ayesha. *The Oxford Companion To Pakistani History*. Oxford University Press, 2012, p.240.



businessman, a prominent industrialist and banker, an educator and a man of morality or spirit. A graduate of Harvard University, Karim Agha built large industrial complexes in Pakistan, created the Aga Khan International Foundation (1967), and founded the Aga Khan University in Karachi (1983). Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain gave him the title of His Highness, and he was also awarded the highest title by the Shah of Iran (1959). His Christian wife, Sarah James (Salima), who converted to Islam, gave birth to a daughter, Zohra (1970), and a son, Rahim (1971).

## **THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE STATEHOOD OF PAKISTAN**

The special role of Islam has always been manifested in the political, social and cultural landscape of Pakistan. Relevant provisions were put forward in order to meet religious demands in the document “Objectives Resolution” adopted in 1949, and in the documents of the “Consultative Council of Islamic Ideology” (later called the “Council of Islamic Ideology”) established in 1962. Despite the serious efforts of religious parties and movements, they could not win enough votes in state authorities and elected bodies. However, after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, the influence of religious parties and movements in state institutions, political and civil organizations in Pakistan increased sharply. Armed religious militant groups emerged to fight against the Soviet occupation. In the environment created by President Zia-ul-Haq, religious organizations of various orientations trained fighters for the Afghan resistance movement.

According to Pakistani political analysts, the military and mullahs have entered into an alliance (the term “military-mullah alliance” was widely used in the Pakistani press in the early 21st century) several times in the country’s political history since 1947. During the presidency of General Zia ul-Haq, the religious factor had already become an important tool in both domestic and foreign policy. Even radical Islamists were considered natural allies by both the government and the United States in the fight against the Soviet Union during the

Cold War. However, the Pakistani military could always be considered more secular nationalists and less religious. Under the Constitution of Pakistan (1956), the country was an Islamic republic, but for the first time at the state level, Islamic movements, jihad and Sharia (Islamic law) became part of the state administration. The alliance with the United States and the activities of the Western-oriented civil-military bureaucracy continued alongside Islamization. Nevertheless, before that, during the presidency of General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1958-1969), the Western-oriented model of an Islamic state was preferred. Such an Islamic state could have been an important bulwark in the fight against communism, but the mullahs did not want to agree with the liberal programs of the government, and they considered secularism as hostile as communism and socialism.

During the military and civil governments of Muhammad Yahya Khan (1966-1971, 1969-1971), religious movements were also involved in politics. In 1971, the youth wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami joined the war against the “secular” Bengali struggle. There was a Razakar (volunteer) unit in the army formed from these youth.

During the rule of President Zia ul-Haq (1978-1988), the attitude towards the pre-Islamic history of Pakistan was rather one-sided, and the people’s tendency to deny or ignore their belonging to the ancient Mohenjo Daro and Harappa cultures and the Indus Valley civilization was growing.

In 1978, the Zia regime adopted an Islamic system called “Nizam-i Mustafa”. Thus, Islamic ideology was equated with national ideology. During that period,

Islamic propaganda and propaganda tools in the country also expanded. Sharia law began to be applied more widely, and this process continued, although limited to a certain extent, after the Zia regime. During the Zia era, especially during the years of jihad against the Soviets, Wahhabism also began to establish itself in the religious society of Pakistan under the influence of religious fighters from Arab countries.

The reason for the emergence of the military - mullah alliance was, as before, the secular political line of the political parties. Zia ul-Haq himself was religiously inclined, and during his eleven-year rule, Islamic law and the Sharia court gained popularity, a process that still accompanies the Pakistani state and society today.

During Zia's rule, the settlement of Afghan refugees in Pakistan was accompanied by a massive influx of drugs and weapons into the country. This process was especially intensified after the center of the Afghan resistance movement passed to Pakistani territory. As militarization intensified in the state and the implementation of Sharia law, serious social problems emerged; women's rights were violated, and the application of illegal and cruel punishments such as karo-kari was in complete contradiction with the path the country had taken, the level of progress and development it had achieved, and its international image. However, women's activists in the country did not hesitate to wage a struggle.

In the post-Ziya era, measures of secularization were met with resistance, and a process of concentration and grouping of religious forces, as well as establishment of political parties began. Religious parties and groups, as political-religious opposition, were now actively joining

the political struggle for power.

Religious parties and movements, especially the “Jamaat-e-Islami” (JI), were opposed to the secular policies of the Benazir Bhutto government and the measures it took in this regard. They sharply criticized Prime Minister B.Bhutto’s modernization policies and incited a certain section of the population against those policies.

During the period when Nawaz Sharif headed the government, especially after 1996, when the Taliban came to power in Afghanistan, the policy of cooperation with religious and political parties was preferred. As a result, attempts were made to talibanize the country, conflicts arose on the basis of sectarian divisions, and calls were made for the implementation of Sharia law in different regions of the country. However, during the years 1999-2008, when Pervez Musharraf headed the country, there arose many contradictory moments and conflicts in relations with religious and political parties. Of course, there were also cases of cooperation, although not successful.

In 2013, Prime Minister N.Sharif initiated a dialogue between the government and religious and political parties and organized a certain form of cooperation, and for this purpose he created a National Security Council. He appointed well-known politician Sartaj Aziz as National Security Advisor. N. Sharif invited the Pakistani Taliban to talks. But, the Taliban Supreme Council demanded the government to release the arrested “fighters”, withdraw the army from the Tribal areas, and ensure a ceasefire. A few days later, on September 15, terrorists killed Major General Sanaul-lah Khan in a bomb attack. Another high-

ranking officer and seven soldiers were also killed that day. Army Chief General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Khalid Shamim warned Prime Minister N.Sharif that the army would not allow an agreement with the Taliban under any conditions.

On December 16, 2013, the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan attacked a government school in Peshawar, killing 130 students. After this, Nawaz Sharif had to change that policy and, after consulting with other parties, approved the National Action Plan. This plan included the capture, trial and execution of terrorists.

After the assassination of 23 gendarmes on February 17, 2014, the government of N.Sharif suspended dialogue with the Taliban. In June, the government launched the operation “Zarb-e Azb” against the terrorists. On March 11, 2015, as a result of a raid by security forces on the headquarters of the religious movement Muttahide Qaumi Movement (MQM) in Karachi, 826 terrorists were captured, 82 human hostagers were arrested, and 49 hostages were released.

On March 28, 2016, radicals belonging to the Jamaat-ul-Ahrar party killed 70 people celebrating Easter in a Lahore park. The government arrested more than two hundred suspects.

The Imran Khan government was also a supporter of dialogue with religious parties and movements. In fact, this is an essential condition for ensuring stability and unity in the Pakistani state.

## **FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN**

In the first years after the creation of Pakistan, the British influence was naturally still strong in the country's foreign policy. However, since the mid-1950s, political-military relations of Pakistan with other European countries, as well as with the United States, began to take shape. Pakistan supported the interests of the United States more in the military-political blocs it joined. This unilateral position, of course, negatively affected its relations with some countries which it had diplomatic relations, including the USSR. However, realizing the harm of this policy, the Pakistani leadership began to prefer multi-vectority in foreign policy in the 1960s.

Local and global challenges, including the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, general and complete disarmament, normalization of the situation in the Middle East, peaceful coexistence, and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons were dominated issues in foreign policy of Pakistan.

In the 1960s, relations with Asian and African countries, the USSR and Eastern European countries were improved in foreign policy of Pakistan. Participation of Pakistan in the blocs it joined began to have a more formal character. Cooperation with Arab countries strengthened, Pakistan condemned occupation of Palestinian lands by Israel and the war that the United States started in Vietnam.

On September 19, 1960, an agreement was signed between Pakistan and India on the division of water resources and the regulation of the use of rivers. The Pakistan-India war that took place in 1966 also paved the

way for certain changes in foreign policy.

The separation of East Pakistan and the establishment of the Republic of Bangladesh in 1971, and the ensuing Pakistan-India conflict, also had an impact on foreign policy. In 1972, Pakistan decided to withdraw from CEATO, and this was implemented a year later. With the Declaration signed between Pakistan, India and Bangladesh in Tashkent on April 9, 1974, relations finally returned to normal, mutual humanitarian steps were taken, and 400.000 people were able to return their homeland.

Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 and the Islamic revolution in Iran, the attitude towards Pakistan in US and Western policy changed significantly, and Pakistan became the center of the Afghan resistance movement supported by the US against the Soviet Union.

After that, Pakistan's relations with the US, Saudi Arabia, Japan, and the Persian Gulf countries intensified. Relations with the USSR cooled significantly. However, position of Pakistan in Central and South Asia strengthened.

Towards the end of the 1980s, the Pakistan government, under both B.Bhutto and N.Sharif, took initiatives to normalize relations with the USSR and India. In 1990-1991, the Pakistan government condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and supported UN resolutions on this issue.

In the 1990s, relations of Pakistan with the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Canada and Italy, in addition to the United States, expanded. Western countries provided assistance to Pakistan within the framework of the Pakistan Aid Consortium. Traditional friendly



relations with the People's Republic of China developed further.

However, it should be noted that after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, US interest in Pakistan gradually began to decline and the US turned more towards India. On January 15, 1998, the heads of government of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh met in Dhaka. This meeting, which mainly discussed issues of economic cooperation, was important.

Despite the frequent changes of government in Pakistan, increasing the country's defense capabilities, providing the army with both domestic and modern foreign combat equipment, weapons and ammunition, and acquiring new weapons and technologies have always been in the spotlight. The work carried out for many years within the framework of the program of transforming the country into a nuclear state resulted in the successful conduct of Pakistan's nuclear tests in May 1998. The fact that Pakistan tested six nuclear bombs shortly after India tested five nuclear bombs has already created a "deterrent factor" in the conflicts between Pakistan and India in the true sense of the word.

This test, which Pakistan conducted at a test range in the Chagai Mountains of Balochistan province, created the conditions for the United States, Japan and some other countries to propose international sanctions against Pakistan, but they failed to achieve this. Earlier, a demand for sanctions against India was also put forward, but it did not pass. Russia took a more constructive position by proposing India and Pakistan join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

### ***Relations of Pakistan with Turkiye***

Diplomatic relations with the Republic of Turkiye began in 1947, immediately after Pakistan gained independence, and have continued on an ever-increasing path. In March 1948, Turkish Ambassador Yahya Kemal Beyatli began his diplomatic activity in Karachi. The founder and first head of state of Pakistan, M.A.Jinnah, was an admirer of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and wanted to see Pakistan as a modern Islamic state on the model of the Republic of Turkiye. These relations have risen to a higher level since the mid-1950s and have taken a leading position in Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan has supported Turkiye in relation to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), and the TRNC has had a diplomatic mission in Islamabad for many years. It should be noted that Turkiye has always supported Pakistan's position on the Kashmir issue.

The decisive role in Pakistan-Turkiye relations was played by the Türkiye-Pakistan Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed in Karachi on April 2, 1954. Article 4 of this Treaty, which provided for consultation and cooperation in economic, technical, and cultural fields of mutual interest in international affairs, agreed on defense, arms production, and supply, which was very important for Pakistan. Incidentally, this treaty was open to other countries with the same conditions and obligations.

The visits of Pakistani President Ayub Khan to Türkiye in July 1964 and Turkish Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel to Pakistan in 1967 were significant in the development of bilateral relations, as well as regional and international relations.

Turkiye played an important role in providing military equipment and supplies to Pakistan. This cooperation was especially crucial during the years 1965-1975, when the United States stopped military supplies to Pakistan. M.Zia-ul-Haq visited Turkiye in 1987, B.Bhutto in 1989, 1990, 1994, and the President of the Republic of Turkiye Kenan Evren visited Pakistan in 1989. Turgut Ozal and then Süleyman Demirel visited Pakistan in the 1990s.

In 1997, Nawaz Sharif visited Turkiye and the D-8, an economic organization of developing Islamic countries, was established with the participation of Turkiye, Egypt, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria and Pakistan. Moreover, active participation of Pakistan in the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (now called the Organization of Islamic Cooperation) played an important role in the development of its relations with other neighboring Islamic countries.

Pakistan-Turkiye relations have continued to grow steadily in the following years and have reached a higher level since the beginning of the 21st century. During the years 1999-2008, when Pervez Musharraf led the country, these relations turned into a friendship and a trusted partnership that grew and strengthened in the political, economic, military and cultural spheres, and this line was continued during the subsequent governments.

Turkiye's provision of \$100 million in financial assistance and \$50 million in humanitarian aid for the relief and reconstruction efforts following the devastating earthquake in Pakistan in October 2005 encouraged a number of other countries to join in this support process. Turkiye also supported Pakistan in the fight against

terrorism.<sup>1</sup>

On November 16, 2016, the President of the Republic of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, paid an official visit to Pakistan. As a result of the high attention and trust shown to the Turkish President, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Chief Minister of Punjab Shahbaz Sharif, together with their wives, welcomed the Turkish President at the airport. Meetings with the Prime Minister and President Mamnoon Hussain, the Turkish President's speech in the National Assembly of Pakistan, and his meetings in Lahore gave another impetus to the development of mutual relations.

The visits of Prime Minister Imran Khan to Türkiye in January 2019 and President of the Republic of Türkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Pakistan in February 2020 were another bright page in the always high level of relations between the two brotherly countries.

In Pakistan, they see the Turkish people, including the Azerbaijani people, as brothers and wish that the formula "One nation, two states" put forward by the great leader Heydar Aliyev thirty years ago when characterizing Azerbaijani-Turkish relations, like "One nation, three states", be applied to Pakistan. The meeting of the parliaments speakers of Azerbaijan, Türkiye and Pakistan in Azerbaijan on July 27, 2021 and the adoption of the Baku Declaration indicate the beginning of cooperation in this area in a new format.<sup>2</sup>

The Pakistan-Türkiye-Azerbaijan trilateral meetings

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<sup>1</sup> "Daily Sabah". Syed Ali Nawaz Gilani - Turkey-Pakistan friendship: from past to present, Feb.13, 2020.

<sup>2</sup> "Azərbaycan" qəzeti, 28 iyul 2021-ci il.

held in recent years on various areas of cooperation, including the strategic partnership relations related to military cooperation, are a clear manifestation of the goodwill and cooperation of the three brotherly peoples.

### ***Pakistan-US relations***

Pakistan has attached special importance to relations with the United States since its inception. In 1947-1951, both during the Governor-Generalship of M.A.Jinnah (1947-1948) and the Prime Ministership of L.Ali Khan (1947-1951), the main direction of the foreign policy of the Muslim League leadership was Western, and this policy was actively supported by the civil and military elite of West Pakistan. This was necessary because the threat expected from India in connection with Kashmir, Afghanistan's claim to the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), and the fact that military-economic and financial resources were not divided in favor of Pakistan during the partition of India dictated this policy. A large amount of financial resources were needed for defense purposes. All this conditioned the alliance with the United States and its position in its camp.

In February 1948, the United States opened its embassy in Pakistan. The United States was interested in further strengthening its foothold in Southeast Asia. However, the attitude of Truman administration (1945-1952) towards the East and the Korean War (1950-1953) required the Pakistani leadership to approach these relations with caution.

In May 1954, the United States and Pakistan signed a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement. In September of the

same year, Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Security Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact (renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1959). In July 1959, Pakistan allowed the United States to station observation and communications equipment near Peshawar, opening the way for US military and economic aid to the country.

Active support of Pakistan for the Afghan jihad movement launched against the Soviet Union in 1979 raised relations with the United States to a higher level. However, after the Soviet occupation forces withdrew from Afghanistan, US interest in Pakistan immediately decreased, and relations became cold. This situation continued until September 11, 2001, when Bin Laden's terror groups carried out horrific terrorist attacks in Washington and New York.

In the 1990s, during the rule of N.Sharif and then P.Musharraf, relations with the United States continued at a high level, and this level was maintained when N.Sharif became Prime Minister for the third time in 2013. N.Sharif's visit to the United States and his meeting with President Obama resulted in the receipt of another \$1.6 billion in military and economic support. Of course, some forces in the United States also accused Pakistan of supporting terrorism. Republican congressmen Ted Poe and Dana Rohrabacher proposed a bill accusing Pakistan of this. However, on December 1, 2016, after N.Sharif congratulated the new US President Donald Trump and had a telephone conversation with him, the United States, considering Pakistan an important strategic partner, allocated \$900 million and appreciated Pakistan's fight against terrorism.

Although the Imran Khan government has also pursued a multi-vector foreign policy within 2018-2022s, relations with the United States have their previous strategic importance.

### ***Pakistan-China relations***

Pakistan-China relations have always been of special importance for both countries from the very beginning to the present day. Pakistan was one of the first Islamic countries to recognize the People's Republic of China. Pakistan recognized the People's Republic of China from the beginning of January 1950. In September 1951, the Chinese ambassador and in November the Pakistani ambassador presented own credentials to the heads of state and began their activities. At that time, the United States and its Western partners did not recognize this great socialist state and exerted pressure on it. Thus, they planned to give China's seat in the UN to a government to be established in Taiwan (Taipchi). Pakistan actively supported China in the UN.

Pakistan-China friendly relations developed further after China's war with India in 1962. Although part of Kashmir came under Chinese control after this war, this did not harm Pakistan-China relations. After that, China became a more important country for Pakistan. The construction of the Karakoram Highway by China in 1963 had a significant impact on the further development of economic, trade and political relations between the two countries. When the tensions between the United States and China escalated in 1971, Pakistan contributed to its settlement and as a result gained more political and

economic support from China. China played an important role in creation and development of Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program and missile technology, as well as in various other areas of military cooperation.

Relations with China have remained stable and at high level in the following decades. In 1999-2008, General P.Musharraf and then N.Sharif raised these relations to a higher level. In 2013, after N.Sharif was elected Prime Minister, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang visited Pakistan and congratulated N.Sharif. After this visit, the Chinese government invested \$31.5 billion in infrastructure projects, energy sector of Pakistan, and expansion of Gwadar port. During N.Sharif's visit to China in November 2014, an agreement was reached to further increase Chinese investments in the coming years. On June 25, 2016, Pakistan became a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. N.Sharif stated that he would support China in the fight against the East Turkestan Islamic Movement.

The Imran Khan government also ensured the relations with the People's Republic of China to be continued on a positive path.

### ***Relations of Pakistan with the USSR, then the Russian Federation***

Pakistan established diplomatic relations with the USSR on May 1, 1948, and in December 1949, the first Pakistani ambassador arrived in Moscow and began his diplomatic activities. The embassy began its work with the arrival of the Soviet ambassador in Karachi in March 1950. On June 1, 1949, the USSR government invited Pakistani Prime



Minister Liaquat Ali Khan on an official visit. Although the invitation was accepted, the visit did not take place, and in May 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan left for the United States. Although Pakistan's preference for a pro-Western policy was not welcomed by the Soviet Union, cooperative relations continued.<sup>1</sup>

In 1956, a trade agreement was signed between Pakistan and the USSR and mutual relations were continued. However, Pakistan's pro-Western policy and participation in military-political blocs forced the Soviet Union to approach this country with caution. Therefore, preference was given to mutual trade cooperation. Gradually, the framework and scale of economic cooperation expanded, and the Cooperation Agreement on the Oil Production Industry signed in 1961 was a good start in this direction.

In April 1965, the visits of Pakistani President M.Ayub Khan to the USSR and the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A.Kosygin to Pakistan expanded trade-economic, scientific-technical relations between the two countries.

On April 16, 1972, Pakistani President Z.A.Bhutto visited the USSR. Z.A.Bhutto's second visit to Moscow on October 24, 1974 was also successful. The USSR began to implement a number of industrial and energy projects in Pakistan. A metallurgical complex near Karachi was built with the technical and economic assistance of the USSR. These relations slowed down significantly in the 1980s for the well-known events in

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<sup>1</sup> Bhatti, M.Sohail. A Short history of Pakistan, Lahore, Bhatti Sons Publishers, 2010, p.674.

Afghanistan. However, in the late 1980s, the USSR provided financial and technical assistance in expanding the metallurgical complex.

During the visits of Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq to Moscow in 1982, 1984, and 1985, political contacts and the Afghan issue were the most discussed topics. After six years of negotiations in Geneva on April 14, 1988, an agreement was finally reached on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and on February 15, 1989, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was completed. So, a new stage began in foreign policy of Pakistan. The governments of B.Bhutto, G.Jatoi, and N.Sharif, who replaced each other, continued their policies of normalizing relations with the USSR and regulating economic relations.

Pakistan established good relations with the Russian Federation, the successor of the USSR after 1991, as well as with most of the former Soviet republics that gained independence. After the visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Andrei Kozyrev to Pakistan in April 1993, the efforts of the N.Sharif government to normalize Russia's relations with Afghanistan and to release Russian prisoners from Afghan captivity became significant. Pakistan began to implement a policy of supporting the young countries of Central Asia, as well as Azerbaijan. In July 1997, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Govhar Ayub Khan, visited Moscow. Relevant documents were signed on consular agreements, education, culture, and other issues. Although there was no intensity in mutual relations in the next two decades, economic and technical cooperation relations continued.

In 2013, the government of N.Sharif took a course to

improve relations with the Russian Federation. The visit of Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu to Pakistan resulted in the signing of a military cooperation agreement between the two countries. It should be noted that before this visit, Russia had lifted the embargo it had imposed on Pakistan. With the agreement, Russia resumed the sale of Mi-24 helicopters to Pakistan. Even on September 23, 2016, Russian military personnel participated in joint military exercises in Pakistan.

After a long recess, on February 24, 2022, the first high-level meeting between Pakistan and Russia finally took place. For the first time in 23 years, Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan paid an official visit to the Russian Federation. During his meeting with President Vladimir Putin and other officials, both bilateral relations and the general political situation and cooperation in Southeast Asia were discussed.

### ***Relations of Pakistan with France***

Pakistan's relations with France have always developed. In October 1967, President M.Ayub Khan's visit to France was successful. France sold military equipment, aircraft and ships to Pakistan. It established an aircraft repair plant in Punjab, and in 1976, an Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Nuclear Energy was signed between the two countries. However, this Agreement was terminated two years later under pressure from the United States. However, cooperation in other areas was continued.

In 1990, during the visit of French President François Mitterrand to Pakistan, documents on trade and economic

cooperation were signed, and France allocated a credit of 172 million francs to Pakistan. Pakistan purchased submarines, long-range (anti-ship) rockets, and aircraft from France. Military electronics and telecommunication equipments were sold to Pakistan.

In 2002, during the exhibition of military products in Karachi, the author of these lines also had the opportunity to get acquainted with the ambassadors of several countries friendly to Pakistan and the “Agosta 90-B” submarine purchased by Pakistan from France. The fact that these processes took place in the context of the expanding military-technical cooperation of the USA, Russia, and other states with India led to a significant strengthening of Pakistan’s defense power both at sea and in the air.

### ***Pakistan-India relations***

Relations of Pakistan with India have been related to security and the Kashmir issue since the day these two states were established in the Subcontinent. From that first day, it has been related to the threat expected from India, and even an idea of “foreign hands” was often the main factor in various provocations within the country, which was not without reason. The *Kashmir issue*, which has been the subject of contradiction and occasional conflict between Pakistan and India since 1947, is still awaiting a solution. India’s failure to implement the UN Security Council Resolution that envisaged the resolution of the fate of Kashmir through a plebiscite, still keeps the hotbed of tension. The military confrontations between the two countries in 1947, 1965, 1971, and 1999 were also related

to *Kashmir*. (This is discussed in detail in the article on the Kashmir issue in the book). In the 1980s, Pakistan-India relations cooled again, as India supported the Soviet puppet regime of Mohammad Najibullah in Afghanistan.<sup>1</sup> India continued to try to further pressure Pakistan by supporting the Hamid Karzai government in the early 21st century.

Although the Kashmir issue has been considered a sticking point in Pakistan-India relations and has repeatedly led to confrontations and wars, the new circumstances that emerged at the beginning of the 21st century required the regulation of relations between these two nuclear powers.

In early 2001, P.Musharraf called Indian Prime Minister A.Vajpayee to express his condolences for the victims of the earthquake in the Indian state of Gujarat and then sent aid. This step significantly eased the tension in relations and P.Musharraf was invited to visit India. On July 14, 2001, P.Musharraf visited Delhi, as well as his homeland, Neher Wali Haveli, where he was born. The discussions held with the Prime Minister in Agra on July 16 did not meet Musharraf's expectations. As a result, although the parties showed a friendly attitude towards each other, no documents were signed, and not even a joint declaration or press conference took place.

After that, for about 10 months, the concentration of troops on the border by the parties and unpleasant mutual rhetoric significantly increased the tension. The situation reached the point that the diplomatic corps in Islamabad

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<sup>1</sup> Kaplan, Robert D. *The Revenge of Geography*. New York, Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2013, p.247.

took urgent evacuation measures.

Based on the appeal of the author of these lines, who is the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to Pakistan, the embassy staff and several of our citizens living in Pakistan were included in the list of expected passengers of the plane of the Turkish Republic Air Force, which was waiting in readiness in Islamabad, in order to be able to leave the country urgently if necessary.

In January 2002, at the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Summit in Kathmandu, Nepal, P.Musharraf opened the way for easing the tension between them by offering his hand to meet Indian Prime Minister A.Vajpayee. In 2004, at the next Summit of the same organization in Islamabad, the meeting of the two leaders was very promising and the Islamabad Declaration was adopted. The parties decided to continue the peace negotiation process on the Jammu and Kashmir conflict through “joint dialogue”. However, Manmohan Singh, who became the head of the coalition government formed by the Congress party of Sonia Gandhi, which won early elections in India, did not continue the peace process that had been started. P.Musharraf rang up and congratulated him. On September 24, 2004, at the UN Summit, M.Singh met P.Musharraf, had a positive conversation and stated that they would continue the peace process. On April 18, 2005, P.Musharraf accepted M.Singh’s invitation and visited Delhi to watch a cricket match. A useful meeting was held for both sides. In September of the same year, while attending the UN General Assembly in New York, P.Musharraf went to meet M.Singh at his invitation, and during lunch, P.Musharraf invited M.Singh to visit

Pakistan. Thus, the path of dialogue, not confrontation, has further strengthened its place in relations.

As in previous periods when he was Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif again preferred the policy of improving relations with India after the government came to power in 2013. The main line was to liberalize trade relations between the two countries, remove unnecessary barriers, and thus regulate political relations. On May 26, 2014, N.Sharif attended the inauguration ceremony of the newly elected Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi. It was the first time that such a diplomatic step was taken between the two countries. On April 1, 2015, the Indian Prime Minister congratulated Nawaz Sharif on his birthday in Lahore and attended the wedding of Nawaz Sharif's granddaughter. The Pakistan-India dialogue was continued within the framework of the conference "Heart of Asia" held on December 10 of that year.

However, from time to time, contradictions arose in mutual relations, especially in Kashmir, confrontations and mutual accusations took place. The Pakistani army leadership did not appreciate N.Sharif's Indian policy and maintained its position that no concessions should be made to India. Therefore, N.Sharif sometimes did not avoid from drastic steps, and in his Address to the UN Security Council on September 22, 2016, N.Sharif condemned India for violating human rights in Jammu and Kashmir, for inhumane treatment of Muslims, who constitute the majority of the population of Kashmir, and demanded the release of Kashmiri political prisoners and the lifting of the curfew in that region.

### ***Relations of Pakistan with Saudi Arabia***

During the Cold War, Pakistan had close ties with the more conservative Muslim monarchies of Saudi Arabia and Iran. At the time, Egypt, especially the government of Gamal Abdul Nasser (1956-1970), which was considered radical, preferred relations with India. However, in 1971, when Pakistan lost East Pakistan, which had been its part until then, realized that it was wrong to rely only on Arab countries when it did not receive the support that had hoped for from Muslim countries. The line of establishing warm, sincere relations with other Islamic countries was adopted, and with this intention, Pakistan hosted the Summit of Islamic countries in 1974. Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi (1942-2011) and Syrian President Hafez Assad (1930-2000) also participated in this Summit held in Lahore. However, Pakistan's relations with these radical Arab countries did not harm its relations with Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkiye. Because Pakistan wanted to have a balanced position against the Indian threat.

It should be noted that when Saudi Arabia was founded (1932), there was a large diaspora of Indian Muslims in the country, and they played an important role in the economic and military structures of the state. Eg., , the head of the State Bank of the country, if not by its current political and geographical name, was Pakistani Anwar Ali. After the establishment of Pakistan, the personal friendly relations of the state and government heads with the royal family, the mutual respect and trust formed between the peoples of both Muslim countries, have been strengthened year by year. In the 70s-90s of the last century, the leaders of Pakistan, Z.A.Bhutto, General Zia-ul Haq, N.Sharif,



and in later years General P.Musharraf, treated Saudi Arabia with respect as the most reliable supporter of their country, and always took into account the opinion and position of this country. The financial and economic support of Saudi Arabia, especially the provision of oil products to Pakistan at reasonable prices, was of decisive importance in the most difficult times. Pakistan also played an invaluable role in the establishment of the Saudi army, and cooperation in this area was developing both bilaterally and in a trilateral format: Pakistan-Saudi Arabia-USA. Visiting the holy cities of Mecca and Medina for Muslims around the world was considered a very important religious duty for most Pakistanis. In this regard, Pakistan was also treated with special attention. Eg., , out of the 2 million pilgrims that Saudi Arabia hosted for the Hajj pilgrimage in 2000, 120.000 were from Pakistan. The importance of Saudi Arabia to Pakistan was described in detail by Asad Durrani, the former head of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and Pakistan's ambassador to the country from 1999 to 2002, with whom the author of these lines has close contact.<sup>1</sup>

The author of these lines, having observed Pakistan-Saudi relations since the 1990s, has come to the conclusion that not only the religious-sectarian factor, but also the mutual need of these two states for each other is the basis of this permanent policy of friendship and patronage. The potential threat that Saudi Arabia expects from Iran and radical Shiite organizations supported by Iran in some Arab countries can be neutralized with the

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<sup>1</sup> Durrani, Asad. *Pakistan Adrift*. London, Hurst and Company, 2018, p.87.

political and military support of Pakistan, a reliable ally with nuclear power and numerous combat-ready armed forces. Obviously, even though this country receives new weapons and equipment, as well as military support from the United States and other countries, Pakistan always remains a country to rely on.

There is a special affection for Saudi Arabia in Pakistan, as a holy place of pilgrimage for all Muslims and a generous friendly state. Nawaz Sharif, who served as Prime Minister of Pakistan three times, had a special affinity with the Royal Family of Saudi Arabia. Both during his first term as Prime Minister and during the reign of Pervez Musharraf who came to power after him, Pakistan-Saudi relations were at a high level, and these relations have always been special in nature. In 2013, N.Sharif, who was elected Prime Minister of Pakistan for the third time, visited Saudi Arabia. This resulted in an agreement to provide Pakistan with the JF-17 Thunder fighter jets it desperately needed, and soon after, Saudi Arabia allocated a \$1.5 billion grant to Pakistan. <sup>1</sup> This country also plays an exceptional role in supplying Pakistan with oil at a discounted price.

Visits of Saudi Crown Prince Salman bin Abdulaziz al Saud to Pakistan in those years and his consideration of Pakistani soldiers as the most reliable ally to protect its borders are among the indicators of this. Although financial support of Saudi has been important for Pakistan at all times, Pakistan continues its political line in its policy towards Iran and is in favor of dialogue and understanding between these two Muslim states. Even

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<sup>1</sup> Pakistan Today, 2 April 2014.

though does not have warm relations with Iran, it has even taken the initiative to mediate between these two states.

### ***Pakistan-Afghanistan relations***

Pakistan has not had good relations with neighboring Afghanistan since its inception. Initially, Afghanistan pursued a policy of non-recognition of the state and maintained territorial claims. As early as 1944, Afghanistan declared that it did not accept the *Durand Line Agreement*, which had been adopted by Great Britain in 1893 and became the border between India and Afghanistan, and demanded that the North-West Frontier Province and Balochistan, now part of Pakistan, be given to it. In 1947, on the eve of the partition of India, Afghanistan supported the demand from Britain of the Pashtun nationalist forces residing in those regions to create an independent state of Pashtunistan.

During the partition of India, the Pashtun leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988) actually tried to establish a separate autonomous Pashtunistan within Pakistan, but he was unable to achieve this. This issue remained on the agenda even after that, and in 1961, Afghanistan severed diplomatic relations with Pakistan, and in response, Pakistan closed transit routes of Afghanistan. However, after the resignation of Prime Minister Muhammad Dawood Khan (1909-1978) in 1963, Afghanistan restored these relations. It is noteworthy that Afghanistan always maintained a neutral position in the military conflicts and wars between Pakistan and India, avoiding harming its close neighbor and a large Muslim state, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

In 1974, the federal government of Pakistan dismissed the Balochistan provincial government, which had been formed in coalition with the Awami National Party (ANP) and the League of Scholars of Islam. The government of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) also resigned in protest. Despite these protests, the central government closed the Awami National Party and arrested its leaders and activists. At this time, some Pashtun party leaders, including Ajmal Khattak (1925-2010) and Afrasiab Khattak, found refuge in Afghanistan. At the same time, since some radical religious leaders in Afghanistan who opposed M.Dawood Khan also supported Pakistan, tensions remained in the relations between the two countries. However, with the mediation of the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980; reigned 1941-1979), relations between these two neighboring Muslim states returned to normal.

The invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in December 1979 changed the geopolitics of the region, and also brought about a fundamental change in foreign policy of Pakistan. Pakistan, with both material and political support, became the frontline of the struggle against the Soviet occupation, sharply criticized this occupation in international forums, spoke at a special session of the UN General Assembly as a country that accused the Soviet occupation and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the occupying forces from Afghanistan, and put this issue on the agenda of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (now the Organization of Islamic Cooperation - OIC). It provided all kinds of assistance to the resistance groups formed in Afghanistan.

At that time, both secular and religious parties in

Afghanistan fought together against the Soviet occupation. The secular group included the Afghan National Party and the communist (pro-Chinese) Shola-ye Javid Party.

The religious forces were mainly concentrated in 7 parties: “Hezb-e Islami (Islamic Party)” led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (1947), “Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan” led by Abdul Rasul Sayyaf (b. 1946), “Harakat-e Inqilab-e Islami” led by Muhammad Nabi Muhammad (1920-2002), “Jami’at-e Islami” led by Burhanuddin Rabbani (1940-2011), “National Islamic Front” led by Pir Syed Ahmad Gilani (b. 1932), and “National Liberation Front” led by Sibqatullah Mojadedi (b. 1926). The famous commander Ahmad Shah Massoud (1953-2001) joined B.Rabbani’s “Jami’at-e Islami” party.

In the early 1980s, Pakistan played a key role in delivering and coordinating all kinds of aid to these parties from various sources. Support for non-religious groups was not provided, so independent resistance commanders joined any Islamic party they saw fit to receive aid from abroad, including Pakistan.

During these years, the coordination and delivery of foreign financial and military support for the Afghan jihad was carried out through Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan. In these processes, Pakistan, as a key ally of the United States, also benefited from the financial assistance allocated to it, strengthening its strategic position in the region. Since the main bases and camps of the Afghan Mujahideen were located in Pakistan, new groups of fighters were being trained in the religious madrasahs of Pakistan. The number of Afghan refugees who had found refuge in Pakistan was more than 3 million and they lived mainly in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), in

camps and also in the interior of the country. Pakistan, through its means of influence, had managed to remove the *Durand Line* issue from the political agenda of Afghanistan.

*The Durand Line* is a 2.670 km border line separating Pakistan and Afghanistan, and passing through Iran. It was agreed upon on 12 November 1893 by the British diplomat Mortimer Durand and the Afghani Abdul Rahman Khan, and both diplomatic and trade relations were established between the two states.

This demarcation created the 1.300 km India-Afghanistan border, which became the Pakistan-Afghanistan border when Pakistan became an independent state in 1947.

This line, which divided the Pashtun, Baloch and other peoples into two parts and disregarded the historical and ethnic territories and the fate of the peoples who had lived in this region for centuries, was not recognized by the Afghan state in 1947, which is why Afghanistan refused to officially recognize the newly formed state of Pakistan.

Although Soviet troops left Afghanistan in February 1989 with the Geneva Accords, the communist government of President Najbullah Ahmadzai (1947-1996, president 1987-1992) was still in power. Pakistan therefore did not want the mujahideen to reconcile and cooperate with the Najibullah government, with the consent of the United States. In 1992, the Afghan mujahideen succeeded in overthrowing the Najibullah government, which suited Pakistan's interests. However, in 1994, the mujahideen government, led by President Burhanuddin Rabbani (1992-1996), began to deny the role and importance of Pakistan and to prefer close cooperation

with India and Iran, taking the line of not fulfilling its demands. This, of course, disappointed Pakistan and had an impact on the further course of political processes in the region.

### ***The Taliban and Afghan policy of Pakistan***

After the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan, Iran, India and some Central Asian countries, along with Pakistan, began to show interest in Afghanistan. However, the nine-year Soviet occupation had not only plunged Afghanistan into deep disaster, but also created countless problems in neighboring countries. 3.5 million Afghan refugees had taken refuge in Pakistan, and about the same number had taken refuge in Iran. Amid hunger and deprivation, the children of those who had found refuge in refugee camps along the border were given a place to survive in the madrasahs opened by wealthy Saudi Arabians. These madrasahs, which numbered over two thousand and attracted 220 thousand children, spread the teachings of Wahhabism and trained religious fighters.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Soviet occupation was ended as a result of the stubborn struggle of the Afghan mujahideen, a new political and military force was emerging in the country under the new circumstances, and this force was not at all willing to reconcile with the existence of a communist and secular-oriented government. Since 1994, this movement, called the “Taliban”, has been attracting the attention of Pakistan as a new religious-political organization and

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<sup>1</sup> Кича, Мария. Афганистан. Подлинная история страны-легенды. Москва, Изд. “Бомбора”, 2022, с.338.

promising an alliance. For Pakistan, this movement, which had no claims to the Pashtun territories of Pakistan in this country, created the necessary conditions for access to Central Asia, opened the way for Pakistan to the oil and gas resources of those countries, could counter Iranian influence in Southeast Asia, had a firm strategic position against India, and would mobilize and gather around it young Afghan religious radical forces, seemed completely appropriate. It should be noted that the United States was not against the formation of this movement. It did not view it as a pan-Islamist force and threat, but assumed that the interests of this movement would be limited to Afghanistan and would be in line with US policy. But, the arrival of Osama bin Laden (1958-2011) in Afghanistan in 1996 and the violation of human rights in the country disappointed the United States, and in 1998, shortly after the Taliban took control of almost the entire territory of the country, US-Afghan relations were completely suspended.

In such circumstances, Pakistan's support for the Taliban and the Taliban government established in Afghanistan continued, and Pakistan recognized the Taliban government on May 25, 1997, and reciprocal embassies were opened.<sup>1</sup> This step by Pakistan was certainly motivated by the country's national interests and was not at all a sign of sympathy for the Taliban. Obviously, this diplomatic relationship with the Taliban not only cooled Pakistan's relations with the United States, but also did not satisfy other partner countries of

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<sup>1</sup> Kazimi M.R., *A Concise History of Pakistan*. Oxford University Press, 2009, p.322.



Pakistan. Thus, until September 11, 2001, Pakistan pursued a policy of supporting the Taliban movement and government. This had isolated the country both regionally and internationally. The domestic and foreign policies of Taliban were already causing serious concern in the region and the world. Moreover, as the Taliban government strengthened its foothold, it was moving out of Pakistan's sphere of influence and gradually becoming uncontrollable. Financial support by Osama bin Laden further strengthened and radicalized this government. After al-Qaeda blew up the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998, the US launched missile attacks on al-Qaeda bases in Afghanistan and Sudan, and the US oil company UNOCAL suspended the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan oil and gas pipeline project. Despite this, Pakistan continued its policy of supporting the Taliban.

Although India dominated US Southeast Asian policy at the end of the 20th century, Pakistan was not ignored either. Even, in March 1999, US President Bill Clinton (b. 1946; pres. 1993-2001) visited Pakistan as part of his visit to these countries and demanded Pakistan to use its influence over the Taliban to close terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and that the Taliban government expel Osama bin Laden from the country.

This policy continued after George Bush (b. 1946) was elected US President in January 2001. Republicans attached greater importance to relations with India. Even the demand that this country sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was removed from the agenda. At that time, Pakistan was also developing its missile program, and India had declared that it would take

such a step after signing the CTBT. Pakistan continued to support the Kashmiri mujahideen and the Taliban government in Afghanistan. In 1997, Pakistan was one of the three countries, along with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, to officially recognize the Taliban government, and the Taliban government had an embassy in Islamabad.

It should be noted that for these reasons, even after October 1999, at the beginning of General P.Musharraf's military rule, the US policy towards Pakistan remained cold and no rapprochement was observed.

However, September 11, 2001, brought about a fundamental change in these relations. The Afghan government, which had sheltered Osama bin Laden, became the target of the international war on terror of the United States and its allies. Soon, a number of countries in Central, Southern and Western Asia became participants in this war in one way or another. Pakistan inevitably had to play the role of the hottest center. Because Pakistan was the only friendly country in the region that supported the Taliban government. Due to this fact, India tried to portray Pakistan to the US as a country supporting terrorism, demanded that the US consider this country as a terrorist state, and expressed its readiness to provide all kinds of assistance to the US. China, Russia, Azerbaijan, and Central Asian states supported the US in the fight against terrorism. Although Iran condemned terrorism and declared that shared the grief of the American people, it did not want to take part in the coalition formed under the leadership of the US.

After the overthrow of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the establishment of the Hamid Karzai

government with the support of the US, Pakistan-Afghanistan relations continued smoothly under the conditions of neighbourly relations and ethnic closeness, but mutual trust in these relations was not stable at all. The policy pursued by the US to keep the new Afghan government, the continuous anti-terrorist operations it carried out, the fact that these operations often took place in Pakistani territory, and that land and air communications between Afghanistan and the US and its allies were mainly carried out through this country, and although Pakistan took a place in the US coalition and supported it, these relations negatively affected the internal political situation of the country and paved the way for the activation of radical religious-political forces. President P.Musharraf always took into account these factors in his policy towards Afghanistan: more than half of the Pashtun people, who constitute half of the population of Afghanistan, live in Pakistan in their historical geography, and this neighborhood and proximity, as well as religious and sectarian ties, dictate that these two states be in the same political camp. On the other hand, the warm relations of the US-backed and pro-American government of Afghanistan with India and the growing Indian influence in this country have always worried Pakistan.

On November 15, 2014, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif congratulated the newly elected Afghan President Ashraf Ghani and offered his help in inviting the Taliban to talks. Shortly thereafter, a \$5 billion trade deal was signed between the two countries over the next three years. Discussions were held regarding the construction of the Trans-Afghanistan pipeline, which would start in

Turkmenistan. However, after Pakistan completed the fencing of the 1.100-kilometer Pakistan-Afghanistan border along the Durand Line in 2016, tensions between the two sides began to rise as the centuries-old irregular movement between the divided peoples was prevented.

Currently, relations with the Taliban, which has returned to power in Afghanistan, and the established Islamic Emirate are uncertain, as no state has yet officially recognized this regime, but dialogue is ongoing at various international levels. The participation of a delegation from the Afghan Foreign Ministry (although the Minister did not attend) in the 48th session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Cooperation Council, hosted by Pakistan, in Islamabad on March 22-23, 2022, indicates the Islamic Emirate's interest in cooperation with the Islamic world.

### ***Pakistan's attitude towards the state of Israel***

Since its inception in connection with the Palestinian issue, Pakistan has not established diplomatic relations with Israel and has always accused Israel of occupying Palestinian lands. Even the passports of Pakistani citizens are stamped with the words "Valid in all countries except Israel". However, there are supporters of establishing relations with Israel among the political elite and public opinion of Pakistan. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, many thought that establishing relations with Israel could be useful in order to expand Pakistan's nuclear programs, increase its military power, and avoid being subject to US sanctions while providing them. But, then the attitude of the Arab world towards Pakistan

would change and the country could be deprived of the financial and political support of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

Despite this traditional policy of Pakistan, P.Musharraf believed that the national interests of his country required normalizing relations with this country, and knowing well that religious and political parties would resolutely oppose these relations, P.Musharraf took steps in this direction, taking into account that a number of Arab and Muslim countries had already established relations with Israel. Israel was an inseparable ally of the United States; had a strong Jewish lobby in the West, and, moreover, had warm relations with India, so it was necessary for Pakistan to establish good relations with this state and the Jewish community.

In one of his addresses to the domestic audience, P.Musharraf noted that Pakistan could reconsider its relations with Israel if Israel took a positive approach to the creation of a state in Palestine that the Palestinians considered appropriate. Meanwhile, the fact that Israel had withdrawn Jews from the Gaza Strip also greatly increased P.Musharraf's hopes. It was felt that this initiative of the President had many supporters and opponents in the country. Shortly after this, Jack Rosen, the president of the American Jewish Congress, on behalf of the Jewish community invited P.Musharraf to speak before them (Jewish community).

Despite expecting a sharp reaction from religious and political parties of the country, President Musharraf made several cautious initiatives. After the demilitarization of the Gaza Strip and the expulsion of the Jews settled there, Israeli Foreign Minister Shalom Silvan met with Pakistani

Foreign Minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri in Istanbul on September 1, 2005. The Israeli president's congratulations to Pervez Musharraf on his re-election as president were also positive messages. It should be noted that the normal relations of the Republic of Turkiye and the Republic of Azerbaijan, which Pakistan has the closest friendly and partnership relations with, as well as China and a number of other Muslim countries, with Israel also created a basis for this. P.Musharraf decided that the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan and Israel should meet in brotherly Turkiye and spoke to the Prime Minister of Turkiye in this regard. Thus, this historic meeting took place in Istanbul on September 9, 2005. On September 17, 2005, P.Musharraf spoke at the American Jewish Congress in New York. This step of the Pakistani President was positively assessed by international public opinion and did not face much resistance in Pakistan itself.

At the same time, after the recognition of Israel's right to exist in the charter of the Palestine Liberation Movement, there was no obstacle for Pakistan to accept Israel as a de facto Jewish state. It seems that the establishment of relations with Israel by some Arab countries close to Pakistan will have a corresponding impact on Pakistan's Israeli policy in the future. It should be noted that this policy was not continued during the governments after P.Musharraf.

### ***Relations with Iran***

Iran was among the first countries to recognize Pakistan after its creation in August 1947. It should be noted that the Balochistan province of Pakistan, which

constitutes more than 40 percent of Pakistan's territory, mainly inhabited by indigenous population of Baloch. The same people also live in Sistan-Baluchestan province of Iran, and there was no obstacle to mutual communication and contacts between the Baloch and other peoples living in this region before the borders between India and Iran were defined. That is, in many cases, ethnic ties have always existed, as well as religious and spiritual closeness between the two countries. The founder and first head of state of Pakistan, Qaid-e Azim Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was a supporter of establishing good relations and close cooperation with the neighboring state of Iran. At that time, the attitude towards this new neighbor state was good in Iran, and in March 1950, the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, visited Pakistan. In the summer of the same year, the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Shah of Iran signed a Treaty of Friendship between the two countries.

Relations of Pakistan with Iran were also helped by their joint participation in the military and political structures established under the auspices of the United States. During the Pakistan-India war in 1965, humanitarian aid of Iran to Pakistan, temporary suspension of fuel sales to India, and support for Pakistan in the field of fuel and medical aid significantly improved relations. Iran also provided political support and military logistical assistance to Pakistan during the Pakistan-India war in 1971.

In domestic politics, Iran supported the Pakistan state's struggle against separatist movements in the province of Balochistan, providing military and financial assistance to this country. It should be taken into account that in those

years, the Shah's Iran was considered one of the strongest states of the world in military and political terms and was in close integration and cooperation with the Western world.

In 1977, the official visit of Prime Minister of Pakistan Z.A. Bhutto to Iran also had an impact on the continuation of relations in a positive direction.

After the Shah regime was overthrown in Iran in February 1979, relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan, which, despite initially were warm between the two countries, soon adopted a Shiite political line and aimed to "export the Islamic revolution", were not always smooth.

Despite the withdrawal of Iran from CENTO and severing relations with the United States, Pakistan immediately announced its recognition of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Foreign Minister of Pakistan Agha Shahi paid an official visit to Iran in March 1979. President of Pakistan Zia-ul-Haq issued a statement praising the important role of the leader of the Iranian revolution, Ruhollah Khomeini, in the Islamic movement. Despite this attitude, Iran, which claimed leadership in the Islamic world, attempted to influence internal affairs and foreign policy of Pakistan by claiming that Shiites were being oppressed in Pakistan, so Pakistan had to conduct its Iranian policy more cautiously. Pakistan's close relations with Saudi Arabia and its support for the Taliban regime in Afghanistan were also among the reasons for the continued cold relations with Iran. Nevertheless, the two neighboring countries developed and cooperated in mutual trade and transport relations, which were important for both.



In the years following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 and the resistance movement launched against it, as well as in the processes following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the contradictions between Pakistan and Iran became even more pronounced. Pakistan, which supported the Taliban, which consisted mainly of Sunni Pashtuns, and Iran, which supported the Northern Alliance, which consisted of Shiite Afghan mujahideen (Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Hazaras), already had different positions. Although the official visit of Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto to Iran in 1995 somewhat eased the coldness in relations, serious contradictions in positions still remained. In 1997, Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif, who participated in the 8th Summit of the State Heads of the OIC countries, also took the initiative to improve bilateral relations in his meeting with President of Iran Mohammad Khatami.

In short, Pakistan-Iran relations in the last decade of the 20th century were not pleasant at all. Until 1996, the Iranian-backed government in Afghanistan was closer to India than to Pakistan. After the Taliban took power in Afghanistan in 1996, controlling 90 percent of the country and establishing a state called the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, the new government, supported by Pakistan, acted in opposition to Iran. Thus, Shiites and pro-Iranian forces were persecuted in the country. In 1998, the Shiite population in Mazar-i-Sharif subjected to persecution and pressure by Taliban forces, employees of the Iranian consulate and dozens of other Iranian citizens were ruthlessly murdered. The author of these lines, at that time a diplomat appointed as the Consul General of the

Republic of Azerbaijan in the Iranian city of Tabriz, as well as the Chargé d'Affaires of the Azerbaijani Embassy, participated at the invitation of the Iranian Foreign Ministry in the sad ceremony over the delivering of the corpses of 11 Iranian diplomats brought from Afghanistan at the Tehran airport. In those days, it was obvious how negative public opinion against Pakistan was fueled in this country. Although these inhumane activities of the Taliban government had nothing to do with Pakistan, the attitude towards Pakistan in Iran worsened even more.

During the years of P.Musharraf's rule, relations remained contradictory. P.Musharraf briefly but objectively commented on these relations in his memoirs: "Iran is our important neighbor. We have always tried to maintain close and sincere relations, but sometimes difficulties arise between us. The nuclear cold war between the US and Iran, our relations with India and our position on Afghanistan create difficulties in our bilateral relations. We must understand our sensitivities in order to develop the friendly relations that our geographical location and history have instilled in us".<sup>1</sup>

The meetings with the President and Supreme Leader of Iran during the two-day visit of the Chief of the Executive Power of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf to Tehran on December 8, 1999, the visit of the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council of Iran, Hassan Rouhani, to Pakistan in April 2001, the official visit of the President of Iran, Mohammad Khatami, to Pakistan on December 23, 2002, and the visit of the Prime Minister of

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<sup>1</sup> Müşərrəf, P., s.332.

Pakistan, Zafarullah Jamali, to Iran in 2003 were important in improving the relations between the two countries.

Pakistan-Iran relations were not considered so mild even during the time of the N.Sharif government. Iran's support for India and its sectarian policy, as a rule, continued to keep relations cold. The kidnapping of five Iranian soldiers by radical groups on the Pakistan-Iran border and their transfer to Pakistani territory also created some tension. Pakistan's support for Saudi Arabia also had an impact on relations with Iran. However, the government of Pakistan did not allow any actions against Iran despite the proposals of Saudi Arabia. On May 12, 2014, meeting of Prime Minister N.Sharif with Iran President Hassan Rouhani significantly eased this tension. An agreement was reached to jointly fight terrorism and drug smuggling.

After a suicide bomber killed 27 members of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC– Sepah-e Pasdaran) in Zahidan, Iran in 2019, Iranian officials accused Pakistan and called to hold talks and prevent cross-border terrorism. However, contacts between the relevant agencies have calmed the situation and highlighted the need for a joint, coordinated fight against terrorism.

Since 2018, the Imran Khan government has repeatedly confirmed its commitment to friendly relations with Iran. Pakistan has begun to play an active role in providing a number of supplies to the Iranian military, including fighter jets, which are under embargo.

### ***Pakistan in international and regional organizations***

Pakistan became a member of the UN immediately after its establishment and has always actively participated in the work of this organization. In 1947-1954, Pakistan did not join any political-military bloc. In the early 1950s, US Secretary of State John Foster Dallas (1888-1959) expressed the position of the US state by saying that “those who are not with us are against us”. In such circumstances, Pakistan, which was young and economically very weak, needed both a rapid army and strong allies to prevent the threats it expected from India. Pakistan’s membership in the SEATO and CENTO alliances also stemmed from this necessity. However, despite this situation, Pakistan was one of the sponsors of the Bandung Conference in 1955.

In 1964, Pakistan, Iran and Turkiye founded the organization “Regional Cooperation for Development” (RCD). This organization invited Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, which had gained independence after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, and transformed it into the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1992. Afghanistan soon became a member of this organization.

In 1969, Islamic countries, including Pakistan, established the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC, now called the Organization of Islamic Cooperation-OIC) at the first Islamic conference in Morocco. In 1974, Pakistan hosted the second conference of this organization. The conference, held in Lahore, was attended by most Islamic state heads, including Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Libyan leader Muammar

Gaddafi. Neither the Shah nor the Prime Minister of Iran attended the conference.

Pakistan has been actively involved in the work of this large organization of Muslim countries since the very beginning of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It should be noted that in the decades following World War II, a number of independent Muslim states appeared on the political map of the world, and conditions were created for the cooperation of these countries, both bilaterally and multilaterally, in an organized manner, as an organized political force. Although Muslims of the world have communities in 140 countries, approximately two-thirds of Muslim population of the world falls on the Asian continent.<sup>1</sup> Pakistan, as a country with a majority Muslim population, also played a significant role in the formation of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which all Muslim states are members. The admission of countries that gained independence after the collapse of the USSR in 1991 to the OIC and whose populations are predominantly Muslim increased the weight and influence of this organization in the international arena.

At the 48th Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) held in Islamabad on March 23, 2022 – on Pakistan Day, Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan criticized Western countries for not taking the OIC seriously, and the indifference of international law, and not helping the people of Palestine and Kashmir. He emphasized that UN Security Council resolutions were not implemented in many cases, and Islamophobia was being promoted. He

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<sup>1</sup> Politologiya. İzahlı lüğət. Bakı, “Şərq-Qərb”, 2007, s.162.

called Islamic countries for unity and close cooperation. The Prime Minister noted the importance of the participation of representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the new Afghan government in the Conference, although not at the ministerial level. He called Western countries to lift the sanctions imposed on the Taliban and not to cause a humanitarian disaster in the country.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, many of the resolutions of this organization, which currently represents 57 countries and a population of approximately 1.8 billion people, have been ignored, including numerous resolutions on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, which has been ongoing for nearly 30 years (In the fall of 2020, Azerbaijan resolved this conflict on its own). Many Muslim countries have even established close cooperation with the aggressive Republic of Armenia, which has occupied Azerbaijani lands for many years, displaced more than a million Muslim people from their homelands, devastated cities and villages, and razed to the ground Islamic and cultural historical monuments and holy places. This cooperation continues. It was noted in the conference that just as Western countries showed solidarity with occupied Ukraine, OIC members should also show solidarity with each other and impose sanctions on the aggressors. It was noted that the OIC needs serious reform. Here, collective responsibility should be increased, a joint Islamic market and an Islamic court of justice should be created, collective security should be ensured, structure and governance should be improved, and cooperation between member states in the fields of inter-ethnic relations, science, education, culture, sports,

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<sup>1</sup> The News-International-Pakistan, 24 May 2022.

and tourism should be strengthened.

One of the organizations - the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARG) that Pakistan is a member. Other members of this economic organization are Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Pakistan actively participates in the work of this organization, which was founded in 1985.

Pakistan became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) at the Havana Conference in 1979. Pakistan has also joined and participates in a number of other regional economic organizations.

## **PAKISTAN IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERROR**

Joining of Pakistan the fight against terrorism in 2001 was of great importance for the country's destiny. In previous years, Pakistan coordinated the contacts of Taliban leaders with the United States and other countries, encouraged the Taliban leadership to fulfill US demands, and at the same time called Central Asian countries to treat the Taliban with confidence. At the same time, Pakistan continued its policy of supporting the Taliban and spoke for the Taliban in international forums.

However, the incident of September 11 caused Pakistan to change its position. The US demand had to be met within 24 hours: either with the US or with the terrorists - in front of it. On September 13, P.Musharraf made the most important decision of his political life. Pakistan, with its territory and capabilities, became a battlefield for the fight against terrorism. At the same time, Pakistan began measures to neutralize groups affiliated with Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in the country. Although Pakistan insisted on handing over Bin Laden to the Taliban, this was not followed. On September 17, General Mahmud Ahmed, Director General of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan, met with Taliban leader Mullah Omar (b. 1959) in Kandahar. However, he was unable to persuade Mullah Omar to expel Bin Laden from the country. He traveled to Afghanistan a second time on September 28, along with ten prominent religious leaders, to speak with Mullah Omar, and again explained the need to expel Bin Laden from the country in order to prevent a US invasion of Afghanistan, but was again refused and returned. After that, Pakistan, on the one hand



while being part of the US coalition, on the other hand, was also trying to protect the Taliban government. Because Pakistan was interested in completely eliminating the Northern Alliance. This Alliance, called the United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan, was formed in 1996 by the exiled former president Burhanuddin Rabbani (1940-2011) and Ahmad Shah Massoud (1953-2001), known as the “Lion of Panjshir”. This organization, called the “Northern Alliance” for short, was the main opposition to the Taliban government and controlled a small area in the north of the country and fought against the Taliban.

It should be noted that P.Musharraf pursued policy to transform Pakistan into a modern Islamic state and he preferred to keep religious parties and circles out of government administration. The policy of supporting the Taliban that the country has been pursuing so far could pave the way for Pakistan itself to become Taliban. Moreover, for years, with the support or connivance of the governments before Musharraf, numerous madrasahs, mosques, various religious-sectarian groups, big religious parties and movements, which had been preparing jihadist groups in the country, were trying to rise Sharia to a dominant position in the country.

Being in the anti-terrorist coalition would certainly provide Pakistan with a huge amount of financial and political-military support, and thus Pakistan would emerge as the frontline of an international coalition, rather than a more isolated and targeted country in the face of India. Therefore, the request of US Secretary of State Colin Powell (born 1937) was promptly met with a positive response.

The US believed that Pakistan-backed Kashmiri fighters (in the US terminology, “militants”) had links with Osama bin Laden’s Al-Qaeda organization. And India its fight against the Kashmiri mujahideen tried to present to the US as a fight against terrorism, and did not hide its concern about Pakistan-US relations. At Pakistan’s request, the US demanded India not create tension on the border with Pakistan. After the Taliban government was overthrown in 2001, Pakistan was concerned about the revival and rapid expansion of India’s relations with Afghanistan. Pakistan considered the opening of several consulates by India there as a source of threat to its interests.

Of course, establishing relations with post-Taliban Afghanistan was of particular importance for Pakistan, but this was not an easy task. The Northern Alliance, which had gained dominance in the new government, did not view Pakistan, which had been an ally and supporter of the Taliban, as a friend. However, the development of Afghanistan would be difficult without using Pakistani territory and its transit opportunities, and for India, using Pakistan’s transit opportunities for close relations with Afghanistan was also beneficial.

The Musharraf government, now on the side of the US, decided to pursue a policy of supporting the new head of the Afghan government, Hamid Karzai (b. 1957), and preferred neighborly relations with President H.Karzai (2001-2014). Due to anti-terrorist activities along the Durand Line with Afghanistan and security measures supporting the Afghan government trust was gained between the two countries.

In particular, the Pakistani government’s anti-terrorist

activities in Waziristan, a province bordering Afghanistan, and the capture and extradition of more than 800 Al-Qaeda members to the United States played an important role in improving mutual relations, and of course, this also provided Pakistan with significant financial opportunities.

It should be noted that the Pakistani army and border forces have never been present in this area, officially called the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), which was mainly governed by traditional rules, and Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants could easily find refuge in this region. Even after the crushing US strikes on the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, the possibility of militants hiding in Pakistani territory was always on the US agenda. The destruction of Osama bin Ladens house in Abbottabad, where the Military Academy of the Pakistani Armed Forces is located, by a US special forces unit on May 2, 2011, confirmed that this possibility was not unfounded.

Pakistan's policy of normalizing relations with the new Afghan government confirmed the correctness of the decision made by the Musharraf government in 2001, thereby the trust and financial support of the United States was achieved, relations with the new Afghan government in line with interests of Pakistan was established significantly easing tensions with India.

The Taliban's return to power in Afghanistan on August 15, 2021, and the departure of President A.Ghani from the country, indicate that Pakistan-Afghanistan relations will not be smooth from now on. The forces led by the transitional government abolished all previous government institutions and became the owners of the country they called the Islamic Emirate. Four of the ministers holding key positions in the leadership were

individuals released from the US Guantanamo Bay prison in 2014, who had always been hostile to the US and its cooperating countries. The US government has now exchanged the four people holding responsible positions with Bergdahl, a US Army officer who was taken hostage by the Haqqani network, which cooperated with the Taliban and Al-Qaeda and was more active in Pakistan.

However, it is likely that the new Afghan government will give priority to Pakistan and other neighboring Muslim states in its foreign policy, rather than India. For the present, only signs of this are visible, because this regime, which does not comply with international law and universally accepted human rights, is not recognized by any state until 2022. Policy of the regime towards residents of various ethnic and sectarian backgrounds, who constitute about half of the country's population, creates instability within the country and calls into question the prospects for successful state-building .

## **ON POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN**

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was among the first countries to recognize the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan on December 12, 1991. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established on June 9, 1992, and the Pakistani embassy in Azerbaijan was opened on March 12, 1993.<sup>1</sup>

In December 1991, an official delegation headed by Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali, Secretary of State for Economic Affairs of Pakistan, visited Baku for the first time and during the visit the issue of our country's admission to the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) was discussed. On April 30, 1993, under the chairmanship of Pakistan, the first UN Security Council Resolution 822 was adopted, demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian armed forces from the occupied Azerbaijani territories. Since then, Pakistan has always unequivocally supported rightful position of Azerbaijan on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue in all regional and international forums. Pakistan has also repeatedly provided humanitarian assistance to people who have become refugees from their native lands and homes as a result of the occupation by the Armenian armed forces.

After being elected President of the Republic of Azerbaijan in October 1993, the Great leader of the Azerbaijani people, Heydar Aliyev, attached special

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<sup>1</sup> Qasımlı Musa. Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasəti (1991-2003). Bakı, "Mütərcim", s.257.

importance to the development of friendly relations with Pakistan in the foreign policy of our country. On January 24, 1994, President Heydar Aliyev received the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sardar Asif Ahmed, who was on an official visit to Azerbaijan, emphasized the need to further expand all round relations between our countries, and invited the Pakistan President to an official visit to Azerbaijan.

In March of the same year, President Heydar Aliyev sent Foreign Minister Hasan Hasanov as his personal representative to the Second Summit of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) held in Pakistan.

President Heydar Aliyev met with Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto during his participation at the international conference on “World Population and Development” held in Cairo on September 4-6, 1994. At a press conference held on September 6, Heydar Aliyev highly appreciated this meeting and said: “Today, I had a very important meeting and conversation with Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto. We discussed ways to develop friendly relations between our countries, and we agreed on this. Pakistan, as a country, as a state, has always shown a positive attitude towards our country since Azerbaijan gained independence. Therefore, a good basis has been created for the further development of our relations with Pakistan”.<sup>1</sup>

On October 9-11, 1995, the President of Pakistan, Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, paid an official visit to Azerbaijan. This first high-level visit was of great

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<sup>1</sup> Heydər Əliyev. “Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir”. 2-ci kitab, Bakı, “Azərənəşr”, 1997, s.131.

importance in terms of the development of strong friendly relations between our countries. President Heydar Aliyev and President Ahmed Khan Leghari signed a Cooperation Agreement, which determined the further direction of mutual relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The official visit of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev to Pakistan on April 9-11, 1996 had a significant impact on the expansion of bilateral and multilateral relations between our countries; meetings and negotiations with President F.A. Legari and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto played an exceptional role in determining new perspectives for cooperation between our countries.

On March 23, 1997, in the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad, at the Extraordinary Summit of the State and Government Heads of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC, now called the Organization of Islamic Cooperation), dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the country's independence, our country was represented by the Chairman of the Milli Majlis of Azerbaijan, Murtuz Alasgarov. Since then, relations between the parliaments of our countries have also developed on an ever-growing path.

On April 28, 1999, the Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif visited our country for a few hours en route and met with Prime Minister of Azerbaijan Artur Rasizadeh at Bina Airport. In May of the same year, Foreign Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Siddiq Khan Kanju paid a working visit to our country.

It should be noted that in order to make the relations between the two countries more meaningful and business-like, the Azerbaijan-Pakistan Joint Intergovernmental

Commission was established by the decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated May 17, 2001, and the First Deputy Prime Minister Yagub Eyyubov was appointed as the chairman of the commission by Azerbaijan. The Pakistani side also took reciprocal steps. Thus, since that time, the Intergovernmental Joint Commission has been continuing its effective activities. Issues related to almost all areas of cooperation are discussed at the meetings of this body held from time to time, relevant decisions are made and implemented. The Intergovernmental Joint Commission continues its work consistently.

On June 9-10, 2000, during the OIC Summit in Tehran, a separate meeting was held between President Heydar Aliyev and the Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf. It was at this meeting that the directions of military cooperation between our countries were discussed, after which intensive mutual visits of high-ranking officials in this field began to take place. On April 15, 2002, a Protocol on cooperation in the defense and military fields was signed between the Defense Ministries of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and in September of the same year, an Agreement on Cooperation in the defense and military fields was signed between the governments of the two countries, and this cooperation continues successfully.

The meeting between President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev and President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf at the Summit of Heads of State of ECO countries held in Istanbul on October 13-14, 2002 further strengthened mutual relations.



President İlham Aliyev, who has been paying attention to the Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations, the solid and reliable foundation of which was laid by President Heydar Aliyev, from the first day of his leadership in the country, began to implement a consistent policy to raise these relations to a higher level. In his congratulatory letter to Pervez Musharraf on his election as President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on January 2, 2004, President İlham Aliyev expressed his confidence that the strong friendly and cooperative relations between our countries, based on mutual trust and support, will continue to develop and expand in accordance with the will of our peoples.<sup>1</sup>

On June 8, 2004, the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf visited Azerbaijan. During the meeting, the President of Pakistan expressed his gratitude to the President of Azerbaijan for supporting Pakistan's position on the Kashmir issue and emphasized: "I would like to state that Pakistan will always stand with the people of Azerbaijan. It will support the legitimate demand and position of your people on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue".<sup>2</sup>

Pervez Musharraf stated that our countries have many common interests in the field of defense and practical cooperation will be ensured in this area. The upcoming tasks of our countries were reflected in the signed Joint Declaration, cooperation agreements in the fields of customs, tourism, combating international terrorism and illegal drug trafficking.

President Pervez Musharraf said in a statement to the

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 2-ci kitab, s.193.

<sup>2</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 5-ci kitab, s.126.

press: “The occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh and its adjacent regions by the Armenian armed forces is a matter of concern for every ordinary Pakistani. Today, I would like to pledge to the President of Azerbaijan that we will always support the territorial integrity and just position of Azerbaijan in this conflict”.<sup>1</sup>

On April 5, 2005, the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan İlham Aliyev gave an interview to Zahid Malik, Editor-in-Chief of the “Pakistan Observer” newspaper, in connection with his upcoming visit to Pakistan. The interview emphasized the importance of mutual relations between our countries and the need for their further development.

On April 12, 2005, the official visit of Azerbaijani President İlham Aliyev to Pakistan opened a new page in relations between the two countries. On that day, the Presidents of Azerbaijan and Pakistan met first in private and then in a representative meeting with the participation of their delegations, and held discussions on bilateral and multilateral relations. The President of Pakistan stated in an address to the President of Azerbaijan: “We have categorically condemned Armenia’s military aggression against Azerbaijan and will remain faithful to this position in the future, and we will always support the demand for ensuring the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan”.<sup>2</sup> Political, economic, defense, tourism and humanitarian relations were discussed at the meeting.

In his statement to the press, President İlham Aliyev emphasized that since Azerbaijan declared its

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 5-ci kitab, p.131.

<sup>2</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 9-cu kitab, s.134.

independence, we have always felt the support of Pakistan. Pakistan was one of the first states to recognize us as an independent country. Since then, relations between the two countries have developed very successfully. We support each other on issues important to our countries. Azerbaijan has always supported and will support Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. At the same time, we are grateful to Pakistan for its constant support for Azerbaijan's position in the Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict".<sup>1</sup>

At a banquet hosted by the President of Pakistan in honor of the President of Azerbaijan that day, where Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf participated, emphasized: "We have common cultural values, our aspirations and feelings are the same. There are many common criteria in our language and literature. There are thousands of common words that we use in conversation. Azerbaijani poets, from Nizami Ganjavi to Sahib Tabrizi, are read with interest in Pakistan... Our hearts beat as one. We are close to each other in all areas".<sup>2</sup>

During the visit, President of Azerbaijan İlham Aliyev attended the exhibition of the Military Export Assistance Organization under the Ministry of Defense of Pakistan, met with Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, and signed intergovernmental documents on April 13. Agreements in the fields of culture, education, communications and information technologies, finance, a memorandum of cooperation in the field of transport, and a protocol on cooperation between aviation organizations were signed.

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 9-cu kitab, s.138.

<sup>2</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 9-cu kitab, s.143.

President of Azerbaijan İlham Aliyev and Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Shavkat Aziz made a statement to the press. On the same day, President İlham Aliyev gave an interview to Pakistan television. The President answered questions on political, economic, international issues, the fight against terrorism, the Nagorno-Karabakh and Kashmir issues, etc. On the same day, President İlham Aliyev visited the Azerbaijani embassy. Ambassador Eynulla Madatli introduced the members of the Pakistan Azerbaijan Friendship Society and a group of our citizens studying and taking courses in Pakistan to the President. He planted a tree next to the tree planted by Great leader Heydar Aliyev in 1996 in the “Shekarparian” park in Islamabad, visited the famous Faisal Mosque and returned his homeland.<sup>1</sup>

On May 4, 2006, President İlham Aliyev met with Prime Minister of Pakistan Shaukat Aziz. Views on regional cooperation, security, economic cooperation, and the situation in the region were exchanged at the meeting.

On July 8, 2008, the President of Azerbaijan received a delegation led by the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Pakistan Senate, Mushahid Hussain Saeed. Mushahid Hussain stated that the expansion of inter-parliamentary cooperation between our countries contributes to the further development of our bilateral relations.<sup>2</sup>

On May 19, 2009, the visit of the Federal Minister for Defense Industries of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Abdul Qayyum Khan Jatoy to Azerbaijan, his meeting

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 9-cu kitab, s.169.

<sup>2</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 31-ci kitab, s.190.

with his Azerbaijani colleagues and his reception by President Ilham Aliyev gave impetus to the further development of cooperation in the field of defense.

On April 22, 2010, President Ilham Aliyev received the Secretary of Defense of Pakistan, Saeed Athar Ali, who was visiting Azerbaijan.

On January 26, 2011, President Ilham Aliyev met with the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Yusuf Raza Gilani in Davos. Y.Gilani congratulated President Ilham Aliyev on the election of Azerbaijan as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. On February 29, 2012, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of Pakistan, Khalid Shamim Wai, paid a visit to Azerbaijan and was received by President Ilham Aliyev.

On October 16, 2012, President Ilham Aliyev met with President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari, who was attending the 12th Summit of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) held in Baku. The President of Pakistan expressed satisfaction with the constant development of relations between our countries, emphasized the existence of broad opportunities for cooperation in agriculture, banking and a number of other areas, and noted that the implementation of joint projects would be important.

On October 10, 2013, President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Deputy Chairman of the Senate of Pakistan, Sabir Ali Baloch. S.A.Baloch noted that they witnessed the elections in Azerbaijan being held in free, democratic and transparent conditions and congratulated Mr. Ilham Aliyev on his confident victory in the elections.

On March 11, 2015, President of Pakistan Mamnoon Hussain visited Azerbaijan. During the meeting, President

Ilham Aliyev said: “We have a very high level of cooperation. The basis of this cooperation is the brotherly relations between our peoples”.<sup>1</sup>

President M.Hussain, emphasizing that our countries support each other in international political issues, on the issue of Kashmir and Nagorno-Karabakh, declared that we condemn a number of acts of violence committed against the Azerbaijani people by some “neighbors”. We strongly condemn the Khojaly massacre. I assure you that we are with you in every difficult or good issue.<sup>2</sup> After the meeting and discussions, the “Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan” signed by the Presidents revealed a new, higher level of mutual relations between our countries. Documents on the transfer of prisoners and the cooperation program between ADA University and the Pakistan Foreign Service Academy were also signed.

Characterizing the Joint Declaration, President Ilham Aliyev stated in a press release that “this document covers almost all areas of our cooperation and is an important stage in the further development of our strategic relations. We are friends, brothers, and will continue our strategic partnership and cooperation for the sake of our peoples, our countries, as well as regional security and stability”.<sup>3</sup>

On May 3, 2015, President Ilham Aliyev received Pakistan’s Minister of Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics and Privatization, Muhammad Ishaq

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 67-ci kitab, s.240.

<sup>2</sup> Yenə orada, s.241.

<sup>3</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 67-ci kitab, s.243.

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On January 14, 2016, the Commander of the Pakistani Navy, Admiral Muhammad Zakaullah, paid a visit to Azerbaijan, and President Ilham Aliyev received him. During the meeting, it was emphasized that our countries are close partners and allies, and our peoples have a brotherly relationship with each other. Stating the importance of expanding relations between our countries in all areas, including the military field, President Ilham Aliyev expressed his hope that cooperation in this area would serve to further strengthen our bilateral relations.

On January 21, 2016, President Ilham Aliyev met with Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif in Davos. During the conversation, President Ilham Aliyev emphasized that Pakistan is one of our closest allies in the world and we want to further strengthen our partnership. At the same time, President Ilham Aliyev, noting the importance of raising our economic relations, which are also very strong, to the level of political cooperation, spoke about the opportunities and prospects for cooperation between our countries in the fields of energy, transport, investment, and security.<sup>1</sup>

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif noted that he met with Great leader Heydar Aliyev during his visit to Pakistan and remembered him with respect, and said that President Ilham Aliyev successfully continued Heydar Aliyev's policy and turned Azerbaijan into a powerful country on a global scale. President Ilham Aliyev highly appreciated fair and decisive position of Pakistan in resolving the Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict within

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 72-ci kitab, s.146.

the framework of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

On March 1, 2016, President Ilham Aliyev received General Rashad Mahmud, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. On September 26 of the same year, the Minister of Defense Industries of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Rana Tanvir Hussain, visited Azerbaijan to participate in the International Defense Products Exhibition. During his meeting with his Azerbaijani counterpart, a wide range of cooperation between our countries in the field of defense industry was discussed. Receiving the minister, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev noted the importance of political support between our countries for each other and emphasized that Pakistan is one of the closest and greatest friendly countries in the world for our country.

Expressing his satisfaction with participation of Azerbaijan in the International Defense Exhibition, the Minister invited President Ilham Aliyev on behalf of Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, to visit Pakistan.

The official visit of Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif to Azerbaijan on October 14, 2016 was of particular importance. At the meeting, President Ilham Aliyev emphasized that “we should develop our economic cooperation, cooperation in the field of investment, mutual trade exchange, pay great attention to humanitarian issues, and conduct very broad and effective cooperation. We support each other on all international issues. Azerbaijan always supports Pakistan on issues related to Kashmir. Pakistan also always supports Azerbaijan on issues related to the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. We are together in all international organizations”.



President İlham Aliyev emphasized during the Joint Statement with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif: “We are very grateful to Pakistan for not recognizing Armenia for occupying Azerbaijani lands, and for not establishing diplomatic relations with Armenia. This is an indicator of brotherhood. The Azerbaijani people highly appreciate this brotherly approach. We are also grateful that in 2012, the Senate of Pakistan officially recognized the Khojaly genocide. This is another indicator of friendship and partnership. That is why the people of Azerbaijan love your country. We are very grateful for this support and, for our part, we always support you in every issue.”<sup>1</sup>

Expanding on the idea expressed at the meeting that “Development and success of Azerbaijan are a source of pride for all Muslim countries and an example of governance for many developing countries”, Nawaz Sharif said in his statement that the commendable economic development and social progress achieved by Azerbaijan under the wise leadership of President İlham Aliyev are being watched with great admiration in Pakistan. Pakistan and Azerbaijan have always had similar views, and after this meeting with President İlham Aliyev, I was satisfied that our ideals coincide”.<sup>2</sup>

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressing the President of Azerbaijan said: “Mr. President, I must say that the people of Pakistan highly appreciate the foresight of your great father, the late President Heydar Aliyev, the progress and development of brotherly Azerbaijan, and your wise

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 76-cı kitab, s.226.

<sup>2</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 76-cı kitab, s.229.

and able leadership”.<sup>1</sup>

In his statement to the press, President Ilham Aliyev emphasized that Pakistan is one of our closest friends and allies, one of the first three countries to recognize our independence, and at that time Prime Minister was Nawaz Sharif... The President also noted with gratitude the recognition of the Khojaly genocide by the Pakistani Senate in 2012, and expressed the great potential of our cooperation in many areas of the defense industry and economy.

On December 5, 2016, Commerce/Trade Minister of Pakistan Khurram Dastgir Khan visited Azerbaijan. During President Ilham Aliyev's meeting with the minister, the importance of expanding energy and trade relations between our countries, as well as cooperation in the fields of agriculture, pharmaceuticals and textile industries was noted.

On January 26, 2017, the newly appointed Ambassador of Pakistan to Azerbaijan, Saeed Khan Momin, presented his credentials to the President of Azerbaijan.

On February 28, 2017, the visit of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to participate in the work of the OIC Summit opened a new page in the development of mutual relations. On that day, President Ilham Aliyev met with Mamnoon Hussain and Prime Minister N.Sharif. The main directions of cooperation between our countries in the political, economic, and defense spheres were discussed at the meetings. Satisfaction was expressed with mutual support in international frameworks on the Nagorno-

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 76-cı kitab, p.229.

Karabakh and Kashmir issues. In the discussions with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, specific projects and proposals of our countries in the defense and defense industry were of great importance; agreements were reached on the import of high-tech military products of Pakistan to Azerbaijan. The necessity of increasing trade turnover and exports of products of Azerbaijani companies to Pakistan was noted. Also, ways to further expand humanitarian and cultural ties were discussed.<sup>1</sup>

During the meetings, Pakistan's hosting of the 13th Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) Summit was appreciated, and views were exchanged on further strengthening mutual relations.

The President of Azerbaijan, who made the first speech at the Summit on March 1, noted that Azerbaijan attaches great importance to cooperation within the OIC. Azerbaijan hosted the Summit in 2006 and 2012, announced that 2017 had been declared the "Year of Islamic Solidarity" in Azerbaijan, and that Azerbaijan would host the 4th Islamic Solidarity Games in two months. He emphasized that Azerbaijan is an initiator and active participant in major projects within the OIC. President İlham Aliyev said: "Azerbaijan has presented a new energy strategy and a new vision of energy cooperation. Azerbaijan has become an important partner in ensuring the energy security of the wider region. We have created a diversified pipeline infrastructure that will connect the Caspian, Black and Mediterranean Seas... This strengthens cooperation and friendship between these

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 78-ci kitab, s.334.

countries”.<sup>1</sup> On November 30, 2017, President İlham Aliyev received Pakistani Foreign Minister Kh. Muhammad Asif, who was on visit to Baku. Along with bilateral relations, issues of trilateral cooperation between Azerbaijan-Türkiye-Pakistan were also discussed. The head of state emphasized that Pakistan is one of our closest allies and friends. Political, economic and military cooperation between Azerbaijan and Pakistan is developing at the level of close allies. President İlham Aliyev emphasized that cooperation in the Azerbaijan-Türkiye-Pakistan trilateral format will serve to further strengthen our relations in various fields. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan also expressed his confidence that this format will serve to strengthen stability, regional and international security.<sup>2</sup>

On June 25, 2018, President of Azerbaijan İlham Aliyev received the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of Pakistan, General Zubair Mahmud Hayat, who arrived in our country for a visit. President İlham Aliyev expressed his satisfaction with the arrival of such a high-ranking delegation from brotherly Pakistan to our country to participate in the military parade dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Azerbaijani Armed Forces. He stated that “Azerbaijan is interested in further expanding military cooperation with Pakistan and purchasing more military equipment from Pakistan. The joint military exercises of our countries also serve this purpose”.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 77-ci kitab, s.342.

<sup>2</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 84-cü kitab kitab, s.43.

<sup>3</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 87 k, s.310.

On October 26, 2019, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan İlham Aliyev met with President of Pakistan Arif Alvi, who was participating in the 18th Summit of State and Government Heads of the Non-Aligned Movement. Arif Alvi wished the President of Azerbaijan success in leading the “Non-Aligned Movement” for the next 3 years and wished for further expansion of cooperation with the brotherly country of Azerbaijan. The Presidents emphasized the importance of the role of the “Non-Aligned Movement” in the international arena. The President of Pakistan noted the need to further develop cooperation between our countries in trade, economy, education, healthcare and other areas, and at the same time expressed his country’s interest in cooperation with Azerbaijan in the energy sector. Addressing Azerbaijani President A.Alvi said: “I would like to propose to consider the possibility of establishing an oil refinery in Gwadar”.<sup>1</sup>

On May 7, 2020, President of Azerbaijan İlham Aliyev spoke by phone with President of Pakistan Arif Alvi. Pakistani President expressed his congratulations on the recent holding of a video conference of the “Non-Aligned Movement” dedicated to the fight against coronavirus, initiated by İlham Aliyev. Touching upon the trilateral format of Pakistan-Azerbaijan-Türkiye, President İlham Aliyev expressed his confidence that this cooperation would serve to further strengthen our relations in various fields.

On July 21, 2021, the Commander of the Pakistan Army, General Qamar Javid, was received by President İlham Aliyev during his visit to our country. Congratulating the President of Azerbaijan on the

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<sup>1</sup> İlham Əliyev. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir. 78-ci kitab, s.334.

liberation of our lands from the Armenian occupation, General Javid expressed his confidence that the cooperation between our countries in the defense sector, as in all other areas, will continue to develop effectively.

During the meeting of the Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan, Asad Qaisar, who was visiting Azerbaijan on July 27, 2021, with President Ilham Aliyev, confidence was expressed that, besides the inter-parliamentary relations, our countries and peoples will always stand by each other and support each other in international forums.

On November 30, 2021, the Minister of Defense Industries of Pakistan, Co-Chair of the Pakistan-Azerbaijan Joint Commission, Mrs. Zubeida Jalal, paid a visit to Azerbaijan. President Ilham Aliyev received her. Issues of mutual interest in the field of defense were discussed and the importance of further expanding cooperation in this direction was emphasized.

The visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Colonel General Zakir Hasanov to Pakistan on March 21, 2022, and his reception by Prime Minister Imran Khan was another step in the further expansion of cooperation in military area between our countries. This visit, which took place at the invitation of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Pakistani Armed Forces, General Nadeem Raza, also included the participation of the Azerbaijani Defense Minister as a guest of honor in the military parade to be held on the occasion of National Day of Pakistan.

On the same day, Azerbaijani Deputy Foreign Minister Elnur Mammadov also paid a working visit to Pakistan. The Deputy Minister, who participated in the 48th meeting

of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, met with Pakistani Minister of Defense Production and Chairperson of the Pakistan-Azerbaijan Intergovernmental Joint Commission, Mrs. Zubeida Jalal, and discussed current and prospective cooperation in the field of production of defense product between our countries.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev highly appreciated the brotherly relations between our countries in his congratulatory letter to Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan on the occasion of March 23 - Pakistan Day. Congratulating the Prime Minister and the brotherly people of Pakistan in his letter, the President emphasized: “We are pleased with the current state of Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations, which stem from the common historical and religious roots of our brotherly peoples and have risen to the level of strategic partnership. We attach great importance to the development of our relations built on mutual trust. I would like to specially note the support our countries have shown to each other within the framework of international organizations”.<sup>1</sup> President Ilham Aliyev emphasized the importance of the principled position demonstrated by the Pakistani state, especially during the Patriotic War (September 27-November 10, 2020), and the political and moral support it provided to the just cause of our country, and expressed that the Azerbaijani people highly appreciate it. The President also expressed his desire to see Pakistani companies participate in the large-scale reconstruction and restoration work being carried out in our liberated regions.

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<sup>1</sup> “Azərbaycan” qəzeti, 22 mart 2020-ci il.

On April 14, 2022, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev sent a congratulatory letter to the newly elected Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Shahbaz Sharif, where he emphasized: “The current level of Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations, which is at the level of strong friendship and brotherhood, strategic partnership, is gratifying. I believe that our bilateral and multilateral cooperation will continue to develop and expand in accordance with the interests of our peoples”.<sup>1</sup>

The meeting of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and the Prime Minister of Pakistan Shahbaz Sharif at the Summit of the Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in Samarkand, Uzbekistan on September 16, 2022, became a new page in the further strengthening of mutual friendship and brotherly relations between our countries. During the meeting, the President of Azerbaijan highly appreciated political support of Pakistan for our country by not establishing diplomatic relations with the aggressor Republic of Armenia, solidarity with Azerbaijan in the Patriotic War, the fruitful cooperation of our countries in the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and especially emphasized the importance of cooperation between Azerbaijan, Pakistan and Turkiye in the trilateral format. President Ilham Aliyev stated that our country has always supported Pakistan’s position on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and has been closely participating in the Contact Group on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir within the framework of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. Issues such as

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<sup>1</sup> president.az Məktublar, 14 aprel 2022



transportation, infrastructure, agriculture, energy, investment promotion, and expansion of trade and economic cooperation between the two brotherly countries were discussed at the meeting.

Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif expressed his condolences to our citizens who were martyred in the Patriotic War and wished recovery to our veterans. Characterizing the mutual relations between our countries and peoples, the Prime Minister said: “Pakistan and Azerbaijan are two hearts in one body. There are brotherly and friendly relations between Azerbaijan and Pakistan. We have resolutely supported the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, and we will continue to support it”. (*news.day.az September 16, 2022*) Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif noted with satisfaction that Azerbaijan has always been at Pakistan’s side, especially during the recent floods that caused a great disaster - loss of life and destruction.

President Ilham Aliyev met with Prime Minister of Pakistan Shahbaz Sharif on September 16, 2022, in Samarkand, Uzbekistan. During the meeting, the Azerbaijani President highly appreciated Pakistan’s support in the Patriotic War waged by Azerbaijan to liberate its territories occupied by Armenia. He emphasized that Pakistan is one of the three countries that has not established diplomatic relations with the aggressor Armenian state, and this is highly appreciated by our people. The President noted our close cooperation within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). He emphasized the importance of cooperation between Azerbaijan, Pakistan and Turkiye in a trilateral format. The Prime

Minister of Pakistan expressed his condolences to our Azerbaijani martyrs who died while preventing provocations committed by Armenia on the Azerbaijani border, and especially emphasized the assistance provided by Azerbaijan during the floods in Pakistan in recent years.

Shahbaz Sharif said: “Pakistan and Azerbaijan are two hearts in one body. There are brotherly and friendly relations between Azerbaijan and Pakistan. We have resolutely supported the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and will continue to support it”.

During the conversation, discussions were held on transport, logistics, agriculture, energy, investment promotion, and expansion of economic and trade relations between our countries.

On October 10, 2022, President Ilham Aliyev met with Prime Minister of Pakistan Shahbaz Sharif in Astana. Obviously, that intensive relations and contacts between our countries in various fields and levels have rapidly expanded in recent years. Cooperation, along with the bilateral framework, has risen to a qualitatively higher level in the trilateral format: Azerbaijan-Pakistan-Turkiye. All of these are historical events in the relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and commendable activities that serve to further strengthen the friendship and brotherhood of our countries in the coming years.

The strong line of friendship and cooperation pursued by the Great leader Heydar Aliyev and President Ilham Aliyev towards Pakistan for many years is still bearing fruit today and we believe that it will always be so in the future.

## ARTICLES

### THE KASHMIR ISSUE: ITS HISTORICAL ROOTS AND CURRENT SITUATION

*The beautiful and modern school building built by the Heydar Aliyev Foundation on the site of a school that was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 2005, in the Rara settlement of the Azad Kashmir part of Kashmir, which is under the protection of Pakistan, nestled in the high mountains, a region with a fascinating and unique nature, kind and friendly people, and at the same time facing difficult trials at different periods of history, attracts attention of everyone. This school, where four hundred girl students studied, which was built in a short time at the initiative of the President of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador Mehriban Aliyeva, is located a long way from the capital of Azad Kashmir, Muzaffarabad, in a very beautiful valley, at the foot of the mountain, and the grateful residents/inhabitants of this place always express their gratitude for this school, which was the first to be put into use in the earthquake zone. In this earthquake, which took more than seventy thousand lives, the people of Kashmir also sacrificed thousands, but the unconditional brotherly help of friendly countries was a balm to the wounds of Kashmiris, as well as all Pakistanis. Unfortunately, these days are experiencing exciting moments both in Azad Kashmir and in Indian-controlled Jammu and Kashmir. The current political and military tension between India and Pakistan over Kashmir worries everyone: will a peaceful path be found, or will another war flare up in the region?*

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On August 5, 2019, Indian President Ram Nath Kovind approved the government-forwarded and parliament-passed resolution to revoke the special status of Jammu and Kashmir. This further exacerbated the Kashmir issue, which has been ongoing since 1947, has brought suffering and deprivation to the Kashmiri people, and has also led to several bloody wars between India and Pakistan. The course of events suggests that this time the parties may face a more serious threat. This decision by India was an unprecedented and unexpected step, and it is somewhat difficult to predict what will happen next. The Pakistani government has already appealed to the UN, and the People's Republic of China, which has always shown its political support to Pakistan, has brought the Kashmir issue to a closed-door discussion at the UN Security Council. During the discussions, concerns were expressed about human rights violations by India.

Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan strongly condemned this step of India in his speech in the parliament, and at the same time stated that they are aware of India's provocative plans against Azad Kashmir, which is under the control of Pakistan, and in this regard, appropriate retaliatory measures will be taken against India. The danger of the current situation is that the military clash between these two nuclear powers can expand at any time and lead to a nuclear confrontation, which can cause a serious disaster in a very wide region as a whole.

Undoubtedly, the creation of two independent states, India and Pakistan, in the Indian subcontinent in August 1947 was a historical necessity and should be considered

one of the most important events of the 20th century after World War II. Although the mechanical division based on religious affiliation led to the loss of tens of thousands of lives and the displacement of millions of people from their ancestral lands and deprivation, tens of millions of Muslim residents of the subcontinent gained an independent state. Although the subcontinent, which had been under Muslim, especially Turkish rule for over a thousand years, became a British colony in the mid-19th century, Great Britain had to reckon with the desire of Indians and Muslims to establish their own independent states. It should be noted that Great Britain could have decided the fate of Kashmir definitively in 1947, just like India and Pakistan, and the opportunities and circumstances of that time did not create any obstacles for this. However, the indefinite suspension of the Kashmir issue in the midst of various options became a sticking point in Kashmir-India relations, and even more so in Pakistan-India relations, in the following years.

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Kashmir is located in the upper reaches of the Indus River, mainly in and around the Kashmir Valley. The majority of the population is Kashmiri. The first state structures appeared here in the 7th century AD, and this territory was ruled by Indian rajas. As the power here grew stronger, the Kashmiris also controlled some areas on the right bank of the Indus River and in Punjab. In 1015 and 1021, Sultan Mahmud the ruler of Ghaznavid Empire (998-1030) attempted to conquer Kashmir, but he failed. It should be noted that in 1151-1186, the capital of the Ghaznavid Empire was Lahore, which is now the second largest city and main political and cultural center

of Pakistan. During the reign of the dynasty founded by Shah Mirza Swati (1335-1346) in 1335, the vast majority of Kashmiris converted to Islam. It should be noted that even during the reign of Caliph Walid (705-715), the Arab commander Muhammad Bin-Qasim captured Sindh and Multan in 711-712, and since then Islam has been spreading in the Indian subcontinent, in the territory of present-day Pakistan and in several parts of India. Today, India is the second most populous country in the world, and is home up to three hundred million Muslims.

In 1586, the Great Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) conquered Kashmir and incorporated it into the great Turkish empire of the 16th century (1525-1858), and Kashmir was under Turkish-Muslim rule for 166 years. It should be noted that the Great Mughal Empire, founded in Delhi in 1525 by Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur (1526-1530), was the third great Turkish empire in the East, along with the Ottoman and Safavid empires. Z.Babur, who was removed from rule in his native Fergana by his compatriots and ruled Kabul since 1506, managed to consolidate his power here with the support of Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavid state of Azerbaijan. Later, when his son Humayun (1530-1540; 1555-1556) was dethroned by his opponent, the Afghan Sher Shah Sur, after a ten-year reign, he also took refuge in the Safavid palace in Tabriz, and for many years received the same support and kindness from Shah Tahmasib I. After protecting Humayun in Tabriz for long years, Shah Tahmasib I equipped him with a 12.000-strong Qizilbash army and sent him to Delhi to reclaim his throne. The Qizilbash army, consisting mainly of Azerbaijani Turks under the command of Budag Bey Qajar, restored

Humayun to the throne in 1555, and as a result, the Mughal Empire founded by Babur was able to continue. It should be noted that a certain part of the Azerbaijani Qizilbash warriors remained in the service of Humayun, and later his son Akbar Shah, and settled there. The fact that there are many people with the surname Qizilbash in Pakistan today is also related to this. After the death of Nadir Shah (1747), when one of his generals, the Afghan Ahmad Khan Abdal, founded a dynasty called the “Durrani” and created the Afghan state, Kashmir came under the rule of this dynasty. When the British occupation of the region began, Kashmir was first subordinate to the ruler of Punjab, Ranjit Singh, and in 1849-1947 it was made a vassal principality of British India.

Kashmiri (Koshur) is spoken in Kashmir, a language belonging to the Dardic subgroup of the Indo-European languages, one of the 15 official languages of India and a means of communication for more than 5-6 million people. Although Urdu, which is widespread in India and Pakistan, has had a significant impact on the development and vocabulary of this language, it is a separate language. It should be taken into consideration that Urdu is the national (state) language of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, while the official language is English. Hundreds of millions of people in India also speak Urdu. This language differs very little from “Hindi”, except that its alphabet is completely different from the Urdu alphabet in Pakistan: so, in India the alphabet is Sanskrit, and in Pakistan it is an adapted Arabic alphabet.

At the time of the partition of India, the vast majority of population of Kashmir was Muslim, with Sunnis and Shiites living side by side. For geographical, religious, and

cultural reasons, it made natural sense for the region to join Pakistan, but being the region's important water resources and the strategic location of the Kashmir Valley made it attractive to India, and the then ruler of Kashmir, the Maharaja (a title given to local Hindu nobles and officials for special and long-term service to the British throne, and equivalent to the title of "nawab" given to Muslim nobles and officials - E.M.), was also ethnically Hindu. Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, was also originally from Kashmir and he wanted to merge Kashmir with India as a state with special rights.

The Kashmir issue arose in 1947 when British India was partitioned into the Indian Union and Pakistan. The Indian Independence Act gave the Kashmiri government, which was 90% Muslim and ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh, the choice of joining India or Pakistan or remaining a British vassal state. The issue was to be decided by a plebiscite. However, the Maharaja was unwilling to relinquish his traditional rule, which led to a Muslim uprising. The Maharaja appealed to the Indian government for help and expressed his willingness to join the Indian Union. When this situation arose, Pashtun troops (*lashkars*) from Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) moved to help the Kashmiri Muslims. On October 26, 1947, the Indian administration of Kashmir signed an official agreement confirming the unification of Kashmir to India. This led to a popular uprising in Kashmir, as well as the first armed conflict between Pakistan and India. On October 24, 1947, Muslim fighters in the western regions of Kashmir, led by Sardar Ibrahim, seized control of these regions and called them Azad Kashmir. When the other regions of Kashmir, the



Jammu and Kashmir Valley and Ladakh, came under full control of India, Azad Kashmir appealed to Pakistan. At this time, Gilgit, in the north of Kashmir, also appealed to Pakistan on November 1, 1947, and soon all the northern territories came under the control and protection of Pakistan.

Obviously that the situation could not satisfy Pakistan: therefore, Pakistan managed to put the Kashmir issue on the agenda of the UN General Assembly, and the UN Security Council, in its resolutions from August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, proposed granting the Kashmiri people the right to self-determination on the basis of a plebiscite. This local war, which lasted until the end of 1948, ended with the intervention of international powers on January 1, 1949, with a ceasefire on the line where the troops of both sides took up positions, and the India-Pakistan Agreement was signed on July 29 of the same year on this conditional line of contact. With this Agreement, Kashmir, with a total area of 86 thousand square miles, was effectively divided into two: Gilgit, Baltistan, Hunza, Azad Kashmir came under the control of Pakistan, and these parts (40%) were called Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas, with the city of Muzaffarabad as its capital. The part controlled by India (60%) was incorporated into India as Jammu and Ladakh (Kashmir), with the city of Srinagar as its capital. Despite UN Security Council resolutions, India later made Kashmir a state with special status, and established this in Article 370 of the country's constitution. India, resolutely opposed the referendum and continued to insist that Kashmir was an integral part of India. In the India-China War of 1962, the Aksai Chin region in the north of Kashmir came under the

control of China.

The intermittent conflicts between Pakistan and India over Kashmir resulted in the outbreak of a second armed conflict between the two countries in August-September of 1965. The use of large military units, air forces, artillery and tanks in the military operations launched in Kashmir and other border regions had already begun to concern the world community and international organizations. With the intervention of the UN Security Council, Pakistan and India achieved a ceasefire on the line of contact on March 23, 1965. With the close mediation of the USSR, the parties withdrew their armies to the positions before the conflict. On the initiative of the USSR leadership, the parties met in Tashkent from January 4 to 11, 1966. After extensive discussions with the participation of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A.N. Kosygin on January 10, Pakistani President General Ayub Khan and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri signed the Tashkent Declaration.

The leaders of both countries declared their firm determination to establish normal peaceful relations between their countries, mutual understanding and friendly relations between the two peoples. Although many of the provisions set forth in the Declaration were later implemented, the failure to resolve the Kashmir issue in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council remained a source of tension in the region.

In 1971, clashes on the line of contact in Kashmir led to the outbreak of a new military conflict. After these military clashes, changes took place in the line of contact in favor of India, and the line where the ceasefire took place was henceforth called the "Line of Control". Although this limited the work of the UN observation

group, this group continued its activities. In 1971, the secession of East Pakistan from the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and its transformation into the People's Republic of Bangladesh, with the close support of India, created a new geopolitical situation in the region. The parties began to appear more inclined to maintain the status quo on the Kashmir issue.

It should be noted that the vast territory of Kashmir under Pakistani control borders the historical homeland of the Turks, the region of China, which was first called East Turkestan, then the Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region, and later Xinjiang. This is due to the fact that in the India-China war in 1962, part of the Kashmir territory passed into the control of China, and the line of contact between the troops of the two countries was transformed into the Line of Actual Control by mutual agreement. At that time, an uninhabited part of the Northern territories under the control of Pakistan also passed into the control of China. The new borders were demarcated, albeit conditionally, in 1963 by the Pakistan-China Agreement. The text of the Agreement signed in Beijing on March 2, 1963, reflected that this situation was temporary. The Chinese side declared that it would discuss the fate of these territories with Jammu and Kashmir when the Jammu and Kashmir issue was completely resolved. It should be emphasized that the Shaksgam Valley and the Aksai Chin region of Kashmir, which fell under Chinese control, are largely uninhabited areas and constitute 15 percent of the total territory of Kashmir. After that, the part under Indian control decreased to 55 percent of the total territory, and the part under Pakistani control decreased to 30 percent of the total territory.

It should be noted the fact that part of Kashmir fell under Chinese control does not bother Pakistan much, and due to the positive and further development in Pakistan-China relations since those years, the Pakistani side has never raised this issue. China has also always shown that it is Pakistan's closest political, military, and economic partner and supporter in the region. After China completed the Karakoram Highway connecting Pakistan's Gilgit province with China in 1971, a greater revival in humanitarian and trade relations began, and this primarily had a beneficial effect on the contacts of the separated Kashmiris with each other.

After the war of 1971, between India and Pakistan, India emerged as a powerful state in South Asia. In this war, India, which captured a number of Pakistani territories and a large number of prisoners of war, demanded Pakistan to show leniency on the Kashmir issue in exchange for their return. Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto met and agreed that the ceasefire line would be considered the border as the "Line of Control", but the Pakistani Prime Minister also stated that this was not a complete and permanent solution to the Kashmir issue. With the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972, India and Pakistan decided to withdraw their troops to their pre-war positions, in accordance with the international borders, within a month and to adhere to the Line of Control established after the declaration of the ceasefire on 17 December 1971. The following principles were agreed upon in the relations between the two countries at Simla:

- Ending conflict and confrontation between the parties;

- Trying to establish lasting peace on the subcontinent;
- Resolving disputes and misunderstandings through mutual discussions and other peaceful means;
- Living peacefully together on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, respecting each other's territorial integrity and political independence.

The Simla Agreement included the implementation of necessary measures in the field of postal and telegraphic relations, maritime transport, scientific and cultural cooperation and tourism, mutual air transport between the two countries. It also provided for the exchange of prisoners of war, the settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir problem, and the restoration of diplomatic relations. However, although the Simla Agreement satisfied India, Pakistan continued to put the issue on the UN agenda from time to time and to propose a solution to the conflict on the basis of the principles of known Resolutions.

In the autumn of 1998, Pakistan and India clashed over positions in the Kargil region of the remote northern region, in the snowy Siachen Glacier, along the Line of Control. The Siachen Glacier was usually a glacier where neither side had a position, and the capture of the glacier by Indian troops led to the capture of the Kargil region by Kashmiri freedom fighters. Thus, both countries began to mass up large numbers of troops and armoured vehicles in the Kargil region and to prepare for large-scale military operations. Thus, both countries began to mass large troops and armored vehicles in the Kargil region and prepare for large-scale military operations. The terms of the Simla Agreement were clearly being violated. Pakistani troops, ahead of Indian soldiers, captured the

strategically important watershed on the Line of Control in Kargil in March 1999. Indian troops, which attacked Pakistani positions on May 2 and 7, suffered serious casualties on May 7, and the Kashmir liberation struggle also caused serious casualties to Indian units. Indian aircrafts bombed Pakistani positions in the region and nearby areas. At that time, the Pakistani press reported that two Indian aircrafts and one helicopter had been shot down in Pakistani territory. The Pakistani army was providing military support to the Kashmiri freedom fighters within its capabilities. The entire Kashmir was turning into a battlefield. In such circumstances, the telephone conversation between US President Bill Clinton and the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India bore fruit, and on July 4, 1999 the parties agreed to stop the war. Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif ordered the withdrawal of Pakistani army units from all the areas they had advanced. At that time, the Indian side was promoting this as India's success and the victory of the Indian army. During these events, General Pervez Musharraf, the Chief of Staff of the Pakistani Army, later wrote in his book "In the Line of Fire" that the victories of the Pakistani army in this conflict were nullified by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and in order to absolve himself of responsibility, he claimed that the army had launched these operations on its own without his orders, but he proved the baselessness of this claim.

Following events showed that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's deliberate attempt to discredit the army commander was necessary to remove him from this position. Shortly afterwards, when General Pervez Musharraf was on an official visit abroad, the Prime

Minister's order announced his dismissal from his post, which resulted in the army taking action, arresting the Prime Minister and members of the government, and the Chief of Army Staff, who was ensured a safe return to the country, taking power. In such a situation, tensions in Pakistan-India relations continued, and of course, Kashmir remained the main focal point and source of tension.

After the terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, a completely new situation arose around Pakistan and Afghanistan. In Washington's view, Pakistan was supporting "militants" in Kashmir, as well as Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda. Therefore, the United States made a tough demand to Pervez Musharraf, who was then officially named the Chief Executive of Pakistan: either you are with us against terrorism, or you are with the terrorists against us. Having made the right choice, the Pakistani government actively joined the international fight against terrorism.

It should be noted that in those years, Pakistan, which hosted more than three million Afghan refugees, had a difficult relationship with Afghanistan. Afghanistan also accused intelligence agencies of Pakistan for supporting the Taliban and other radical groups. It should be taken into account that before the US began its fight against terrorism in Afghanistan, the Taliban government, which controlled most of Afghanistan, had an embassy in Islamabad. This activity was terminated after Pakistan joined the US in the fight against terrorism.

On January 12, 2002, President Pervez Musharraf made a firm statement that the entering of mujahideen from Kashmir into the country would not be allowed and that illegal armed organizations would be liquidated. Of

course, this did not mean that Pakistan would no longer support the Kashmiri freedom struggle. Pakistan has always provided moral support to the Kashmiri mujahideen and has always kept the legitimate rights of the Kashmiri people on the agenda in international forums and organizations.

From time to time, the Line of Control has been transformed into a long area where both sides have fortified and built defensive posts and observation posts, military barracks, and soldiers stand face to face along the entire line. Sometimes, a Pakistani soldier on one side of a valley is so close to an Indian soldier on the other, that they can even speak to each other. The author of these lines has had the opportunity to see the posts in those areas and talk to the soldiers on several government-organized visits to the region, accompanied by ambassadors and international observers, in military helicopters and later in special vehicles. Many of the posts are at such high altitudes that food and ammunition are transported there by mules of Pakistani army.

Naturally, the Line of Control provides temporary peace, although it is not permanent, but the people and relatives who are unjustly divided in two need contact and mutual relations. Thousands of Kashmiris, both Muslims and Hindus, died as a result of the conflicts, and millions have been displaced from their homes. The clashes between Indian security forces and Kashmiri freedom fighters, which have been going on for years, have also attracted various foreign religious-radical forces to this region in recent years, thereby further aggravating the already tense situation. India calls the Kashmiri freedom fighters “separatist Islamic armed groups”, while Pakistan



provides moral support to this struggle of “Kashmir under Indian occupation”, but is also concerned about the infiltration of Afghan jihad groups and other radical Islamist militants into Kashmir. Because Pakistan itself is the country most exposed to terrorism in the world.

The popular movement that grew stronger in Kashmir in 1989 revealed a more sensitive approach to this issue. Differences of opinion and position within the resistance movement began to emerge more prominently. Three directions began to be observed here:

1. Secession from India and merger with Pakistan;
2. Gaining independence;
3. Achieving maximum autonomy in accordance with Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

According to a number of foreign analysts, the problem in the Jammu and Kashmir issue is not limited to the territorial issue between Pakistan and India, but is also related to internal religious and ethnic divisions here. The fighters of the Kashmir Valley, who are working for self-determination, do not fully share the cultural values of Azad Kashmir and the Northern territories under the control of Pakistan. Similarly, the Hindus and Sikhs, who form the majority in Jammu, have different ethno-cultural values from their countrymen Muslims. The Buddhist population in Ladakh does not accept the ethno-religious environment of either Jammu or Azad Kashmir. Therefore, the ethnic, religious, cultural diversity that has arisen in the solution of the Kashmir issue should also be taken into account. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) in Kashmir is against a divided Kashmir, they want to see Kashmir united. However, the ethnic diversity of Ladakh and the northern regions of Kashmir raises

certain questions here, as the people of that region are concerned that they may be subjected to pressure from Muslims in a unified Kashmir due to their non-Kashmiri affiliation.

India believes that various extremist religious groups supported by Pakistan are aggravating the situation in Kashmir. According to Pakistanis, the main reason for the instability in Kashmir is the failure of the Indian government to implement the status of Kashmir as defined in Article 370 of the 1950 Constitution of India and the restriction of these rights from time to time. It should be noted that according to the Constitution, India should only determine the issues of defense, foreign affairs and communications (transport, communications, etc.), all other matters should be in the hands of the state (Jammu and Kashmir) itself. Jammu and Kashmir should have its own president, prime minister, flag, etc. But opponents of this status succeeded in passing a Constitutional Act in May 1954, which limited the status of Kashmir. Thus, the conflict and distrust between the Central government of India and the Muslims of Kashmir began to deepen. As a result of high-level political negotiations, a pro-Indian government was formed in the center, Srinagar. Since then, Muslims have periodically held protests and clashed with Indian security forces in order to protect their cultural and religious identity and values. According to many conflict analysts, the failure of the Indian government to take into account the interests of the indigenous people of these places - the Kashmiris - in its economic and cultural policies and overall governance has made it impossible to resolve this conflict within India. This unilateral policy of the Srinagar government, supported by Delhi in every

way, has created the basis for both the violent protests that continue to this day, and the guerrilla operations of the mujahideen, morally supported by Pakistan. According to political commentators, the support of the Kashmiri mujahideen by Al-Qaeda at the beginning of the 21st century did not benefit the Kashmiris, on the contrary, caused them to face more problems.

It should be noted that in 2002, armed clashes between the parties significantly aggravated the situation, and the tense situation continued until November 2003, even most embassies in Islamabad had evacuated a significant part of their employees and sent their families to homeland. Embassy employees of our country also had an evacuation plan in case of a real threat of war, so if there was a threat to Islamabad, the passengers of the Turkish Air Force transport plane on duty in Islamabad included employees of the Azerbaijani embassy and their families, as well as other Azerbaijani citizens in Islamabad. At that time, the leaders of both nuclear powers showed wisdom and did not take hasty steps, because this war could lead to an irreversible disaster. It is known that, following India, in May 1998, Pakistan successfully tested five atomic bombs and entered the ranks of nuclear powers. In 2002-2003, both states had the means and capabilities to launch nuclear weapons and hit any targets. In November 2003, the declaration of a ceasefire on the Line of Control at the initiative of President Pervez Musharraf was welcomed by India and the way was opened for negotiations on a suitable solution to the conflict. In January 2004, at the invitation of President Pervez Musharraf, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Sri

Lanka) was held in Islamabad, to which the author of these lines was also invited. In 2005, Afghanistan also became a member of this organization, while China and Japan were given observer status. The meeting between Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and the Pakistani President, who came to the 12th Summit of the organization, paved the way for a comprehensive discussion on the Kashmir issue. Pervez Musharraf had 4 proposals on the Kashmir issue: First, all sides should accept the importance of the Kashmir dispute. Second, negotiations should serve to resolve the Kashmir dispute. Third, the solutions that are not accepted by all three parties (India, Pakistan and Kashmir) should be removed from the negotiation table. Fourth, the most suitable and feasible, acceptable option should be selected. Along with these, Pervez Musharraf proposed the implementation of the following four measures:

1. Step-by-step demilitarization of Jammu and Kashmir;
2. Provision of self-governance;
3. Relaxation of the border regime;
4. Provision of joint administration of Jammu and Kashmir.

It should be noted that at that time, India positively approached only the issue of the “Soft Border” among these latest proposals, and soon after, although limited, a bus line was opened between the capitals of both Kashmirs, namely Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, which are the capitals of Jammu and Kashmir under Indian control and Azad Kashmir under Pakistani control, and limited movement and contact of the people in the region was allowed. However, fundamental steps towards the

resolution of the Kashmir issue were not taken.

In 2010, 2016, and 2019, clashes between local militants and Indian government forces were more frequent in the Kashmir region. The Indian government claims that separatist forces in Kashmir and the Lashkar-e-Taiba weapons operating there are supported by Pakistan.

It should be noted that even in the years when there were no major wars and conflicts, Kashmir caused numerous casualties on both sides. According to some researchers, 47,000 people were killed in Kashmir-related conflicts from 1989 to 2008. Some human rights activists believe that this figure is higher.<sup>1</sup>

As is known, for many years, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (formerly the Organization of the Islamic Conference) has been keeping the Kashmir issue on the agenda of discussions, along with the Palestinian issue, by creating a contact group (the Republic of Azerbaijan is also among the members of this group), seeking ways to find a just solution to this problem and demonstrating support for Pakistan's position on Kashmir. Unfortunately, this respected organization, which has 58 member states, has not yet achieved any real results in resolving these painful problems of the Islamic world. Although the Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has also been the subject of discussion many times, the resolutions of this organization condemning Armenia's aggression and including the liberation of Azerbaijani lands from occupation remain on paper, like the well-known resolutions of the UN Security Council. Therefore, our country, by launching the Patriotic War on September 27,

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<sup>1</sup> CNN, March 29, 2022. Kashmir Fast Fact.

2020, liberated all our lands occupied by Armenia within 44 days, thus fulfilling both historical justice and UN Security Council resolutions. However, our country considers it necessary to resolve the Kashmir issue based on the resolutions of the UN Security Council, and consistently supports the rule of international law, not force, in resolving this issue. In our opinion, any attempt to resolve the Kashmir issue, which has been exacerbated from time to time in recent years, by force, outside the framework of international law, could result in a military confrontation between two neighboring nuclear states, and this could pose a serious threat to peace in a very broad region and in the world as well.

## **AN OVERVIEW ON THE HISTORY OF AZERBAIJAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS**

Among the friendly states of Azerbaijan, the second country that we can confidently call a brother after the Republic of Turkiye is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The Karabakh problem of Azerbaijan also created an opportunity to recognize its friend and enemy. In this regard, we have seen the friendly position of a number of countries, along with brotherly Turkiye , and felt their support. The most important of them is the friendly and brotherly state of Pakistan. Since the Republic of Armenia occupied the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan and seven adjacent districts in 1991-1993, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan did not recognize this country from the beginning, did not establish diplomatic relations, and when it chaired the UN Security Council in 1993, it was the initiator and supporter of the well-known Resolution 822 on the unconditional withdrawal of Armenian troops from the occupied Azerbaijani territories. The Pakistan state has shown its resolute moral and political support from the first day of the Patriotic War that our country began on September 27, 2020, to end the Armenian occupation, and has been unequivocally demonstrating this position in the post-victory period.

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Azerbaijan-Pakistan political and cultural relations have ancient, rich natural and historical roots. Pakistan as a state was established in 1947 with the end of the British colonial policy in the Indian subcontinent and the

formation of two states in this region, India and Pakistan. As known, Indian Muslims, along with Indians, have been fighting for independence since the beginning of the 20th century. The Indians of India wanted to establish their own state under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), and the Muslims wanted to establish their own state under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), whom they called the Great Leader “Qaida-e-Azam”. The name of the state of Pakistan is not based on any ethnicity or geography, but rather on the meaning of a pure, clean, and purified place, as emphasized in the National Anthem of Pakistan, which means “Pure land...”. This was the logical result of the decades-long freedom struggle of the Muslims of British India for their own independent state. The British government had to take into account the demands of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent on the basis of religious affiliation, and thus, this state was established along the 1.600-kilometer dividing line from north to south in the current geography of Pakistan, covering mainly Muslim-populated areas. At the time, the process of resettling Indians from Pakistan to India, and some Muslims from there to Pakistan, took place, many tragedies happened, hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives, and millions of Muslims and Hindus were displaced from their historical homelands. At the same time, it was physically and geographically impossible to establish a single independent state for all Muslims on the subcontinent, and at that time tens of millions of Muslims had to remain in their ancestral homeland - the territory that belonged to India. That is why even now, after Indonesia and Pakistan, India is the country with the largest population of Muslims. In general,



the Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochs, Kashmiris, Pashtos, as well as the local population of Urdu-speaking and Turkic-Persian-Arabic origin, or, as the name suggests, the entire Pakistani people, have had very ancient historical ties with the Turks. Eg., , from the 1st century BC including the 3rd century AD, Pakistan and entire Turkestan, that is, the territory where our region and the present-day Turkic republics of Central Asia are located, were part of the Kushan Empire. In the 4th century, the Huns, mainly the White Huns, who are considered the ancestors of the Turks, ruled in the Punjab and Sindh provinces of present-day Pakistan.

From the mid of the 7th century, Arabs began to spread Islam both in our geography and in the Indian Subcontinent. At the beginning of the 8th century, with the entry of the Caliphate army commander Muhammad bin Qasim into the territory of present-day Pakistan, a new religious and spiritual landscape began to take shape in the Indian Subcontinent, which was called the subcontinent. After the advent of Islam, extensive trade, economic and cultural relations were established in these territories with Islamic states and peoples in other regions, and a common culture gradually began to form. The use of the common Arabic alphabet in writing by our peoples, and the use of Turkish, Persian and Urdu in communication and administration, also played an important role in the development of cultural relations. After the Caliphate weakened, new independent states began to emerge in separate territories. In Azerbaijan, Anatolia and Iran, the states founded mainly by Turkic dynasties replaced each other over a long period of time. In such circumstances, the Ghaznavid state (963-1186) was established in Central

Asia under the leadership of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. For many years, the territory of present-day Pakistan and its immediate surroundings were part of this Turkic state. Even the second largest city of Pakistan, the political and cultural center of Lahore, was the capital of that state for about 35 years. Thus, the Turkic element began to take root and spread in this geography during this period. In subsequent periods, the rule of the Ghurids (1100-1215), followed by the Delhi Sultanate (13th-14th centuries), and the campaigns of Amir Timur (1399) at the end of the 14th century further strengthened and made the Turkic factor more effective in this region.

In 1501, the Safavid state of Azerbaijan (1501-1736) was established under the leadership of Shah Ismail. Soon, this state turned into a large empire with a vast geography, extending beyond the borders of Azerbaijan and including a number of peoples. At such a time, the Great Mughal Empire (1525-1858) was emerging in the East. It is called “Mogol” in Azerbaijan. The founder of this state, Zahīr ud-Dīn Babur, was also a Turk. Babur was born in the city of Andijan, present-day Uzbekistan, and was a descendant of Amir Timur (1336-1405) on his father’s side and Genghis Khan (1162-1227) on his mother’s side. After the sudden death of his father, Omar Sheikh Mirza, on June 12, 1494, Babur, who had taken the throne of Fergana, soon captured Samarkand, but when he started his campaign due to the uprising in Andijan, he lost Samarkand and could not enter Andijan either.

Babur, who was removed from power in 1504, came to Kabul, took possession of the city and began to consolidate his power there.

When Shah Ismail (1487-1524), the ruler of

Azerbaijan Safavid state, defeated the Uzbek ruler Sheybani Khan in a battle near Merv in 1510 and took many prisoners, it was discovered that Babur's sister, Khanzade Beyim, whom Sheybani Khan had captured when he defeated Babur, and later married her, was among the prisoners. Shah Ismail with his trusted men sent her with great respect to Babur's headquarters. By destroying both his own and Babur's main rival, Muhammad Sheybani Khan, and his close circle of emirs in the battle, Shah Ismail actually paved the way for future struggle of Babur for power. After this incident, the alliance and friendship between Babur and Shah Ismail became even stronger. This friendship was continued by their political successors, and although there were times when interests clashed between these two powerful empires of the East, there had never been any situations that led to military confrontation. The alliance with Shah Ismail and the constant military-political support he received from him played an important role in political destiny of Babur.

Babur attacked Delhi in 1525 and declared the Mughal Empire by defeating the ruler of Delhi, Sultan Ibrahim Khan Lodi, at the Battle of Panipat. Close diplomatic and friendly relations were also established with the Safavid Empire. Babur trusted the Safavids, so he entrusted the education of his successor Humayun to Bayram Bey Baharli, a member of the Qizilbash Baharli tribe. With Babur's sudden death in 1530, his son Nasir al-Din Muhammad Humayun (reigned 1530-1540; 1555-1556) ascended the throne. Ten years later, the Afghans revolted against him and dethroned him. Humayun, along with his family and close associates, sought refuge in the Safavid palace in Tabriz. At that time, Shah Tahmasib (1514-

1576), the son of Shah Ismail, was in power. He welcomed Humayun with great respect. Humayun stayed in the Safavid court for 15 years and was protected. During this period, Humayun was deeply interested in the rich Azerbaijani literature, fine arts and music. It is even said that one of the main Azerbaijani mughams, "Humayun", was dedicated to him. In 1555, Shah Tahmasib placed at his disposal a twelve-thousand-strong army of Azerbaijani Turks led by Budag Khan Qajar and Shahverdi Bey Ustajli. With this army, Humayun attacked Delhi, defeated the Afghans who had dethroned him, and regained the throne. In return for this invaluable assistance, Shah Humayun ceded the city of Kandahar, whose annual income was 40.000 tumans, to the Safavid state.

In short, the most glorious and brilliant period of Pakistan's history is associated with the Mughal Empire. But without the help of the Safavids, the historical state of Azerbaijan, the restoration and further existence of the Mughal Empire would probably not have been possible, and this dynasty would have ended with the ten-year reign of Humayun. These friendly relations stemmed from common ethnic roots, political-religious ties, and cultural-spiritual closeness. Naturally, mutual interests also played an important role in interstate relations, and this was also taken into account. While in Tabriz, Humayun was so fascinated by Azerbaijani culture and literature that after returning to his homeland, he invited hundreds of Azerbaijani artists, architects, calligraphers, and miniaturists to his country, who did very important work in a large territory belonging to present-day Pakistan and India. His wife, Hamida Banu Beyim, the mother of his

future heir, Ahmad Shah, was also an admirer of Azerbaijani culture.

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If we have a look at the formation and development of the common Islamic culture of our kindred peoples, we will see that as Islam spread across the vast geography of Asia, Africa and Europe, various sects of this religion emerged and gathered thousands of followers around them. Eg., , the Sufism school was very strong in Azerbaijan. The religious and philosophical views of Shahab al-Din Umar al-Suhrawardi (1145-1234) and other Sufi ideas were also widely spread in the Indian subcontinent. The “Suhrawardiyya” teaching, spread by the name of Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi, who was born in the Zanzan province of Azerbaijan and received higher education at the Nizamiyye University (although it was called a madrasa) in Baghdad, widely promoted Sufi brotherhood in the Indian Subcontinent. Nureddin Mubarak Ghaznavi, one of well-known disciples of Suhrawardi in the Indian subcontinent, actively worked to spread the ideas of Sufism. Shams Tabrizi (1185-1248), one of the famous figures of Sufism, had many followers in the subcontinent. One of mausoleums of Shams is in Konya, next to the mausoleum of Mevlânâ Jalāl al-Din Rumi (1207-1273), and another is in Multan, Pakistan. I would like to give additional explanation here. While I was working in Pakistan, of course, I traveled to various regions as much as possible to get to know the country better, and I visited Multan as well. Because there were other ties that connected Multan with our country. When I visited the

mausoleum of Shams Tabrizi, I saw more than a hundred dervishes there. They all came to visit Shams. Shams, who combined external beauty with internal purity, was rightly called “Murshidul-jamil” by his adherents. We know dervishes from folklore and literature. But those who came to visit Shams were typical, real-life dervishes with their clothes, hair and *heybes* (*heybe* is used in everyday life in rural and mountainous regions. It resembles a *khurjun* in shape. However, it is half as small as it is.) on their shoulders. They approached Shams’ mausoleum crawling on all fours and revolved around it. In other words, Shams’ mausoleum is still a place of worship for Sufi dervishes in Pakistan. Similarly, other Azerbaijani poets, philosophers, and scientists were known and loved in the Indian subcontinent. The great Indian poet of Turkish origin, Amir Khosrow Dehlavi (1253-1325), inspired by the works of Nizami Ganjavi, created “Khamasa”. Influenced by Sufi thinkers and poets, in Delhi in 1430-1435, the poet Nizami Dakani wrote the *masnavi* (distich) “Kadam Rao, Padam Rao” in the then-established Urdu language. Maulana Davud, a member of the Sufi-oriented Islamic sect Chishtiyya, wrote the work “Kadayan” inspired by the works of Amir Khosrow. The work “Akhlaiqi-Nasiri (Moral Nasiran)” by the great Azerbaijani thinker Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201-1274) was read and taught in the regular recitations held at the palace of Akbar Shah, the grandson of Babur and son of Humayun, the most powerful ruler of the Mughal Empire, as well as in the madrasas. The 17th-century Azerbaijani poet and scholar Saib Tabrizi was invited to the court of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (Shahabeddin Muhammad Khurram 1592-1666, reigned 1628-1658) in 1630, and was warmly

received and loved by the Shah's family and children. His epic poems and odes, especially the work "Qandehār name", were widely distributed. To the point, the founder of the Taj Mahal mausoleum, which Shah Jahan ordered to built in memory of his untimely wife Mumtaz Mahal and is considered one of the seven wonders of the world, was the Turkish architect Isa Efendi. The prominent Azerbaijani poet and physician Rugnaddin Masihi (Doctor Rugna) was the personal physician of the Mughal Emperors Akbar Shah (Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar 1542-1605), and then Jahangir Shah (Nuruddin Muhammad Salim 1569-1627, reigned in 1605-1627)). One of the architects that Humayun took with him from Tabriz to Delhi was the Azerbaijani Turk Agha Mirak. Humayun's wife Hamida Beyim had brought a number of craftsmen and masters from Tabriz. When Humayun died, Agha Mirak built a magnificent mausoleum for Humayun. That famous mausoleum still stands today. After the national uprising against the British colonialists in 1858 was brutally suppressed, Bahadur Khan, the last shah of the Great Mughal Empire, took refuge in that mausoleum with his family, so that the British would spare them. But the British did not spare them, his children were killed, and he himself was exiled, and he died a few years later in Burma. In the 14th-15th centuries, Indian merchants, consisting of Muslims and Hindus, came from the city of Multan along the Silk Road, traded in Baku, and then passed through here to Europe. The relation became so extensive that the Baku ruler had to build a separate caravanserai for them. The caravanserai, called the "Multan Palace" in our Icherisheher, is a monument of that period. The language

spoken by Multan merchants and those who traveled with them was called “Moltani” by the people in Baku. Until recently, this language - “Moltani”, difficult to understand was common among the people. Such ties were so close that trade and cultural relations between peoples covered a large geography, and perhaps even the process we now call “globalization” was more advanced then than it is now. Because the rules that began in the Seljuk era and became even more established during the reigns of the Hulagu and Amir Timur created favorable conditions for trade and communication, which in turn ensured cultural relations between different peoples, contact and mutual enrichment of cultures. Thus, in the formation of the Pakistani people, in their ethnic landscape, spirituality and psychology, there was also a Turkic background rooted in ancient pasts; here, Turkish identity has always existed and gained favor since the time of the Caliphate, and later during the Ghaznavids in the 10th-12th centuries, the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th-14th centuries, and the Mughal Empire in the 16th-18th centuries. During the reign of Shah Tahmasib, the majority of the 12.000 Qizilbash soldiers who went to India with Humayun did not return, but settled there. It is no coincidence that thousands of people in Pakistan today have surnames such as “Qizilbash”, “Tabrizli”, “Shirvanli”, “Shirvani”, “Nakhchivani”. Wherever they went, they took the name of their homeland with them, and many of these names live in the surnames that are common today. Hundreds of thousands of people in Pakistan have the words “Mirza”, “Khan”, “Shah”, “Bey”, “Beyim” in their names. Most of them are Turkish or mixed Turkic-Persian, are of Azerbaijani and Iranian origin. Such examples can be



listed in many ways. It is an undeniable fact that there is a historically formed spiritual and ethnic affinity between Azerbaijanis and Pakistanis. It should be noted that the word “Azerbaijan” evokes natural affection in every Pakistani, regardless of their ethnic identity. In fact, in Urdu, the country’s official language, the expression “Bhay jan” means “beloved brother”, and thus the name of our country means “beloved brother azer” for Pakistanis.

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At the end of the 19th century, an awakening movement began throughout the Muslim world. This awakening, which spread on the basis of enlightenment, covered many countries of the Islamic world, and by emphasizing the necessity of this solidarity, a number of prominent intellectuals and thinkers devotedly worked to obtain the legal rights of Muslims. In some Muslim countries, especially in the Ottoman Empire and Azerbaijan, a number of thinkers thought not only about themselves, but about the entire Islamic world. Eg., , Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897), who was born in South Azerbaijan and raised in the Iranian social environment, worked for the development and progress of the entire Islamic world. It was not a coincidence that the great Azerbaijani thinker Mirza Fathali Akhundov chose the “Letters of Kemalud-davla”, that was based on the correspondence between an Iranian prince of Turkish origin and an Indian prince of Turkish origin.

The struggle against colonialism, despotism, religious fanaticism and ignorance was a common struggle of all

Muslims, especially related peoples. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Azerbaijani press also covered the problems of Iran, India, Afghanistan and Arab countries. Or, at the beginning of the 20th century, Jalil Mammadguluzadeh's "Molla Nasreddin" magazine had dozens of subscribers in India, where it periodically provided information about the struggle of the Indian people (of course, Muslims and Indians together - E.M.) against British colonialism and the processes taking place in the region. Eg., , the theme of the "Indian and English" caricatures published in one of the issues of the magazine in 1907, was so: "the day will come when the colonial chain will be broken, and the colonialist who rides the Indian as a horse today will himself fall under the feet of that horse." History confirmed this prediction of "Molla Nasreddin" 40 years later. At that time, infectious diseases were spreading in the Indian subcontinent. This is a historical fact. The outstanding son of the Azerbaijani people, the famous entrepreneur and educator-philanthropist Haji Zeynalabdin Taghiyev showed special zeal for the salvation of Indian Muslims from the terrible plague, made important work at his own expense to vaccinate them, and spent a lot of money on this path. The same process was taking place in the Ottoman Empire: Sultan Abdulhamid was also considered the caliph of the Muslims of India, and the Ottoman state provided them with serious assistance in this situation. Although relations between our peoples were broken by the occupation of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic by Soviet Russia, cultural ties were observed later, albeit to a limited extent.

Shortly after the formation of the state of Pakistan in 1947, relations were also established with the USSR.

These were not as close as the relations between India and the USSR, but there was cooperation anyway. However, in the 1950s, Pakistan was mainly in the political and military pole supported by the United States and the West, and therefore relations of the USSR with Pakistan were cool. From the 1960s, these relations began to improve. In 1965, after the next war between Pakistan and India, in Tashkent, with the mediation of the USSR and the participation of the then head of government A.Kosygin, Pakistani President Ayub Khan and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri signed a peace treaty. After that, USSR-Pakistan relations warmed up, there were a number of economic cooperation projects, but still did not reach a high level comparable to India.

Towards the collapse of the USSR, the Soviet ambassador to Pakistan was the unlucky Abdurrahman Vezirov. Due to his cosmopolitan nature, far from national positions, the Pakistani people did not even know that he was Azerbaijani, and he, who was a completely odd person in diplomacy, could not form not only a decent idea, but even an opinion about Azerbaijan. The Soviet government, since 1956, had been viewing this state, which was already called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as a rival of its close partner, India. Therefore, Azerbaijan did not seem to have any role in USSR-Pakistan relations. Since the USSR occupied Afghanistan in 1979, for about 10 years, Pakistan, like a number of countries in the world, supported the resistance movement in Afghanistan. Therefore, at that time, relations between the two countries were cold, even tense, and all this was happening in the context of the gradual increase in military cooperation between the USSR and India.

Azerbaijan declared its independence from the USSR on October 18, 1991. Shortly after that, on December 12, Pakistan officially recognized independence of Azerbaijan. Thus, it became the second country to recognize our independence after Turkiye. On July 9, 1992, diplomatic relations were established between the two states. In 1993, Pakistan opened its embassy in Baku. The Azerbaijani embassy in Islamabad began operating four years later, in 1997. At that time, as we were a newly formed state and were involved in the war with the aggressive Armenian state, our opportunities were limited, and our embassy had not been opened in many countries. For several years now, the Azerbaijani embassy in Pakistan has been operating as one of our most active and efficient embassies, and today it is consistently working to strengthen mutual friendly and fraternal relations in the field of implementing our state's policy. Here I would like to emphasize once again that the UN Security Council Resolution No. 822 dated April 30, 1993, demanding the unconditional withdrawal of Armenian troops from the occupied Azerbaijani territories, was adopted precisely during chairmanship of Pakistan the Council, with the direct initiative and efforts of the Pakistani government. This was a very big step. Pakistan provided us with its first significant political support then. At that time, the Prime Minister of the country was Nawaz Sharif. After him, the Prime Minister became Benazir Bhutto. During their time, the mutual relations of our countries further developed. Great Leader Heydar Aliyev played a brilliant role in the further development of Azerbaijani-Pakistani relations. Thus, he invited the then President of Pakistan, Ahmed Khan Legari, on an official visit to Azerbaijan. It was a

very interesting visit. A year later, in April 1996, the official visit of the President of Azerbaijan to Pakistan took place. At that time, President Heydar Aliyev held comprehensive and wide-ranging meetings with President A.Kh.Legari and Prime Minister of the country Benazir Bhutto, and important documents covering a number of areas, including humanitarian and cultural relations, were signed. I should note that Benazir Bhutto had a special affection for the people of Azerbaijan, and I witnessed this again when I met with that extraordinary personality in the capital, Islamabad, in the autumn of 2007, along with several ambassadors. The people's affection for Mrs. Bhutto, who became the first woman Prime Minister of the Muslim world, was great.

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I would like to share some of my thoughts on my special interest in Pakistan with my dear readers. My acquaintance with this country, of course, began directly and visibly when the Great Leader Heydar Aliyev appointed me as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 2002. However, before that, when I worked as the first Consul General of Azerbaijan in the Iranian city of Tabriz and the Councillor to the Ambassador of Azerbaijan in Tehran, that is, between 1996 and 2001, I was undoubtedly regularly interested in Pakistan as a country in the region. At that time, it was also a tense time for the events in Afghanistan. Dangerous political processes were taking place there. These processes were related to Iran and

Pakistan somehow. Eg., , the killing of more than 10 Iranian diplomats by Taliban militants, the reception of their bodies at Tehran airport by foreign diplomats, the shelter of more than two million Afghan refugees in Iran, and similar events aroused interest in Pakistan, which did not ignore these processes. My stronger interest is related to another event. Thus, in June 2000, the Great leader Heydar Aliyev came to Iran on a working visit. We accompanied our President at the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) Summit. At that time, the Pakistani ambassador to Iran informed that Pakistani leader Pervez Musharraf wanted to meet with Mr. Heydar Aliyev. At that time, Pervez Musharraf was not yet called the president. Because he had staged a coup d'état in his country, made the president to hand his resignation, dismissed the prime minister, suspended the constitution, and took the power in his own hands, thus had become the head of the country's executive power. America and European countries viewed these events as a military coup by Pervez Musharraf. In fact, this was not a military coup, but a result of a situation that arose for serious mistakes of the previous government, and the Pakistani army seized power without blood. Due to these circumstances, some heads of states were not yet very inclined to meet with Pervez Musharraf. Despite all this, Great leader Heydar Aliyev accepted the invitation and the meeting took place in Tehran. This was a very important meeting, and I would say that it was the meeting that played a decisive role in Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations after 2000. In April 2002, a protocol on cooperation in the military field was signed between the Ministries of Defense of Azerbaijan and Pakistan. In October of the same year, a second meeting of

the Great leader Heydar Aliyev with the already officially elected president, Pervez Musharraf, took place in Istanbul. After being elected as the head of our country, the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Mr. Ilham Aliyev, consistently continued the existing course and, over time, took it further. Pakistan has always courageously demonstrated in reality that it is a very important country for us. Based on all this, the friendly relations, the foundation of which was laid by our Great leader, were raised to an even higher level during the time of President Ilham Aliyev. Fortunately, the author of these lines was lucky enough to take a close part in a certain stage of these processes. Thus, on April 18, 2002, Great leader Heydar Aliyev appointed me as ambassador to Pakistan. When I began my diplomatic activities in the capital, Islamabad, our embassy housed me in a small two-story house in a remote neighborhood of the city. Our first task was to move the embassy to the city center. We rented a very suitable mansion in Ataturk Alley in the center of Islamabad, where a number of embassies and government agencies are located, and moved there. It was a happy coincidence that the Pakistani embassy in Baku was also located on Ataturk Avenue. In April 2005, President Ilham Aliyev paid an official visit to Pakistan. At that time, the head of our state also visited our embassy in Islamabad. During this visit, as in a number of other areas, significant steps were taken in the field of scientific and cultural cooperation.

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The all-round relations that began to develop in the last decade of the 20th century in Azerbaijan-Pakistan

relations opened the way for significant rapprochement in the political, economic, defense, and trade spheres, as well as in the cultural and spiritual life. As a result of the activities by the embassy of our country in Pakistan, which has been operating since 1997, speeches, articles, conferences, lectures, and exhibitions were held, explaining that we have common religious and spiritual values based on our close and related historical and ethnic roots, but have been separated for many years due to the influence of foreign forces; books were published in Urdu and English, visits of Pakistani creative personalities and press representatives to our country were organized, as a result, the way was opened for the expansion of ideas about our country and people. In 2002-2010, when the author of these lines was the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, a number of measures were taken to expand the humanitarian relations between our countries, to better familiarize ourselves with the rich history and fourteen hundred years of literature, culture and art of our people. In early 2005, on the eve of the official visit of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Mr. Ilham Aliyev to Pakistan, at the request of the author of these lines, the book "A Brief History of Azerbaijan's Statehood" written by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor (now Academician) Yagub Mahmudov was translated into English and Urdu, published in Islamabad, and distributed through libraries and the Internet. Until then, educated people in Pakistan knew Azerbaijan as a Muslim country at the foot of Mount Qaf, described in the famous Prometheus legend, and some of them had no more extensive idea of our country



than the descriptions and information in Gurban Said's (Muhammad Asad Bey) work "Ali and Nino". Of course, specialists in the field of literature were familiar with the Azerbaijani thinkers of the Middle Ages, including a number of our poets from Nizami Ganjavi to Sahib Tabrizi, but they were also known mainly as "Iranian poets". Therefore, a special issue of the well-known English-language magazine "Liberty" was devoted to articles introducing and presenting our country. This magazine, which reflects various areas of Azerbaijani history and culture and its development path, presents the life and creativity of the great thinker Nizami Ganjavi, our Shah poet Shah Ismail Khatai, Bakhtiyar Vahabzadeh, and selected examples from them to Pakistani readers. The book "Heydar Aliyev - the National Leader of Azerbaijan" published by our Embassy in English and Urdu, describes in detail the exceptional role of the Great leader in the formation of relations between Azerbaijan and Pakistan, the establishment of warm friendship and brotherhood, and at the same time, his constant attention and care for Azerbaijani literature and culture. The "Selected Works" of the great writer Jalil Mammadguluzadeh, including his work "The Dead," were published in Urdu in Islamabad and aroused wide interest among the Pakistani literary community. Along with analysis of the works presented in the book, the 40-page preface written by Isa Habibbeyli, Doctor of Philology, Professor, then Rector of Nakhchivan State University and a well-known researcher of Mirza Jalil's heritage, also emphasized that the works of Azerbaijani enlightener democratic writers of the early 20th century had a significant impact on the spread of national democratic ideas in our country and beyond,

especially in Eastern countries. With the support of the Embassy, the publication in Islamabad in 2004 of the book “Melodious Reveries”, consisting of selected poems by the prominent South Azerbaijani poet Hamid Nitqi Aytan (1920-1999), translated by the well-known Pakistani Turkologist, military translator, retired colonel of the Pakistani army, Masud Akhtar Sheikh, also contributed to the promotion of our poetry. So, the artist’s poetry praising Azerbaijan, his “Elegy to Rasul Rza” dedicated to our great poet Rasul Rza, his works dedicated to Sheikh Muhammad Khiyabani (1879-1920), who established the National Government in Tabriz in 1920. At the request of the author of these lines, a well-known scholar of Azerbaijan, Iran and the entire Turkic world, Dr. Javad Heyat (1925-2014), wrote a very interesting preface to the book, and presented our patriotic writer Hamid Nitqi, who selflessly served Azerbaijani culture, language and literature with his valuable works in Iran and in England, where he lived for many years, to Pakistani readers.

Here I would like to note in particular the admiration of the then President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, for Azerbaijani music and performers. In 2004, the President of Pakistan, who was on an official visit to our country at the invitation of President Ilham Aliyev, highly appreciated the performance of our artists who performed in the musical program at the banquet held in his honor after the official reception. After returning to Islamabad, President Pervez Musharraf and his wife asked the Azerbaijani ambassador to invite these artists to Pakistan. We invited a group of our artists to Pakistan, including the virtuoso violinist Jeyhun Ismayilov, singer Anar Shushali, People’s Artist, and famous dancer Jamila

Bayramova. This was the first such visit of Azerbaijani artists to a fraternal country. The last concert of the group was organized at a high-level government event, at the Army House in Rawalpindi for the government, parliament, army leadership of the country, and special guests. This event, which was widely illuminated in mass media of the country, further increased the interest of the Pakistani people in our musical culture. The holding of events on the historical and cultural relations of our peoples at Pakistan Qaid-e-Azam University, Preston University, the Academy of Literature, and a number of museums and research centers also laid the foundation for the beginning of the flow of tourists to our country from there. With the initiative of the Azerbaijani Embassy and the support of the Ministry of Culture of our country, an Azerbaijani salon was opened in the Central Ethnographic Museum of Pakistan, “Luk Virsa”, and examples of Azerbaijani literature were included in the exhibits in the book corner. Our embassy organized visits of heads and writers of a number of newspapers to our country, and when returned, they wrote interesting articles and shared their impressions of the trip. In particular, in the book “Azerbaijan - Caucasus Paradise”, written by the writer-journalist Raja Amir Bhatti, who was sent to Baku with the support of the Azerbaijani embassy in 2009 and published in Urdu in Islamabad, the historical past of our country, its development path, and achievements during the years of independence, as well as the rich literary and artistic heritage of our people, were successfully presented to Pakistani readers. Among such activities, the book “Poetry of Azerbaijan: A Drop in the Ocean”. (*Poetry of Azerbaijan: A Drop in the Ocean. Compiled and edited by*

*Dr. Eynulla Madatli. Islamabad, Leaf Publication, 2010, 346 p.)* published in English in 2010 is also noteworthy. The compiler, author of the foreword and scientific editor of the book is the author of these lines. The publication includes articles by Academician Isa Habibbeyli entitled “Poetry of Azerbaijan: Tradition and Modernity” and by People’s Writer Elchin entitled “The Supremacy of the Book of Dede Gorgud”, and presents brilliant examples of poetry from a thousand years ago, starting with Qatran Tabrizi and continuing to the beginning of the 21st century, through the example of our prominent poets. Providing short biographies of our poets and examples of their poems serves to form general information and ideas about Azerbaijani literature in the Pakistani reader. The book was presented at the Academy of Literature, which includes research work in the field of humanitarian and social sciences, with the participation of representatives of the scientific and literary community. This presentation was widely covered in the press, and at the same time, wider promotion was ensured by placing the full text of the book on the Internet. After 2010, Dashgin Shikarov, who was the ambassador of Azerbaijan to Pakistan, and then Ambassador Ali Alizadeh, who currently represents our country, further expanded their work in the field of promotion of the rich culture of our people, especially literature. With the support of our Embassy, the famous Book Ambassador Asif Noor opened the Nizami Ganjavi Room at the Pakistan National Book Foundation, where interesting examples of Nizami’s legacy are available. Such events are currently being continued with the active support of our Embassy.

I would like to note that brotherly Turkiye also played an important role in establishing our close relations with Pakistan during the years of independence. With the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed between Turkiye and Pakistan in 1956, the relations between the peoples, which had existed for many years, rose to a new level. The close relations between Turkiye and Pakistan, in due course, were further strengthened with the active participation of Azerbaijan, and have now risen to the level of brotherhood. On the instructions of President Ilham Aliyev, a special complex was built for our embassy in Islamabad in 2007-2009. I'll be bold to say that Azerbaijan does not have a large embassy complex consisting of administrative buildings, residences, residential buildings and other structures like the one in Pakistan in any other country in the world. Because Mr. President Ilham Aliyev put it this way: our relations and friendship with Pakistan are eternal, therefore, our own embassy should be built there. At that time, Azerbaijan was the only country from the former USSR that had its own embassy complex in Pakistan. On October 8, 2005, a terrible earthquake struck the north of Pakistan. Although not close to the earthquake zone, hundreds of houses were damaged in Islamabad, a multi-storey building collapsed, and 66 people, including 11 diplomats died. In total, 78 thousand people died in that earthquake, and the city of Balakot, with a population of 30 thousand, was completely destroyed. The day after the devastating disaster, on the instructions of President Ilham Aliyev, and taking into account the proposals of the Azerbaijani embassy, our

rescue team of 40 people, out of which 20 being doctors, arrived in Pakistan on a special plane with all the necessary equipment, and they immediately began to pull the wounded under the destructions and provide first aid. Of course, at that time the Azerbaijani state did not have the large financial resources as today. However, in accordance with the instructions of the President of Azerbaijan, 1.5 million dollars were allocated and immediately delivered to the brotherly country in order to meet the initial needs for survivors of the earthquake in Pakistan, and certain assistance was continued in the following years. The first school in the earthquake zone was also built and put into operation in a short time on the initiative of the head of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, Mehriban Aliyeva. Interestingly that at that time the Turkish state allocated more funds for aid to Pakistan and built schools and hospitals. But since our country put the first school into operation in the disaster zone, it was very pleasant and proud to read the name of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the first place among the countries that provided assistance. The opening of that school for 500 students, built on February 9, 2007 in the mountainous area of Rara region of Azad Kashmir, became a new symbol of Azerbaijani-Pakistani brotherhood. The surviving students of the previous school, which was completely destroyed by the earthquake, began classes in a modern school that Kashmiris call “Mehriban School”. After that, Azerbaijan often implemented various social projects in Pakistan, and such activities continue from time to time. In the following years, large-scale social projects were implemented in Pakistan through the Heydar Aliyev Foundation. At various times, our country provided

significant assistance to Pakistan during the flood disaster, water was pumped to some regions, and a great deal of medicines, medical devices and other necessary equipment for thalassemia patients were provided by Azerbaijan. For such great humanitarian services, Mehriban Aliyeva was awarded the “Hilale-Pakistan” Order, and this high order was personally presented by Pakistani President Mamnoon Hussain during his official visit to our country in 2015. It is quite noteworthy that still in 2012, the Pakistani Senate recognized the Khojaly genocide committed by Armenians against our people. We can say without hesitation that the same course continues consistently, and that the policy of friendship and brotherhood of our states is being implemented with great success today. It is no coincidence that, as soon as the Patriotic War began in Azerbaijan on September 27, 2020, the people and state of Pakistan unanimously demonstrated strong moral and political support for our people and state. All institutions at the state level, expressed their solidarity with Azerbaijan with determination and courage. As fate has willed the presidents and prime ministers who have led Pakistan in the previous periods have been the complete opposite of each other in terms of political worldview and have come to power and left power in conditions of sharp contradictions. Despite this, all of them have always supported Azerbaijan and demonstrated the same level of friendship and solidarity. This relationship continues to this day as an unbreakable bond. So, the relations between our countries are not built on current politics or temporary benefits. This is a clear manifestation of genuine friendship and brotherhood. In October 2020, when we were waging a Patriotic War to ensure our territorial

integrity, the congratulatory message sent by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Imran Khan on the occasion of our Independence Day, said: “I congratulate the brotherly people and state of Azerbaijan on Independence Day. I salute the Azerbaijani Armed Forces, who fought bravely to liberate their lands from occupation. We will continue our support to Azerbaijan on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council”.

***Azerbaijan Writers’ Union “World Literature” magazine, “Pakistan” special edition, Baku, 2021, issue-1, pp. 23-38.***



## **7 DAYS IN PAKISTAN AFTER 7 YEARS**

It was also a good fortune that I spent the first week of 2017 in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (IRP), which is dear and very valuable to me. At the invitation of the Pakistan Academy of Letters (PAL), I was on a business trip in the brotherly country from January 3 to 10, 2017, to participate in the 4th International Conference on Language, Literature and Society, organized by that scientific institution and under the auspices of the state of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This fascinating country, with a large part of nearly 200 million people of population, which we are close in ethnic, religious, spiritual, and historical ties with, although geographically distant from our region, is very close to our country in spirit, and is a reliable strategic partner in political terms, truly deserves to be called a “brotherly country”. Pakistan was formed in August 1947 as a result of the long-standing struggle of South Asian Muslims to establish an independent state under the leadership of a great socio-political figure, wise political and spiritual leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Quaid-e-Azam - in Urdu means the Great Leader - E.M.). M.A.Jinnah was the first Governor-General of Pakistan and laid the solid foundation of Pakistani statehood. Allama Muhammad Iqbal’s religious-philosophical and highly patriotic poems were the cornerstones of the spiritual unity of all the peoples of this new country.

After World War II, under the initiative of Great Britain, approximately two-thirds of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent established a state based solely on religious affiliation, without taking into account ethnic and

geographical factors. The state of Pakistan that was formed in this way - as a Muslim country with the provinces of Punjab and Sindh, which it shared with India, Baluchistan, which it shared with Iran, and the province formerly called the North-West Frontier Province, now called Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, which it shared with Afghanistan. In March 1956, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was proclaimed on the basis of the constitution adopted in the country. In 1971, the territory of the country called East Pakistan seceded as a result of a war on ethnic and political grounds and formed the state of Bangladesh, and soon after, the state of Pakistan had to accept this reality.

In the administrative-territorial division of Pakistan, another province, Gilgit-Baltistan, has been formed in recent years. Along with these provinces, Pakistan also includes three territorial units: the Islamabad Capital Territory, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas on the border with Afghanistan, and Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The provinces have a Provincial Assembly (local parliament) and a Provincial Government (headed by the Chief Minister). The government is formed by the party that wins the elections, as in the center.

This beautiful country, which seems distant and even a bit scary to many, has a completely different meaning for me. As its name suggests, it is an Islamic country inhabited by people with pure feelings, pure beliefs, and pure faith. Like its people, its state and its governments, which replace each other from time to time, have the same position and the same face. Always on the side of the truth, behind justice, and on the side of our country's rightful position on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. I would

like to emphasize here that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was among the first states to take this step by recognizing the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan on December 12, 1991. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established on June 9, 1992, and on March 12, 1993, embassy of Pakistan was opened in Azerbaijan. On April 30, 1993, under the chairmanship of Pakistan, the first UN Security Council resolution 822 was adopted, demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian armed forces from the occupied Azerbaijani territories. Since then, Pakistan has always unequivocally supported rightful position of Azerbaijan on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue in all regional and international forums. In August 1997, was established embassy of our country in Pakistan, and Isfandiyar Vahabzadeh became our first ambassador.

When it was announced that we were landing at Benazir Bhutto Airport in Islamabad on a plane flying from Dubai the brutal assassination of the first woman Prime Minister of the Muslim East, Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, who harmoniously combined religious affiliation, ethnic-national identity, very prestigious family traditions, high Oxford education, and modern worldview, who returned to the country after a long life of exile and participated in pre-election meetings to head the government again on December 27, 2007, stood before my eyes. The terrorist attack, which took place in a crowded meeting broadcasted live by TV channels in Rawalpindi, the capital city of Islamabad, where the command of the armed forces and a number of important state institutions are located, shook the entire Pakistan and deeply saddened us diplomats. Mrs. B.Bhutto had met with a group of our

ambassadors a few days ago, and I could not help but sympathize with Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, who emphasized that she remembered with pleasure her meeting with Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev in Islamabad in April 1996. It should be noted that at the invitation of Heydar Aliyev, Pakistani President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari paid an official visit to Azerbaijan on October 9-11, 1995. This first high-level visit was of great importance in terms of the development of strong friendly relations between our countries. President Heydar Aliyev and President Ahmed Khan Leghari signed a Cooperation Agreement, which determined the further direction of mutual relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The official visit of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev to Pakistan on April 9-11, 1996 had a significant impact on the expansion of bilateral and multilateral relations between our countries, and meetings and discussions with President Farooq Ahmed Leghari and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto played an exceptional role in determining new prospects for cooperation. It can be said with certainty that if she had not been assassinated, and had become the head of government again, Mrs. B.Bhutto would still have maintained her good attitude towards our country and people.

With these bitter memories in my mind, I got off the plane, and the warm welcome I received from my former colleagues dispelled these thoughts and turned them to optimist one. After months of drought, it was raining in Islamabad, and the prayer for rain by the people who had gathered in large numbers a few days earlier had apparently was heard. In this country, you can hardly find

an inch of vacant space where crops can be grown. People's lives depend on the soil, and the soil's life depends on the rain. In this country, you will not find an inch of empty land where cultivation is possible. The life of the people depends on the soil, and the life of the soil depends on the rain. The country provides itself with all the basic food products, including cereals, rice, sugar, meat, milk, fruits. Therefore, rainfall is an admirable event, of course, sometimes it also causes mischief. Despite the known difficulties, the new roads and bridges built in Islamabad attracted my attention, I was glad to see that the reinforced barriers and fortifications installed for security purposes in front of most of the important departments and organizations of the city have been somewhat limited. I also observed the decrease in the number of terrorist acts by following the press within seven days, which, according to my colleagues, is the result of the policies and measures decisively implemented by the current government.

On that day, our Ambassador Ali Alizadeh took me around the Embassy complex, which we built in 2007-2009 with the instructions and direct support of our dear President Mr. Ilham Aliyev, and spoke joyfully about the work done and changes made in recent years. I should note here that in the five years since I was transferred to Ukraine in the summer of 2010 by the order of our dear President, our Ambassador Dashgin Shikarov further developed the already well-established friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan, and prepared a good foundation for the effective work of the ambassador who replaced him. I would like to emphasize that during my contacts with former acquaintances, both within the

framework of the conference and outside it, both official and unofficial persons, scientists and representatives of the press, I was pleased that they spoke with satisfaction about the activities of the Azerbaijani Embassy. At the closing ceremony of the conference, former ambassador and President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Sardar Masood Khan, whom we were sitting next to and whom I have known for a long time, emphasized that he had just met with Ambassador A.Alizadeh, that he had deep sympathy for our people, and unambiguous position of our country on the Kashmir issue was of great importance.

I should note here that after being elected President of the Republic of Azerbaijan in October 1993, the great leader of the Azerbaijani people, Heydar Aliyev, attached special importance to the development of friendly relations with Pakistan in foreign policy of our country, and it was Heydar Aliyev who defined unequivocal position of our country on the Kashmir issue, which has been an irreconcilable point of contention between Pakistan and India since 1947 and has led to war between these two countries several times. Here I consider it necessary to mention an example of the consistency and unchangeability of our state's policy towards Pakistan. In February 1996, I was appointed Consul General of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Tabriz by President Heydar Aliyev, but since the opening of the consulate was delayed, I was simultaneously working as a counselor at our embassy in Tehran. I remember well that on 9-10 September 2000, during the Summit of Economic Cooperation Organization in Tehran, President Heydar Aliyev, despite his extremely busy work schedule, met with the Chief of the Executive Power of Pakistan,

General Pervez Musharraf. At that time, the Chief of Staff of the Pakistani Armed Forces, General Pervez Musharraf, as a result of a military coup, removed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from his post and placed him under house arrest, dismissed the government, suspended the activities of the country president, declared himself the head of the Executive Power of Pakistan, took over the functions of the state and government, and suspended the country's Constitution. In such circumstances, the leaders of many countries approached relations with Pakistan with caution. However, Heydar Aliyev's far-sighted policy manifested itself here as well. It was at this meeting that various areas of reliable strategic relations between our countries, especially the directions of military cooperation, were discussed, after which intensive mutual visits of high-ranking officials in this field began to take place. As a result of that meeting, on April 15, 2002, a Protocol on cooperation in the defense and military fields was signed between the Defense ministries of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Pakistan, and in September of the same year, an Agreement on Cooperation in the defense and military fields was concluded between the governments of the two countries. The intergovernmental Joint Commission between our countries continued its work consistently, current and prospective issues of relations were discussed, and necessary measures were taken.

The second meeting of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev and President Pervez Musharraf at the Summit of the Heads of States of the Economic Cooperation Organization countries held in Istanbul on October 13-14, 2002 further strengthened the mutual relations of our countries. I should like to note here that on

April 18, 2002, when appointing me as the Ambassador of our country to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, President Heydar Aliyev gave his instructions and recommendations for further deepening and strengthening of the established friendly relations with Pakistan. I had already arrived in Islamabad on May 10 and started performing my duties, and the close friendly relations of our heads of states had opened all the doors for my high-level meetings and contacts as an ambassador...

It should be noted that there is no single Academy of Sciences in Pakistan that encompasses all fields of science, like ours. The Pakistan Academy of Letters, which encompasses a number of fields of the humanities and social sciences, in particular, language, literature, history, cultural heritage, sociology, press, women's activities, issues of poets and writers, translation work and a number of other fields, is a reputable institution funded by the state and participating in the preparation of the state's cultural policy, therefore, the preparation and holding of this international conference was entrusted to the Academy of Letters. The other institution called the "Pakistan Academy of Sciences" is a compact scientific institution covering only the fields of exact, technical, and natural sciences.

At the opening of the conference, Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif delivered an interesting and inspiring speech. He emphasized that there is a serious need for Operation "Zarb-e-Qelem", along with the anti-terrorist operation "Zarb-e-Azb", against the forces spreading extremism and intolerance in society. He expressed his belief that writers, poets, intellectuals can play a decisive role in eliminating terrorism, separation,



sectarianism, and religious radicalism. The Prime Minister noted that in every society, writers and intellectuals play an important role in ensuring peace and harmony, eliminating hatred and hostility between people and bringing them closer to each other through their works and creative activities, and in our society they can also effectively fulfill this progressive mission. “Intellectuals are the heart, brain and soul of society, they think not only about today but also about the future”, said the Prime Minister, declaring 2017 the year of “Ensuring the good name of the country through the power of the pen” and calling all writers to mobilize in this area. At the closing of the conference, as planned in the program, President of the country Mamnoon Hussain attended and delivered a speech. One of the points in the President’s speech deserving attention was that Pakistan has been facing a difficult and complex situation for years related to extremism, terrorism and many other problems. When such problems are widespread and the people face such insecure conditions, literature brings literacy to society, ideological and psychological stability, creates a sense of confidence, and makes the impossible possible. Then, the president spoke about the role of writers and intellectuals in the development of the national language (Urdu is meant, English is considered an official language, both are state languages, but the leading role is played by Urdu.-E.M.) and said that nations that do not care about the development of their language cannot reach the top in their development.

It is noteworthy that the relations between this authoritative state institution and the Azerbaijani embassy are bearing fruit. Here, presentations were held of the

Urdu edition of the selected works of Jalil Mahammadguluzadeh, compiled and edited by the author of these lines with a very extensive and detailed introduction by Academician Isa Habibbeyli, and the English book “Poetry of Azerbaijan: A Drop in the Ocean”. Relations with the country’s leading universities, such as Qaid-e Azim University, Preston University, etc. are still successfully continued. During our meeting with Professor Muhammad Qasim Bugio, Chairman of the Pakistan Academy of Literature, I invited him to visit our country on behalf of Academician Teymur Karimli, Academic Secretary for Humanities of ANAS, Director of Muhammad Fuzuli Institute of Manuscripts.

At the conference, I met with the then director of the Central Ethnographic Museum of Pakistan (called “Luk Virsa”), now retired, Uksi Mufti, and I recalled with pleasure our joint creation of a separate Azerbaijani room in this famous museum, which is most visited by the people of the country and foreign tourists. I would like to note that at that time the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of our country played a decisive role in equipping that corner with the necessary cultural and ethnographic samples. When I heard that in recent years, with the support of our Embassy, a separate Nizami corner has also been created in the Pakistani book fund, I also experienced the joy of this. I should note that the publication and distribution of the books “Heydar Aliyev, the Great Leader of the Azerbaijani People”, “Heydar Aliyev and His Azerbaijan”, “Portrait of the President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev” by Viktor Andrianov and Husseinbala Miralamov, “A Brief History of Statehood of Azerbaijan” by Corresponding Member of ANAS, Honored Scientist,

Professor Yagub Mahmudov, “Azerbaijan, Paradise of the Caucasus” by Pakistani researcher Amir Bhatti and other books in English and Urdu languages were appreciated by Pakistani intellectuals, and the distribution of these books at various events and their sending to major libraries served to better familiarize the history and culture of our country. It was also possible to present the copies of the mentioned books remaining at the Embassy to the conference participants.

It is commendable that the country press showed great interest in the four-day conference. TV channels and the press interviewed participants, asked questions about the role of intellectuals and religious figures in promoting good relations between people in society, respect for each other’s language, religious beliefs, and national affiliation, and were interested in the work being done in similar areas in other countries. In several interviews, I provided information about the multicultural policy pursued at the state level in our country and the rich experience already accumulated in this area. It should be noted that in a brotherly country where radical Islamism and sectarian discrimination have sometimes led to conflicts and sometimes to great tragedies, state policy is more focused on promoting educationist Islam, especially the teachings of Sufism, more widely. It was no coincidence that a large part of the reports made at the conference concerned the issues of strengthening interfaith and intercultural trust in society.

During the conference, my old friends, whom I had not met for seven years, Prof. Dr. Tahir Amin, the rector of Baha-ud-din Zakariya University in Multan, Prof. Dr. Abdul Basit, the rector of Preston University in Islamabad,

and Faisal Malik, the editor-in-chief of the “Pakistan Observer” newspaper, told me that they had participated in international humanitarian forums held in Baku in recent years and had returned from Azerbaijan with great impressions each time. At the department meeting held on January 7, my report on the topic “Attitude to the Azerbaijani people and their language in Iranian historiography during the time of Reza Shah (1925-1941)” was met with interest and raised a number of questions about the independent Republic of Azerbaijan, as well as Azerbaijan in Iran, and their mutual relations. I emphasized that the Azerbaijani people, both here and in Iran, benefit from the ever-expanding relations of our country with the friendly and brotherly Islamic Republic of Iran and these pleasant cooperative relations, and that simplified travel and the expansion of humanitarian relations are beneficial for both sides.

During the breaks of the conference, representatives of the Pakistani media happily recalled the social projects implemented by the Heydar Aliyev Foundation in Pakistan and asked about the projects in the future. I remember well that in October 2005, Pakistan suffered great losses as a result of a terrible earthquake, 70 thousand people lost their lives, and the country infrastructure was severely damaged. On the second day of the earthquake, on the instructions of the President of Azerbaijan, a 40-member rescue team and a medical staff from Azerbaijan began operating in the disaster zone, among the countries that first came to help. Despite the limited resources at that time, the Azerbaijani state provided \$1.5 million in cash assistance to the brotherly country to immediately meet the initial needs of the earthquake survivors, and on the

instructions of the leadership, I presented the corresponding bank check to the head of the Pakistan Earthquake Relief Organization, and then the provision of humanitarian aid continued. At the initiative of the head of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, the first lady of Azerbaijan, Mehriban Aliyeva, a modern secondary school for 400 students was built in a short time on the land plot of a school building that was completely destroyed as a result of the earthquake in the Rara settlement in the Azad Kashmir territory in the north of Pakistan and put into operation with all the necessary equipment. This school, as the first modern educational institution put into operation in the earthquake zone, has always been at the top of the list and has become a vivid example of the loyalty and trust of our countries and peoples to each other. I remember that on February 9, 2007, on a snowy day, with great difficulty, overcoming more than a hundred kilometers along mountain roads, we opened the school with the participation of Anar Alakbarov, the executive director of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, Eldar Ibrahimov, the head of the Azerbaijan-Pakistan Interparliamentary Friendship Group, and Pakistani officials. It was impossible not to be impressed by the joy and gratitude on the faces of hundreds of young girls and their parents. In the following years, the Heydar Aliyev Foundation implemented a number of successful social welfare projects in Pakistan, provided significant humanitarian assistance to the victims of floods in Pakistan, and carried out necessary measures such as drinking water supply and medical services in remote and poor regions.

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, further developed the Azerbaijan-Pakistan

friendship and cooperation, founded by our Great leader Heydar Aliyev, in the new complex international geopolitical conditions. Relations between the parliaments, governments and various socio-political structures of our countries have expanded further. The President of our country, Ilham Aliyev, was awarded the “Person of the Year” award by the authoritative commission of the leading Pakistani newspaper “Pakistan Observer”, and the then editor-in-chief of the newspaper, a well-known public figure, Zahid Malik, respectfully presented this award to our President in Baku.

At the invitation of President Ilham Aliyev, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf visited our country in July 2004, all areas of mutual relations were discussed, and the Pakistani side expressed its readiness to cooperate with all its capabilities for the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.

With the official visit of President Ilham Aliyev to Pakistan in April 2005, a completely new stage began in Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations, and specific projects and practical work were put on the agenda. On the instructions of the President of Azerbaijan, a plot of land was purchased for the Azerbaijani embassy in the diplomatic town in Islamabad and a large embassy complex was built. After the visit of the President of Azerbaijan, military-technical cooperation and humanitarian relations between our countries expanded more rapidly.

In October 2012, Pakistani President Asif Zardari visited our country, and visits of high-ranking Pakistani parliamentarians and government representatives to our country intensified.

In March 2015, during his official visit to Azerbaijan,

the new Pakistani President Mamnoon Hussain awarded First Lady of Azerbaijan Mehriban Aliyeva with the high order of the Pakistani state, the “Hilal-e Pakistan”. President Mamnoon Hussain stated that Pakistan and Azerbaijan have excellent and multifaceted relations based on cultural and religious affinity and ancient historical roots. President Ilham Aliyev emphasized that Azerbaijan and Pakistan are true allies.

It should be noted that in the year 2016, Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations also had a prominent place in the foreign policy of our state. Thus, on January 21, 2016, President Ilham Aliyev met with Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at the International Economic Forum in Davos and invited him to visit our country. It should be noted that since Pakistan is a parliamentary republic, the Prime Minister is a leading figure as the head of the government, and Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister for the third time, is a well-known politician with a special weight in regional politics. The visit of Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to Azerbaijan on October 16, 2016 brought a new atmosphere to the established friendly relations between our countries. At a joint press conference after his meetings with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif: President Ilham Aliyev stated “Pakistan is one of the first three countries to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan. At that time, the Prime Minister was Mr. Nawaz Sharif... We support each other on the issues of Kashmir and Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijan fully supports the resolution of the Kashmir issue based on the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council... We are very grateful to Pakistan for not recognizing Armenia for occupying Azerbaijani lands and for not establishing diplomatic relations with Armenia.

This is a sign of brotherhood. We are grateful that in 2012 the Senate of Pakistan officially recognized the Khojaly tragedy as genocide”.

President Ilham Aliyev emphasized that the defense sector is of particular importance in expanding relations of our country with Pakistan. Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, in turn, stated that Pakistan supports the complete liberation of all occupied territories of Azerbaijan, the withdrawal of Armenian armed forces from Nagorno-Karabakh and adjacent regions, and the return of refugees and internally displaced persons to their homelands.

It should be noted that President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, whose domestic and foreign policies, especially his consistent policy of friendship and strategic cooperation with Pakistan, are highly appreciated in Pakistan, has been invited by the President and Prime Minister of the friendly country to an official visit. Information about this high-level visit is already being reported in the Pakistani press. We can confidently say that the upcoming visit of Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev will enrich the mutual relations of our countries with new content and quality.

Although the lack of direct flights between our country and Pakistan, as well as the length of the highway passing through Iran, limit trade, economic and tourism relations, as they say, “there are paths through the hearts”, and the impressions I received from my visit suggest that I should not wait another seven years for my next visit to this friendly country.

***The “525-ci qazet”, January 28, 2017***



**Interview for the “525ci qazet”  
RELATED TO AZERBAIJAN-PAKISTAN  
RELATIONSHIP**

*Karabakh problem of Azerbaijan also created an opportunity for it to recognize its friend and enemy. In this regard, we have seen the friendly position of a number of countries, along with Turkiye, and felt their support to the end. The most important among them is the friendly and brotherly state of Pakistan. Pakistan has always shown its support to our state and people.*

*This time, we talked about this topic, about Pakistan-Azerbaijan relations and the historical roots of these relations with our interlocutor, Eynulla Madatli, Deputy Director for Scientific Affairs of the Institute of Philosophy of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences (ANAS), Doctor of Historical Sciences, former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Azerbaijan to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.*

***- Mr. Madatli, we would like to start our conversation with your thoughts and impressions about Pakistan as a former ambassador who spent years there.***

*- Undoubtedly, the second country among the friendly states of Azerbaijan, after Turkiye, which we can confidently call a brother, is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. My acquaintance with Pakistan, of course, began directly when the great leader Heydar Aliyev appointed me as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to that country in April 2002. However, before that, when I worked as the first appointed Consul General of Azerbaijan in the Iranian city of Tabriz and the counsellor*

of the Azerbaijani ambassador in Tehran, that is, between 1996 and 2001, I was naturally interested in Pakistan as a country of the region. At that time, it was also a time of intense events in Afghanistan. Strong political processes were taking place there. Somehow or other, these processes were related to Iran and Pakistan. Therefore, my interest in Pakistan arose in those years. My stronger interest is related to another event. Thus, in June 2000, the Great leader Heydar Aliyev came to Iran on a business trip. We were accompanying our president at the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) Summit. At that time, the Pakistani ambassador to Iran appealed that Pakistani leader Pervez Musharraf wanted to meet with Mr. Heydar Aliyev. At that time, Pervez Musharraf was not yet called the president. Because, due to the situation, he had staged a coup in his country, suspended the president's activities, removed the prime minister from his post, suspended the constitution, and consolidated power in his own hands, had become the head of the executive power of the country. America and European countries viewed these events as a military coup by Pervez Musharraf. In fact, this was not a military coup, but a situation that arose as a result of serious mistakes by the previous government, and the Pakistani army seized power bloodless. For these circumstances, other heads of states still did not accept Pervez Musharraf and did not want to communicate with him. But despite this, Heydar Aliyev accepted the invitation and the meeting took place in Tehran. It was a very important meeting. And I would say that it was the meeting that played a decisive role in Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations after 2000. True, relations between these two countries had begun earlier, at the

invitation of the Great Leader, Pakistani President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari visited our country, a year later in April 1996, Heydar Aliyev paid an official visit to Pakistan and held effective meetings with the President and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. However, new political conditions had arisen in Pakistan, the army had seized power, and the Great Leader, who was a supporter of principles and consistency in politics, made the right decision, and this played an indispensable role in future mutual relations. Some time after this meeting, or rather in April 2002, a Protocol on cooperation in the defense and military spheres was signed between the Defense Ministries of Azerbaijan and Pakistan. In October of the same year, the Great Leader met again with the elected president Pervez Musharraf in Istanbul. After Mr. Ilham Aliyev was elected president, he continued that course consistently and developed it over time. Pakistan is a very important country for us.

***- Where do the historical roots of political and cultural relations between Azerbaijan and Pakistan come from?***

- Pakistan as a state was established in 1947 in the Indian subcontinent with the end of the British colonial policy here and the formation of two states called India and Pakistan in this region. The British government had to take into account the centuries-old struggle of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent to establish an independent state on the basis of religious affiliation, and thus this state was established, covering the areas where Muslims mainly live in the current geography of Pakistan. At that time, the process of resettling Indians from Pakistan to India, and some Muslims from there to Pakistan, took place, and

many tragedies occurred. It should be taken into account that even now, after Pakistan and Indonesia, India is the country with the largest population of Muslims. In general, the Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochs, Kashmiris, Pashtuns, and the entire Pakistani people of Turkic-Persian-Arab origin living in this region, who speak Urdu, have had very ancient historical ties with us - Turks. Eg., , from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD, Pakistan and the entire Turkestan, that is, the territory where our region and the present-day Turkic republics of Central Asia are located, were part of a single empire called the Kushans. In the 4th century, the Huns, mainly the White Huns, who are considered the ancestors of the Turks, ruled in the Punjab and Sindh provinces of present-day Pakistan. After the mid of the 7th century, Arabs began to spread Islam both in our region and in the Indian subcontinent. With the advent of Islam, a common culture was created in these areas. This also had its effect.

After the Caliphate weakened, new independent states began to emerge in separate territories. In such circumstances, the Ghaznavid state was established in Central Asia under the leadership of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. For many years, Pakistan was part of this Turkish state. Even the second largest city of Pakistan, the political and cultural center, Lahore, was the capital of that state for about 35 years. Thus, the Turkish element became even stronger during this period. In the following periods, at the end of the 14th century, the campaigns of Amir Timur also kept the Turkish factor alive. In 1501, the Safavid state of Azerbaijan was established under the leadership of Shah Ismail. Soon this state exceeded the borders of Azerbaijan and turned into a great empire. At

such a time, the Great Mughal Empire was emerging in the East. It is also called the Mogul in Azerbaijani literature. Zahir-al-din Babur, who founded this state, was also a Turk. Shah Ismail returned Babur's sister, who had been captured in a battle with the Uzbek Sheybani Khan near Merv in 1510, with great respect. After this incident, began friendship of Babur and Shah Ismail. This friendship became eternal.

Babur attacked Delhi in 1525 and declared the establishment of the Great Mughal Empire. They established close diplomatic and friendly relations with the Safavids state.

With the death of Babur in 1530, his son Humayun ascended the throne. 10 years later, the Afghans revolted against him and dethroned him. Humayun, together with his family and close associates, took refuge in the Safavid palace in Tabriz. At that time, Shah Tahmasib, the son of Shah Ismail, was in power. He received Humayun with great respect. Humayun stayed here for more than ten years and was protected. In 1555, Shah Tahmasib placed at his disposal a 12.000-strong army of Azerbaijanis led by Budag Bey Qajar. So, Humayun attacked Delhi with this army and regained his throne. In short, the history of Pakistan is the history of the Mughal Empire. That is, without the help of the Safavids, the historical state of Azerbaijan, the Mughal Empire would not have been restored and would not have survived. These friendly relations were based on ethnic roots, political-religious ties, and cultural-spiritual closeness.

While being in Tabriz, Humayun was so fascinated by Azerbaijani culture and literature that upon returning to his homeland, he invited hundreds of Azerbaijani artists,

architects, calligraphers, and miniaturists to his country, and they did very important works in a large area that now belongs to Pakistan and India.

Or we talked about Islamic culture. As Islam spread, its various sects emerged. Sufism was very strong in Azerbaijan. The teachings of Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi and other Sufi ideas were also spreading in the Indian subcontinent. Eg., , one of the famous figures of Sufism, Shams Tabrizi, has a mausoleum in Konya, next to that of Mevlānā Jalāl-ed-Dīn Rumi, and another is in the city of Multan, Pakistan. When I was working in Pakistan, of course, I traveled to all possible regions to get to know the country better, and I also visited the city of Multan. Because there were other ties connecting our country with Multan. When I visited the mausoleum of Shams Tabrizi, I saw more than a hundred dervishes there. They all came to visit Shams. Many of us know dervishes from folklore and literature. But they were typical, real-life dervishes, with their clothes, their hair, and their *heybes* (bags) on their shoulders. They would approach the tomb of Shams on their knees and turned around it. That is, Shams' tomb is a place where Sufi dervishes gather in Pakistan.

Other Azerbaijani poets, philosophers, and scientists were also known and loved in the Indian subcontinent. Amir Khosrow Dehlavi, inspired from Nizami Ganjavi, created "Khamisa". Eg., , the 17th-century Azerbaijani poet and scientist Saib Tabrizi was invited to the court of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan in 1630 and was well known and loved by the Shah family and children. His epic poems, odes, especially the work "Gandahar-nameh" were widely distributed. To the point, the architect of the Taj Mahal mausoleum, erected by Shah Jahan in memory

of his untimely wife Mumtaz Khanum and considered one of the seven wonders of the world, was the Turk Isa Efendi. Also, the prominent Azerbaijani poet and physician Rugnaddin Masihi (Doctor Rugna) was the personal physician of the Mughal Emperors, in the palaces of Akbar Shah and then Jahangir Shah. At the same time, he was also engaged in creativity. His work “Verga and Gulsha” was loved in the East. Or, when Humayun moved from Tabriz to Delhi, one of the architects he took with him was Agha Mirak. Humayun’s wife also took many artists and craftsmen from Tabriz. When Humayun died, Agha Mirak erected a mausoleum for him. This famous mausoleum has survived to this day.

After the national uprising against the British colonialists in 1858 was ruthlessly suppressed, Bahadur Khan, the last shah of the Great Mughal Empire, took refuge in that mausoleum with his family so that the British would spare them. But the British did not spare them, his children were killed, and he himself was exiled, and a few years later he died in Burma.

***- Along with these political and cultural relations, there were probably also trade relations between the two peoples?***

- Of course. Eg., , in the 14th-15th centuries, Indian merchants from the city of Multan, used to pass along the Silk Road, come to Baku to trade, and then pass through here to Europe. They came in such large numbers that the ruler of Baku finally had built a separate caravanserai for them. Our current Multan Palace, or Caravanserai in Icherisheher is a monument of the 14th-15th centuries, built for Multan merchants and their animals. Such relations were so close that trade and cultural ties between

peoples covered a vast geography, and perhaps even the process we now call “globalization” was even more advanced then than it is now.

Thus, the formation, ethnic landscape, and psychology of the Pakistani people have a foundation rooted in ancient times, where Turkish affiliation had always existed and gained favor since the time of the Caliphate, then during the Ghaznavids in the 10th-12th centuries, the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th-14th centuries, and the Mughal Empire in the 16th-18th centuries. Most of the 12.000 Qizilbash soldiers who went to India with Humayun during the reign of Shah Tahmasib did not return, but settled there. Today, thousands of people in Pakistan have the surnames “Qizilbash”, “Tabrizli”, “Shirvanli”, “Shirvani”, “Nakhchivani”. No matter where they came from, this fact now lives in surnames. Hundreds of thousands of people in Pakistan have the words “Mirza”, “Khan”, “Shah”, “Bey”, “Beyim” in their names. All of them are either of Turkish or mixed Turkish-Persian Azerbaijani or Iranian origin. Such examples are many. There is a historically formed ethnic affinity between us and them. Regardless of what ethnic identity they have, the word “Azerbaijan” evokes sympathy among Pakistanis, since in Urdu, the state language of the country, “Bhay Jan” means qardash can, and the name of our country means “Azer qardash can-beloved brother Azer”.

***- We read in the press that Haji Zeynalabdin Tagiyev sent vaccines from here for the infectious disease that was spreading in Pakistan at that time and prevented mass deaths there. What do you know about this?***

- I have read about this too. This was typical of that



time. Muslim countries, especially their progressive people, thought not only about themselves, but about the entire Islamic world. For example, Jalil Mammadguluzadeh's "Molla Nasreddin" magazine had dozens of subscribers in India, where it periodically provided information about the struggle of the Indian people (of course, Muslims and Indians together - E.M.) against British colonialism, and about the processes taking place in that region. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Azerbaijani press also illuminated the problems of Iran, India, Afghanistan and Arab countries.

At that time, a number of infectious diseases were spreading in the Indian subcontinent. This is a fact. Haji Zeynalabdin Tagiyev spent a lot of money on vaccination at his own expense. The same process was going on in the Ottoman Empire. They also helped in this situation.

**- *Mr.Madatli, what was the level of relations between the two countries during the USSR?***

- Relations during the USSR period began after 1947. That year, Britain decided to create two independent states on the Indian Subcontinent, which it had dominated for more than a century, solely on religious grounds: Pakistan for Muslims, and the Union of India for non-Muslims. They drew a conditional border. Because Muslims lived everywhere in India. In principle, that border should have been conditional. That is why tens of millions of people had to migrate from one side to the other, and from this side to the other. There were great tragedies in this process. But in any case, these states were established. Because Indian Muslims had been fighting for independence alongside Indians since the beginning of the 20th century. Indian Indians wanted to establish their own

states under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and Muslims wanted to establish their own states under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Quaid-i-Azam ).

Thus, shortly after the formation of the state of Pakistan in 1947, relations were also established with the USSR. These were not as close as the relations between India and the USSR, but there was cooperation anyway. However, in the 1950s, Pakistan was mainly in the political and military blocs supported by the United States and the West, and relations with the USSR were cool due to its close ties with India. In 1965, after the next war between Pakistan and India, a peace treaty was signed in Tashkent by the President of Pakistan Ayub Khan and the Prime Minister of India Lal Bahadur Shastri with the mediation of the USSR and the participation of the then head of government A.Kosygin. After that, relations with the USSR improved somewhat. There were some economic cooperation projects, but they had never reached a high level. Towards the end of the USSR, the Soviet ambassador to Pakistan was Abdurrahman Vazirov. Since he was also a non-national, the Pakistani public did not even know that he was Azerbaijani, and such a person, who was completely an odd person in diplomacy, could not form any opinion about Azerbaijan. The Soviet government also viewed this state, which was already called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as a close partner and rival of India. Therefore, Azerbaijan did not play any role in USSR-Pakistan relations.

For about 10 years, Pakistan, like many other countries in the world, supported the resistance movement in Afghanistan since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. As a result, relations between the two countries

have been cold, even tense, in recent times, and all this has been happening in the context of the increasing military cooperation of the USSR with India.

**- *So, relations between Azerbaijan and Pakistan were restored with Azerbaijan's independence, weren't they?***

- Yes. After the collapse of the USSR, Azerbaijan declared its independence on October 18, 1991. Shortly after, on December 12, Pakistan recognized independence of Azerbaijan. Thus, it became the second country to recognize our independence after Türkiye. Diplomatic relations were established soon. In 1993, Pakistan opened its embassy in Baku. The Azerbaijani embassy began work in Islamabad four years later, in 1997. Since we were a newly formed state and were involved in a war with the aggressive Armenian state, our capabilities were limited, and we did not have embassies in many countries. Since 1997, the Azerbaijani embassy in Pakistan has been operating as one of our most active and efficient embassies and is still working hard to strengthen mutual friendship and brotherly relations.

Here I would like to emphasize that Resolution No. 822, adopted by the UN Security Council on April 30, 1993, demanding the unconditional withdrawal of Armenian troops from the occupied Azerbaijani territories, was adopted precisely when Pakistan chaired the Council, with the direct initiative and efforts of the Pakistani government. This was a very great step. This was first support showed us by Pakistan then. The Prime Minister of the country at that time was Nawaz Sharif. He played a very significant role in the life of Pakistan. After him, Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister. During their time, relations developed further. The Great Leader Heydar

Aliyev played a very important role in the further development of these relations. Thus, he invited the then President of Pakistan, Ahmed Khan Leghari, on an official visit to Azerbaijan. It was a very interesting visit. A year later, in April 1996, the President of Azerbaijan paid an official visit to Pakistan. At that time, President Heydar Aliyev held extensive meetings with President A.Kh.Leghari and Prime Minister of the country, Benazir Bhutto. Benazir Bhutto had a special sympathy for Azerbaijan. At that time, many documents on cooperation were signed between the two countries, and relations with such a strong foundation continued afterwards as well.

I would like to note that these relations reached an even higher level during the time of President Ilham Aliyev. Thus, on April 18, 2002, President Heydar Aliyev appointed me as Ambassador to Pakistan. When I went there, our embassy was placed in a small two-story house in a remote neighborhood of the city. Our first task was to move the embassy to the city center. We rented a very suitable mansion in Ataturk Alley in the center of Islamabad, where a number of embassies and government agencies were located, and moved there. It was a happy coincidence that the Pakistani embassy in Baku was also located on Ataturk Avenue. In April 2005, Mr. President Ilham Aliyev paid an official visit to Pakistan. He also visited our embassy then.

To the point, I would like to say that Turkiye played a significant role in establishing our close relations with Pakistan during the years of independence. With the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed between Turkiye and Pakistan in 1956, the relations between the peoples that had existed for many years rose to a new

level. The close relations between Turkiye and Pakistan have gradually developed into a common brotherhood between our countries.

On October 8, 2005, a terrible earthquake struck the north of Pakistan. A multi-story building collapsed in Islamabad, killing 66 people, including 11 diplomats. In total, 78.000 people died in that earthquake, and the city of Balakot, with a population of 30.000, was completely destroyed. The day after the disaster, on the instructions of President Ilham Aliyev and taking into account the proposals of the Azerbaijani embassy, our rescue team of 40 people, including 20 doctors, arrived in Pakistan on a special plane with all the necessary equipment, and they immediately began to take out the wounded under the destructions and provide first aid. At that time, of course, our country did not yet have large financial resources. However, despite this, on the instructions of the President of Azerbaijan, \$1.5 million was immediately transferred to the appropriate bank to meet the initial needs of those affected by the earthquake, and certain assistance was continued in the following years as well.

The first school in the earthquake zone was also built and put into operation on the initiative of the head of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, Mrs. Mehriban Aliyeva. The Turkish government allocated more funds and built schools and hospitals. But since our country put the first school into operation, it was very nice to hear the name of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the first place among the countries that helped. On February 9, 2007, we opened a 400-person school built by Azerbaijan in the mountainous area of Rara region in Kashmir. After that, Azerbaijan often implemented various social projects in Pakistan, and

such activities continue to this day.

On the instructions of President Ilham Aliyev, we built an embassy complex there in 2007-2009. I would like to note that no other country in the world has a large embassy complex consisting of administrative buildings, residences, residential buildings and other structures like the one in Pakistan. Because Mr. President put it this way: our relations and friendship with Pakistan are eternal. Therefore, we should have our own embassy there. At that time, Azerbaijan was the only country from the former USSR that had its own embassy complex in Pakistan.

After me, Dashgin Shikarov, who was previously the embassy counsellor, worked effectively as an ambassador. He implemented a number of social projects through the Heydar Aliyev Foundation. During the floods, our country provided significant assistance to Pakistan, water pipes were laid to some regions, and a large amount of medicines, treatment devices and other equipment for thalassemia patients was provided by our state.

Currently, our ambassador to Pakistan is our experienced diplomat Ali Alizadeh. The same course continues, successfully implementing the policy of our state. As a result, when our Patriotic War began on September 27, the entire Pakistani people, regardless of political party affiliation, demonstrated their support for us. At the state level, all state institutions demonstrated that they were with us. The Ministry of Defense hung the large flag of Azerbaijan from its building. Let me remind you that before that, the Senate of Pakistan recognized the Khojaly genocide committed by Armenians against our people. The Pakistani state did not establish diplomatic relations with Armenia at all, since it occupied the lands of

Azerbaijan, and there are no such relations now.

During the years of independence, sympathy for the Azerbaijani people in Pakistan has increased even more. It should be noted that in recent years, presidents and prime ministers in Pakistan have been complete opposites of each other and have come to power and left power in conditions of sharp contradictions with each other. However, despite this, they have all supported Azerbaijan and demonstrated the same friendship and solidarity. This relationship continues today as an unbreakable bond. In his congratulatory message to our state on Independence Day in October of this year, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, said: "I congratulate the brotherly people and state of Azerbaijan on Independence Day. I salute the Azerbaijani Armed Forces, who fought bravely to liberate their lands from occupation. We will continue our support for Azerbaijan on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council".

All this is both history and our present reality. The policy of friendship and cooperation pursued by President Ilham Aliyev towards Pakistan is bearing fruit today. That is why in Pakistan they always say that Pakistan, Azerbaijan and Turkiye are one nation, three states.

***Interviewed by: Shahana Mushvig.  
"525-ci qazet" (Newspaper No. 525), October 31,  
November 3, 2020.***

## **AZERBAIJAN-PAKISTAN: FRIENDLIY RELATIONS AND THE COOPERATION AT A NEW STAGE**

It was a source of great happiness and immense joy for me to have had the opportunity to spend the first week of 2017 in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, a valuable country which is so precious and close to my heart. I remembered with emotion the time when I worked as the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Azerbaijan in this brotherly country in 2002-2010. I visited this brotherly country to Azerbaijan on January 3-10<sup>th</sup>, 2017, to attend the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on “Language, Literature and Society” organized by the Pakistan Academy of Letters (PAL) under the direct patronage and support of the government of Pakistan. This wonderful nation of 200 million people indeed merits to be called a true brotherly country to Azerbaijan as we have close ethnic, religious, spiritual and historical ties with the great majority of Pakistani people. Although situated far away geographically, two countries are bound by strong historic ties and unbreakable relations as well as close strategic cooperation on political issues in many fronts.

Pakistan came into being as a sovereign nation in August of 1947 as a result of a painstaking freedom movement and independence struggle of the Muslim population of a South Eastern subcontinent under the prudent vision and judicious guidance of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (*Quaid-i-Azam* in Urdu meaning a *Great Leader*) who was a prominent public figure, as well as a political frontrunner at the time and is considered to be a great national and spiritual leader to all Pakistani people now.



Jinnah was the first general governor of Pakistan who guided the nation through the hard-won independence and laid a solid foundation for the ensuing Pakistani state. Jinnah's robust leadership was accompanied by the high-spirited poems of Allama Muhammad Iqbal who inspired the whole nation with his powerful religious and philosophical contemplations reflected in his poems. His insightful poems celebrating the values of liberty and patriotism can be said to be the cornerstones upon which unity and cohesion of all ethnic groups residing in Pakistan were constructed.

But, it has to be mentioned that the state of Pakistan was formed only by two thirds of Muslims residing in Indian subcontinent after the World War II with the direct arrangement of Great Britain. It was based only on a religious identity with no ethnic and geographic factors taken into deep consideration. Therefore, the state of Pakistan was formed upon lands in divided provinces with its neighboring countries. The provinces of Punjab and Sindh are shared with India, Balochistan with Iran, and the former North-West Frontier Province which is currently named as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is parted between Pakistan and Afghanistan along the border. Pakistan was announced the Islamic Republic as according to the constitution adopted in 1956. The subsequent ethnic and political war engulfing the Eastern part of Pakistan in 1971 brought about an eventual split-up of this territory and establishment of a separate state, Bangladesh. Pakistan was left with no choice and it had to finally accept this new reality and recognize the independence of Bangladesh.

In last years, a new province was added to the administrative division of the territory of Pakistan, now

known as Gilgit-Baltistan (an autonomous territory). Apart from these, there are three other administrative units in Pakistan, Islamabad Capital Territory, Federally Administered Tribal Areas bordering Afghanistan and an autonomous territory of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Each province has a Provincial Assembly, a directly elected legislature and each Assembly elects a Chief Minister, who then selects the ministers of his or her cabinet from amongst the members of the Provincial Assembly in the same way the federal government is formed.

This beautiful country which remains in distant obscurity to many, and evokes a sense of fear and terror for many others in the world has a very special place and significance in my life. Just like its name, Pakistan means a country of the pure-hearted, pure-minded and a people of pure-faith to me. Just like its people, the state of Pakistan and periodically changing governments have an unchanging face and one standing for me, that is a correct stand on justice and fairness as demonstrated by its staunch opposition to and a strong denunciation of occupation of the Nagorno Karabakh by the armed forces of Armenia and its constant backing of Azerbaijan in helping it advance its right cause in international arena. It is worth mentioning it here that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was among the first countries to recognize the state independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan on 12 December, 1991, not long after the declaration of independence was announced by Azerbaijan. Diplomatic relations between our countries were first established on 9 June in 1992 and the Embassy of Pakistan in Azerbaijan was subsequently inaugurated on 12 March in 1993. The 822th resolution of the UN, demanding the immediate and

unconditional withdrawal of all Armenian armed forces from the territories of Azerbaijan was adopted on 30<sup>th</sup> of April, 1993 in the UN under the presidency of Pakistan at the Security Council then. As highlighted above, Pakistan was always unequivocal in lending its unwavering support to Azerbaijan on this issue in all regional and international platforms. Consequently, the Embassy of Azerbaijan was also instituted in Pakistan in August of 1997 and Isfandiyar Vahabzade, a renowned academician in Oriental studies was appointed as our first ambassador to Pakistan.

When a landing announcement was made for my plane flying to Islamabad from Dubai and the name of the Islamabad airport was mentioned as the Benazir Bhutto airport, my first immediate thought was a grim recollection of Benazir Bhutto's ruthless assassination on 27<sup>th</sup> December in 2007 when she was attending a pre-election campaign event in her renewed efforts to assume to office of Prime Minister to head the government again after a protracted and difficult life in exile. Bhutto was the first woman to become a Prime Minister in a Muslim world and her personality in a way embodied an unusual blend of ethnic-national identity and religious beliefs, traditional family values, Oxford education and modern outlook in life. Like the whole nation, we as diplomats were also deeply shocked and saddened by her death in such a gruesome way as her assassination moment was broadcast on TV. It happened when she was about to leave the campaign rally in Rawalpindi, a city adjacent to capital Islamabad where armed forces headquarters and several important government agencies are located. Ms. Bhutto had received a group of diplomats just a few days before her assassination and I was among these diplomats. I

expressed my deep sympathies to her as she recalled and highlighted her pleasure in meeting Heydar Aliyev, the then President of Azerbaijan in April of 1996 in Islamabad. It has to be underlined that an earlier official state-level visit between our countries had taken place on 9-11 October in 1995 when Sardar Farooqh Ahmad Khan Leghari, then the President of Pakistan, had visited Azerbaijan upon the invitation of Heydar Aliyev. This visit had proved to be very significant in terms of laying a good foundation for development of strong, friendly relations between the two countries as presidents signed a Cooperation Agreement. Likewise, the subsequent official visit of Heydar Aliyev to Pakistan on 9-11 April in 1996 led to further advancement of bilateral and multilateral relations between our countries and the meetings held with President Farooqh Ahmad Leghari and then the Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto played an irreplaceable role in determining new perspectives for collaboration and cooperation. There is no doubt that if not assassinated, Ms. Benazir Bhutto would have continued to show the same respect and goodwill towards Azerbaijan and strive to raise mutual ties to a higher level.

I disembarked with these painful memories in mind, but a warm welcome I received from my ex-colleagues replaced my gloomy thoughts with optimism for the future of this country. It was raining in Islamabad and I was informed that this rain came after months of a complete drought. Only a few days back, the faithful had gathered together in masses to implore for a rain in publicly performed prayers. It seemed that the God had heard their pleas. You cannot find even a small piece of empty or barren land in this country which is not used for farming

since majority of the Pakistani people depend on land for their entire livelihood. Therefore, it is no wonder why despite all potential risks and consequences of devastatingly heavy floods, the rain has become such a celebrated and highly cherished subject of worshipping for many believers. Pakistan is a self-sufficient country in producing wheat, rice, fruit and dairy products although its population growth keeps soaring. What attracted my attention the most was that in spite of ever-present security threats, new roads and bridges were built in Islamabad, the iron barricades and concrete fences erected in front of central offices and organizations were less noticeable. As I was informed by my colleagues and newspaper reports in Pakistan, the number of terror attacks had substantially subsided in the country recently thanks to the rigorous and consistent policies carried out by the current government.

On that day I also had a chance to visit the Embassy Complex of Azerbaijan in Islamabad constructed with the order and direct support of our respectable President, Ilham Aliyev in years of 2007-2009. Our Ambassador to Pakistan, Ali Alizade closely acquainted me with the latest renovations and talked about ongoing changes in the Complex with a high sense of pride. It is worth mentioning here that after I was appointed an Ambassador to Ukraine in 2010 with the presidential decree, my successor Ambassador Dashgin Shikarov worked very hard to further improve our friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan and prepared a good starting point for the current ambassador to start his tenure. During interactions at the conference, as well as in my other meetings, I was extremely delighted to hear officials of government of Pakistan, as well as academicians and

media representatives to speak highly of the activities of the Ambassador of Azerbaijan to Pakistan. Sardar Masud Khan, the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir province who I already knew very well beforehand as a former ambassador was among those appreciating our Ambassador's activity for betterment of relations between our countries. He was sitting beside me at the closing ceremony of the conference, and he underlined their recent meeting with our Ambassador, conveyed his deep affection for our country and stressed the importance of Azerbaijan supporting Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir.

It needs to be highlighted here that after being elected as the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan in October of 1993, Heydar Aliyev, the national leader of Azerbaijani people, attached a special significance to development of friendly relations with Pakistan as one of the priority issues of foreign policy. It was namely because of his thoughtful decision that Azerbaijan opted to extend a continuous support to Pakistan internationally on the issue of Kashmir which has been a source of contention and conflict between India and Pakistan for many years since 1947. The following example illustrates the consistency and constancy of the foreign policy of Azerbaijan on Pakistan very well. In February of 1996, when I was assigned to work as a charge d'affairs at the Embassy of Azerbaijan in Tehran due to delays in opening of the Azerbaijani Consulate in the city of Tabriz (I was initially appointed as a Consul General of Azerbaijan to Tabriz), I was a witness to the loyalty and allegiance displayed by then President Heydar Aliyev towards friendly relations with Pakistan no matter what the circumstances were. Despite his incredibly tight schedule, Heydar Aliyev

managed to meet with Parvez Musharraf within the framework of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) Summit held in Tehran, on 9-10 June in 2000. This was right after the 1999 bloodless coup d'état in which the Pakistan Army and then-Chief of Army Staff, General Pervez Musharraf, had seized the control of the civilian government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and after two days into seizing the government, General Musharraf, who then-acted as the country's Chief Executive, had assumed all functions of the government and declared a state of emergency by issuing a Provisional Constitutional Order that suspended the existing Constitution of Pakistan. In such dire circumstances when a lot of state leaders were extremely cautious and even dubious about reinstating close relations with Pakistan at all, as a perceptive leader with a long-term vision, Heydar Aliyev didn't hesitate about continuing to cooperate and strengthen close ties with Pakistan. It was specifically in these meetings held in Tehran that different areas of strategic as well as military cooperation were discussed at great length and a future collaboration in this field was mutually agreed upon. This agreement led to commencement of high-level visits on both sides and as an ensuing outcome of this specific meeting, on 15 April in 2002, signing of a Protocol on cooperation in defense and military fields was materialized between ministries of defense of Pakistan and Azerbaijan accordingly. This Protocol was followed by the concluding of highly significant Cooperation Agreement between two governments in the field of defense and military in September of the same year. Consequently, the intergovernmental commissions between our states carried on their work continuously and discussed all avenues of

cooperation to take respective actions in areas of mutual interest to both countries.

The second meeting between President Heydar Aliyev and President Parvez Musharraf which took place in Istanbul during the ECO Summit state leaders in 12-14 October of 2002 further reinforced the existing strong ties between our countries. I have to note here that when I was appointed the Ambassador to Pakistan on 18 April 2002, prior to me departure Heydar Aliyev had personally instructed and advised me on a number of important issues regarding our cooperation in order to work hard to advance relations with Pakistan in diverse fields. Therefore, when I arrived in Islamabad on 10 May of the same year and started building contacts and attending high-level meetings, the close relationship between our state leaders assisted and guided me a lot in my attempts to develop new ties in various areas.

Unlike some countries like Azerbaijan, Pakistan doesn't have a unified Academy of Sciences combining all academic areas and scientific fields under one umbrella organization. There is however a highly-esteemed organization, the Pakistan Academy of Letters (PAL) which incorporates research and promotion of various areas of humanitarian and social sciences into its functional sphere, including but not limited to linguistics, literature, history, cultural heritage, sociology, media, women activities, poetry and welfare of writer's communities, as well as translation works into national and regional languages. PAL has a great standing in Pakistan and is financed by state budget as it participates closely in a policy formulation in the cultural sphere. Therefore, the PAL is entrusted with organization of the



yearly International Conference on “Language, Literature and Society” by the government of Pakistan. It is remarkable that there is also another Academy of Sciences in Pakistan encompassing only pure and applied sciences and promoting higher studies and latest research in science, technology and innovation. It is a non-governmental and supreme scientific body of distinguished scientists of Pakistan which has been granted an exclusive consultative and advisory status by the government of Pakistan on all problems relating to the development of scientific efforts in the country.

Navaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of Pakistan gave a very thought-provoking and inspiring speech at the inaugural session of the conference. He emphasized the importance and potential impact of “Zarb-e Galam” (strike of a pen) along with operation of “Zarb-e Azb” (sharp and cutting strike) on combating terrorism and fighting malicious forces spreading extremism and intolerance in the society. In his speech, the Prime Minister repeatedly reiterated his belief that the writers, poets and intellectuals play a powerful and influential role in elimination of religious extremism, terrorism, intolerance, injustice, bigotry and sectarianism. Speaking highly of writers and intellectuals and their prominent role in the establishment of peace and harmony in any society, he said they were the most valued and treasured asset of any society as they eliminated hatred, bridged the differences and brought people closer through their instrumental works. He described the writers and intellectuals as the heart, brain or spirit of any society as they try not to only address the past or contemporary issues, but also contemplate about the future all the time. It was not a coincidence that the Prime

Minister used this conference platform to declare the year of 2017 as a year of coordinated efforts for “Using the Power of Pen to Promote Country’s Soft Image” and urged all writers and intellectuals to get mobilized around this noble cause. Mamnoon Hussain, the President of Pakistan also participated at the conference in its concluding session and delivered a speech in which he paid rich tributes to poets, writers and intellectuals of Pakistan for their irreplaceable services not only for promulgation of literature and knowledge in the country, but also for bringing an ideological-psychological stability and a sense of wellbeing to the people at a time of great adversity and uncertainties caused by extremism and terrorism faced by the country in recent years. President also underscored the essential role writers and intellectuals play in development of a national language in Pakistan (Urdu is the national language and English is the official language, but Urdu has mostly a leading role) and stressed that nations not taking good care of protection and development of their national language in the first place cannot be expected to mature, progress or grow as a nation altogether.

It is notable that relations between this esteemed organization and the Embassy of Azerbaijan have already started to yield results. The Academy had previously hosted presentations of books such as selected works of Jalil Mammadguluza, the prominent early 20<sup>th</sup> century writer of Azerbaijan. This book is authored by renowned Academician Isa Habibbayli which was compiled and edited by myself for translation to Urdu during my tenure there, and an English book called “Azerbaijan Poetry: A Drop in Ocean” with examples of selected poems of

famous Azerbaijani poets. Partnership with the primary universities of Pakistan, such as Quaid-i-Azam University and Preston University is being continued to this day.

During the conference, I extended an invitation to Professor Muhammad Qasim Bugio, the Chairman of the Academy of Letters to visit Azerbaijan on behalf of Academician Teymur Karimli, the Director of the Institute of Manuscripts named after Muhammad Fuzuli of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. I also had an opportunity to meet Uksi Mofti, the retired director of the Central Museum of Ethnography of Pakistan (called Luk Virsa) on this occasion with whom we recalled the pleasure of jointly creating a special room dedicated to Azerbaijan in this famous museum frequented by local and foreign tourists. I have to note here that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Azerbaijan supported us a lot then in providing this room with various rich cultural and ethnographic exhibits. I was also delighted to learn that an exceptional Nizami corner has been opened at the Pakistan book foundation with the support of the Embassy of Azerbaijan. I also have to indicate here that the books we published in Urdu and English in years of 2003-2010 such as “Heydar Aliyev, the Great Leader of Azerbaijani People”, “ Heydar Aliyev and His Azerbaijan”, “Ilham Aliyev and the Portrait of the President of Azerbaijan” by Victor Andrianov and Huseynbala Miralamov, “Short History of Azerbaijani Statehood” by a state honor recipient and a corresponding member of the National Academy of Sciences, Professor Yagub Mahmudlu. were all met with great enthusiasm by Pakistani intellectuals and distribution of these books at different events and libraries of Pakistan played an indispensable role in

dissemination of information on Azerbaijan's history and culture. It was fortunate that I could still present samples of the abovementioned books to the participants of conference thanks to the remaining stocks at the Embassy.

It is highly commendable that the media took a unique interest in this conference. TV channels and media were present at the conference throughout all four days and they interviewed a lot of participants asking questions regarding the harmony and inter-faith dialogue in society, and the role intellectuals as well religious figures must play in instilling a sense of respect and understanding to different languages and religions within the same society. Some questions were specifically about measures taken in other countries in this respect. I had a chance to inform the interviewers about the state-sponsored policies on multiculturalism in Azerbaijan and bring some examples from the rich experience we have gained in implementing these policies during the last decades. It needs to be underlined that the Pakistani government has also been very keen on formulating specific well-thought-out policies with the purpose of promoting an enlightened version of Islam and particularly spreading the Sufism school of thought in Pakistan with the aim to decrease the scale and scope of confrontations and in some instances catastrophic implications arising from radical Islam and religious discrimination. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the most of the speeches and presentations delivered at the conference were focused precisely on the prerequisite of strengthening an inter-faith harmony and intercultural dialogue in order to be able to achieve amity.

I was very happy to be able meet some of my old Pakistani friends at the conference after seven long years. I

also met Professor Dr. Tahir Amin, the Rector of the Bahauddin Zakariyya University in Multan, Professor Dr. Abdul Basit, the Rector of the Preston University in Islamabad and Faysal Malik, the Chief Editor of the newspaper “Pakistan Observer” who were also glad to let me know that they had visited Azerbaijan several times throughout the past couple of years to take part at different international humanitarian forums and conferences held in Baku and each time they returned with greater impressions from Azerbaijan.

My abstract which I presented at the sub-session held on 7<sup>th</sup> of January was on “Language and National Identity of Azerbaijani people in Iranian Historiography during Reza Shah Era (1925-1941)”. I was pleased that my remarks were met with a great interest and a number of stimulating questions were raised with regard to the relations between the independent Republic of Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijan in Iran. I tried to inform the audience about the ever-expanding relations between Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Iran and how this state of growing partnership between the two countries, especially an elimination of travel restrictions and simplified visa regime benefits both nations, and the Azerbaijanis living in Iran.

During intervals, the media representatives also inquired about the possible new social projects referring appreciatively to the highly impactful social projects carried out by the Heydar Aliyev Foundation in Pakistan. I remember it very well that the devastating earthquake that struck Pakistan in October of 2005 caused a widespread destruction and a loss of around 70 thousand lives with a very serious damage to the major infrastructure of the country. The rescue team composed of 40 specialists and

medicals were dispatched to Pakistan on the second day of the earthquake at the instruction of the President of Azerbaijan who started working instantaneously as they were among the first teams to arrive in Pakistan for help. The government of Azerbaijan allocated 1.5 million USD dollars cash assistance straightaway for the immediate needs of those affected worst by the earthquake despite its limited financial resources at the time. I myself presented this donation personally to the head of the organization for dealing with the consequences of earthquake and the humanitarian aid continued to come from Azerbaijan at later stages as well. A girls' school which was fully destroyed at this heavy earthquake in Azad Kashmir region in the city of Muzaffarbad was completely rebuilt anew within a very short span of time and supplied with all the necessary equipment with the capacity for 400 students at the initiative of Mehriban Aliyeva, the First Lady of Azerbaijan, the head of Heydar Aliyev Foundation and the Goodwill Ambassador of UNESCO. This school was the first modern educational facility in the earthquake-stricken area and symbolized the devotion and allegiance between our countries. I recall the inauguration day of the school on 9 February, 2008 very well as we, Anar Alakbarov, the Executive Director of Heydar Aliyev Foundation, Eldar Ibrahimov, the Head of the Azerbaijan-Pakistan Friendship Group and I commuted a long distance of more than 100 kilometers in longwinded and snowy mountainous roads leading to the school area. The opening ceremony organized on this important occasion was attended by local Pakistani officials who praised the significant contribution of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation. The expression of deep joy and immense gratitude we felt

in the face of hundreds of teenage girls and their parents at the opening ceremony was the most rewarding, worthwhile and fulfilling experience of all. The Heydar Aliyev Foundation continued to invest in some very beneficial social welfare projects in Pakistan in the following years as well such as assisting the people suffering the most from the constant floods with a frequent donation of significant humanitarian aid, and providing much-needed water supply and vital medical aid to some of the most remote, isolated and impoverished regions of Pakistan.

This state of high-level relations between our nations was indeed envisioned by our great leader Heydar Aliyev at the time and the foundation for this solid partnership was laid out precisely by his farseeing vision. Our current President, Ilham Aliyev further strengthened and advanced the friendly relations and strong partnership between Pakistan and Azerbaijan against the backdrop of a complicated geo-strategic environment and a challenging international political milieu. Specifically during Ilham Aliyev's presidency, the relations between our parliaments, governments and various public and political bodies grew closer with creation of ever-expanding avenues for cooperation and collaboration. It was no coincidence that our President Ilham Aliyev was awarded the honor of "The Man of the Year" title by Pakistan Observer, the leading newspaper in Pakistan. Zahid Malik, the then General Editor of the newspaper and a prominent public figure in Pakistan presented this honor to our President with great respect and reverence.

Upon the invitation of our President Ilham Aliyev, Parvez Musharraf, the then President of Pakistan visited

Azerbaijan in July of 2004. During this visit, all facts and possibilities of further development of bilateral beneficial relations between our countries were discussed and the readiness of Pakistan to mobilize all the existing means at its disposal to help solve the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh within the national interests of Azerbaijan was reiterated by Parvez Musharraf.

The official visit of our President, Ilham Aliyev to Pakistan in April of 2005 marked the beginning of a new phase of partnership between our countries with actual projects and actionable cooperation plans worked out. At the order of the President of Azerbaijan, a territorial slot was purchased within the diplomatic enclave in Islamabad and large embassy complex was built for Azerbaijan within a short time. After the visit of Ilham Aliyev, the relations in the field of military and technical cooperation enhanced noticeably and humanitarian ties grew closer.

Asif Zardari, then the President of Pakistan paid a visit to Azerbaijan in October of 2012 which led to intensification of visits and meetings between high-level parliamentarians and government representatives of our countries.

In 2015, the new President of Pakistan, Mamnoon Hussain came to Azerbaijan on an official visit during which he handed the high state honor of Pakistan, “Hilal-e Pakistan” to the First Lady of Azerbaijan, Mehriban Aliyeva. During the ceremony, President Mamnoon Hussain reiterated the significance of close cultural and religious ties two countries share and importance of sustained multi-faceted cooperation rooted on old historic bonds. President Ilham Aliyev also referred to Pakistan and Azerbaijan as real strategic allies in this meeting.



It has to be underlined that the last year of 2016 was also fruitful for the advancement of the Azerbaijan-Pakistan partnership on many issues. The continuous strengthening of ties with Pakistan has remained as a primary issue in the foreign policy of Azerbaijan. President Ilham Aliyev had met with Pakistani Prime Minister, Navaz Sharif at the Davos Economic Forum on 21 January, 2016 and invited him to Azerbaijan. Given that Pakistan is a parliamentary republic with prime minister as the practical head of the government, the fact that Navaz Sharif is elected a prime minister for a third time is a testimony to his political weight and influence in politics of that particular region. Therefore, his visit to Azerbaijan on 16 October 2016 introduced a renewed spirit to the long-established friendly relations between two countries. After the meetings with Navaz Sharif during this visit, President Ilham Aliyev stated in a joint press conference the following: “Pakistan is among the first 3 countries which recognized state independence of Azerbaijan shortly after it declared it. His Excellency Navaz Sharif was a Prime Minister then too. We support each other unequivocally on the issues of Kashmir and Nagorno Karabakh. Azerbaijan supports the full solution to the Kashmir issue as stipulated by respective resolutions of Security Council of the UN. We are deeply grateful to Pakistan that it condemned Armenia for its aggression towards Azerbaijan and didn’t establish any diplomatic ties with this country due to occupation of our lands. This is a sign of a true fraternity. We are also thankful to the Senate of Pakistan for officially recognizing the Khojaly genocide in 2012”. In this briefing, President Ilham Aliyev also stressed the exceptional importance of growing

relations in the sphere of defense. Navaz Sharif used the opportunity to reiterate Pakistan's unchanging position on supporting Azerbaijan for freeing of all occupied territories of Azerbaijan, the unconditional withdrawal of Armenian armed forces from Nagorno Karabakh and other adjacent regions, and the relocation of refugees and internally displaced people to their native lands.

It is worth mentioning the successful domestic and foreign policy course executed in Azerbaijan, and a particular commitment to ensuring growth of friendly and strategic relations between two countries has earned. President Ilham Aliyev a respectable reputation in Pakistan as an effective statesman who has been extended an official invitation to visit Pakistan both by the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan.

28 February 2017 President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev attends 13<sup>th</sup> Summit of Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in Islamabad. In the opening remarks at the Summit President Ilham Aliyev emphasized that, Azerbaijan considers ECO as an important international organization. Having excellent relations with all the member- states of ECO, Azerbaijan strengthened its economic ties both on bilateral and multilateral levels with its partners. President Ilham Aliyev met Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Navaz Sherif. They emphasized that Azerbaijan and Pakistan show resoluteness in supporting each others fair positions on the Armenian-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and Kashmir problem. The same day President Ilham Aliyev and president of Pakistan Mamnoon Hussain have had a meeting in Islamabad. The presidents hailed the excellent level of political ties between the two countries.

The media in Pakistan has already covered this much anticipated visit by exploring new prospects of cooperation between our countries. Undoubtedly, this visit will further enhance and enrich our relations and heighten our enduring partnership to a more reinforced level.

Although there are no direct flights between Pakistan and Azerbaijan and the long-distance of auto travel through the territory of Iran constrains the scope and reach of potential commercial, business as well as tourism relations between our countries, I can say with certainty that the “bridges between the hearts” make this geographic distance shorter. The great impressions I brought back to my country from the last visit to Pakistan leave me even more assured that the time between the visits to a brotherly country should also be surely shortened.

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***March 23, 2017***

## **AZERBAIJAN-PAKISTAN LITERARY- CULTURAL RELATIONS**

**Speech at the video seminar of the Pakistan  
Academy of Letters  
September 9, 2021, Baku**

Honorable Chairman, dear colleagues,

Pakistan is a country that has created a specific culture and literature between Southeast Asia and Central Asia. More precisely, the integration of Turkish-Islamic civilization with ancient and deep-rooted traditions of local cultures has created a unique Pakistani culture. In this sense, Pakistan honorably and responsibly serves as a strong and lasting bridge between cultures from Anatolia and the Caucasus to Central Asia and India.

The common socio-political and literary-cultural values of our peoples and countries play an important role in the history and destiny of Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations. Since the 16th century, along with trade and economic relations between the various states that our peoples had, cultural and literary ties have also played an important role. Ethnic, religious and cultural kinship between the Safavi state founded by Azerbaijani Turks in Tabriz and ruled by Shah Ismail and his descendants after him and the Great Mughal Empire founded by the Chagatai Turk Zahiraddin Babur in Delhi and present-day Pakistan led to the formation of political relations in this spirit as well. For many centuries, our peoples had been in contact in a single area of Turkish-Islamic culture. There were no state borders for our poets, philosophers and great Sufi scholars. Like many of our traditions, we have had similar oral folk

literature and mythology.

Eg., , in Azerbaijani oral folk literature, the motive of bringing a shawl from Kashmir is equated with the hero bringing snow from Mount Agri and the summit of the Caucasus. The acceptance of the “Kashmir shawl” motif as one of the important factors in terms of testing and meeting his darling of the Azerbaijani folk hero as a buta clearly demonstrates the ancient historical roots of the joint Azerbaijani-Pakistani cultures.

One can observe the participation of common Azerbaijani-Pakistani values in the medieval Muslim renaissance culture. The leading position of Sufism and Hurufism in the development of Renaissance culture in Pakistan, as well as in Azerbaijan, once again confirms the existence of common values that bring our cultures closer.

The famous masnavis (distichs) of Mevlana Jalaladdin Rumi (*Mowlānā Jalāl ad-Dīn Mohammad Rūmī*)(1207-1273) can be considered a common Turkish-Islamic monument for Azerbaijan-Turkiye and Pakistan. The same can be said about the Shams Tabrizi teaching, which is widespread in Azerbaijan and Türkiye, and in certain extent in Pakistan, as well. The erection of Shams Tabrizi mausoleum in Pakistan who has graves in Konya, Türkiye and Khoy, Iranian Azerbaijan, is an indication of the existence of a more common cultural factor than the fact of literary and cultural ties between our peoples.

After Azerbaijan gained its independence in 1991, Pakistan recognized the independence of our country after Türkiye, and the foundation was laid for the ever-increasing relations. The literary ties of our peoples also played an important role in establishing these sincere relations. When I worked as our country’s ambassador to

Pakistan in 2002-2010, I paid special attention to the development of humanitarian relations between our countries. In 2004, a book entitled “With the works of prominent Azerbaijani writer Jalil Mammadguluzadeh” was published in Islamabad with an extensive introductory article by Professor Isa Habibbeyli in Urdu and English.

Moreover, the publication in English of the anthology of poems “Azerbaijani poetry: a drop in the ocean”, compiled by me in Islamabad in 2010 and a foreword written by Professor Isa Habibbeyli, provided a broader opportunity for a thorough acquaintance with Azerbaijani literature in Pakistan. The anthology includes works of Azerbaijani poets starting from the great Azerbaijani poet Nizami Ganjavi, who lived and created in the 12th century up today. The selected examples of poetry from the works of a new generation of literary forces and conveying information about those literary figures to the Pakistani reader was aimed at creating a complete picture in the friendly country about the centuries-old development of Azerbaijani literature.

The relations established in recent years between the Institute of Literature named after Nizami Ganjavi and scientific and higher education institutions of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan create conditions for the exchange of views between literary scholars and the further expansion of relations in this direction. The “Pakistan Literature Center” established in 2019 under the “Azerbaijan-Asian Literary Relations” department of the Institute of Literature named after Nizami Ganjavi functions as the main scientific center for researching and promoting Pakistani literature in our country. The international scientific conference on “Azerbaijan-Pakistan literary

relations” held on June 21,

2019 at the Institute of Literature named after Nizami Ganjavi was remembered as the first scientific forum dedicated to our mutual literary relations.

The cooperation agreement signed between the Institute of Literature named after Nizami Ganjavi and the Muslim Institute of Pakistan on June 21, 2019 was the first official step in cooperation between our countries in the field of literary criticism.

At present, extensive work is being done in Azerbaijan to study Pakistani literature and culture and to publish the works of individual writers translated into our language. In particular, there is great interest in Azerbaijan to study the life and work of Mohammad Iqbal, a prominent creator of Pakistani literature. Azerbaijani philologist-scholar, Doctor of Philology Basira Azizaliyeva, well-known philosopher, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor Konul Bunyadzadeh and others are engaged in researching the life and work of the prominent classic of Pakistani literature Mohammad Iqbal. Professor Konul Bunyadzadeh's research on Mohammad Iqbal's socio-philosophical views, especially her report at an international scientific conference held at the University of Lahore in Pakistan three years ago, is a study that revives the image of this great citizen poet as a thinker.

Professor Basira Azizaliyeva's monograph "The life and creativity of Mohammad Iqbal" (2021) is a scientific expression of the high respect of the Azerbaijani people for Mohammad Iqbal, the national pride of the friendly and brotherly people of Pakistan.

This year, at the initiative of the World Turkic Academy, M.Iqbal's book "Reconstruction of islamic thoutht" was translated into Azerbaijani Turkish and published.



A few days ago Baku State University (BSU) and Lahore University discussed student and teacher exchange, cooperation in the organization of the educational process and research, the establishment of a dual degree program. A Memorandum of Understanding was signed at the end of the discussions. The online event was attended by BSU Rector Elchin Babayev, Azerbaijani Ambassador to Pakistan Khazar Farhadov, Pakistani Ambassador to Azerbaijan Bilal Haye, Lahore University Board Chairman Uwais Rauf, Lahore University Rector Mohammad Ashraf and other officials.

I want to note that Urdu language and literature have been taught at Baku State University for many years.

A few months ago a new issue of “World Literature”, the magazine of the Center for Literary Translation and Literary Relations of the Writers’ Union of Azerbaijan (the first issue in 2021) has been published. The “Pakistan” issue of the magazine is significant as the first complete and systematic presentation of rich and multilingual Pakistani literature in Azerbaijan. The 220-page publication presents gives examples from the 44 writers’ works, which have a special place in the history of Pakistani literature. The editor-in-chief said that Pakistani prose and poetry are represented in this publication with an equal number of signatures. Allama Mohammad Iqbal, a great thinker of Pakistan and the Islamic world in general, has taken his place as the first signature in both prose and poetry, given the scale of his personality and the spiritual and historical uniqueness of his work.

As a scientific adviser to the Magazine, I can say that, the importance of this publication is not limited only with the introduction of the history of Pakistani literature,

valuable signatures and their works to the Azerbaijani literary environment. He said that the “Pakistan” issue of “World Literature” can be considered as a rich source in terms of observing and studying the extremely interesting history of friendly and fraternal relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, especially our literary and cultural ties. For 30 years, especially during the 44-day war, the Pakistan state demonstrated a very courageous and noble position, such as giving open and lasting moral and political support to Azerbaijan and the cause of our people. We have also prepared the “Pakistan” issue of “World Literature” as a modest expression of gratitude for this support.”

Editor-in-Chief of the Magazine writer Seyfaddin Huseynli and poet Salim Babullaoglu, chairman of the Center for Literary Translation and Literary Relations, called such an all-inclusive translation and publication of Pakistani literature in Azerbaijan a very heartwarming event for the cultural life and literary environment of both countries.

Isa Habibbeyli, vice-president of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute of Literature named after Nizami Ganjavi, Member of the Milli Majlis, also wrote in a comprehensive introductory article entitled “Azerbaijan-Pakistan literary and cultural relations: historical traditions, modern development and prospects” emphasizes that the mentioned issue of the magazine “World Literature” is very important for the Azerbaijani literary and social environment as the first collection dedicated to Pakistani literature. The magazine also includes a review article by the President of the Pakistan Academy of Literature, Professor Mohammad

Yusuf Khushk, entitled “A Brief Review of the History of Pakistani Literature.”

Well-known scholar, senior researcher of the department “Azerbaijan-Asian literary relations” of the Institute of Literature named after Nizami Ganjavi of ANAS, Doctor of Philology Basira Azizali’s two articles “Muhammad Iqbal: the true voice of the Muslim East” and “Traces of the influence of Mevlana Jalaladdin Rumi in the works of Sultan Bahu” were published in the magazine. My article titled “A look at the history of Azerbaijan-Pakistan relations” draws attention as a source of very important facts, valuable information and considerations.

The issue of Pakistani literature in the magazine “World Literature” shows that the Azerbaijani-Pakistani literary relations have already entered a new historical stage. In this regard, the establishment of scientific relations between the Writers’ Unions of the two countries, the Institute of Literature named after Nizami Ganjavi and the Pakistan Academy of Literature, joint cooperation and work on joint projects can be effective. For this purpose, the chairman of the Pakistan Academy of Literature, esteemed professor-doctor Yousuf Khushk was invited to our country by the vice-president of ANAS Isa Habibbeyli. I hope that this visit will take place within next few days.

It is gratifying that recently well-known researchers from three brotherly countries – Azerbaijan, Turkiye and Pakistan are working on joint projects and taking important steps to study and promote the rich literary and artistic heritage of our peoples.

***September 9, 2021, Baku***

## **A NEW CONFRONTATION IN KASHMIR: A SERIOUS THREAT TO PEACE IN THE REGION AND THE WORLD**

*In the Azad Kashmir, a part of the Kashmir region administered by Pakistan, with charming and unique nature, kind and benevolent people, but also faced hardships at different times of history, a beautiful and modern school building erected by the Heydar Aliyev Foundation on the site of a school in the high mountainous settlement of Rara that was completely destroyed in the 2005 year's earthquake, captures everyone's attention. The school built on the initiative of President of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador Mehriban Aliyeva, is located not far from the capital of Azad Kashmir, Muzaffarabad. They always express their gratitude for this school. In the earthquake, where thousands of people died, took more than 70.000 lives from Kashmir, but the generous help of friendly countries has healed the wounds of all Pakistanis and Kashmiris. Unfortunately, these days there are exciting moments in both Azad Kashmir and Indian-controlled Jammu and Kashmir. Everyone is worried about how the current political and military tensions between India and Pakistan over Kashmir will be resolved: will there be peace or will there be another war in the region?*

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On August 5, 2019, the President of India Ram Nath Kovind approved the decision of the government and the parliament to abolish the special status of Jammu and Kashmir. This exacerbated the Kashmir problem, which has persisted since 1947, causing suffering and deprivation

to the people of Kashmir, as well as several bloody wars between India and Pakistan. The course of events shows that this time the parties may face a more serious threat. India's decision was an unprecedented and unexpected step, and it is difficult to predict what will happen next. The Pakistani government has already appealed to the United Nations, and the People's Republic of China, which has always supported Pakistan politically, has raised the issue of Kashmir in the private discussion of the UN Security Council. Concerns over human rights abuses by India were raised during the discussions.

Another danger of the current situation is that the military confrontation between the two nuclear powers could escalate at any moment and lead to a nuclear confrontation, which could lead to a catastrophe in a very large region as a whole.

Undoubtedly, the establishment of two independent states on the Indian subcontinent in August 1947, India and Pakistan, was a matter of historical necessity and should be considered one of the most important events of the 20th century after World War II. Although the subcontinent which for hundreds of years had been predominantly under Muslim, especially Turkish rule, became a British colony in the mid 19th century, Britain had to take into consideration the desire of Indians and Muslims to establish their own independent states.

Kashmir is located in the upper stream basin of the Indus River, mainly in and around the Kashmir Valley. The bulk of the population is Kashmiris. In 1586, the Great Mughal (Mogol) Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) conquered Kashmir and incorporated it into this great 16th-century Turkish Empire (1525-1858), and for 166

years Kashmir was ruled by Turk-Muslims. After the death of Nadir Shah (1747), Kashmir came under the rule of Ahmad Khan Abdal, one of his commanders, who founded the “Durrani” dynasty and established the Afghan state. When the British occupation of the region began, Kashmir was first under the rule of the Punjab ruler Ranjit Singh, and in 1849-1947, became a vassal principality of British India.

At the time of the partition of India, the vast majority of Kashmir’s population was Muslim, and Sunnis and Shiites lived mixed here. There was a natural logic in the unification of the region with Pakistan for geographical, religious and cultural reasons, but the region’s important water resources and the strategic position of the Kashmir Valley drew India to the region. Moreover, the then ruler of Kashmir was an ethnic Hindu. The Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, was originally from Kashmir and wanted to annex Kashmir to India as a privileged state.

The Kashmir issue arose in 1947 when British India was divided into the Union of India and Pakistan. India’s Freedom Act gave the Kashmir government the 90 percent of population of which was Muslim and ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh, the option of joining either India or Pakistan or remaining a vassal of the United Kingdom. This issue had to be resolved by plebiscite (referendum). However, the Maharaja did not want to give up his traditional rule, which led to a Muslim uprising. Maharaja appealed to the Indian government for help and agreed to accede to the Union of India. On October 26, 1947, a formal agreement was signed by the Indian leadership approving the annexation of Kashmir to India. This led to the uprising in Kashmir, as well as the first armed conflict between

Pakistan and India. When this situation arose, Pashtun armies from Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) moved to help Kashmir Muslims.

On October 24, 1947, Muslim mujahids under the leadership of Sardar Ibrahim seized control of the western regions of Kashmir and renamed it Azad Kashmir. When other regions of Kashmir, Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh came under full Indian control, Azad Kashmir appealed to Pakistan. At that time, Gilgit in northern Kashmir also appealed to Pakistan on November 1, 1947, and soon all the northern territories came under the control and protection of Pakistan.

In its resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949, the UN Security Council called for the people of Kashmir to be given the right to self-determination on the basis of a plebiscite. This local war, which lasted until the end of 1948, resulted in a ceasefire on January 1, 1949 with the intervention of international forces on the line where the troops of both sides were stationed, and on July 29 of the same year the India-Pakistan Agreement was signed. Under this agreement, Kashmir was actually divided into two: Gilgit, Baltistan, Hunza and Azad Kashmir came under the control of Pakistan, and these parts (40 percent) were called "Azad Kashmir" and the Northern territories, the part controlled by India (60 percent) - Jammu and Ladakh (Kashmir) became part of India. Despite UN resolutions, India later turned Kashmir into a state with special status, as enshrined in Article 370 of the country's constitution.

The ongoing clashes on this ground resulted in the beginning of the second armed conflict between the two

countries in August-September 1965. On March 23, 1965, Pakistan and India reached a ceasefire on the line of contact with the intervention of the UN Security Council. With the close involvement of the USSR, the parties withdrew their armies to pre-conflict positions. On the initiative of the USSR leadership, the parties met in Tashkent on January 4-11, 1966. On January 10, after extensive discussions with the participation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR A.N.Kosygin the President of Pakistan General Ayyub Khan and the Prime Minister of India Lal Bahadur Shastri signed the Tashkent Declaration. Although many of the declaration's provisions were later implemented, the failure to resolve the Kashmir issue in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions remained a source of tension in the region. Clashes on the line of contact in Kashmir in 1971 led to a new military conflict.

After these military clashes, the line of contact changed in favor of India, and hereafter the line of the ceasefire became known as the "Line of Control".

On July 2, 1972, under the Treaty of Simla, India and Pakistan agreed to withdraw their troops within a month to their pre-war positions in accordance with international borders, and to observe the Line of Control established after the December 17, 1971 ceasefire.

In the autumn of 1998, Pakistan and India clashed over positions in the remote northern areas, in Kargil region in the snow-covered Siyachen Glacier along the Line of Control. Siyachen Glacier was usually a glacier where none of the parties established a position, and the seizure of the glacier by Indian troops resulted in the capture of the Kargil region by freedom fighters of Kashmir. The



Pakistani army provided military support to the Kashmir liberators as much as possible. As if the entire Kashmir was becoming a battlefield. Under these circumstances, US President Bill Clinton's telephone conversation with the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India bore fruit, and on July 4, 1999, the parties agreed to end the war.

After the terrorist acts against the United States on September 11, 2001, a completely new situation arose around Pakistan and Afghanistan. According to Washington, Pakistan supported the "militants" in Kashmir, as well as Osama bin Laden - Al Qaeda. Therefore, the United States made a strong demand to General Pervez Musharraf, then officially the Head of the Executive Power of Pakistan: either you are against terrorism with us, or against us together with terrorists! Making the right choice, Pakistan has actively joined the international fight against terrorism.

On January 12, 2002, President Pervez Musharraf issued a firm statement that Mujahideen would not be allowed to pass the country from Kashmir and that illegal armed organizations would be disbanded. Of course, this did not mean that Pakistan would no longer support the Kashmiris' struggle for freedom. Pakistan has always given moral support to the Kashmir Mujahideen and has always put the legal rights of the Kashmir people in international forums and organizations.

From time to time, the Line of Control became a long area fortified on both sides, where posts and observation posts, soldier barracks were built, and soldiers stood face to face along the entire line. Sometimes a Pakistani soldier on one side of a ravine is so close to an Indian soldier on the other side that they can speak to each other. During

several government visits to the region, the author of these lines had the opportunity together with diplomats and international observers to go in military helicopters, and then in special vehicles to see the posts in those areas and talk to soldiers.

Of course, the Line of Control is not permanent, but it provides temporary peace, but the people, who are divided in this way, need to be in touch with their relatives. Thousands of Kashmiris, both Muslims and Hindus, have been killed in the clashes, and millions have been displaced. The years-long clashes between Indian security forces and Kashmir freedom fighters have attracted various foreign religious radical forces to the region in recent years, further exacerbating an already tense situation.

The popular movement that intensified in Kashmir in 1989 showed the need to a more sensitive approach to this issue. Within the resistance movement, differences of opinion and position became more pronounced, and three directions become to be observed here:

1. Separation from India and reunification with Pakistan;
2. To gain independence;
3. Achieve maximum autonomy in accordance with Article 370 of the Constitution of India.

India believes that various extremist religious groups backed by Pakistan are aggravating the situation in Kashmir. According to Pakistanis, the main reason for the unregulation of situation in Kashmir is the non-compliance by the Indian government with the status of Kashmir defined in Article 370 of the 1950 Constitution of India and the restriction of these rights at times. According to many conflict analysts, the failure of the Indian

government to take into account the interests of the indigenous people of Kashmir in its economic and cultural policy and governance as a whole has made it impossible to resolve the conflict within India.

Armed clashes between the two sides in 2002 escalated the situation and it lasted until November 2003, even most embassies in Islamabad took out large number of staff from the country and sent their families home. At that time, the heads of both countries showed wisdom and did not take hasty steps, because this war could lead to an irreversible catastrophe. The declaration of a ceasefire on the Line of Control on the initiative of President Pervez Musharraf in November 2003 was welcomed by India and paved the way for discussions on an appropriate solution to the conflict. The meeting of the President of Pakistan with the Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee at the 12th Summit of the Association for Regional Cooperation of South Asia (SAARC) held in Islamabad in January 2004 at the invitation of President Pervez Musharraf where the author of these lines was also invited, paved the way for a comprehensive discussion on Kashmir. Pervez Musharraf proposed the following four measures:

1. Step-by-step demilitarization of Jammu and Kashmir;
2. Ensuring self-government;
3. Easing of the border regime;
4. Ensuring joint governance of Jammu and Kashmir.

It should be noted that at the time, India welcomed only the “easy/ mild border” of these latest proposals, and soon after, although limited, opened a bus line between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, the capitals of both Indian-controlled Jammu and Kashmir, and Pakistan-controlled

Azad Kashmir. The people were allowed to come and go, to contact albeit in a limited way. However, no substantial steps have been taken to resolve the Kashmir issue.

It should be noted that for many years, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (formerly the Organization of the Islamic Conference) has been discussing the Palestinian issue as well as Kashmir, establishing a contact group to find a just solution and supporting Pakistan's position on Kashmir. Unfortunately, this respected organization, which has 58 member countries, has not yet achieved any real success in solving these painful problems of the Islamic world. Although the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has been repeatedly discussed, its resolutions condemning the Armenian aggression and demanding liberation of Azerbaijani lands remain on paper, as well-known UN Security Council resolutions are. As in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh, our country considers it appropriate to resolve the Kashmir issue on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions, and consistently supports the international law, not force, in resolving this issue. In our view, any attempt to resolve the Kashmir issue, which has escalated in recent weeks outside the framework of international law, could pose a serious threat to peace, both in the wider region and in the world at large.

**2019**

## **HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE KASHMIR ISSUE**

**Conference schedule for Ankara Center for Crises and Policy Research (ANKASAM): Kashmir Issue: Time is Up! International Online Conference. July 31, 2021.**

Dear colleagues,

The establishment of two independent states India and Pakistan, on the Indian subcontinent in August 1947, was a matter of historical necessity and should be considered one of the most important events of the 20th century after World War II. The subcontinent, which for hundreds of years had been predominantly under Muslim, especially Turkish rule, became a British colony in the mid 19th century. But the struggle of the Indians and Muslim here to establish their own independent states, and the same time the new geopolitical situation which arose after the World War II, compelled Britain to take these realities into account. But, unfortunately, the fate of Kashmir has not been decided and a serious problem for the future has been laid.

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Kashmir is located in the upper stream basin of the Indus River, mainly in and around the Kashmir Valley. The bulk of the population is Kashmiris. Around the the beginning of the Current Era alongside northern Afghanistan known as Indo-Parthia, The Kabul Valley, Parts of Punjab, Turkestan Kashmir also was part of Kushan Empire (I BC-4 CE. Kadphiz, Kanishka). The first state structures appeared here in the 7th century AD and this area was ruled by different dynasties.

In 666 AD the Ephthalite Turks had occupied a large areas in this region including Kashmir. The Turkic

dynasty ruled this area about 183 years and they are known as Turki Shahis. They replaced by Hindu Shahis. According Al-Beruni the so-called Hindu Shahi rulers are not local Hindus, but they belong to the allied tribe of the Huns. The Hindu Shahi rule continued in Kashmir for nearly two centuries.

In 962 Abu Mansur Sebuktegin, turkish comander Samanids established himself as a nominal Sultan in Gazna, began expansion into northern Punjab and by his death in 997, he had acquired a number of forts from the Hindu Shahis of Kashmir and extended his dominion.

Kashmir became an independent Muslim Sultanate in 1338 by gradual process without shedding any blood. Islam came here by the free choice of the loyalty.

In 1586, the Great Mughal (Mogol) Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) conquered Kashmir and incorporated it into this great 16th-century Turkish Empire (1525-1858), and for 166 years Kashmir was ruled by Turk-Muslims.

In 1739 Nadir Shah Afshar invaded India and subjugated the Mughal Empire, Kashmir also experienced the same fate.

After the murder of Nadir Shah (1747), Kashmir came under the rule of Ahmad Shah Abdal, one of his commanders of Nadir Shah, who founded the “Durrani” dynasty and established the Afghan state.

When the British occupation of the region began, Kashmir was first under the rule of the Punjab ruler Ranjit Singh, and in 1849-1947, became a vassal principality of British India.

In 1947, on the eve of Partition outside the administrative set-up of British India there were 562 states ruled by princes. The states comprised roughly third of the

area occupied by the Subcontinent and a quarter of its population. Most of the states were small and exercised limited powers and jurisdiction. But 140 states were fully empowered. Kashmir, Mysore and Hyderabad were the large states. They compared with the provinces in area and population. (Fazle Karim Khan. *A Geography of Pakistan Environment, people and economy*. Oxford University Press, 1991 (Ninth Impression, Karachi, 2000, p.13).

By the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the states were free to accede either to Pakistan or India or remain independent. Ten states had Muslim rulers and the majority of their population was Muslim. They were contiguous to Pakistan and they acceded to Pakistan. These states were Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Lasbela, Makran, Kalat, Kharan, Dir, Swat, Amb and Chitral. The remaining, more than 500 states acceded to India, except Junagadh, Manavadar, Hyderabad and Kashmir, which became problems. Junagadh with population 700,000 and Manavadar is a small state by Hindu majority ruled by Muslim rulers. Indian army occupied this states on 7 November 1947.

At the time of the partition of India, the vast majority of Kashmir's population was Muslim, and Sunnis and Shiites lived mixed here. There was a natural logic in the unification of the region with Pakistan for geographical, religious and cultural reasons, but the region's important water resources and the strategic position of the Kashmir Valley drew India to the region. Moreover, the then ruler of Kashmir was an ethnic Hindu. The Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru also was originally from Kashmir and wanted to annex Kashmir to India as a privileged state. Nehru had made a public reversal of the principle of

Partition by occupying first Junaqadh and then Kashmir.

The reorganization of the Pakistan Army was still underway when the Kashmir war was thrust on it. The Indian forces had started a massacre of Muslims in Poonch, within Kashmir. The Pakistan Army did not have the resources to halt their aggression. At the same time the British commanders of the emerging Pakistani Army did not carry out the Governor-Generals order to send two brigades to Kashmir.

Nehru promised the people of Kashmir and the whole world that the fate of Kashmir would not be decided by the accession, but by a free and impartial plebiscite of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. (*M.R.Kazimi. A concise History of Pakistan. Oxford University Press, 2009, p.188*)

India has since reneged on this promise and this is still beset Pakistan- India relations. As a result, there have been several military clashes between India and Pakistan. Tensions have been running high along the Line of Control in Kashmir for many years.

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Both - Pakistan and China claimed territory in Jammu and Kashmir beyond the Line of Control (LoC) that was administered by India, although India claimed all of the territory by the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. China claimed Anurachal (formerly the North-east Tribal Agency) and portions of Assam. This led to the Indo-China war of 1962. The war ended on 20 November 1962, and part of alleged territories came under Chinese control.

The ongoing clashes on this ground resulted in the beginning of the second armed conflict between the two countries in August-September 1965. On March 23, 1965, Pakistan and India reached a ceasefire on the line of contact with the intervention of the UN Security Council. With the close involvement of the USSR, the parties withdrew their armies to pre-conflict positions. On the initiative of the USSR leadership, the parties met in Tashkent on January 4-11, 1966. On January 10, after extensive discussions with the participation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR A.N.Kosygin the President of Pakistan General Ayyub Khan and the Prime Minister of India Lal Bahadur Shastri signed the Tashkent Declaration. Although many of the declaration's provisions were later implemented, the failure to resolve the Kashmir issue in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions remained a source of tension in the region. Clashes on the line of contact in Kashmir in 1971 led to a new military conflict. After these military clashes, the line of contact changed in favor of India, and hereafter the line of the ceasefire became known as the "Line of Control".

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After the terrorist acts against the United States on September 11, 2001, a completely new situation arose around Pakistan and Afghanistan. According to Washington, Pakistan supported the "militants" in Kashmir, as well as Osama bin Laden - Al Qaeda. Therefore, the United States made a strong demand to General Pervez Musharraf, then officially the Head of the Executive Power of Pakistan: either you are against terrorism with us, or against us together with terrorists! Making the right choice, Pakistan has actively joined the international fight against terrorism.

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armed organizations would be disbanded. Of course, this did not mean that Pakistan would no longer support the Kashmiris' struggle for freedom. Pakistan has always given moral support to the Kashmir Mujahideen and has always put the legal rights of the Kashmir people in international forums and organizations.

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Of course, the Line of Control is not permanent, but it provides temporary peace, but the people, who are divided in this way, need to be in touch with their relatives. Thousands of Kashmiris, both Muslims and Hindus, have been killed in the clashes, and millions have been displaced. The years-long clashes between Indian security forces and Kashmir freedom fighters have attracted various foreign religious radical forces to the region in recent years, further exacerbating an already tense situation.

The popular movement that intensified in Kashmir in 1989 showed the need to a more sensitive approach to this issue. Within the resistance movement, differences of opinion and position became more pronounced, and three directions become to be observed here:

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international law, not force, in resolving this issue. In our view, any attempt to resolve the Kashmir issue, which has escalated in recent weeks outside the framework of international law, could pose a serious threat to peace, both in the wider region and in the world at large.

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Dear Colleagues, in Azerbaijan we are very familiar with the problems and difficulties faced by Kashmiri people. As a result of Armenian aggression against our country 20 percent of our lands have been under occupation for 30 years. We defeated the enemy in the Patriotic War that began on September 27, and liberated our lands. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude for the political and moral support provided to us by brotherly Turkiye and Pakistan in this just war of our country.

As President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev stressed, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has already been resolved and has become history. We would like the Kashmir issue to be resolved as soon as possible peacefully, in accordance with UN resolutions.

**2021**

## APPENDICES

### STATE AND GOVERNMENT HEADS OF PAKISTAN

#### **Governor Generals: years of rule**

1. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah  
15.08.1947 - 11.09.1948
2. Khawaja Nazimuddin  
14.09.1948 - 17.10.1951
3. Malik Ghulam Mohammad  
19.10.1951 - 15.10.1955
4. Major General Iskander Mirza  
06.10.1955 - 22.03.1956

#### **Presidents:**

1. Major General Iskander Mirza  
23.03.1956 - 27.03.1958
2. General Muhammad Ayub Khan  
27.03.1958 - 25.03.1969
3. General Muhammad Yahya Khan  
25.03.1969 - 20.12.1971
4. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto  
20.12.1971 - 13.08.1973
5. Fazal Ilahi Chaudhry  
14.08.1973 - 16.09.1978
6. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq  
16.09.1978 - 17.08.1988
7. Ghulam Ishaq Khan  
17.08.1988 - 08.07.1993
8. Wasim Sajjad (acting)  
08.07.1993 - 13.11.1993
9. Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari  
13.11.1993 - 02.12.1997
10. Wasim Sajjad (acting)  
02.12.1997 - 01.01.1998
11. Muhammad Rafiq Tarar



- 01.01.1998 - 19.06.2001  
12. General Pervez Musharraf \*  
16.11.2002 - 18.08.2008  
13. Asif Ali Zardari  
09.09. 2008 - 09.09.2013  
14. Mamnoon Hussain  
09.09.2013 - 09.09.2018  
15. Arif Alvi  
13.08.2018 -

**Prime Ministers:  
years in power**

1. Liaquat Ali Khan  
15.08.1947 - 16.10.1951  
2. Khawaja Nazimuddin  
17.10.1951 - 17.04.1953  
3. Mohammad Ali Bogra  
17.04.1953 - 11.08.1955  
4. Chaudhry Mohammad Ali  
11.08.1955 - 12.09.1956  
5. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy  
12.09.1956 - 18.10.1957  
6. Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar  
18.10.1957 - 16.12.1957  
7. Malik Feroz Khan Noon  
18.12.1957 - 07.10.1958  
8. Nur-ul Amin  
07.12.1971 - 20.12.1971  
9. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto  
14.08.1973 - 05.07.1977  
10. Muhammad Khan Junejo  
23.03.1985 - 29.05.1988  
11. Benazir Bhutto  
02.12.1988 - 06.08.1990

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\* P.Musharraf was the Chief Executive of Pakistan from October 12,1999 to June 20, 2001, leading the state and government

12. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi (acting)  
06.08.1990 - 06.11.1990
13. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif  
06.11.1990 - 18.04.1993
14. Balkh Shir Mazdri (acting)  
18.04.1993 - 26.05.1993
15. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif  
26.05.1993 - 08.07.1993
16. Moin Ahmad Quraishi (acting)  
08.07.1993 - 19.10.1993
17. Benazir Bhutto  
19.10.1993 - 05.11.1996
18. Malik Meraj Khalid (acting)  
06.11.1996 - 17.02.1997
19. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif  
17.02.1997 - 12.10.1999
20. Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali  
23.11.2002 - 26. 06. 2004
21. Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain  
30.06.2004 - 28.08.2004
22. Shaukat Aziz  
20.08.2004 - 15.11.2007
23. Yusuf Raza Gilani  
24.05. 2008 - 26.04.2012
24. Raja Pervez Ashraf (executive)  
22 iyun 2012-16 mart 2013
25. Mir Khazar Khan Khoso (executive)  
25 mart 2013-5 iyun 2013
26. Navaz Sharif  
05.06.2013 - 28.07.2017
27. Imran Khan  
18.08.2018 - 10. 04.2022
28. Shahbaz Sharif  
11.04.2022 –

**Note:** Shahbaz Sharif is the 23rd Prime Minister of Pakistan, excluding caretaker Prime Ministers.

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