



THE CULTURAL POLICY OF PAKISTAN

**National Commission On History & Culture
Ministry of Culture, Sports & Tourism
Government Of Pakistan**



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FOREWORD

Pakistan has a unique distinction of being the repository of the world's prominent cultural legacies. Our people, through assimilation and interaction have synthesized this heritage into a culture which is shared by all of us. Our historical experience, however, has not been conducive to the preservation and development of this culture. The nation witnessed repeated attempts by the authoritarian regimes to subvert Pakistani culture through imposed patterns and sanctified selfishness of confusing the pristine principles of Islam with an unbridled quest for perpetuating dictatorships.

The Government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto took cognizance of this major hurdle in the healthy blossoming of our culture. A Committee of eminent scholars, intellectuals, and experts in the various fields of culture from all over the country was constituted under my Chairmanship. A draft was prepared by this Committee and was approved by the Cabinet on July 31, 1995. The nation can take pride in the fact that for the first time in our history, a National Cultural Policy has been adopted.

This policy does not aim at imposing any specific paradigms of cultural values but aims at providing a

healthy environment in order to ensure the preservation and growth of indigenous cultural patterns. The policy envisions the building of a wider value system which is shared by all the components of our society which can be developed into a higher intellectual culture. The state would provide environments that are conducive to free expression, mutual appreciation and respect for other cultures. It will make policies, provide incentives, facilitate the growth of cultural expressions, remove the hurdles imposed by the colonial rulers and dictators, and lay the foundation of an integrative cultural framework. But the real guardians and promoters of our culture are the people of Pakistan.

It is hoped that this policy would strengthen our confidence in our national identity and would pave the way for a healthy synthesis between our cultural legacy and our future aspirations.

Fakhar Zaman

Chairman,
National Commission on
History and Culture, and
Pakistan Academy
of Letters

Islamabad

September 1995.

SUMMARY FOR THE CABINET

**SUBJECT :
CULTURAL
POLICY OF
PAKISTAN**

As desired by the Prime Minister that Pakistan's national culture should be emancipated from imposed paradigms and that efforts would be made to create conducive environment for a healthy and positive growth and promotion of culture, Mr. Fakhar Zaman, Chairman, National Commission on History and Culture initiated a process of eliciting the opinions of notables in the field of culture. An open symposium was held in Lahore in July, 1994 which was attended by renowned scholars, intellectuals, writers, journalists and artists from all over the country. This symposium provided a wide range of ideas, proposals, and comments encompassing all shades of opinion in the country about the past, present, and future contours of our cultural paradigms. A Cultural Committee, composition given at Annex. I, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Fakhar Zaman, processed the deliberations and recommendations of this symposium and a draft Cultural Policy of Pakistan was prepared by Mr. Fakhar Zaman which is palced at Annex. II.

2. On the advice of the Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Social Sector, the draft was circulated to the

Provincial Governments and the Ministries / Divisions concerned for their comments. A meeting was held by the Chairman of the National Commission on History and Culture on 19th February, 1995 to discuss the recommendations contained in the Policy and the comments of the concerned Ministries / Provincial Governments. The record of the discussion in the meeting is at Annex III.

3. The participants commended the efforts of the Chairman, National Commission on History and Culture who authored the policy and were in broad agreement with the set of recommendations contained in the policy draft. The Provincial Governments, particularly of the Sindh Province, however, wanted more time for examination and a broad-based discussion among intellectuals, writers, artists, etc. to firm-up their views. The Chairman of the National Commission on History and Culture was of the view that the Draft Policy was based on his discussions with a wide range of prominent persons associated with the history, philosophy and practice of culture in all the provinces of Pakistan and reflected the outcome of his discussions with them. Therefore, the present Draft should now be placed before the highest policy-making body in the country.

4. This policy draws inspiration from the rich cultural heritage of the Muslim Community in the sub-continent, the renaissance of muslim thought in the teachings of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal, the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as well as the bold initiatives of Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to take the Pakistani society into the twenty first century. It proposes to

revive and strengthen the rich foundations of Pakistan's cultural heritage and at the same time takes into account the impact of the technological innovations on our cultural edifice.

5. Alongwith the Draft Policy an Executive Summary is added at Annex IV and the set of recommendations is given in Chapter - III of the Policy. Approval of the Cabinet is solicited in principle to the policy in general and the recommendations contained in Chapter - III in particular.

6. The Prime Minister has approved and authorised the submission of the Summary as Minister-in-Charge of Culture, Sports and Tourism.

HASAN RAZA PASHA,
Additional Secretary Incharge.

Islamabad, the 2nd July, 1995.

CULTURE COMMITTEE

Mr. Fakhar Zaman	...	Chairman, Culture Committee
Khawaja Shahid Hosain	...	Secretary, Culture, Sports and Tourism
Prof. Ejaz Cyprian	...	Renowned Educationist, Writer and Journalist
Khawaja M. Masud	...	Eminent Intellectual and Scholar.
Mr. I. A. Rahman	...	Eminent Journalist and Writer.
Dr. (Miss) K. F. Yusuf	...	Director, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research
Dr. M. Aslam Syed	...	Eminent Historian and Intellectual (Secretary Culture Committee)
Mr. Hayat Ahmad Khan	...	Well-Known authority on Culture, President All Pakistan Music Conference.
Dr. Tariq Rehman	...	Well-known Scholar and Intellectual
Mr. Ahmad Salim	...	Well-known Writer and Intellectual.
Mr. Iftikhar Arif	...	Well-known Poet and Writer.

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THE PREAMBLE

WHY, A CULTURAL POLICY ?

Eversince the inception of Pakistan, scholars and intellectuals have brooded over the question of our cultural identity. One reason for this intellectual vacuum has been the repeated imposition of totalitarian regimes in Pakistan which deny the wider participation of the people in shaping their social, cultural and political institutions. Since the very premise of non-representative system of government stems from authoritarianism, it imposes a self-contained culture on the people that either seeks to replace the popular culture or makes ugly inroads into its framework. With the result that the eleven years of the last martial law were not only intellectually alien to the Pakistani culture but also in many ways stifling to its natural flowering.

2. The Culture of tolerance was substituted with the culture of hatred, the legacy of mystical liberalism was allowed to be consumed by sectarian fanaticism, the people's resolve to live together was poisoned with uncertainty and confusion, the spirit of Muslim culture was bartered for the culture of religious indoctrination, and the historical experience of Pakistani nation was tarnished with the blood of Clio. This betrayal of Pakistani culture was justified with sanctified selfishness of mixing the pristine principles of Islam with the unbridled quest for political power. The dictator

succeeded in holding on to his political power, but the nation suffered from emotional, intellectual and cultural shocks. The dream of Pakistani nation to live in the contemporary world with dignity ended in a nightmare of landing in medieval ages.

3. This unfortunate episode in our history corrupted almost every aspect of our national life education economy, politics, literature, history, religion its real victim was our culture. People's aspirations, collective will, and pride in their identity were badly injured. An aura of confusion, crisis and frustration prevailed upon the muffled and gagged voices of our cultural expression. A nation that had carried the mantle of history for five thousand years was robbed of its cultural identity as well as its future destiny. With a systematic and pre-meditated plan, these cultural shocks were made a part of our curriculum, our history, and our political culture.

4. No nation can tolerate the perpetuation of such ideas and certainly not the Pakistani nation whose existence was made possible through peoples' participation and their mandate to save Pakistani culture from the alien and imperialistic onslaught. It is with this consciousness of our historical experience, with a resolve to revive and rebuild our pride in our national heritage, and to provide conducive environment for a genuine and healthy blossoming of our culture that the present democratic government, which rests on the foundation of peoples' will to carve out a dignified place in the comity of nations, has decided that the promulgation of a cultural policy is essential.

**WHAT
IS
CULTURE ?**

5. We are neither harbingers of any new culture nor promoters of any specific cultural prejudices, but are primarily concerned with the culture of the people of Pakistan, whom we feel privileged to represent. We feel that only a democratic set-up with its full light can illuminate the highlights of our distinct and unique culture. It is our determination to remove all the arbitrary walls that are alien to our norms, to remove all the shackles which are detrimental to the growth of our culture and to provide an atmosphere of freedom and choice for the people to harness our present with the best specimen of their creativity and cultural expression so that our future is laced with our own contours, our own aspirations and our own destiny.

6. Before highlighting the different aspects and historical background to our cultural policy, it seems appropriate to ask what is culture? A concise definition could be that culture is human response to the forces of Nature and History. It is cognitive comprehension and adjustments to the environment and historical experience. It involves different categories, plans, and rules people use to understand their surroundings and then to relate to their world and act purposefully within. Many a times, culture is confused with social behaviour but it is deeper than that which is merely a manifestation of that culture, the underlying rules, the principles that are used to construct and interpret behaviour from the essence of culture. It is not instinctive but acquired. Children grow-up in a society and discover either through observation or by asking questions how their parents, and others around them, relate with one another or view the world. It inculcates the ability to recognize and distinguish not only material

objects but also their attributes such as solid, hollow, sharp, cold, beautiful and ugly; it helps to classify and perform different kinds of acts such as painting, ploughing, tailoring, carpentry, medicine and politics; to evaluate what is commendable and what is undesirable, what is good and what is bad; and to judge when a new idea is appropriate or inappropriate. This aspect of culture is called socialization and it is during this period that our children learn from us, and then share with others, a fact that governs the paradigms of our social behaviour.

7. Cultural patterns of any society are, thus learned by its younger members and it is through this process that their continuity is ensured. A liberal and tolerant culture is bound to leave its positive impact on the posterity whereas a planted cultural pattern is destined to nurture confusion, loss of direction and a sense of alienation from history. The societies are elevated or condemned because of these underlying themes that constitute their respective cultures. Culture also assumes philosophical dimensions when it gives a meaningful system by which people contemplate their own action and interpret the behaviour of others. It is not desirable to impose a pre-ordained cultural pattern because the same notion can have different implications in different environment and since it is an acquired behaviour, too much emphasis on imposed cultural values rob the people of their commitment to their own land and other natural environment.

8. Culture fulfils personal and social needs. It brings together different aspects of human behaviour under the umbrella of a system where natural resources are

utilized for the maximum needs of society; through it we seek security and identity and control and direct our experience. Since experience varies from time to time and change is persistent, culture keeps adjusting itself to the new challenges. A better comprehension of the potentialities of a culture could lead to control the process of change for the benefit of society. Moreover, cultures change their shapes and colours and manifest different streaks at different stages of their growth. Such changes can not be suppressed but should be channelled into an appropriate framework of adjustments and adaptabilities. This ensures the continuity of its creative powers and saves it from a complete disintegration or mummification.

9. When more than one social units share a common destiny either as a larger social unit or as a part of nation, then multi-cultural societies are born. And it is here that the role of the state becomes important in providing a healthy milieu to the different partners in fulfilling their social needs and expressing their creative powers. The state does not have to impose any specific set of values because it will, in the long run, prove detrimental to the social inter-relationship. What the state can do is to build a wider value system which is shared by all the components of that society and which can be developed into a higher intellectual culture. Secondly, the state can provide environments that are conducive to free expression, mutual appreciation, and respect for other cultures. It can make policies, provide incentives, facilitate the growth of cultural expression and thus lay the foundation of an integrative cultural framework.

PAKISTANI CULTURE

10. Pakistani culture seeks a synthesis of the material and the spiritual gains. But unfortunately we are trapped in the conflict of the sensate and the ideational culture. Therefore, it is essential to understand the nature of this conflict and to arrive at as wide, as deep, and as prompt realization as possible of the extraordinary character of the contemporary crisis of our culture. There is a need to recognize that sensate culture, with its major and minor premises, have never been able to permeate that creativity which could guarantee its long life. It leads to a blind alley where human senses are exhausted and the opposite course of following or shifting to an ideational culture becomes imminent. Equally important is the consciousness that the ideational culture if divorced from the realities of the contemporary times in which we live, would only leave the souls to become depraved and direction less. It inculcates extreme reactions amongst people. Its acceptance blinds its followers from other realities and it leads to intellectual dishonesty and corruption, Here again, the state can play a major role in reducing the vagaries of this polarization and to discover the factors that are causing this conflict and to attempt to bridge this gulf; otherwise the polarization will perpetuate both in its dividing ability as well as in emanating contemptuous behaviour towards each other.

IMPACT OF HISTORY ON PAKISTANI CULTURE

11. One of the most logical ways of tracing the evolution of a culture is to see its historical growth. In addition to the geographical factors that form the basis of man's interaction with nature, it is through the historical experience that people show their strength, ability to learn, capacity to change and willingness to adapt to the new situations. Pakistan's history clearly

demonstrates that its people have always reacted positively to new historical movements and have always absorbed the finest ingredients of other cultures through wars or cultural and commercial contacts. The basis of Pakistani culture is its land, rivers, vegetation, mountains, meadows, plains, plateaus, deserts and lakes. It was here that the first foundation of an enduring culture was laid. The rest is the story of our society negotiating with different political behaviours, imposed social and administrative systems; absorbing those features of different societies which were complimentary to their cultural values and discarding those which had no relevance to their social ethos. But unfortunately, so little is known about this grand development of our culture that some people have wrongly perceived negative notions about our cultural identity. This needs to be revived, documented and passed on to the posterity.

12. Pakistan's historical experience also depicts a cross-road impact on our culture. At different episodes of our history, our people came into contact with many civilizations. Some features of these civilizations form an integral part of our culture. But this process of acculturation was made possible only by the grammar of our indigenous culture. Another important aspect of our historical experience has been the introduction of an elitist culture in the culture of the masses. Whether it was during the Aryan times, the Arab period, the Turkish suzerainty, the Mughal rule or the British colonialism, each phase depicts incorporation of these ideas but ultimately, it was the culture of the masses which filtered these impacts and made them acceptable to our cultural heritage. Our historical experience,

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therefore, testifies the capacity of our cultural patterns. There is indeed a need to critically assess the impact of these phases of history on our culture and to find out the underlying principles of our society which kept its strength and identity and yet absorbed the enduring elements of some of the best known world civilizations.

13. It is important to note that Islam entered in the areas constituting Pakistan much before the Muslim rule began in Delhi. It is also noteworthy that Islam flourished in those areas which were away from the centre of Muslim political power and were often at odds with the Sultans and Kings of Delhi. It means that the acceptance of Islam by the people of Pakistan was not because of the political predominance of the Muslims in South Asia but because of the capacity of Pakistani Culture to identify itself with the spirit of Islamic culture. Had it been because of the Muslim political power, the areas around Delhi would have emerged as the Muslim majority areas. It means that our indigenous culture was receptive to the ideas generated by Islam and did not perceive the new religion as a threat to its governing principles.

14. The bond between Islam and Pakistani Culture was strengthened by the sufis, saints and scholars. The sufi poets used native metaphors, similies and even love stories to spread the message of Islam. Even music, dance, painting and songs gave eternal life to some of the philosophical dimensions of Islam. It was this strength of our culture that when the movement for freedom was launched, it was the popular Islam with its intellectual dimensions that supported the establishment of an independent Pakistan and not the

political Islam of the mulla which had no cultural roots in this territory. As a matter of fact the creed of mulla was opposed to the freedom of our culture.

15. The post-independence period witnessed a tussle between the ulama and the westernized elite to impose those cultural paradigms which had no relevance to our indigenous culture. The ulama wanted to introduce only the political part of that culture which the Muslims of Pakistan had been warned against by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal. The westernized elite was only interested in the cosmetic aspects of the western culture. Both were attempts to subvert our indigenous culture. These attempts had an impact both in exhibiting indifference to our cultural legacy as well as to inculcate the feelings of inferiority about our own cultural values. It was never thought prudent to introduce new ideas of development and technological changes keeping in view the cultural pattern of our society with the result that neither these modern agents of change became a part of our culture nor our own cultural parameters accepted these ideas as rewarding and beneficial. Consequently, a further polarization was witnessed between the rural and the urban societies, between the industrialist and the agriculturist sectors and between the indigenous educational set-up and the imported educational system.

16. The rapid changes in communication and technology are bound to influence our culture but if the confidence and pride in our cultural values is not restored, the result would be the adoption of only superficial symbols of these new changes which would lead neither to any meaningful change in our socio-

economic development, nor would become a part of our social thinking which is essential for any sustainable growth. These changes have been described under the appellation of global village syndrome which is showing its impact through Television and other forms of mass media. Unless we see these changes as extending ourselves in space, we are liable to loose our grip on the process of history. This technological simulation of consciousness has to be collectively and corporately understood in our society. It requires the depth of awareness, empathy and willingness to adopt new ideas. If this new age of electrical technology and mechanical industry finds us in cultural confusion, then we are bound to suffer from imposed cultural patterns. As mentioned earlier, culture means control of natural environments also and unless these new waves of medium are understood as the message, we will be guilty of suppressing the enormous capacity of our culture to adopt new ideas. The fact which is characteristic of all media must be kept in view that the content of any medium is always another medium which leaves deep impact on our psyche and social growth.

17. A fuller comprehension and the adaptability of these new technological changes is possible only when we know our culture, when we take pride in our cultural identity and when we equip the creative powers of our intellectuals, artists and technicians with the philosophy behind these innovations. Therefore, it is imperative that before we enter into the next century, our cultural milieu is capable of mastering not just the operative aspects of the tools of tomorrow, but also is receptive to the principles that govern the mechanism of these

symbols of change .

18. Only those nations have progressed in the world who understand their past and show confidence in the capacity of their culture to absorb and develop new ideas. Pakistani culture is the oldest in the world and its people have always shown resilience to new ideas while guarding their cultural values. What is needed is to facilitate the rehabilitation of their cultural pride as well as its future manifestations so that we emerge as a nation living in modern world with a cultural identity that is unique, distinct and almost as old as history.

Therefore being conscious of our own cultural heritage, and to meet the demands of the rapidly changing world, it is indeed imperative to highlight the contours of our culture, to emphasize its paradigms, and to understand its elasticity and willingness to adopt new ideas and to harness the people's imagination with the vigour and zeal that leads to creativity and scientific thinking, a cultural policy is deemed essential and timely.

19. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, culture is often perceived in very narrow terms and is usually applied to performing arts and other material manifestations of our habits and attitudes whereas in fact, it is basically concerned with the intellectual and spiritual outlook as exhibited in the daily living and in our collective outlook and world view. The fact that culture never ceases to grow must be taken as a logical result of change through which all human societies pass. But when the political system of a society is not conducive to its genuine development, then the ideas of cultural crisis and loss of identity are generated amongst the people.

but if the political system is reflective of the true spirit of a society's culture, then it leads to a unifying influence as well as philosophical developments. Secondly, it is essential to strike a balance between the spiritual legacy of a culture and its material growth. This becomes crucial for younger and growing nations like Pakistan, where mutual appreciation, liberalism, and tolerance play a much more crucial role than any other assortment of ideologies.

20. The absence of a political system which is not true to the dictates of social norms and cultural patterns results into lop-sided growth of either material culture or spiritual culture without much relevance to the social needs. It also adversely affects the introduction of new ideas and the inculcation of a spirit of freedom and choice which leads to the development of new ideas and new technologies for the production of better material goods. In addition, it disrupts the harmony of the thought process that determines the cultural behaviour. It is true to say that we are not condemned or appreciated so much by our actions as by the thought that provides the basis for such actions. Intellectual development of society is, therefore, closely linked with its cultural paradigms. It will not be out of place to mention that whenever the process of cultural development is allowed to take its natural course, it leads to intellectual developments which in turn contribute to the development of science and technology. Those phases of Muslim history when Muslims were the predominant power in the world, substantiate this fact but when dogmatic political ideologies were imposed upon the people, what suffered most was the development of a simultaneous

progress in spiritual and material fields.

21. The case of Pakistani culture also presents the same phenomena. Whenever the people were allowed to shape their destinies in accordance with their cultural values, it led to remarkable developments in healthy political system, economic growth, literature, and technology. But whenever alien political agendas were imposed upon these people and walls were erected to block the natural and logical flow of cultural expressions, decay and confusion was witnessed. In order to understand this point it is essential to go through the historical evolution of Pakistani culture.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF PAKISTANI CULTURE

1. The lack of appreciation of the historical evolution of Pakistani culture has created a host of questions about our identity and the nature of our culture, both in terms of time and space as well as its spiritual and ideological formations. It is the story of a nation and a territory that has existed in history for more than 5000 years with short intervals of political occupation by different dynasties. Normally, people trace their cultural identity from the origins of their culture that had been evolving since the time of their recorded history. In the case of Pakistan, however, it was not done. On the contrary, Pakistani culture was presented as a riddle by the historians and the ideologies for the propagation of their own political philosophies.

2. The origins of Pakistani culture are rooted in its rivers, mountains, plains, deserts, animals and flora and fauna. The areas constituting Pakistan are perhaps one of the oldest seats of human civilization. The river

Indus and its tributaries provided food and protection to the people living in these areas. With the advent of the Aryans, the Indus valley culture assumed new dimensions.

3. The contemporary sources show human settlements in Punjab, Upper Sindh, Chitral, Swat, Peshawar, Gomal and Bolan regions. These people were engaged in cultivation of land and practised simple religion with a clear perception of a supreme power who is the source of all bounties for mankind. The Indus valley culture was further enriched by Buddhism whose traces are still visible in brotherhood, hospitality and conventional wisdom of our people.

4. During the post-Buddhist period, a new culture developed which was culminated in the shape of the Gandhara Culture. In 558 B.C. Cyrus conquered the northern areas of Pakistan and later on Darius added Makran and Sindh valley to the Iranian empire. Since the Iranians were constantly at war with the Greeks, the impact of this strife was also felt in this area. The Gandhara culture originated from the interaction of the local people with the Aryan traditions, Iranian influence, Greek impact, the culture of Mauriyas, Sakas and Parthians. In addition to these regional and ethnic influences, it had the stamp of religious impact of Vedas, Hinduism, Buddhism, Paganism and Zoroastrianism. Some of the important features of this culture have been mentioned in different contemporary studies. Herodotus mentions that cotton dress was most commonly used by the people of Punjab and Sindh. Bow and arrows were manufactured. We also learn that Taxila was a centre of learning with Kautilya

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and Panini as the major scholars, teaching diplomacy and statecraft. During this period we observe Iranian influence on coinage and international trade. New trade routes were discovered and goods were exchanged between Pakistan and other countries in the region. So far as the political implications of the Greek imperial culture were concerned, they were strongly resisted by the local people. We do not know whether Alexander the Great received such a strong resistance during any of his adventures except in Punjab and Sindh. The period of Gandhara Culture was also enriched by the contribution of Mauriyas and Kanishka, whose capital was Peshawar.

IMPACT OF ISLAM

5. Although Buddhism was pushed out of Indus Valley by the close society of Brahmans as a religion but its impact on our culture had been enormous, therefore when Islam made inroads into this region, it was that culture which embraced it willingly rather than the Hindu culture which actually was a name given by the outside scholars and travellers to a culture of different groups for the sake of convenience. It must be pointed out that the areas that constitute Pakistan today were on the periphery of the Muslim empire in Delhi, yet Islam flourished here with much more speed than around the Muslim seat of political power. It again testifies to the cultural values of this area which were more open and liberal than its counterpart in Central India.

6. The impact of Muslim culture was steady. It was started by the Arabs in Balochistan and Sindh and was culminated through the Muslim impact from Central Asia. Cultural transformation of this area had taken

place much before Muslim flag was hoisted on Delhi. It was not a simple case of Muslim political predominance but the presence of a culture which saw similarities between Islam and the indigenous social patterns. It is indeed relevant to point out that the subsequent upheavals of Muslim empire in the rest of the sub-continent felt the impact of this territory both in terms of its strength and weakness. The most predominant feature of Muslim culture was the development of cities, trading centres, and bazars. Mosque occupied a unique place not only for religious purposes but also for commercial and social get-togethers. If we look at the contribution of different saints in bringing the new religion to the masses, we will see that it was in many ways an emancipation from the different forms of imperialism.

7. Pakistani culture bears a deep imprint of the thought and the life style of sufis who used local medium to convey the intellectual content of the message of the prophet of Islam. Even those sufis who had received their education and training in Iran and Central Asia adopted local practices in order to appeal to a wider public. Shah Latif's story of Marvi, Shahbaz Qalandar's teachings, Baba Farid's Dohray, and Sultan Bahu's poetry represent the local cults, natural environments and regional symbols revealing the truth of Islam. The Mughals introduced new innovations in architecture especially mosques, tombs and gardens. New flowers and plants were introduced. Dress, music, cuisine and painting achieved new dimensions. The impact of Islam was felt on local religions and the emergence of Sikh religion and Bhakti movement could not have been possible without the interaction with Islam.

THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL CULTURE

8. By the end of the first half of the 19th century, this area was occupied by the British who had come to the sub-continent 150 years ago. In order to control the freedom-loving people of this region, the British created a new compradore class which represented their economic and commercial interest and a new feudal class which was given the assignment of controlling the local population. These two classes not only introduced a perverted cultural pattern of colonialism but also undermined the local culture. Some of the manifestations of this new development were made possible through the settlement of canal colonies, railroads and other forms of communication which were not designed to encourage mobility amongst the people of this area but were mainly pre-occupied with defence and commercial considerations.

9. The British also introduced a new language and a new educational and administrative system. It is no longer controversial that each language brings its own culture. The introduction of the English language imported western cultural paradigms in Pakistan. The presence of the feudals, pirs and the compradore class was used to inculcate inferiority complex about their own culture amongst the people. The worst features of our culture were strengthened and the best were either condemned or substituted. Another logical impact of this new cultural imperialism was that it had a deep impact on our literary and other forms of expression. The gulf that already existed between the popular culture and culture of the elite was further widened when new similies and metaphors were introduced in our poetry and literature. Not only the forms of literary works under went a change but also the influence of European themes became

visible. These impressions were further strengthened through the missionary schools and emergence of a new urban culture. Ironically, cricket, which has almost become a part of our culture, was a product of this period.

10. Social stratification also underwent considerable change both in the urban as well as rural areas. The development of the countryside and the towns was deliberately kept lop-sided in order to sharpen the divide between the local backwardness and the urban development. Lord Macaulay's philosophy of alienating the local bureaucrats could not have shown better results anywhere else. A new class in Pakistan emerged which though looked like the local people but in habits, dress, life-style and behaviour imitated the manners of their colonial masters. During this period, resistance and resentment was also witnessed in our culture. The common man became more aware of the impact of colonialism on his values than the collaborators.

11. The impact of the British rule on Pakistani culture was so deep rooted that both history and value system which used to be a source of pride for the people of Pakistan became an apology for backwardness and inferiority. This resulted into an intellectual ferment and the people were torn between their own heritage and the distant melodies of the European glory. No attempt was made to understand the intellectual fibre of European culture which had resulted into their political and economic superiority. This led to cosmetic illusions of modernity whereas in fact, those institutions were allowed to flourish which were antithetical to the grammar of a modern culture. This situation called for an intellectual rejuvenation to re-capture the slipping thread of history, to save those

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aspects of our culture which feared extinction and to struggle for the independence of our territory to rescue our culture from the threatening revival of Hindu culture as well as from the colonial punctuations in our cultural heritage.

12. One of the most devastating impact of the British colonialism was the suppression of our cultural heritage. The movement for independence, therefore, was deep-rooted in our cultural environment. Whether it was the question of Urdu-Hindi controversy, cow slaughter, or violation of the sanctity of mosques, the paramount issue always had cultural bearings on our political struggle for freedom. Whenever we felt that our cultural values were being violated by the British or the Hindus, a new vigour to save our culture pushed the struggle for Pakistan to new horizons. If we look at the subsequent developments in the movement towards Pakistan, we witness that it was essentially the issue of our identity that paved the way for the political acceptance of the idea of Pakistan.

13. An objective analysis of the cultural overtones of the politics of the Indian National Congress would show that the Congress leadership, contrary to their tall claims, had absolutely no place for the cultural values of the Muslims. In their attempt to project the idea of Hindu nationalism, every effort was made to harness the political movement with the revival of ancient Hindu cultural paradigms where Muslims were treated as foreigners belonging to an alien culture. Whether it was the Shuddhi and Sanghattan movements or the Arya Dharam of Punjab, each movement was directed at suppressing the Muslim culture in different parts of the sub-continent. The Congress leadership used not only Hindu religious symbols but also

literature and history to depict the existence and conflict of two cultural legacies. In other words, it was a denial of even those aspects of Indian culture which were shaped jointly by the Hindus and the Muslims.

14. In order to counter these attacks against the historical forces and cultural heritage of Pakistani people, the Muslim leadership in South Asia undertook a struggle to focus on the cultural patterns and cultural uniqueness of the future Pakistan state. It emphasized those elements of history which had helped Muslims achieve a unique culture that was not only different from the other cultures in the region but also distinct from the culture of those immigrants who had settled here from different parts of the Middle East and the Central Asia. Therefore, even in those initial stages, when the contours of Pakistani nationalism were being shaped, culture played a very important role.

15. Perhaps the best appreciation of Pakistani culture was offered by Dr. Mohammed Iqbal who stressed the fundamentals of this culture in two ways. Firstly by highlighting the spirit of Muslim culture and secondly by emphasizing the culture of those areas which constitute today's Pakistan. In both cases Iqbal not only saw the higher culture of Islam shaping the destiny of these people but also its role in the future relationship between Pakistan and the Muslim countries of the Middle East and Central Asia. The idea of Pakistan presented by him was not so much of a dream as has been generally alluded to, but a re-writing of the salient features of the Pakistani culture which were felt threatened because of the onslaught of the western colonialism as well as the politics of Hindu culture.

IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF CULTURE

16. While defining the ingredients of Muslim culture, Iqbal emphasized that the spirit of Muslim culture was essentially anti-classical not so much as a breaking point from history but as initiating a process of intellectual revolution which developed into inductive reasoning. He stated that the abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Quran and the emphasis that is laid on Nature and History formed the basis of this new intellectual framework.

17. Iqbal's emphasis on the recognition and development of Khudi (ego) is nothing but creativity of individuals and its collective transformation into a system of intellectual power which subjugates various phenomena of nature and to some extent controls the direction of history. This concept of development of human ego is based again on the trinity of self-knowledge, nature and history. In other words it is the highest form of cultural development that is visualized as the ultimate development of human consciousness. Explaining the various aspects of the spirit of Muslim culture, Iqbal identifies knowledge of the concrete as the starting point of the method of observation and experiment in Islam which led to its anti-classical manifestations. Knowledge of the concrete is conceived as "the intellectual capture of and power over the concrete that makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete ". This knowledge is evolutionary in the sense that time is seen as an active agent of change. The culture that lags behind the intellectual framework of time suffers decay and ultimate extinction. Thus Muslim culture is viewed as dynamic concept of the universe. This evolutionary process of human relationship with matter receives the principles of historical criticism to maintain its

transformation within the parameters of the inductive intellect which is constantly shaped by the understanding of the historical facts. However, even the knowledge of history is visualized as playing a two-fold role: as an art of firing the reader's imagination and as a development into a genuine science. The latter is further conceived as a wider experience in which life is perceived as an organic unity. This idea of human unity is the hallmark of Iqbal's interpretation of culture and Iqbal visualizes Islam as a social movement to make this idea a living factor.

18. Because of these dynamic features, Muslim culture is presented as opposed to "magian cultures". While defending the intellectual legacy of Muslim culture as anti-magian, Iqbal confesses that because of host of factors "a magian crust has grown over Islam" and this crust is none other than substitution of religious formalism with Muslim thought, blind following with freedom of choices and a denial of the human ego as a free power. Concluding his statement on the spirit of Muslim culture, Iqbal asks Muslims "to appreciate the cultural value of the idea of the finality of Prophethood in Islam".

19, The finality of the Prophethood in Islam forms the basis of Iqbal's "principle of movement in the structure of Islam". This view provides him with a foundation to study the various cultural transformations that were going on in Turkey, South Asia and other Muslim areas. It is here that human creativity, unshackled and unrestricted, is seen as a psychological cure for the magian attitude of constant expectation which invites fatalism and divine intervention. These aspects of Muslim culture were criticised by Iqbal as anti-historical and opposed to the intellectual implications of the idea of finality of the Prophethood.

Subsequent developments of Muslim thought and culture are seen as nothing more than individual interpretations which could not possibly claim any finality but they assumed a permanent feature of Muslim culture. These unfortunate developments were perpetuated because of the colonial rule in the sub-continent. The British attempted to preserve those aspects of Muslim culture which were not only retrogressive but also anti-thetical to the spirit of Islam, and this is where Iqbal had to emphasize that the re-interpretation of Muslim culture by some Muslim liberals were perfectly justified. He says "the teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors should be prompted to solve its own problems".

20. It was on the basis of this idea of movement, liberalism and progressive evolution that Iqbal pleaded for the emancipation of Muslim culture in South Asia from alien influences. As a matter of fact what is stressed in his Allahabad address of December 1930, is fulfilment of his philosophy of Muslim culture of Pakistan which had a potential to develop into a unique and distinct system for others to emulate and for the future Pakistani nation to achieve a higher social consciousness which could enable it to develop material as well as intellectual aspects of its culture. It is indeed relevant to point out that when he spoke of a future Muslim independent state in South Asia, he laid a particular emphasis on the areas that constitute Pakistan today.

21. We have been told by some historians and political scientists that Pakistan was made possible because of a process of negotiations, round-table conferences and

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ON
PAKISTANI
CULTURE**

constitutional framework introduced by the British without any reference to the fact that what made Pakistan possible was the cultural and historical identity of the people of this country. It is not a coincidence that demographically, Muslims were in an overwhelming majority in the areas of today's Pakistan, whereas the political power base was mostly away from these territories. It was both the territorial contiguity of Pakistani territory with the Middle East and Central Asia as well as its unique cultural identity that made the existence of independent Pakistan possible.

22. Pakistan's independence brought us not only a new country but also the two-fold legacy of the movement for Pakistan. There was a strong group of Ulamas who had opposed the creation of Pakistan because of their lack of understanding the scope of the Muslim culture and the threats that it faced under colonialism. Their theological decrees neither reflected the aspirations of the people nor they had any relevance to the historical development of Muslim consciousness. It was because of these considerations that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah had to lay down the principles of the future cultural contours of Pakistan. It must be understood that the Quaid-i-Azam not only defended the intellectual heritage of Islam but also the capacity of Pakistani culture to absorb modern ideas of nationalism and statehood. His political leadership was the result of that historical process in which culture and history played an important role and it is because of this process that he was successful in materializing Iqbal's thought of independence for the people of Pakistan so that they could develop their distinct cultural heritage without any hinderance. In many ways his speech of 11th August, 1947 that was delivered before

the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan forms the basis of not only Pakistani state but also its cultural policies.

23. Highlighting the salient features of Pakistan's cultural growth, the Quaid told the nation: "you are free: You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state". This message contained the spirit of Pakistani culture which was supposed to be nurtured under the guidance of the principles of equality and freedom. Dwelling on the historical experience of Britain, he visualized a culture for Pakistan where identity of the citizens will not be judged through sectarian, religious, and ethnic appellations but as members of an independent nation. He not only saw the disappearance of sectarianism amongst Muslims but also in wider terms, where "Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense but in the political sense as citizens of the state".

24. During his swearing in ceremony as the first Governor-General of Pakistan, when the Quaid was reminded by Mountbatten to follow the ideals of Akbar the Great, he replied. "The tolerance and good will that great emperor Akbar showed to all non-Muslim is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet not only by words but also by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs". In addition to the historical developments of Muslim culture, the Quaid visualized the Charter of Madina (Mithaq-i-Madina) as the foundation stone of

Muslim culture. Lest this nation of Islamic heritage was misinterpreted, he categorically declared, ".....make no mistake. Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all these who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan".

25. The Quaid was not only conscious of our Islamic heritage, but also emphasized the contribution of Pakistan's cultural legacy and historical experience. He stated " Not only are most of us Muslims but we have our own history, customs and traditions and those ways of thought, outlook and instinct which go to make a sense of nationality ". Perhaps no other statement could be as comprehensive as this in conceptualizing the essence of Pakistani culture. It is here that we see the contribution of our territory both in history and social formation in shaping the contours of our culture. The emphasis is clearly laid on our history, customs, traditions, ways of thought , outlook and instinct, in addition to our identity as Muslims. Aware of our spiritual and material progress, he declared : " we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man these are all the basic points of our religion, culture, and civilization ". These ideas indeed clearly lay down the principles of our cultural policy which seeks to rejuvenate optimism in the strength of our culture, our traditions and our outlook.

26. On the eve of independence, Pakistan inherited two legacies : popular cultural expressions of Islam which had led to the establishment of Pakistan and the formal and

dogmatic puritanism of the ulama which had no relevance to our culture but somehow was allowed to play an influential role after 1947. The former represented the masses who equated political liberty with the liberty of culture whereas the latter sought patronage in bureaucracy and feudalism. The spirit of Muslim culture was narrowed down to a few resolutions accommodating the pressure of the ulama while the state policies were formulated on the colonial pattern. The honeymoon between bureaucrats and feudals resulted in the perpetuation of the same cultural framework that had been devised to suppress the popular uprisings against the British.

27. Since democratic form of government is a pre-requisite for the progress of popular culture, steps were taken to impose undemocratic institutions sometimes through dictatorships and sometimes through controlled democracy. In order to legitimize these unrepresentative governments, foreign culture was introduced in the name of development and economic growth while lip service was paid to the ideals of liberty and freedom. Moreover, such themes were woven into various forms of cultural manifestations that our indigenous cultural values appeared as symbols of stagnation and backwardness; and alien outlook on art, architecture, literature, painting and music was portrayed as progressive. With the result that neither we could breathe the spirit of freedom into our enslaved culture nor we could understand and appreciate those forms of culture which were inspired from distant and alien societies. It created a gulf between our society and its surrogate spokesmen. These self-styled spokesmen strove for recognition from the state and abroad and the society was left at the mercy of those

agents of change whose intellectual outlook was shaped in alien societies.

28. The impact of these policies on our cultural heritage was almost suicidal. It destroyed what was good, progressive, and conducive to positive changes and perpetuated what was unwholesome, reactionary, superstitious and exploitative. The tragedy of East Pakistan was essentially a product of this unfortunate legacy. In 1947, what we inherited was a conglomeration of regional cultures which shared common grounds of history and religion. The state was supposed to provide an atmosphere where these common grounds could act as a bond to integrate various regional cultures. But as noted above, the state was used by those myopic leaders who were more interested in their petty personal gains than in the collective destiny of our people.

29. The post-1971 Pakistan represented a turning point in our history which should have taught us at least two lessons. Firstly, no system of government could keep Pakistan as a united entity but democracy. Democracy ensures participation of the people in policy formulation and provides true legitimacy to rulers and legislators. Pakistan was created because of democracy and it was the power of the people that had strengthened the hands of our leaders who foiled every attempt that was aimed at denying our independence. Secondly, that religion alone could not keep us together especially when it is not reflective of the people's aspirations. Pakistani people identify their religion with the Holy Prophet of Islam whose treatment of his followers as well as Christians and Jews provide the ultimate framework of establishing a cosmopolitan society where religious affiliations, racial and

ethnic considerations, and allusions to social and political status are not allowed to hinder the distribution of social justice, equality, and brotherhood. These dimensions of Islam form an integral part of our popular culture which have been strengthened by the messages of love and mutual respect by the saints of this land.

30. Whenever the state-sponsored religion was imposed on the people, it was always rejected by our people. Our history bears testimony to this fact that the sufi and the sultan never converged on any point except for those rare occasions when the latter succumbed before the popular will of the people. Even the great rulers like Akbar could not inculcate an everlasting respect for court sponsored doctrines which were aimed at discovering a synthesis between the various religions of the sub-continent. It only proves that state, no matter how sincere it is, can never succeed an environment of peace, tolerance, and freedom where people feel free to practise their religion.

31. The first democratic government after the secession of East Pakistan tried to salvage our cultural heritage through various steps and to a great extent succeeded in providing an atmosphere for Pakistani culture to grow and adapt to the changed political situation. It could not eliminate feudalism but did succeed in inculcating self-respect and awareness in the peasants, haris and workers which went a long way in rehabilitating the people's confidence in their cultural heritage. But the democratic culture of Pakistan was once again enslaved by the Martial Law of 1977. A new system was imposed that was aimed at suppressing each and every aspect of the popular culture of Pakistan. This system denied democracy; nurtured ethnic and parochial instincts in our

body politic, robbed Islam of its dynamism, and engulfed our society in such a crisis that a culture that had been distinguished for tolerance and love relapsed into the notoriety of hatred, violence, and hypocrisy. Those who protested against this onslaught were subjected to torture, imprisonment, and public humiliation. This subversion of our cultural values continued at many levels but its worst manifestation appeared in the shape of Klashinkov culture, drug culture, male-female antagonism, and a systematic degradation of human values.

32. During these unfortunate times, through a system of material rewards and punishments, a new political culture was allowed to subsume priorities for merit and skill. Either the cultural activity was totally frozen or only those aspects of our culture were allowed articulation which supported authoritarianism, glorified feudalism or elevated religious fanaticism. Constant curfew in big cities like Karachi and other formulas of Martial Law regime forced people to stay indoors. Art, theatre and film industry suffered as a result of these activities. This facilitated the VCR culture which was nourished by the un-censored foreign and Indian movies. The younger generation was hooked to these movies which depicted violence, obscenity and corruption. The impact of this new culture is visible in our cities and towns. So far as the psychological and emotional influence of this poison is concerned, it is too depressing and horrifying even to gauge in terms of our social consciousness.

THE FEATURES OF CULTURAL POLICY

OBJECTIVES

Keeping in view the rich heritage of our culture and to provide conducive environments for its growth and promotion, it has been decided to promulgate a cultural policy with the following objectives:-

- (i) To preserve Pakistan's cultural heritage in all fields such as literature, architecture, sports, music, dance, folklore, artifacts, performing arts, painting, crafts, movies, television broadcasting and other fields related to culture.
- (ii) To provide a free and healthy environment for the promotion of all cultural activities at different levels of society.
- (iii) To channelize the thoughts and aspirations of our artists, intellectuals, musicians, singers, poets, writers, artisans, architects, stage and film artists, dancers, and other related with cultural activities towards the process of national integration.
- (iv) To provide appropriate forums for training, education

and performance of different cultural activities at various levels.

(v) To eradicate the culture of violence, intolerance and fanaticism through education and legislation.

(vi) To discourage the onslaught of negative aspects of foreign culture by improving the entertainment programmes, opening up new channels on electronic media and introducing latest technologies in articulating Pakistan's cultural activities on various forums.

(vii) To make our national language truly representative of the various languages spoken in Pakistan by providing a framework of adaptation and assimilation.

(viii) To seek a correlation between our spiritual cultural and its material dimensions.

(ix) To inculcate quest for inquiry and research in application of modern technology to our social and economic needs through critical thinking and constructive reasoning.

(x) To highlight and develop the principles laid down by Islam and the founding father of Pakistan in the promotion of our culture.

(xi) To ensure a healthy interaction with other cultures through cultural exchange programmes, exhibitions, and international moots.

(xii) To awaken the spirit of participation of the people of Pakistan and to safeguard their rights in promotion of culture.

b. POLICY DIRECTIVES

Preservation of Cultural Heritage:

In order to meet the objectives of the cultural policy, following steps have been considered essential:-

(i) A comprehensive history of Pakistan with emphasis on the areas constituting Pakistan will be written. For this purpose, the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research has already been entrusted with this task.

(ii) A comprehensive history of Pakistan culture will be undertaken by the same Institute highlighting the indigenous culture of Pakistan as well as the impact of Arab, Iranian, Central Asian and Western Cultures.

(iii) Allama Iqbal's concept of the spirit of Muslim Culture and Quaid-i-Azam's guidelines will be highlighted by various institutes engaged in research on Islam, Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam under the guidance of the National Commission on History and Culture.

(iv) The National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research will, in co-operation with local and regional scholars, academic institutions, undertake projects of writing local histories of different towns, cities and provinces in order to highlight the contribution of our people in the freedom movement and propagation of our culture.

(v) The Department of Archaeology will sponsor a comprehensive catalogue of the various archaeological sites with maps, pictures and brief write-ups for the scholars, tourists and archaeologists.

(vi) Historical monuments such as tombs, forts, old buildings and other remnants of the past will be

preserved, repaired and documented. It has been decided that no historical building will be demolished or altered to the extent that it loses its relevance to our history and culture.

(vii) The Academy of Letters will, in the first phase, sponsor a Comprehensive History of Urdu Literature, which, in the second phase, (subject to availability of resources) may be translated in major UN languages. Comprehensive history of the literature of regional languages may be sponsored by the Provincial Governments.

(viii) The Academy will also publish a comprehensive catalogue on the pattern of "who's who" containing short biographies of Pakistani poets, short-story writers, novelists, historians, and other scholars.

(ix) The Institute of Folk Heritage will prepare catalogue of the prominent musicians, singers, artisans, and others who have contributed to the development of Pakistan's folk heritage.

(x) The Pakistan National Council of Arts will undertake the following projects:-

- (a) A History of Performing Arts in Pakistan.
- (b) A Catalogue of Painters and Calligraphers.
- (c) A Catalogue of Actors, Producers, Directors and other notables in the fields.

(xi) The Pakistan Television Corporation and National Broadcasting Service will prepare catalogue of their programmes, artists and producers and will make video/

audio cassettes available for sale to the public, if commercially viable.

(xii) A comprehensive union catalogue would be prepared which would include information on library holdings, private collections, and other material on culture and history for easy reference for scholars and students.

(xiii) A Historical Atlas of Pakistan will be prepared showing the contiguity of the areas constituting Pakistan with detailed sketches of the centres of learning, historical monuments, urban planning and the centres of cultural activities.

(xiv) Cultural centres will be established at National, Provincial and district headquarters to preserve and promote the culture of their respective areas. These Centres will have following features:-

- (a) They will be administered by professionals preferably from the local regions.
- (b) Their activities will be co-ordinated by the National Commission on History and Culture.

(xv) A National Film Academy will be established with the following objectives:-

- (a) To promote Pakistani culture in the movies.
- (b) To train artists, directors, and script writers.
- (c) To improve the technology of film industry.
- (d) To establish a trust for the benefit of less privileged artists.

(xvi) NAFDEC will be rejuvenated and placed under the

National Commission on History and Culture and entrusted with the following activities:-

- (a) To hold weeks of foreign movies.
- (b) To promote exhibition of selected Pakistani movies in international film festivals.
- (c) To promote Pakistani movies abroad.
- (d) To facilitate such exchange programmes with other countries which would promote cultural interaction between Pakistan and other countries of the region.
- (e) To establish the Archives of Pakistani movies.
- (f) To import quality movies from abroad and to export Pakistani movies.
- (g) To control and monitor the import of foreign videos.
- (h) To register film producers and directors and to ensure the production of quality movies.

(xvii) A Copyrights Act will be enacted to protect the intellectual property rights of foreign and national movies, music, videos and printed matters.

(xviii) Pakistan Television Corporation and Radio will promote all languages of Pakistan in its programmes to ensure an equitable and fair distribution of time to the various cultural manifestations of Pakistan.

(xix) National Archives and National Documentation Centre will be made accessible to researchers, writers and scholars.

(xx) National Gallery of Paintings in Islamabad will house different masterpieces representing various schools of painting in Pakistan.

(xxi) The libraries will be improved in terms of their holdings and protection from negligence, theft and vandalism.

(xxii) One institute each for the following disciplines will be established subject to the condition that they are not being taught in the universities / institutes in Pakistan.

- (a) Comparative religions— Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Sikhism.
- (b) Music —Folk, classical and popular music with emphasis on evolution of musical notes, instruments, and performance.
- (c) Art and Architecture —Calligraphy, geometrical designs and other aspects of Islamic Art and Architecture with comparison with other forms of Art and Architecture.
- (d) Painting and Sculpture — Different schools and their cultural relevance.
- (e) History of Science and Technology — A study of the development of science and technology in various societies including Pakistan.

(xxiii) Academy of Performing Arts will be established, provided that the proposed objectives are not being catered for by any of the existing academies and institutes:-

- (a) To train actors, producers, script writers, musicians, dancers, photographers at higher level for films, theatres and television.
- (b) To assess and evaluate the merit of different productions and recommend them for national

awards.

- (c) To improve the contents and technology of Performing Arts.

(xxiv) The Institute of Islamic Art and Architecture may be established either at Thatta or Multan or Lahore by the respective Provincial Governments from their own resources :-

- (a) To impart education in Islamic Architecture, painting, decorative arts, calligraphy, carving, metal work, and ceramics at post-graduate level as well as at diploma level.
- (b) It will seek close co-ordination with other Muslim countries in research and training.
- (c) It will hold seminars and conferences at national and international level.

(xxv) The existing museums will be expanded with facilities for showing videos on cultural history of Pakistan.

(xxvi) The National Language Authority will be entrusted with the task of developing Urdu language so that it is representative of Pakistani languages. It has already undergone changes but this process needs to be accelerated and instead of foreign words, Pakistani languages will given priority in vocabulary and idioms for functional purposes.

(xxvii) A Sound and Music Library will be set up at national level which would contain written as well as oral music recordings from all over the country.

(xxviii) Close co-ordination is needed between schools

imparting religious education and the universities in order to bridge the intellectual polarization.

(xxix) Light and sound shows will be arranged at historical monuments and archaeological sites.

(xxx) Centres of Excellence and institutes affiliated with the universities will encourage research and publication on Pakistani culture.

(xxxi) Pakistani culture will be promoted at international level through:

- (i) Printing of posters depicting our cultural heritage.
- (ii) Displaying Pakistani handicraft in our embassies.
- (iii) Providing printed material on Pakistan for interested scholars, tourists and businessmen.
- (iv) Holding cultural shows and music concerts.
- (v) Assisting academic institutions which teach Pakistan and Islamic culture in exchange programmes and research.
- (vi) In 1997, the fifty years of Pakistan will be celebrated through the promotion of Pakistani Culture at home and abroad.
- (vii) The National Commission on History and Culture will host an international conference of writers to exchange views on Literature, Culture and Democracy.

(xxxii) Laws at national and provincial levels will be passed to discourage intolerance, religious fanaticism, violence and parochialism.

(xxxiii) Those Laws which represent either the colonial legacy or contravene the promotion of culture will be repealed to ensure freedom of expression and inculcation

of national identity and integrity. In particular, a legal requirement that was initiated in 1876 to subject drama and theatre script to the district authorities will be repealed.

EPILOGUE

This cultural policy has been formulated keeping in view the best interests of the nation. It aims at preserving our heritage and giving us a solid and sound footing to keep pace with the rapidly changing world. The link between our past and present will not only preserve our identity but also will guarantee a secure and bright future. No nation has touched the heights of glory without securing its past from confusion and controversy. Our failures and achievements reveal our collective weakness or strength at a given time. Past, therefore, is both a reminder as well as a source of reassurance. We have to gather those pieces of our collective consciousness which are capable of carrying us with dignity and pride to the path of future.

2. No government possesses sufficient means to undo the blunders of the past but with the help of its people. If we want to live as an honourable nation in today's fast shrinking world, we have to demonstrate a behaviour that is worthy of our name, our mandate, and our heritage. We are all aware of the price that our ancestors and leaders paid to secure this territory for us so that we could freely exercise our rights to live according to our cultural values. If our value system is like a soul, this land of Pakistan is

like its abode; both are incomplete and devoid of life without each other . The strength of this territorial entity lies in the active participation of its limbs which are controlled by one mind.

3. That mind and soul need a healthy body, cannot be disputed. Therefore, it is essential that our culture with its various manifestations depicts us as one people, one country and one nation. The diversity is not antithetical to unity but completes the rainbow and reveals the richness of colours and contents. All the veins of Pakistani culture, irrespective of their size and contents are alive because of the heart beat of our national aspirations. We have a common destiny and common goals.

4. The people of Pakistan speak different languages, profess different religions, yet share the same experience and the same bounties of nature. We seek inspiration from the glorious legacy of Islam which produced such an ideal society that the annals of history seldom display anything like that. No nation on earth can claim so much from history that has been bestowed upon us. Should we then, be wandering around to discover ourselves.

5. The rehabilitation, preservation and promotion of our culture is our collective responsibility. The government, which you have elevated to power, can only provide guidelines which represent the views not of any one individual institution or party, but of all of us. The government can also provide appropriate forums, can legislate through your representatives and can remove visible hurdles that retard the growth of our culture. But the ultimate decision to let these cultural flowers blossom will be our collective responsibility.

6. It is hoped that various non-governmental organizations, philanthropist institutions and individuals will step forward and help save our culture for the nation as a tribute to our ancestors and as a source of pride for the posterity. No one is more capable of guarding our cultural frontiers than our people.

7. Let it be resolved that as citizens of independent Pakistan, we will emerge as a self-guiding people eliminating those aspects of our culture that were aimed at dividing us and strengthening those elements that have sustained us throughout history as proud and freedom loving people.

RECORD OF DISCUSSION HELD IN THE MEETING
ON 19-2-1995 UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF
MR. FAKHAR ZAMAN, CHAIRMAN NATIONAL
COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE TO
DISCUSS DRAFT CULTURAL POLICY.

A meeting was held on 19th February, 1995 under the Chairmanship of Mr. Fakhar Zaman, Chairman, National Commission on History and Culture to discuss the Draft Cultural Policy which had been circulated to concerned Ministries and the Provincial Governments. List of the participants is attached (Appendix 1).

2. The Chairman, National Commission on History and Culture, briefed the meeting on the background and the necessity for the formulation of the Cultural Policy for the development of Arts, Culture, Literature, etc. in a modern and progressive society. The Chairman also explained the salient features of the Cultural Policy to the participants. He also emphasized the urgency of the formulation of a Cultural Policy because the previous attempts had been thwarted by vested interests.

3. All the representatives of the Federal Ministries / Agencies supported the recommendations contained in the Draft Cultural Policy. The representative of the Ministry of Finance was, however, of the view that since his Ministry was concerned solely with the financial implications which would result in the implementation of the policy, the comments of his Ministry would be relevant only at a later stage.

4. The representative of the Ministry of Interior stated

they had no objection to the draft policy. But since everything mentioned in the policy had to be executed at the level of the provinces, therefore, the blessings of the Provincial Governments were necessary. He suggested that we might restrict ourselves to a broad discussion and accommodate the view points of the Provinces.

5. The representatives of the Ministry of Education and Cabinet Division informed the meeting that they had no objection to the draft. It was a policy of the whole country and was very well integrated. The most important factor, according to Dr. Abdul Aziz Khan, JEA, Ministry of Education was to have sufficient financial resources but no financial target had been worked out in the policy. Mr. Nazir Ahmad, Joint Secretary, Cabinet Division said that they agreed with the proposal contained in the draft Policy.

6. Similarly, the representatives of Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Information and Broadcasting had no objection. M/o Foreign Affairs would provide all the necessary assistance through the Pakistan embassies abroad. Syed Iqbal Hussain, Director I & B, told that since Secretary, I&B was away, therefore, he could not get the guidelines. He referred to sub-para (xx) on page 26 of the draft and requested to Chairman to elaborate that there would be no interference into the functions in their domain. The Chairman pointed out that the Secretary I&B had already been explained the salient features of the policy in a meeting with him and it would be ensured that there was no interference in their domain.

7. The representatives of the Provincial Governments, although generally agreeing with the recommendations of the Draft Policy, were of the opinion that they needed more time for discussion in their respective provinces. The representative of the Sindh Government in particular was insistent that they would require some more time for a broader-based discussion in the province on the Draft Policy. They were also of the view that financial assistance from the Federal Government would be needed by the Provincial Governments for the implementation of the policy and that some elements of the policy, particularly those relating to religious matters, would need either modification or appropriate time frame.

8. The Chairman explained that in the course of the formulation of the Draft Policy he had travelled widely through all the provinces and had extensive discussions with intellectuals, writers, artists and other persons related to Culture (Appendix 2). He also assured the representatives of the Provincial Governments that the Draft Policy only provided broad guide-lines and a framework within which cultural development should desirably take place. He was emphatic in saying that, since the implementation of any cultural policy depended on the whole hearted participation of the Provinces, their views could not be ignored. However, he promised that when it came to implementation of the policy, after its approval by the Cabinet, full provincial participation would be ensured. Moreover, when the policy would be discussed by the Cabinet, the Chief Ministers of the Provinces could be specially invited.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS OF THE MEETING HELD ON 19-2-1995 UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF MR. FAKHAR ZAMAN, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE.

1. Mr. Hasan Raza Pasha, Addl. Secretary Incharge, Culture, Sports and Tourism.
2. Mr. I. M. Mohsin, Addl. Secretary, M/o Interior.
3. Sahibzada Masood Ali, Joint Secretary (Culture).
4. Mr. Nazir Ahmad, Joint Secretary, Cabinet Division.
5. Mr. Abdul Aziz Khan, Joint Educational Adviser, M/o Education.
6. Mr. Naveed Hasan, Financial Adviser (Culture).
7. Mr. Badarul Islam, Secretary Information and Culture, Government of the Punjab, Lahore.
8. Mr. A. Hameed Akhund, Secretary Culture, Government of Sindh, Karachi.
9. Mr. M. Yunis Khan, Secretary Information and Culture, Government of NWFP, Peshawar.
10. Mr. Aslam Sanjrani, Secretary Culture, Government of Balochistan, Quetta.
11. Mr. Iftikhar Arif, Director General, Pakistan Academy of Letters.
12. Dr. M. Aslam Syed, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.
13. Mr. Riaz Ahmed Syed, Director, M/o Foreign Affairs.
14. Syed Iqbal Hussain, Director, M/o Information and Broadcasting.
15. Mr. Sagheer Ahmad, Deputy Secretary (Culture).

APPENDIX 2

Prof. Dr. M. Aslam Syed.
Khawaja Shahid Hosain.
Mr. Aslam Azhar. (Booklet)
Mr. I. A. Rahman.
Prof. Khawaja Masood.
Mr. Ahmed Salim.
Dr. (Miss) Kaniz Fatima Yusuf.
Dr. G. A. Allana.
Sheikh Ayaz.
Mr. Moin Bari.
Mr. Ibrahim Joyo.
Prof. Ismail Sethi.
Dr. Anis Alam.
Prof. Rashid Ahmad Khan.
Prof. Dr. Naeem Ahmed.
Prof. Abdul Khaliq.
Dr. Anwar Sajjad.
Prof. Ejaz Cyprian.
Prof. Dr. K. K. Aziz.
Dr. Anis Nagi.
Madam Auzerie.
Mr. Saqlain Imam.
Dr. Muhammad Ali Siddiqui.
Prof. Dr. Abdullah Jamal-Dini.
Mr. Zubair Rana.
Ms. Kishwar Nahid
Prof. Nazir Ahmed.
Mr. Farhat ullah Babar.
Mr. Hafiz-ur-Rahman. (Articles)
Mr. Iftikhar Arif.
Dr. Mehdi Hassan.
Prof. Ejaz-ul-Hassan.
Mr. Mustafa Qureshi.
Mr. Ahmed Bashir.

Mr. Zahid-ul-Islam.
Dr. Yusuf Abbasi.
Mr. Qazi Javaid.
Mrs. Parveen Atif.
Mrs. Tahira Mazhar Ali.
Mr. Shafqat Tanvir Mirza.
Mr. Hayat Ahmad Khan.
Mr. Abdullah Hussain.
Mr. Muzaffar Ghaffar.
Mr. Altaf A. Qureshi.
Mr. Shujaat Hashmi.
Prof. Saeed Akhtar.
Mr. Uxi Mufti.
Mr. Ayaz Rashdi.
Safdar Mir's Paper.
Faiz Report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In view of the repeated attempts by the authoritarian regimes to subvert our culture through imposed patterns and sanctified selfishness of confusion the pristine principles of Islam with an unbridled quest for perpetuating dictatorships, it is imperative that a cultural policy is announced to liberate Pakistani culture from these arbitrary hurdles. The state does not intend to impose any specific paradigms of Cultural values but aims at providing a healthy environment in order to ensure the preservation and growth of different cultural patterns in our country. The policy aims at building a wider value system which is shared by all the components of our society and which can be developed into a higher intellectual culture. The state would provide environment that is conducive to free expression, mutual appreciation and respect for other cultures. It will make policies, provide incentives, facilitate the growth of cultural expression and lay the foundation of an integrative culture framework.

2. The contours of this policy have been shaped by the historical experience of Pakistani nation as well as the

guidelines provided by the founding fathers of Pakistan such as Dr. Mohammad Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The contribution of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has also been noted in this respect. Pakistan's historical experience not only depicts a cross-road impact on our culture where our people came in contact with some of the best known civilizations but also testifies to the capacity of our cultural patterns to absorb new ideas while retaining their identity and strength. The fact that Islam flourished in these areas which constitute today's Pakistan much before the Muslim rule began in Delhi, and that they were away from the centre of Muslim political power shows the receptiveness of Pakistani culture. Dr. Iqbal's lectures on the Spirit of Islamic Culture, Quaid-i-Azam's speech of 11th August, 1947, and Shaheed Bhutto's directives to rehabilitate Pakistani culture provide the intellectual framework of our cultural policy.

3. We are living in a fast changing world and the rapid changes in communication and technology are bound to influence our culture but if the confidence and pride is not restored in our cultural values, it could result in the adoption of only superficial symbols of these new changes which would lead neither to any meaningful change in our socio-economic development, nor would become a part of our social consciousness. It is essential that our cultural framework is receptive to new ideas and to comprehend the technological simulation of consciousness. If the global village syndrome finds us in cultural confusion and chaos, we are bound to suffer from imposed cultural patterns. Our cultural heritage is one of the oldest in the world and our

people have always shown resilience to new ideas. What is needed is to facilitate the rehabilitation of our cultural pride as well as to anticipate its future manifestations so that we emerge as a nation living in modern world with a unique, distinct, and proud heritage.

4. In order to seek a balance between the spiritual and material growth of Pakistani culture, the policy aims at wider participation of people in preserving and promoting their culture in an environment that is free of arbitrary colonial laws, religious fanaticism, intolerance, and imposed patterns, The objectives of this policy therefore, are guided by the principles of preserving Pakistani's cultural heritage, to provide healthy environment for its growth, to provide appropriate forums for training, education and performance of different cultural activities, to eradicate the culture of violence, terrorism, and fanaticism and to inculcate the spirit of inquiry and research in application of modern technology to our social and economic needs.

5. The policy directives aim at strengthening the existing institutions and creating new institutions such as the Academy of Performing Arts, a National Film Academy, Cultural Centres at different levels, a National Gallery of Paintings, Sound and Music Library, and an Institute of Islamic Art and Architecture. Guidelines have also been provided for educational institutions to integrate various forms of cultural expressions in curriculum. Those laws which hinder the growth of our culture will either be repealed or substituted with legislation that is conducive to promotion of Pakistani Culture.

