

Quest for Pakistaniness: A New Historicist Study of Selected Textual Narratives of Pakistani English Fiction in 1960s.

By

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M.A, EMGLISH

International Islamic University, Islamabad 2015



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES, ISLAMABAD

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Abstract

Thesis Topic: Quest for Pakistaniness: A New Historicist Study of Selected Textual Narratives of Pakistani English Fiction in 1960s.

This study investigates the narratives of Pakistan through the fictional works of Pakistani authors in the 1960s especially two selected novels; *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967) by Zulfikar Ghose and *Sunlight on a Broken Column* (1961) by Attia Hosain, The former deals with Pakistan in 1960s, while the second novel covers the time period when Pakistan was being demanded initially during 1930-40s. To investigate the focal idea, New Historicist critical approach has been opted. The New Historicist views of Louis Montrose and Stephen Greenblatt have been adopted as the mode of interpretation. Contextual Analysis approach has been used as Research Methodology. The approach incorporates the contemporary non-literary texts dealing with the subject-matter similar to that of literary texts. The findings of the study state that the phenomenon of Pakistaniness is pluralistic and relative, not absolute. Different narratives about Pakistan in literary and non-literary texts represent different perspectives of Pakistaniness making the term multifaceted and intangible.

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DEDICATION

In the loving memory of late M. Ishfaque, my eldest brother, who always encouraged me for quality education and high self-esteem. My dissertation is a little effort to pay tribute to his intellectual greatness folk wisdom.

Introduction

1. Background of the Study

Pakistaniness refers to the narratives about Pakistan. It has specific definitions according to the context in which it is used. In the current study, it refers to any narrative that reflects the ideological underpinnings of Pakistan. Such contextual usage is common in research works. Cara Cilano, for instance, in her book *National Identities in Pakistan: The 1971 War in Contemporary Pakistani Fiction*, uses this term understood as national collectivity; “The complicating contexts connected to the war, both those that lead up to it and those that fall out of it, call into question whether and in what ways a notion of Pakistaniness as a national collectivity continues despite the seismic rending of the country in 1971” (1). Complicating contexts, as explained by her, are the context of Pakistan represented in literature and in nationalist Pakistani history. She uses the term to refer to complications involved in redefining the narrative of Pakistan after Bangladesh’s independence in 1971. Her research is a parallel study between the representation of Pakistan in literature and in nationalist Pakistani history. Drs. Muhammad Safeer Awan and Munawar Iqbal Ahmed, in their article *Eastern Symbolism and the Recovery of Selfhood in Taufiq Rafat’s Arrival of the Monsoon* also used the very term; “It (Pakistani literature in English) has its own system of symbols reflecting Pakistaniness” (1). The term here is not as broader as in Cara’s work. It applies to the symbols and imagery that is typical Pakistani in terms of culture and idiom. It is actually an endeavor to investigate the selfhood in post colonial Pakistani identity in Taufiq Rafat’s poetry. In another of the articles titled *Representation of Changing Indigenous Values in Pakistani Society: An analysis of Rafat’s Poetry*, the term has been used to encompass the characteristics of Taufiq Rafat’s poetry collectively (1). In the current research, the term Pakistaniness has been used to denote the different narratives about Pakistan in 1960s. To narrow down the term, it refers to any narrative that reflects the ideological underpinnings of Pakistan. This study is a contextual study dealing with the term differently on the ground that it investigates the narrative about Pakistan through literature and also through non-literary texts that stand in relevance to the selected fictional events. The decade of 1960s was the time marked

with political uncertainty, the imposition of military regime and industrial revolution, rebellion from different sections of society and above all, it was a baking period for the split of country that later took place in 1971. Therefore, Pakistaniness in that era is diverse and pluralistic. Hence, there may be affinities and discrepancies among different narratives as pointed out by Cara Cilano that Pakistani national unity is “a condition the nation hasn’t enjoyed or achieved at any point in its history” (*Contemporary Pakistani Fiction in English* 16). Moreover, the narrative of Pakistan operates on two spheres: the very origin of Pakistani ideology on the basis of which Pakistan was demanded and achieved; and the narrative of Pakistan in a specific political or historical period which is accessed through different texts of the era. For example, this research investigates Pakistaniness in literature in the decade of 1960 and also checks its reciprocation to its original narrative launched in 1930s and progressed towards 1940s. To carry out this task, only literature of 1960s Pakistan is not enough for a comprehensive understanding of Pakistan, but other contemporary literary and non-literary texts need to be examined. For instance, General Ayub Khan pronounces the ideology of Islam as the one and only uniting force that led to the creation of Pakistan but he is acerbic to the ways the Politicians had been implementing the principles of Islam; “Our politicians, he asserts, led us away from the Islamic ways of life and exploited the name of Islam to achieve their nefarious designs” (Abdul Quddus 22). While, on the contrary, his secretary, Qudratullah Shahab, reveals that “since Martial Law, all announcements, laws and regulations issued officially find only ‘Pakistan’ instead of ‘Islamic Republic of Pakistan’ on them” (Shahab 488). On his request to review the mistake, the President said, “there is no mistake in drafting. We have thoughtfully decided to exclude the word ‘Islamic’ from Islamic Republic of Pakistan” (ibid). On another note, a historian Stephen Philip Cohen negates Ayub Khan’s stance stating that Jinnah and Iqbal promised a state for Muslims, and not a state to make Islam its official religion (Cohen 161). K. K. Aziz totally negates the official narrative stating that the history was being monitored by the state in the 1960s; therefore, many have no access to the objective history of the country (191). Thus, a chain of different narratives makes the concept of Pakistaniness having lack of unanimity. Each of such contradictory or simply different narratives represents a relatable aspect of Pakistaniness leading to the hypothesis that the nature of the phenomenon of Pakistaniness is pluralistic. When we say pluralistic, we refer to the multiple facets of a signifier as above mentioned examples investigate the Pakistaniness from different perspectives. The similar attempt is being made in

this research which aims at putting the literary texts within the framework of non-literary texts to get a multifaceted and comprehensive version of Pakistaniness. The interesting thing about the research is that it takes two novels written in the same decade but one deals with the contemporary socio-political society and the other goes back into the society that witnessed the emergence and the rise of the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims of United India.

The first novel *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967) depicts the era of 1960s and will interrogate the non-literary narratives of Pakistan in propagation, while the second novel *Sunlight on a Broken Column* (1961) demonstrates the multicultural society of United India during 1930s, the time when the narrative of Pakistan based on distinctive ideology was in the making, and also reciprocates the contemporary activities and events. The question arises here that how two texts written in different eras can represent the same phenomenon. This inquisition meets the answer in two ways: First, the theory being used as a mode of interpretation, New Historicism, calls the writer and the text products of society. If someone writes a novel in 2019 on coloniality in 1900, it looks more like the perception of coloniality in 2019. In the same way, the context of writing-process of the novel matters a lot. It was a time when the making of Pakistan was being discussed and questioned in intellectual circles and Stephen Greenblatt says that “the work of art is a product of a negotiation between a creator, or class or creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society” (*Self Fashioning* 12). The writing about past is the representation of the past influenced by the present. Secondly, to discuss Pakistaniness, it is necessary to evaluate the credibility of original texts that defined and launched the narrative of Pakistan. The most appropriate novel in this regard is none but *Sunlight on a Broken Column*. The non-literary narratives get equal weightage in parallel and they can interrogate or endorse the fictional world; for the critical approach being applied to interpret the “texts”, New Historicism, gives no privilege to any text or autonomy of an individual as Montrose states that it resists “a prevalent tendency to posit and privilege a unified and autonomous individual—whether an Author or a Work—to be set against a social or literary background” (*Professing the Renaissance* 586).

After the inclusion of fictional texts the question of determinacy of non-literary texts needs attention. The non-literary texts work as a context to the process of writing and to the events in the writing, are thus selected to ensure the relatibility of fictional events with non-

fictional world. In this connection, Stephen Greenblatt calls the terms like “allusion, symbolization, allegorization, representation, and above all mimesis” indispensable, yet are inadequate, and that “we need to develop terms to describe the ways in which material – here official documents, private papers, newspaper clipping and so forth – is transformed from one discursive sphere to another and becomes aesthetic property” (*Towards a Poetics of Culture* 11). Hence, New Historicist notion being considered for interpretation centers on the contextual study of fictional events to evaluate the reciprocal connection between how Pakistaniness is discerned socially and fictionally.

Whenever Pakistaniness is talked about, there are two ways to refer to it: first traces the ingredients of Pakistaniness from the historical events that later caused the creation of Pakistan. Among these events are Two-Nation Theory, Pakistan Resolution (1940). Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s interviews and speeches that layout the blueprint of would-be Pakistan are also brought into the discussion. The Second meaning of Pakistaniness is what actually is happening in the country at a specific time or in a specific period. It contains the images of Pakistan presented in fiction and theatre at one end, and in the government policies, in society and in academic circles on the other, with recurrent references to the original texts defining and prescribing the Pakistaniness.

The mode of interpretation that authorizes this sort of analysis is New Historicism established by an American theorist Stephen Greenblatt in his work *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (1980). Although, Greenblatt was the first to use the term ‘New Historicism’, however, various similar practices of literary interpretation are found during 1970s. J. W. Lever, for instance, wrote *The Tragedy of State: A Study of Jacobean Drama* (1971) challenging the established critical views about Jacobean theatre and unveiled the political forces behind art. The main focus of this research as far as the domain of theory is concerned, is Louis Montrose who used the catch-phrase ‘textuality of history and historicity of the texts’ and Stephen Greenblatt who formulated the underpinning mechanism of New Historicism. In brief, the dissertation aims at evaluating the literary texts within the framework of non-literary texts in the quest of the narrative(s) of Pakistan. Non-literary texts, however, are relevant to the act of writing, to the surroundings of the authors and settings, and to the characters and events, so that a

comprehensive contextual study comprising multiple forms of writings turn out to look at different perspectives of Pakistaniness.

2. Context of the Problem

Pakistan has never been defined unanimously. The narrative of Pakistan is as variant as its socio-political institutions. The current study is an endeavor to assess the Pakistaniness through parallel study of different narratives about Pakistan in the era prior to the partition of Bangladesh. The most important national constitutional document after the emergence of Pakistan, Objective Resolution, maintains the ideology of Pakistan as an Islamic Republic of Pakistan accompanied by Western democracy. The document, considered the preamble of all the upcoming three constitutions of Pakistan, asserts that the form of government will be federal-parliamentary and Muslim majority shall live their lives according to Islam, and that the state will run through chosen representatives who will rule under the rules set by Allah. The three constitutions of Pakistan maintain that the one and only identity of Pakistan is Islam and minorities will be granted the freedom of religious-cultural practices in their own ways. Similarly the identity of Pakistan was dictated on the similar lines in the “Pakistan Resolution (1940)” which consolidates the journey towards Pakistan. However, at the same time, other social texts and fiction does not conform, in totality, to that doctrine.

3. Statement of the Problem

There are definite discrepancies between the narratives of Pakistan as reflected in different non-literary texts and as portrayed in fiction. In other words, there is no unanimity in defining The Pakistaniness, neither a claim can be made to refer to any definition of Pakistan as real. The dynamics behind such contradictions are necessary to explore to find out the nature of plurality in the narratives.

4. Significance of Study

The study is a matter of interest for the inquisitive of Pakistaniness. Literary and political narratives about Pakistan have been collected from political, religious, fictional and intellectual walks of life. The study also presents an account of parallel study of literary and non-literary

discourses during the critical time that was just preceded and followed by Pakistan's creation. So, the reader will find material to evaluate and analyze Pakistaniness not only before Pakistan's creation in 1947 but also before Pakistan's partition in 1971.

5. Objectives of the Study

Among the objectives of this research are the following;

- 1) To compare how literary and nonliterary texts represent Pakistaniness.
- 2) To evaluate how the perception and implementation of Pakistaniness conforms to its initial narrative; the narrative launched in demand of a separate homeland.
- 3) To highlight the gaps and discrepancies between Pakistani fiction and history.

6. Research Questions

1. How is Pakistaniness treated in literary and non-literary narratives in 1960s?
2. How are literary texts shaped by contemporary non-literary texts in presenting a phenomenon?
3. How does fiction raise questions on the narratives about Pakistan as portrayed by non-fictional narratives and vice versa?

7. Delimitation

This research is limited to two novels: *The Sunlight on a Broken Column* (1961) by Attia Hussain and *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967) by Zulfikar Ghose. Attia's novel is appropriate for this research as it is the only that was written in 1961 but depicted the society that lived in 1930 – the decade that became decisive in the creation of Pakistan. Apart from the literary texts, there are also non-literary texts having the relevance with the events in the novel and event of the novel's production. In other words, non-literary texts providing a context to the novel and its events are a part of the research. The non-literary texts include multiple forms of writings: historical texts like *The Idea of Pakistan* and *A Political History of Pakistan*, Political autobiographies like *Friends Not Masters* and *India Wins Freedom*, authors interviews, critical works like *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement* by Sikandar Hayat and *Genesis of the Two Nation Theory and the Quaid-e-Azam*. Apart from the books, other journals and speeches relevant to the

selected literary texts have also been used as co-texts. The theory as a tool of interpretation is New Historicism in general and Louis Montrose and Greenblatt's ideas in specific.

8 Structure of the Study

Introduction: This chapter introduces the entire study briefly. The basic terms and their operational definitions are elaborated and the body of research has been foregrounded. It also illustrates the theoretical framework foretelling the methodology to be used as a tool for interpretation of the texts.

Chapter 1 – Literature Review: This chapter presents and reviews the existing literature relevant to the underway research paving the way to the current research.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology: This chapter introduces the aspects of theory being used as mode of interpretation and also elaborates the research method in detail.

Chapter 3 – Pakistaniness and The Murder of Aziz Khan: The fourth chapter gives a brief overview of the novel *The Murder of Aziz Khan* first and then analysis of the novel has been presented.

Chapter 4 – Pakistaniness and Sunlight on a Broken Column: This chapter gives an overview of the novel *Sunlight on a Broken Column* and presents a detailed analysis of the novel.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion: The last chapter summarizes the whole research comprehensively.

Chapter: 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Literature on Pakistaniness – The Narratives of Pakistan

Quest for Pakistaniness does not seem like a newly launched inquisition. Cara Cilano's work is quite closer to the current study with few exceptions. In *National Identities of Pakistan: The 1971 War in Contemporary Pakistani Fiction*, she investigates the multiple identities in Pakistan after 1971 war. Her interest lies in tracing "how the literary narratives about 1971 engage with nationalist identity articulated through dominant narratives of Pakistani history" (2). While this research brings into investigation multiple forms of writing to investigate Pakistaniness. Her research surrounds the fiction written on 1971 partition, whereas the current one contains the selected works written before 1971. There are other works in the field ranging from the origin of the word 'Pakistan' to its multiple interpretations that find a reasonable place among the current scholarship

Pakistaniness, in elaboration, the narrative of Pakistan, is much older than Pakistan itself. There is diversity in narratives labeling Pakistaniness: military, civilian, educational, literary and journalistic etc. All such narratives taught at schools and colleges, and disseminated in society through other modes like journalism and propagation of party agendas, are said to be political or interest-oriented or ideology-oriented; a single narrative somehow fails to view the complete picture, or it misses some aspects. This research aims at not only analyzing the literary texts but also interrogating them in the light of literary texts of the same age. This reciprocal connection between the texts and their contemporary contexts enables the researcher to view the all-encompassing view of the object under investigation.

Since the name Pakistan first appeared, there has been a long streak of documents and speeches defining Pakistan and Pakistaniness. About the origin of the very word 'Pakistan', according to Farzana Shaikh, in *Making Sense of Pakistan* says that it was designed in England;

It is well-known that the term ‘Pakistan’, an acronym, was originally thought up in England by a group of Muslim intellectuals. P for the Punjabis, A for the Afghans, K for the Kashmiris, S for Sind and the ‘tan’, they say, for Balochistan. (No mention of the East West, you notice: Bangladesh never got its name in the title, and so eventually it took the hint and seceded from the secessionists....). So, it was a word born in exile which then went East, was borne across or translated, and imposed itself on history; a returning migrant, settling down on partitioned land. (14)

Farzana Shaikh does not just tell about the origin of the word ‘Pakistan’ but also passes remarks questioning about the very identity of Pakistan from geographical perspective. Before that, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal’s demand put forward in his famous Allahabad address (1930) for a separate nation within or without British Empire turned out to be only geographically designed as the actual partition saw many Muslim-majority areas went under Hindu rule. A pamphlet titled *Millat and the Mission* written by Chaudhry Rahmat Ali in 1942 narrates the ideology of Pakistan comprising two dictums: “Avoid Minorityism” and “Avow Nationalism” (Abdul Quddus 254). Muslims, in united India, were a major minority who, led by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, demanded a separate homeland for their religious practices to be free and invulnerable.

Apart from Quaid-e-Azam’s official pre and post Pakistan speeches, there are bunches of documents and texts defining Pakistan by varied spheres of life. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, for example, talked about Pakistan in definite religious and communal terms in his speech delivered on 15 Oct, 1937 at Lucknow: “Hindustan is for the Hindus” (Majid, Hamid and Zahida: 186). This statement of Jinnah has a background; when administration powers were given to the locals in Government of India Act, 1935, and resultantly;

When Congress Ministries were in office in most of the provinces, no Muslim was included in them unless he abandoned the Muslim League and joined the Congress. The Muslim League was thus confronted with a delicate situation. If it joined the Government, it had to depart from the principle which it had hitherto consistently adhered to that it was the sole representative of the Muslims, and if it did not, it must do something else or remain out of power. (6)

Thus, Jinnah's verdict of 15 October, 1937 was based on the religious enmity shown by Congress. The narrative of a new homeland was no recognition other than the grievances against the arrogant treatment by Hindu majority in administration. The word Pakistan was not mentioned even in Pakistan Resolution, it "demanded that the areas in which the Muslims were numerically in majority, as in the north western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "independent states" in which they shall be autonomous and "sovereign" (*From Jinnah to Zia* 7), The phrase "independent states" shows the intention that the driving force behind the agenda of Muslim League was to ensure the security and political autonomy of Muslims living in India.

Similarly, his article published in *Time and Tide* on March 9, 1940 stated that the Christians had become liberal forgetting their religious rivalries, but this can never be case with Muslims as both the majorities in united India have their distinctive social codes (Majid, Hamid and Zahida 187). This vision was obvious in the most important national constitutional document after the emergence of Pakistan, Objective Resolution which maintains Islam as its ideology, "there was no mention whatsoever of a secular Muslim life, a secularized Islam, or even the term 'secular'" (Cohen 57). The document, considered the preamble of all the upcoming three constitutions of Pakistan, asserts that the form of government will be federal-parliamentary and Muslim majority shall live their lives according to Islam, and that the state will run through chosen representatives who will rule under the rules set by Allah. All the three constitutions of Pakistan maintain that the one and only identity of Pakistan is Islam and minorities will be granted the freedom of religio-cultural practices in their own ways. On the contrary, Stephen Philip Cohen presents Quaid-e-Azam as preoccupied with secular vision and claims that "the large and influential nongovernmental organizations (NGO) community harkens back to Jinnah's earliest dream of a society with a commitment to positive social change" (Cohen 45). In the very book *The Idea of Pakistan*, Philip Cohen seems questioning the durability of Two-Nation theory in the hands of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He wonders why the leader who had repeatedly been emphasizing on Hindu-Muslims as utterly different from each other could preach the harmony and brotherhood between the two as Pakistanis. Philip cites Shahid Burki who questions "how could Muslims cease to be Muslims and Hindus cease to be Hindus in the political sense when the religion to which they belonged were, in Jinnah's passionately held belief, so utterly different from one another? Was Jinnah giving up two-nation theory, the ideological foundation of the

state of Pakistan?”(ibid 44). Philip himself answers that Jinnah was a “pragmatic leader” trained in the British constitutional framework, scornful of the religious leaders who had opposed the idea of Pakistan. So Jinnah had to proceed in-between the Islamic and secular zones, therefore, his approach was “a middle of the road” which viewed Islam “as a civilization and culture, a social order, and a source of law, rather than a set of punitive, regulative, and extractive codes” (Cohen 45).

Apart from what we may call an official narrative about Pakistan and its critique by historians and researchers, we also find a multiple of narratives by other sections that not only highlight the challenges, pitfalls and shortcomings in the conduct of the state, but also question the very formation of it. Apart from the works of Philip Cohen, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Intizar Hussain and K.K. Aziz are the main exponents who tried to bring to light the other aspects of the narrative of Pakistan.

The narrative of Pakistani i.e. Pakistaniness has most generously been encompassed in one book *The Idea of Pakistan* published in India in 2004. The writer, Stephen Philip Cohen has collected the narrative of Pakistan from the three institutionalized perspectives: political, religious, military. Islam that is the most collocated with Pakistan has always been successful in getting the central place whether Pakistan existed only in freedom movements or Pakistan as an autonomous nation-state in the current century. Cohen tries to mitigate the confusion and contradiction in being Pakistan ‘Islamic’ or ‘secular’ in one sentence: “As for Pakistan’s identity, Jinnah and the Muslim League wanted Pakistan to be a state for Muslims, rather than an Islamic state (161). He pinpoints technically that Muslims did not demand for a separate homeland to get rid of the exploiting behavior of Hindu majority as “those who fought for Pakistan assumed that Islam would bind together the citizens of the new state regardless of their geo-political origins” (ibid 161). The movement of Pakistan leading to its foundation propagated the Muslim as “victim, subjected to discrimination” (161) by a Hindu majority. He asserts that the propagation was so abrupt and generalized that no one bothered to mechanize its future framework. Muslims in India, long before 1947, were as organized as varied ranging from highly sophisticated to Westernized Muslim, from intellectuals and professionals to farmers and peasants who possessed their own folk version of Islam.

Philip Cohen wonders that the Islamists not enthusiastic about the creation of Pakistan were among the first to demand Islamic and sometimes highly sectarian provisions were recommended for yet-to-be-adopted constitution (166). Mawdudi raised the argument that Muslim League had opted to run a state ruled by Muslims, rather than an Islamic state ruled under the divine supervision and accountability to God. Owing to the pressure put by Islamist sides, the senior leadership of Muslim League compelled to balance between secular and Islamic. They kept secular in outlook and also kept their promises made to make a constitution according to Quranic and Islamic principles. The core concept of establishment was to draw a wall between the individual and civil society. This review declined swiftly or as many western social practices were abandoned in the name of religion like consumption of alcohol publicly, gambling etc. However, the burning question of the new-born government was to adopt the introduction and interpretation of Islam as there were operating many. The first major compromise between the Islamists and seculars were the Objective Resolution which endorsed the Islamists demand that “Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah alone, and the authority which he has delegated to the state of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him in a sacred trust” (Cohen 166). On the contrary, Liaqat Ali Khan who presided the agenda of Objective Resolution insisted that Pakistan would not become a theocracy. So a mixed up of ideologies and promulgations haunted the earlier governments of Pakistan and they somehow succeeded in keeping balance between the two forces in the way that “they indulged in the rhetoric of Islam, but none were serious about implementing an Islamic blueprint” (Cohen 168).

Whenever it is talked about Pakistan and its ideology as the dynamic force of its materialization, an inquisitor naturally bothers to confront the controversial points of view of the scholars in this connection. The scholars who deal with the narrative of Pakistan in clear controversial terms are Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Intizar Hussain. Faiz Ahmad Faiz, a rebellious Urdu poet and philosopher also meditates a handsome of discussion about the identity of Pakistan in terms of cultural and literary heritage in the typical background of a mix of communities and exotic foreign masterly influence. Faiz Ahmad Faiz’s point of view stands pretty biased as he meditates about national identity in terms of culture and history. Politically, he asserts, “the people of present day Pakistan were part of Indian Muslim Community. Ethnically and geographically they were called after the areas they inhabited, i.e. Bengalis,

Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochis, Pathans etc” (44). Hence in terms of culture, ethnicity, climatic diversity, the newborn Pakistan was not a unified entity but rather “a composite of diversified patterns” (ibid). Faiz shows no contentment with what is being presented as culture and history of Pakistan as “not only foreign historians but also our own historians of recent times, in one way or other, failed to establish this underlying truth of our cultural tradition” (Faiz 30). He regrets that our future historians are in trouble to assert the essence. Further, he concerns over the ‘fashion’ of highlighting the ‘passive, negative and even collaborative traits of our people” (ibid 30) and our academic studies are directed by these “propositions from history and a study of our culture” (ibid). He points to our national degraded inferiority by claiming that the heaviest of the crises the people bear is “the disdain of their intelligentsia” (31). His book *Culture and Ideology* basically deals with the problems involved in identity in terms of cultural and arts faced by underdeveloped countries especially Pakistan. He claims cultural integration as the basic problem to confront with. He devises two spheres of cultural integration: vertical integration and horizontal integration. The former means ‘providing a common ideological and national basis for a multiplicity of national cultural patterns; and the latter refers to ‘educating and elevating the entire body of their peoples to the same cultural and intellectual level (34).

Intizar Hussain, a renowned Urdu novelist and one of the leading literary figures in Pakistan, unfolds, like Faiz Ahmed Faiz, the controversies involved in the narrative identifying the Pakistani writers and literature. In his long essay *The Problem of Pakistani Identity and Writers*, his focus mostly questions the serious issue of identity faced by Pakistani writers. From the very onset of the essay, he envies himself of India who is not facing the problem of identity as Pakistan is put into the dilemma. He is disappointed with the fact that some of Pakistani writers were against the partition and they wrote about the human miseries inflicted by the partition. At that time, writers like Dr. Taseer, Mohammad Hassan Askari and Mumtaz Shirin reacted against this attitude of the writers and launched “Pakistani Adab” that would patronize the Pakistani literature as different from that of India.

He wonders that we celebrate Pakistan as we have different identity based on distinctive culture, but no one knows what that culture is actually. In this controversial wilderness, he puts many questions still to be answered even after half a century: whether we are born on 14th August 1947 as a nation or we are older? If yes how older we are? Whether our heritage lies in

Mohammad Bin Qasim's regime or Mohenjodaro and Harappa? What is the origin of our culture, Islam or our land? He refers to Muhammad Hassan Askari who had warned the nation not to fashion it calling it a newborn nation as it was dangerous in the long run.

Intizar Hussain confined the essay to cultural critique. He puts fourth four aspects of cultural identity;

- i. Culture owes its existence to its land. So each region of Pakistan possesses a relatively different culture from other parts of Pakistan. If it is so, culture is no more a unifying force among different sections of Pakistan.
- ii. Concept of national culture is superior one. Promoting regional culture is harmful to collective cultural unity.
- iii. The third aspect of culture is pure Islamic and all other views should be undermined.
- iv. Cultural identity is to be traced through Muslim History in the sub-continent.

He asserts that our cultural identity is common with Hindus, and after partition, both parted and our identity got blurred. He again refers to Faiz's objection on the land culture saying that our religion is the basis of culture. In the end, he supports the preceding argument by quoting T. S. Eliot; "If Christianity goes, whole of our culture goes".

It is this very article that works as a dynamic force behind the underway research. Intizar Hussain's inquisition about the Pakistani culture and its origin is analogically relatable to the narrative of Pakistan and its origin and diversity. His questions over the distinctive culture on the basis of which we claim to be a different nation also lead to the different narratives of Pakistaniness. Intizar Hussain is basically concerned with cultural identity as a nation. Many critics and writers, in fact, talk of Pakistan in terms of collective identity in literature and otherwise. In this connection, a multitude of literary narratives about Pakistan and its entities occupies a substantial room in the shelves of current scholarship in the running century.

Mushtaq Bilal's *Writing Pakistan (2016)* carries interviews with ten of the most influential representatives of Pakistani English Fiction in the current century. The conversation comprises of the questions about the narrative of Islam and Pakistan in fiction being written by

Pakistanis or non-Pakistanis. Cara Cilano's three books: *National Identities in Pakistan; The 1971 war in contemporary Pakistani Fiction (2010)*, *Contemporary Pakistani Fiction in English: Idea, Nation, State (2013)*, and *Post-9/11 Espionage Fiction in the US and Pakistan: Spies and Terrorists (2014)*. The first one presents the portrayal of the 1971 war between India and Pakistan resulting in the division of Pakistan. Her first work is closely connected with the current study not only in terms of era it covers, but also in the definition of Pakistaniness. This work is Clara's vast research covering the Anglophone fiction produced by Pakistan after partition to the present. In her own words, her endeavor is to explore "how literary text imaginatively probes the past, conveys the present and projects a future in terms that facilitates a sense of collective belonging" (1). She declares the fictional narratives of Pakistani writers such as Asif Farrukhi, Sorayya Khan, Intizar Hussain, Hassan Manzar, Kamila Shamsie, Aamer Hussien and Muhsin Hamid as the alternative to the official narratives pronounced by the state of Pakistan. This statement also works as a point of justification to the underway research which includes fiction about Pakistan by Pakistani expatriates but my research also digresses on the ground that it does not contain only fictional works as primary source of information. This might be an opinion that fiction produced in a dictator-ruled country can be but a representation of official streamline narrative but there is room for discussion on such hypothesis.

In the second of her books, Cilano explores how Pakistani English fiction writers like Bapsi Sidhwa, Muhammad Hanif, Tariq Ali, Uzma Aslam Khan, Kamila Shamsie and Ali Sethi challenge "the assumption about Pakistan's failure 'as an idea or a nation or a state'" (Bilal; 19). Madeline Clements's monograph *Writing Islam from a South Asian Muslim Perspective (2015)* quests the image of Islam in the works of South Asian English fiction. Aroosa Kanwal's *Rethinking Identities in Contemporary Pakistani Fiction Beyond 9/11 (2015)* also deals with the representation of Islam in the works of Pakistani English fiction writers including Nadeem Aslam, Muhsin Hamid, Muhammad Hanif, Kamila Shamsie, Uzma Aslam Khan and H. M. Naqvi. Representation of Islam in Pakistani fiction, however, is a different topic though, however, Pakistan has been, since its set-off, identified with Islam, and, therefore, co-exists with it.

In the domain of literary research, another notable work is *Eastern Symbolism and the Recovery of Selfhood in Taufiq Rafat's Arrival of the Monsoon* by Muhammad Safer Awan and

Munawar Iqbal Ahmed. The article aims at acknowledging Taufiq Rafat's artistic consciousness regarding the representation of Pakistani symbols, images and idiom in poetry. The article investigates the significance of the images and symbols used in poetry that are typical of Pakistani. The resistance against the colonizers' tools and trends of writing and pioneering the localized English idiom by Taufiq Rafat has also been highlighted auspiciously in the article.

Another literary research titled *Post Independence/Post Colonial Pakistani Fiction in English: A Socio-Political Study with Focus on Twilight in Delhi, The Murder of Aziz Khan, Ice-Candy Man and Moth Smoke* has been conducted by Munawar Iqbal. This PhD dissertation has got a reasonable similarity with the current research on two grounds: first, it provides a discussion on the novel *The Murder of Aziz Khan*, secondly, it investigates the contemporary socio-political circumstances especially of the Muslim community. However, that research is different from the nature of the underway study; the former investigates the dynamics of partition through peeping into the nostalgic past of Muslim glory (Iqbal 61-71). While the latter focuses on only contemporary events to deduct the content related with the narrative of Pakistan.

In brief, the phenomenon of Pakistaniness is not one dimensional, rather scholars and authors has been dealing the term in different paradigms. The current research investigates the same phenomenon from a different perspective that has been elaborated earlier in this section and in the Introduction as well.

1.2 Critical Works on Attia Husain and *Sunlight on a Broken Column* (1961)

Attia Hussein was interviewed in London seven years before her death i.e. in 1991 in which she had had a detailed talk on the issues central to the underway dissertation. In answering a question, she called it wrong to label 'divide and rule' to every riot as "divide and rule does not mean only an outside power, it means anybody who wants power, any ruler" (old.harappa.com). She also said that she did not hear about the real agenda of a separate nation before 1930s, every time people would talk about British and freedom from them. She also took the stance that the cause was not Islam or religion behind the demand for a separate homeland; "so for me, politically, there can be no sense in this. So what is the justification, for whom? For the benefits of few from the middle class to get rich?" (ibid). As a corollary, she put the questions on the

partition of Pakistan in 1971. About the dynamics of the novel, she shared her feelings that she wanted to write the agonizing circumstances in which a brother could not see his brother and other relatives in the moments of joys and sorrows.

All that can be summed up from her interview is that Attia was quite logical in her approach of supporting the idea of united India. It was not that she was suspicious of Jinnah's intent, rather, as she asserts that Jinnah might be 'blinkered'. Her thoughts are quite realistic when she questions about the Muslims living in India are still greater in number than those living in Pakistan. On the question of communal riots, she said that riots are not worse than wars fought between India and Pakistan and a civil war (1971). This point deserves the focal attention in the dissertation as the agenda of the research is to explore and analyze the narrative of Pakistan and its practical or applicable justification.

The majority of Anglophone fiction in the 1950's, in the views of Fatima Siddiqui, focused on the inquisition of nation and history (Siddiqui). Most of the writers were preoccupied with the themes of partition and communal clashes and harmonies. There was hardly a novel to be found as "domestic". Attia Hosain was the one to add the domestic aspect to the being-practiced themes. These views were expressed by Fatima Siddiqui in her review entitled *The World That Was... A Cultural Study of Attia Hosain's Sunlight on a Broken Column*. She highly appreciates Attia's technique of characterization and declares it the "strongest point of the novel". Furthermore, Fatima takes into account the subtle changes occurring in the household, in the society and in the nation. She records her commentary by dissecting the novel into three generations discussing the essentials and transitional progress in detail. She feels nostalgic of the first generation portrayed in the novel marked with "timeless silhouettes of age-old traditions, customs, family relation and tensions, idiosyncratic relatives, wedding dramas and somber funerals" (Siddiqui; *The World That Was*). The first generation consists of the characters who are split between two worlds: British and Indian, modern and traditional. They know that the world they grew up in is terminating and they are resorted to put up with the new modes and values. Third generation of the family is face to face with socio-political chaos and they realize the need "to carve out their own place in a society full of turmoil" (ibid).

Ram S. Kandhare, in his article *A Critical Study of Attia Hosain's Sunlight on a Broken Column* carries out a deep intensive study of the novel. After summarizing the novel, he explores the work in three directions: patriarchal plight of women, politics and communal riots, British rulers and communal riots. In the first domain, he laments on the woman's position in a household; women are used like commodities to be used for the honor of the family. They are "sexual slaves of men" and suffer in personal choices even (Kandhare 37). They possess lives of struggle and surrender marked by failed loves and forced marriages without freedom of choice. They are even deprived of basic rights in the domestic space. Secondly, Kandhare explores the area that is somehow closer to what the proposed research aims at i.e. the politics. He unveils the political surroundings and events through characters' personal decisions and outlooks. In his words, the novel adds a political flavor to the personal story by "decay of the feudal system (ibid 39), Hamid's entrance into politics, division of the family due to partition, and the characters inheriting political climate and the discussions on political ideas". Nita is a nationalist and follows the Congress. Nadira believes in Islamic ideals, upholding the Muslim League, and Joan, an Anglo-Indian upholds the British rule. Novy Kapaddiya, very interestingly holds up a mirror to all the three mainstream political components in the extract; "Asad's head injury, Nita's dismissal from college and death caused by lathi blows on her head, students' protest at the viceroy's arrival and plain-cloth policeman at the university campus were all signs of political ferment" (Kapadiya 173).

Discussing partition and communal issue, Kandhare calls it "an enigma" (40). There were divisions within the community even. They were divided in two wings: one who demanded a separate homeland like Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan, and the other who kept supporting united India. Basically the novel depicts power struggle very implicitly as Saleem says to his father that "what you are facing is the struggle for power by the bourgeoisie" and regrets bitterly that it is not really a "peasants' movement" (*SBC* 231).

The third narrow area explored by Kandhare deals with British Raj in India and consequential communal riots. British launched the communal clashes in terms of ideology and religion which kept people far even within the same family. Laila's own close friends in college would always be found in harsh political arguments. The novelist has traces the dynamics of communal hatred and blames partly British and partly the leaders of the Muslim and Hindu

communities as consolidated by a famous historian Bipan Chandra; “British policy was solely responsible for the rise and growth of communalism; or that the entire communal antagonism or politics can be attributed to British policy. It is obvious that the British policy of divide and rule could succeed only” (Chandra 238).

Anuradha Dingwaney Needham critically discussed the novel in *Multiple Forms of (National) Belonging: Attia Husain’s Sunlight on a Broken Column*. His critical study points out the marginalization of the novel *Sunlight on a Broken Column* on account of being written by a woman. He, in contrast, puts forth the example of Salman Rushdie’s novel *Midnight’s Children* who, though published two decades after that of Attia, got more acclaim in terms of representing the political nationalism; “nationalism not only constitutes women as having an indirect relationship, via men, to the nation, but also relegates women’s specific interests to a privatized “domestic” sphere which is seen as having little or no impact on the “public” spheres through which nationalism defines itself” (95). She actually resists the notion that nationalism is not something like male oriented and that female can equally represent the nationalist aspects.

Arumina Dey in her study entitled *The Domestic Sphere in Attia Husain’s Sunlight on a Broken Column (1961): The Home Mirrors the World* published in 2016 highlights the significance of home in partition literature. She negates the notion that public and private spheres of life operate differently in making or narrating history. She focuses on the concept of the “domestic sphere as a crucial place of history, which is usually neglected and left out because of the prioritization of public masculine space over private feminine space within the hierarchy of historical recollections” (Dey 48).

S.S. Gill has explored the notion of change and flux on different levels: personal, social, domestic and countrywide in the article under the title *Partition Politics in Attia Hosain’s Sunlight on a Broken Column*. Gill also provides the evidences showing amity among all communities. She gives example of friendly bond between the Englishman, Free Mantle and Laila’s Baba Jan, Syed Muhammed Hasan. Free Mantle had written in his will that he be buried with Muhammed Hasan. Attia brings into light this amity and friendship in these words; “a simple marble cross distinguished his grave from the others in the family graveyard” (Attia 201). She explored the cordiality between the Hindus and Muslims in that they always find it possible

“to work together on a political level and live together in a personal friendship” (Attia 234). But she questions at the same time the validity of their religions and consequently their friendship. Ranjit’s grandfather and Laila’s Baba Jan did not eat together. She questions “what can you expect from a religion which forbids people to eat and drink together?” Moreover, no real understanding is possible where one’s shadow can defile others (Husain 197).

Gill emphasizes on rebellious change leading to contradiction and catastrophe; Hamid criticizes the Muslim League saying that the party is called communal and reactionary by nationalist Muslim. Saleem, his son, on the other hand, accuses Congress of having anti-Muslim agenda; “I believe the Congress has a strong anti-Muslim element in it against which the Muslims must organize”: he is afraid of the foresight that, after getting independence, Muslim minority will be overrun by Hindu majority. Haunted by the same fear Aunt Saira calls it better to have British stay on than the Hindus ruling (234). This very fear, to Gill, becomes the very basis of the formation of Pakistan. Being under the spell of such frightening theories and predictions, Saleem, a representative of Muslim League’s legacy, is afraid of the Hindus’ feeling of revenge as he states at one point; “the majority of Hindus have not forgotten or forgiven the Muslims for having ruled over them for hundreds of years. Now they can democratically take revenge. The British have ruled for about two hundred years and see how much they are hated” (Attia 234).

The most devastating irreparable aspect of the novel is the bitter aftermaths of partition which not only pits different communities into physical attacks, but also dissected the strong bonds of traditional families. The ‘Ashiana’ household that was once an epitome of communal harmony and amity, could not avoid such aftermaths and Laila concludes “how far apart we will drive each other ourselves” (256). This actually happened as partition takes places: Saleem and Kemal are parted opting for different countries. This predicament has very forcibly highlighted by Urvashi Butalia;

Thousands of families were divided, homes were destroyed, crops left to rot, villages abandoned. Astonishingly and despite many warnings the new governments of India and Pakistan were unprepared for the convulsion: they had not anticipated that the fear and uncertainty created by the drawing of borders based on head counts of religious identity,

so many Hindus versus so many Muslims, would force people to flee to what they would be surrounded by their own kind. (*The Other Side of Silence* 3)

This passage not only comments on the predicament and dilemma thrust upon the masses on the basis of religion, but also unveils the poor management to hand over the powers peacefully. But Gill, at the same time, talk of communal amity between different factions even after partition. When Saleem, for example, comes to India after a long time, he feels surprisingly happy by his cordial reception by his old Hindu friends.

Concluding her article, S.S. Gill presents the point of view that the novel captures the life and times of the Muslim taluqdar family in transition from communal to nationalistic consciousness. She calls the novel to be the first to introduce a feminine and Muslim perspective in the English Indian partition narratives. She disapproves of communal riots going on in *Ice Candy Man* and *In Sunlight on a Broken Column*. She quotes once again Novy Kapadia to support the point;

Both narrator – heroines, Lenny in *Ice Candy Man* and Laila in *Sunlight on a Broken Column*, react against communal responses to the horror of violence. The mature Laila rationalizes against communal tension whereas the young Lenny instinctively reacts against the horror of communal violence. (11)

In short, the novel got acclaim among scholars and researchers who explored different themes and aspects exploring the novel in terms of communal politics, cultural diversity, transitional individual and collective phases, narrative technique and characterization. Many of the critics and researchers explored the novel in multiple directions ranging from domestic and homely themes to communal riots and British rule. However, no research relates the narrative of Pakistan as tackled in the novel relating it with other texts of the time. The relatability of the novel with contemporary events and a resultant exploration of the narratives of Pakistan in 1960s is missing which this study intends to bridge.

1.3 Critical Works on Zulfikar Ghose and *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967)

Zulfikar Ghose is one of the most influential and representative English fiction writers writing during 1960's. His novel *Murder of Aziz Khan*, published in 1967 is the more authentic about Pakistan's social reality in 1960's. Tariq Rahman has introduced the novel *The Murder of Aziz Khan* in detail in his world-famous book *A History of Pakistani Literature in English*. He calls the novel to be the only important work of fiction "representing the social reality of the emergence of primitive capitalism in Pakistan in nineteen sixties" (127). The work, in author's own words, is "a solid straight-forward novel" (174). This is the fact that the novel is a straight narrative describing emerging capitalism, and declining the agricultural society. The story is a power-encounter between a rich powerful, influential and unscrupulous capitalist family represented by Shah Brothers; Akram, Ayub and Afaq and a humble agrarian family represented by a farmer Aziz Khan and his two sons; Javed and Rafiq. That was the time marked with the emergence of textile industry. The rural areas especially the suburbs of Lahore and Faisalabad were turning into industrial centers. Tariq Rahman acknowledges the achievements on the part of Ghose. He sketches the capital industrial society as based on ruthless exploitation (128). Akram, traps the people to seize the money to establish a factory. Ayub maintains his power by smashing the labor union to shirk accountability. Afaq, the youngest of brothers, consumes wealth and exploits women. Rahman also comments on the novel touching the realistic aspect of the novel highlighting the corruption, way of thinking and "the vulgar acquisitiveness of Pakistani middle class women". In addition, he points out Ghose's deviation from conventional English spellings to strive at mirroring the exact accent of characters. The words like 'vas', 'culler', 'cumpleet', 'sootability' etc. This was a successful attempt to create Pakistani Idiom.

"If there is a quintessential Pakistani novel in English, this is most certainly it". These attributive views were penned by Faiza S Khan in *Herald* on August 22, 2005. She calls the novel a masterpiece of realism. She relates the realism dealt with in the novel to that of Thomas Hardy. The novel highlights the confrontation between the traditional innocent and the contemporary brutal; "Khan is all that is good in the world so, naturally, he does not stand a chance" (Faiza 2005). Faiza draws a stylistic similarity between Hardy's tragedies and that of

Ghose. Aziz Khan the protagonist of the novel on whom we pin all our hopes becomes ultimately tragic hero.

One of the most comprehensive critical study on Zulfikar Ghose as an artist has been contributed by Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan. His work *Unwilled Choices: The Exilic Perspective on Home and Location in the works of Zulfikar Ghose and Muhsin Hamid* is relevant to this research as it partially investigates the theme of multiple identities. “Ghose has multiplied his exilic experience to a very complex state” (Awan 10). He points out Ghose’s personal attributes as reflected in his different characters like Urim, Shimmers and Roshan. Ghose is also, like his characters, is in negotiation of multiple identities” (10). The bottom-line point of Dr. Safeer’s investigation is to discuss Ghose’s confusion in defining and recognizing his identity in the wake of cultural and geographical transformations. Multiple identities is the base of the underway study and crisis of identity in transformational world, agricultural to industrial, is the real problem faced by Aziz Khan who resists the new culture of industrialization.

The most comprehensive study carried out on Zulfikar Ghose’s works is that of Abu UL Wafa Mansoor Ahmed Abbasi. In his dissertation *Paradigms of Style: A Study of Zulfikar Ghose’s Novels*, he takes a substantial account of the novel *The Murder of Aziz Khan*. He explores the novel in terms of social life and writing style. He does not label him ideologically or politically as he puts in the introduction; “he is not committed to any political ideology and resistance strategies” (01). Furthermore, the purpose of these novels (*The Murder of Aziz Khan* and *The Contradictions*) is sociological (30). In other words, this study is text-oriented only in terms of style as when he talks about the context of the events, he imposes outer meanings on the text.

Mansoor states that though Ghose’s main interest lies in socio-political contemporary society, except two of his first novels, he hardly compromises his style at the cost of content. Further, this novel, along with *The Contradictions*, is in the style of nineteenth century realism (30). Claire Tomalin, a reviewer of the novel puts the complement on the work saying that it is “curious to see the ills of ex-empire so devastatingly pinned down in the best manner of an English nineteenth-century novel” (45). These ills are not sticking to the empire, rather these are typical of local elite. Mansoor metaphorically relates the power-lust and ego possessed by Shah

Brothers with the social institutions; military, corrupt politicians and businessmen. It is the money and power that unites these three wings. To substantiate his remarks, Mansoor cites Tariq Ali who says that “the bond that unites them (military leaders, corrupt politicians and businessmen) is money and the primitive accumulation of property in town and country” (5).

On the theme of independence and freedom, Mansoor also records his views vigorously in the light of the novel. Freedom was to accumulate money at any cost, to Shah Brothers. But the newly born country deracinated the capitalist exploiters even leading to an utter chaos in the society. The agrarian family suffered physically and the Capitalist family faced psychological troubles. The total pessimism and hopelessness after independence or one say after industrialist-agrarian clash has been depicted skillfully in the passage sighted by Mansoor in his study;

After the euphoria of independence, which is defined ironically in Aziz Khan as a freedom to pursue wealth at any cost, a second stage starts to evolve: the common people rebel, disillusioned by broken promises that mock independence and angry over the brutality and greed afflicting the businessmen and the rulers they rule. (Ross 201)

In short, Mansoor Abbasi not only explores sexual and material exploitation in the new-emerging state but also questions the narrative of Pakistan that seems to diminish due to the “ideological struggles between the industrialists and workers, the corruption of the bureaucracy, the collapse of the traditional values and the failure of religion”(Kanaganayakam 41).

Dr.Munawar Iqbal Ahmed devotes one whole chapter of his thesis titled *Post-Independence/Post-Colonial Pakistani Fiction in English: A Socio-political Study with Focus on Twilight in Delhi, The Murder of Aziz Khan, Ice Candy-Man and Moth Smoke* to discuss the dynamics and circumstances of the novel. He asserts that when Zulfiqar Ghose visited Pakistan in 1962 on an assignment for *London Observer*. He was shocked by the political and economic trends in the making, and subsequently he imagined the life of “an aging Pakistani farmer, gazing through a fence at his land” (Iqbal 174). He declared the novel as representative of transition and transformation: from agrarian into industrial, from conventional into the modern, from colonial into neocolonial.

Dr. Munawar Iqbal also wrote a short article *Critique on Capitalism in Zulfiqar Ghose's The Murder of Aziz Khan and Mohsin Hamid's Moth Smoke* that finds its basis on his PhD thesis referred in the preceding paragraph. He shows affinities between two protagonists who “revolt against any such socioeconomic activity that is part of the exploitative mechanics of capitalism” (5). Aziz Khan, the protagonist of *The Murder of Aziz Khan* is one of them. In the textual analysis of the novel, Munawwar unfolds the capitalist system that leads to unequal distributions of means and widening the gap and struggle between classes.

To wind up, there is a substantial critical and creative work done on the Pakistani English fiction of nineteen sixties and, of course, much more work is to be done. There is also an ample place filled by the books and articles discussing the narrative of Pakistan. Among all the works cited above, mostly are addressing to a single issue at one time, or they are flat intensive exploratory critical works on different aspects of novel(s). Only Mansoor Abbasi carries out a comprehensive study in a sense that it aims at systematically proving a hypothesis. But the crux and the objectives of the study is entirely different from that of the proposed research. The research exploring the Pakistaniness through literary and non-literary texts in one document is missing from the current scholarship. That is why the research aims at investigating the Pakistan in early years of its existence through multiple narratives. The innovative element in this research is that it includes literary texts. The works done in the relevant area are mostly one dimensional. Faiz Ahmad Faiz, for instance, talks about Pakistan's identity in terms of culture and art. His arguments are self-sufficient. In the same way, Philip Cohen's book *The Idea of Pakistan*, talks about the different narratives of Pakistan: political, Islamist and military. Tariq Rahman just surveys the literary history of Pakistan introducing the main plots of the stories added by his comments. The proposed research fills this gap and the readers and inquisitors will be able not only to spot the narratives of Pakistaniness from multiple perspectives but they will also be able to assess these narratives with reference to two literary works of the 1960's: *Sunlight on a Broken Column* and *The Murder of Aziz Khan*. The current research also differs from the ones cited and reviewed in this section in terms of conceptual framework. The mode of interpretation is objective driven by lines of two New Historicist practitioners Louis Montrose and Stephen Greenblatt.

Chapter: 2

Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The present study aims at evaluating different narratives of Pakistan through Pakistani English fiction produced in 1960s using the mode of New Historicist critical approach which has been adopted as a tool for interpretation. The approach and the theorists' stance will be elaborated later. Two novels *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967) and *Sunlight on a Broken Column* (1961) have been taken as representatives of Pakistani English fiction in the decade of Sixties. The former demonstrates the socio-political society of Pakistan of 1960s or slightly prior to it. This novel will be kept under the frame of non-literary texts. The inclusion of non-literary texts is determined by the events and characters of the novels. Thus, the contextual study of both novels would help to relate the events and authors' points of view to the contemporary texts and events.

The second novel presents the domesticated account of a Muslim elite family in United India during 1930s mostly towards the time when "the second half of the century was two years old" (*Sunlight on a Broken Column* 273). Most of the novel remains during 1930s, the time of emergence of the narrative of a new country which later called Pakistan. The novel's analysis in parallel to political narrative of the same era will evaluate the Pakistaniness – the narrative of Pakistan. The findings collected this way will again strengthen or undermine the evaluation of Pakistaniness. The question arises here that the second novel *Sunlight on a Broken Column* describes the pre-Pakistan society; how it will help assessing the status of Pakistaniness in 1960s? Stephen Greenblatt's statement satisfactorily answers this question by asserting that "the work of art is a product of a negotiation between a creator or class or creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society" (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 12). This point is actually the underpinning argument behind the analyses. Hence the author's role, according to the statement, is determined by historical circumstances. Writing in 1961 about the past will be at least partially influenced by the current circumstances.

2.2 New Historicism

Among the exponent New Historicists, Stephen Greenblatt is known as the pioneer of New Historicist criticism. Louis Montrose also has preeminent place in the theory who invented a phrase to define the entire functioning of the theory, ‘textuality of history and historicity of texts’ (*Professing the Renaissance* 588). So far as the definition of New Historicism is concerned, no operational definition exists in the scholarship. The very founding practitioners of the theory presents variant definitions; Stephen Greenblatt refers to New Historicism as ‘a trajectory ‘rather than a set of beliefs (1990: 3). Louis Montrose calls it an orientation’ rather than a prescription of practices (1986: 6). Catherine Gallagher describes it as a ‘phenomenon of apparent political indeterminacy’” (37). However, a comprehensive description of the methodology of New Historicism, according to Martens Reuben, is still lacking; an analysis which could ultimately lead us to define the practice in itself (4). However, the critique of New Historicism proposes the contextual study of fiction taking into investigation the contemporary non-fictional texts dealing with the fictional events and characters. In short, the critique of theoretical underpinnings of this research is centered around Louis Montrose comprehensive statement about the practice; “its collective project is to resituate canonical literary texts among the multiple forms of writing, and in relation to the non-discursive practices and institutions, of the social formation in which those texts have been produced” (*Renaissance Literary Studies* 6).

2.3 Stephen Greenblatt

Stephen Greenblatt is not only considered the one who used the term ‘New Historicism’ for the first time but is also among the pioneer practitioners of this theoretical conduct. In Introduction to *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance*, he used the term referring to the critical work of Dover Wilson titled *The Political Background of Shakespeare’s Richard II and Henry IV*. Greenblatt pointed out the manipulation in presenting the censored version of *Richard II* in the reign of Elizabeth. The omitted sections first appeared in performance after Queen Elizabeth’s death. Greenblatt declares Wilson’s exploration a “distinguished example of the characteristic assumptions and methods of the mainstream literary history practiced in the first half of our century” (2253) and categorizes in between New Criticism and historical study that “set apart from both the historical scholarship of the past and the formalist criticism”. This might be

considered the starting point to understand what and how New Historicism does. Extending this perception, he states, “If the interpretation limits itself to the behavior of the author, it becomes literary biography and risks losing a sense of the larger networks of meaning in which both the author and his works participate. If, alternatively, literature is viewed exclusively as the expression of social rules, it risks being absorbed entirely into an ideological superstructure” (*Self Fashioning* 4). This point clearly goes against the reliability of a single text under interpretation.

At another point, he calls reliability of a single text ‘monological’. In the case of Dover Wilson’s research, he asserts that we should consider the ideological situation not only of Richard II but of Wilson on Richard II. He further deepens the methodology proposing that for fuller discussion of the critical issue, we should observe closely the relations between Wilson’s reading of *Richard II* and the eerie occasion of when he delivered his lecture. The similar point is put forth in the book *Practicing New Historicism*;

If an entire culture is regarded as a text, then everything is at least potentially in play both at the level of representation and at the level of event. Indeed, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain a clear, unambiguous boundary between what is representation and what is event. At the very least, the drawing or maintaining of that boundary is itself an event. (Gallagher and Greenblatt 15)

This extract leaves the notion of unreliability upon any source of knowledge and information. New Historicism as Greenblatt himself says in his Introduction to *The Power of Forms in English Renaissance*, “erodes the firm ground of both criticism and literature. It tends to ask questions about its own methodological assumptions and those of others” (2254).

The exact nature of Stephen Greenblatt’s New Historicist ideas is Post-Structuralist in terms of non-fixity and indeterminacy of the meanings and in diversity of the meaning. He quotes Louis Montrose, “if the world is a theatre and the theatre is an image of the world, then why reflecting upon its own artifice, the drama is holding mirror up to nature” (2254). This problematic position of mirror metaphor negates the fixity of Renaissance texts and also the determinacy of their meanings and reflections about historical facts. Greenblatt comments on Montrose above-cited quote that the critical practice represented in this work i.e. *The Purpose of*

Playing: Reflection on a Shakespearean Anthropology (1980) the assumption of a secure distinction between “literary foreground” or “political background”, between artistic production and other kinds of social production is falsified. Such distinctions exist though, yet these are not intrinsic to the texts but are made to be existing and are pointed out by artists and readers. Concluding his Introduction, Greenblatt says that these “collective social construction on the one hand define the range of aesthetic possibilities within a given representational mode and, on the other, link that mode to the complex network of institutions, practices and beliefs that constitute culture as a whole. In this way the study of a genre is an exploration of the poetics of culture” (ibid 2254).

The very notion of reciprocal relation between different texts, literary and non-literary, has further been extended in the introductory part of the book *Practicing New Historicism* co-authored by Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt

Out of the vast array of textual traces in a culture, the identification of units suitable for analysis is problematized. If every trace of a culture is part of a massive text, how can one identify the boundaries of these units? What is the appropriate scale? There are, we conclude, no abstract, purely theoretical answers to these questions. To a considerable extent the units are given by the archive itself that is, we almost always receive works whose boundaries have already been defined by the technology and generic assumptions of the original makers and readers. But new historicism undertakes to call these assumptions into question and treat them as part of the history that needs to be interpreted. (14)

It gets clear from Greenblatt’s ideas that a network of texts produced in a specific era is the representation of the culture as he himself says in the last sentence of the Introduction to *Power of Forms in English Renaissance* that the study of a genre is necessarily the explanation of the poetics of culture. This thesis argument also comes from his all-time famous book *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*; in that exploratory work, he admits that he initially intended to “the ways in which English writers of Sixteenth century created their own performances, to analyze the choices they made in representing themselves and in fashioning characters” (256). He was of the view that in Renaissance era, aristocratic males and

middle-class felt that they had had the power to shape the lives. However, as he progressed, he came to the point that ‘fashioning oneself and being fashioned by cultural institutions – family, religion, state – were inseparably intertwined’ (256). Louis Montrose’ ideas are not much difference from those of Greenblatt; both declare text a cultural product that forms the culture and is formed by the culture, both assert that the evaluation of texts should be carried out in collocation with other texts or events of the time, and both discourage the monological determinacy of meanings.

2.4 Louis Montrose

Louis Montrose, without exaggeration, is regarded one of the early progenitors of New Historicism. New Historicism, to Louis Montrose, does not designate any “agreed upon intellectual and institutional program” neither does it combine mutually identifiable practices into a systematic paradigm for interpretation (*Professing the Renaissance* 587). In *Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture*, he precisely defines the critical agenda underlying the entire modes of New Historicist approach in a single phrase: historicity of texts refers to “the cultural specificity, the social embedment, of all modes of writing – not only the texts that critics study but also the texts in which we study them”. To simplify, text is interpreted in the light of all kinds of social texts of the time. Historicizing the text may also refer to the text that provides glimpses of history. The second half of the phrase i.e. textuality of history suggests, in the words of Montrose, two points: first, that all the history is just a text. An authentic and full-fledged past is hard to access. All we get is “unmediated by the surviving textual traces of the society under question”. Secondly, those already unreliable partial textual traces are themselves subject to what we call documents which work as primary sources to historians (Montrose 588). So the essence of Louise Montrose’ critical embarkment is similar on the ground that neither text nor history is reliable. Greenblatt himself seems advocating Montrose when he refers to the appropriated historical document as the ‘anecdote’. This notion of the general understanding of New Historicism more clear in Montrose’ following extract;

[...] the newer historical criticism is (...) new in resisting a prevalent tendency to posit and privilege a unified and autonomous individual—whether an Author or a Work—to be set against a social or literary background. (*Professing the Renaissance* 586)

The similar critical practice has also been proposed in another of his works *Renaissance Literary Studies and the Subject of History*;

Briefly and too simply characterized, its collective project is to resituate canonical literary texts among the multiple forms of writing, and in relation to the non-discursive practices and institutions, of the social formation in which those texts have been produced—while, at the same time, recognizing that this project of historical resituation is necessarily the textual construction of critics who are themselves historical subjects. (*Renaissance Literary Studies* 6)

In the same book, Louis Montrose declares that a text is not the work of author but a social product that not only gives the shape to culture but is given shape by the culture:

Current practice emphasizes both the relative autonomy of specific discourses and their capacity to impact upon the social formation, to make things happen by shaping the consciousness of social beings. To speak, then, of the social production of ‘literature’ or of any particular text is to signify that it is socially productive - that it is the product of work and that it performs work in the process of being written, enacted, or read. By representing the world in discourse, texts are engaged in constructing the world and in accommodating their writers, performers, readers, and audiences to positions within it. (9)

The passage clearly refers to the reciprocal relation between literary and non-literary texts. The text, written discourse, not only gives shape to the prevailing social conduct but is also shaped by the previously existing social conduct and mechanism. A New Historicist analysis demands the placement of a literary text within the frame of non-literary texts. This approach itself elaborates the difference between the traditional historical study of the text and New Historicist approach of interpretation. The latter turns out to be more comprehensive and all-encompassing. The former, however, elaborates the text consolidating the history through texts.

It thus only historicized the text, and not textualized the history. The modern approach gives the entire picture not only presenting history as text but also by historicizing the literary texts.

(...) to speak today of an historical criticism must be to recognize that not only the poet but also the critic exists in history; that the texts of each are inscriptions of history; and that our comprehension, representation, interpretation of the texts of the past always proceeds by a mixture of estrangement and appropriation, as a reciprocal conditioning of the Renaissance text and our text of the Renaissance. (*Renaissance Literary Studies* 8)

This very difference between two Historical approaches of interpretation has been highlighted by Louis Montrose in his article *Professing the Renaissance: The Politics and Poetics of Culture* saying that until very recently the mostly practiced way of interpreting the Renaissance English works is to combine “formalist techniques of close rhetorical analysis with the elaboration of relatively self-contained histories... histories that have been abstracted from their social matrices. This way further gives way to two “historical” practices: first, books of commentary on political narratives patronized by the dominant ideology of the power-holder; second, text in a specific age is deciphered as reality, recognizing the fictional characters and events in relation with the real events and persons. New Historicism, on the other hand, refuses the “unproblematic distinction between ‘literature’ and ‘history’, between ‘text’ and ‘context’” (586). It resists any privilege to a prevalent tendency or an ‘autonomous’ person.

To conclude the theoretical discussion, the following three arguments, on the basis of theoretical points, run the textual analysis;

- Since New Historicism resituates a text among multiple forms of writings, the fictional events and characters are interpreted in the light of the relevant texts and events of the time. Relevant in the sense that the events and characters in fiction come from society making everything in fiction relatable with social world of the time.
- There is no fixity, neither a single text can impose monologicality in meaning-making. Pakistaniness, in the same way, has no rigidity or fixity in meanings. A writer’s point of view does not necessarily stand in opposition to the other; rather it contributes to a vast discussion in defining Pakistaninees.

- The author and his/her literary texts are also products of social norms, values and practices, and, in return, they may contribute in social formation. Thus there should not be any privilege to a single text, literary or non-literary. In the upcoming analysis chapters, this point has been reiterated embedding the narrative of Pakistan between different texts to maintain a reciprocal relation between the fiction and action.

2.5 Research Method:

The present research is qualitative and exploratory in approach. Texts from the selected novels having key concepts and keywords have been targeted only in relation to the contemporary contextual texts.

2.6 Contextual Analysis Approach

There are mainly two approaches used in analyzing literary texts: text-oriented approach and context-oriented approach. The underway research belongs to the latter and is based on the reciprocation between text and co-text. Co-text refers to the texts produced in the same era or on the same subject-matter as that of the primary text. Contextual analysis approach is a method of studying text and its cultural, social, or political context. It is research tool that determines the presence of certain words or concepts in text or texts. The ‘context’ has a specific meaning: “we mean the shared meaning or social definition of a situation of interaction. Context provides an underlying orientation for subsequent action” (Levenson 49). The meaning of social context plays an important role in a number of explanatory perspectives in social science (Carroll 1957). The contextual information is the basis of this research because it is the primary demand of the theory in application.

Donald G. Mctavish and Ellen B. Pirro carry out a substantial research on defining and elaborating the approach in their article *Contextual Content Analysis*. They define the method as follows; “Conceptual content analysis focuses on ideas in text. There are a series of stages in the execution of a research design incorporating contextual/conceptual content analysis” (6). They exert that “contextual information is contained in the connectedness or co-occurrence of ideas” (4). However, specific or general, the social meaning of the situation is important because it provides the starting point for individual social interaction. Knowing the social context means

that a person is aware of what general kind of activity is likely and what, generally, is appropriate behavior. “Contextual information is also useful in distinguishing between multiple meanings of certain words” (ibid: 5). The analysis of my research is quite identifiable with what they prescribe for a contextual study: social context has a key role in this study; the Pakistaniness has co-occurrence and connectedness between literary and non-literary texts; and the contextual study of the narrative of Pakistan unfolds multiple meanings attached with it.

In the same article, they proposed four types of contexts, two of them are relevant to the current study. First, the set of contexts should contribute to the interpretation of ideas/words which may be identified as important. In particular, the dimensions should help identify the different meanings of a given word which has multiple meanings and is thus contextually ambiguous. Secondly, contexts should contribute to the explanation of social behavior by making it possible to move across levels of analysis, considering individual social motivation as well as institutionalized social perspectives (5). In the underway research, both purposes of contexts have been achieved: it is the context that provides the Pakistaniness multiple meanings; it explains social behavior of not only writers but also those of fictional events and characters.

This is what Louis Montrose himself endorses in *Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture*: “this project [New Historicism] reorients the axis of intertextuality, substituting for the diachronic text of an autonomous literary history the synchronic text of a cultural system” (Montrose: 17). Thus, there is an affinity in the methodology proposed by Montrose and contextual analysis methodology.

Keeping in view the above discussion, contextual analysis concerns with the following questions while investigation;

1. When was the text written?
2. Who wrote the text? What kind of views did the author advocate?
3. What are political, cultural or social factors that could have affected the author?
4. Was this text a response to a particular event or a social phenomenon?
5. Does the text prompt readers to a certain action?

To conclude, the New Historicist study aims at carrying out a comprehensive contextual study through multiple forms of writings to resituate the texts in history. The purpose of this practice is also to collect multiple meanings negating the determinacy of a single work or author. The literary analysis, in the light of above-mentioned conceptual mechanism, takes into consideration the social-historical background of the authors, their works and fictional events.

Chapter: 3

Pakistaniness in *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967)

3.1 A Brief Introduction to the Novel

The Murder of Aziz Khan, written by a renowned Pakistani expatriate novelist and short story writer, Zulfikar Ghose in 1967, is a story of an agrarian landlord, Aziz Khan's monetary tragic decline by influential industrialists. Akram Shah and Ayub Shah are known in the society as Shah Brothers. The novel is a description of how the once-agricultural Pakistan began to transform into an industrial one. Aziz Khan, a landlord possessing seventy acres of fertile land in Kalapur, is considered the most respectful among his villagers and peasants who work on his land. Akram Shah, the eldest of three brothers, had moved to Pakistan from Bombay where he had tough Hindu competitors in trade. He stayed in Kalapur, purchased the patches of lands one after the other. He made personal contacts with bankers, officers and ministers using the practical experience of past and established two textile mills and purchased hectares of land in the locality. Aziz Khan however, refuses to sell his land despite different offers from Shah Brothers because he is emotionally attached to the land and deems it the cause of his existence. But Shah Brothers take it as their humiliation and seek opportunity to bankrupt Aziz Khan. Shah Brothers invest heavy capital and they import foreign machinery and apply advanced methods to enhance the production from lands and mills. Aziz Khan, on the other hand, is orthodox in his outlook and makes it the matter of mistrust in God to apply the ways other than natural to the soil.

Afaq is the youngest among Shah Brothers and is polluted in character. He is a debaucher and acquaints himself with Rafiq, the elder son of Aziz Khan. He comes to know that Rafiq needs two thousand rupees that Hussain, the broker, is constantly delaying with outspoken excuses. Afaq promises Rafiq to give him two thousand rupees. The next day, he takes him to a prostitute, makes him drink and sex, and gives him two thousand rupees. Some days later, a peasant girl, thirteen to fourteen in age, is raped and murdered by Afaq whose dead body is found near Aziz Khan's land. Chief Superintendent of district police, Fazal Ilahi, accepts the bribery of fifty thousand rupees for him and another fifty thousand for other officers to fabricate

the murder case against Rafiq and succeeds in prosecuting Rafiq who is ultimately sentenced to death.

Now Aziz Khan has the only son, Javed who tries to resume the work on fields but his mother falls ill and the family comes under heavy debts to doctors and nursing home. In addition, the peasants, unpaid for long, leave them and get job in textile mills. Finally Aziz Khan resorts to get a loan to pay the bills and resume the work on the land. He keeps the expected dowry of his son as security failing which his land will be confiscated by the money-lender. Javed visits the same broker, Hussain to request him to raise a loan for him. Hussain agrees at once and Ayub Shah secretly gives the money. On the appointed day, when Javed moves to his home with two thousands in his pocket, he is murdered brutally by two stranger beggars on the way.

Aziz Khan moves to city in pursuit of justice but no one cares to listen to him. He does not know what to do. After wandering in the city directionless and purposeless for two days and nights, he journeys back to his land. By that time, Shah family is broken inside: Afaq is disowned by the family for harassing Razia, Ayub's wife. Ayub Shah and Akram Shah have had a severe argument on the question of settling in Chittagong for the foundation of a soap factory there. The quarrel makes Ayub disclose the secret that Zarina who is until now said to be their first cousin, is actually Akram's illegitimate daughter. These matters crumble the family emotionally but they have not loosened the hold on power. When Aziz Khan returns, his land is fenced with wooden posts and shining wires. The land does not belong to him anymore.

3.2 Relevance of the Novel to Pakistaniness

The murder of Aziz Khan, a straight forward novel, is said to be written on Nineteenth century realistic model. The realism in the novel deals with socio-political conditions especially with emerging structures of capitalism with its practicing power in Pakistan in the 1960s. Before investigating into the realism interwoven in the novel, it seems fruitful to discuss the dynamics of realism in a postcolonial society in the country like Pakistan. Ross observes that "from a stylistic standpoint, the fictional accounts of post-colonialism have generally adhered to the dictates of realistic Western narrative forms, even as they embrace the mythic structure of their own culture" (201). In remarks of this statement, Mansoor Abbasi questions whether the subject matter of *The Murder of Aziz Khan* is the demand of its narrative technique or such narrative

mode could not be voided while dealing with socio-politicality of almost a decade-year old Pakistan. This question was answered, in a way or the other, by Zulfikar Ghose himself in his letter to Thomas Berger on 26 October 1968;

I heard from my Pakistani sources that the theme of Aziz Khan has recently been enacted there. The owner of a cement factory is the Aziz in this case and the man who played Ayub Shah is none other than the son-in-law of the president of the country: the Shah character, seeing that Aziz was doing well with cement and that the factory was in his neighborhood, demanded a 51% share of the business for no other reason than that Shah had power and that he suffered the factory smoke which blew towards his house. Aziz of course refused. A man was murdered, and Aziz has been charged with the murder though apparently he's quite innocent; but no lawyer in Pakistan will defend him for fear of the power of the president's family. (The Review of Contemporary Fiction 159)

The author's statement about the novel complies with Stephen Greenblatt's definition of a work of art: "a work of art negotiates between creator and the social practices of the time" (*Self Fashioning* 12). He further adds that the creator is equipped with complex repertoire of conventions communally shared. 'Communally shared conventions may refer to the group of writers who are involved in or the subject of power relations of society as in the case with what Zulfikar Ghose has referred to in the extract.

In terms of language, we see Pakistan or Pakistaniness as self-alienated and artificial. The impartment of education, Western or Islamic, is nowhere visible. Even middle class landlords think of literacy as the knowledge of English "without the fluent knowledge of which no Pakistani of that time could hope for advancement"(MAK; 18). Two major points raised to launch the freedom movement i.e. a distinctive ideology and a religion that can scarcely flourish to the maximum in the presence of Hindus as majority have been out of sight and mind while reading the characters and events in the novel. The only ideology to adhere to is the materialistic one: Aziz Khan, in his consciousness, often thinks of his seventy-acre land as his only world, Shah Brothers aim of life is to establish industries to gain the maximum of power after buying hundreds of acres in Kalapur, still "Aziz Khan's land lay dormant in the minds of Shah brothers" (19). Even the poor folks adhere to no religious affiliations; rather they are hardly hand to

mouth. As the practices of Islam are concerned, which was a lynch-pin in the demand for a separate nation, are not even an optional part of people's lives. In the entire plot, no character is seen talking of Islam and holy worships, Shah family, on the other hand, is much obsessed with Western modes of life; they attend parties where they would drink and dance, Afaq, the youngest of Shah Brothers, is involved in adultery, their ladies feel proud and superior in speaking English whose vernacular accent has been mocked by the writer focusing on the very accent rather than spelling.

Hence, it is evident that *The Murder of Aziz Khan* is not a portrayal of imaginary world but stands on the real life in Pakistan in 1960s in the author's as well as the readers' opinion. However, at this point it is not to be said that the author is right and just in representing the Pakistaniness; this discussion is being carried out in the upcoming sections.

3.3 Zulfikar Ghose's Views on Pakistaniness

Before starting the analysis, it is reiterated the essence of the critique of New Historicism. This practice, as asserted by Louis Montrose, intends to resituate literary texts among the multiple forms of writing and also among the different non-discursive practices and institutions of the time when the fiction was produced (*Renaissance Literary Studies* 6). The author is also treated on similar note when his autonomy and privilege is negated on the cost of setting an 'Author' or a 'Work' against a social or literary background (*Professing the Renaissance* 586). So, the background of not only work and author but also of the process of writing is taken into consideration for New Historicist study. This analysis with the help of 'multiple forms of writings' will help to resituate the novel in history.

From the very onset, Montrose's point regarding the outcome of New Historicist study is necessary to mention to reiterate the very notion during the entire analysis. Montrose asserts in *New Historicisms*, "I believe that we should resist the reductive tendency to formulate our conceptual terms in binary oppositions [containment vs. subversion]; rather, we should construe them as joined in a mutually constitutive, recursive, and transformative process" (Montrose 1992: 413). The point of attention here is that the different narratives of Pakistan being referred in the current dissertation are not necessarily contradicting or having oppositional meaning but mutually constitutive and recursive.

It seems of dire interest to bring into record the novelist's words on the source of material for the novel. This will specify the era of the novel's events and will facilitate to relate the events of the novel with the cultural surroundings. In the forward to the Oxford University Press edition of the novel (1998), Zulfikar Ghose shares his childhood experiences of travelling through almost every part of India and Pakistan since 1939 when he was five. The infinitely stretched planted fields got rooted in his memory and when in 1961, he revisited Pakistan after twenty years, he had got a reasonable exposure of political and literary realities and that visit helped him weave the politicality into the early preserved glimpses of vivid sensations of agricultural society. He was aware with bitter facts that the consequences of freedom from foreign tyranny had given the native adventurers and opportunists an inspiration to fill the space vacated by "the foreign exploiters to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the people, and this seemed conspicuously prevalent in Pakistan" (Ghose 1998). He laments that political hero of his childhood, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, had been given a fancy title which was uttered with hypocritical reverence, while the vision of the state proposed by him in which an individual would be free, was abandoned. Ghose also talks about his visit of Pakistan on an assignment for *London Observer*. He was shocked to observe the political and social emerging conditions of Pakistan. The last scene tragic scene of the novel is the product of his imagination on keenly observing the circumstances in Pakistan in 1961-62. Around that image, he asserts, "I could write a good, traditional and conventional novel" (Jussawala 185).

Ghose's tackling of Pakistaniness is partially driven by his personal views, feelings and experiences. A sufficient account of his writings deals with the theme of alienation and deracination. The similar alienation and dispossession is identical here in the case of Aziz Khan, the protagonist. Aziz Khan is the representative of a typical Pakistani who does not gain riches on the creation of Pakistan, rather he is deprived of his land – the land that is the metaphor of mother, identity and agriculture; "And these seventy acres, this piece of earth, this world of Aziz Khan, did not appear to him as land, as a property with a market value. It was a sufficiency of existence. So that nobody could take the land away from him without first taking away his existence" (Ghose 16). The undergoing identity crisis and transitional phases are clearly seen in the plot of the novel and especially Aziz Khan's tragic dispossession of land and family.

Ghose's first novel, *The Contradictions* written just an year before *The Murder of Aziz Khan* is also obsessed with the dominant theme of cultural dislocation in which an English woman faces crisis to find her place, either in her homeland or in the exotic society of India, where her husband is stationed. Similarly, *The Loss of India (1964)* highlights the nostalgia felt by Ghose for his homeland regardless of the fact that he is fond of Western lifestyle. The boy standing in a Bombay street mourning over the fact that the independence did not bring something for him is identical to Aziz Khan. The autobiographical poems in this collection contain bunch of references to nature. In the same way the poems in *Jets from Orange (1967)* erupt the impressions of movement and rootlessness, but focus is more on urbanization and industry, less on nature. In *The Violent West (1972)*, Ghose jots down the observatory description of his new homeland, Texas, and also records the sense of deprivation and displacement from the East.

In short, Zulfiqar Ghose, personal account of Pakistaniness as evident from *Murder of Aziz Khan* and other writings of the same era revolves arounds the keywords like alienation, quest for cultural identity, rootlessness, transformation; of agricultural to industrial, and social inequality.

3.4 Critique on Major Characters in the Novel

All characters in the novel are typical Pakistani characters with different outlooks on life as Munawar Iqbal's PhD thesis states, "In *The Muder of Aziz Khan*, Ghose has employed a straightforward, traditional, realistic narrative technique to emphasize his social realism and to paint Pakistan's post-independence socio-political reality" (Iqbal 188). However, acceptance of the novel as realistic one is not sufficient as the New Historicist critical approach by no means rely on the novel's depiction of Pakistan as self-sufficient context. It will be historical criticism of the novel to deduce history from the novel, and this is what New Historicist Criticism calls old Historicism. New Historicism resists any privilege to a prevalent tendency or an 'autonomous' person (Montrose 587), rather it brings in investigation the contemporary texts from other institutions and this exactly what Montrose calls 'social embedment' of a text (ibid). Therefore, setting aside the novel's and writer's point of view, it seems appropriate to place novel within the

framework of the non-literary texts. Every event and character in the novel has its origin in society and society is represented by fiction.

Aziz Khan is the central character of the novel representing an individual who stands cut off from his cultural roots and is dislocated from his environment. This displacement is one of the recurring themes of *The Murder of Aziz Khan*. Kalapur is a homogeneous and harmonized rural society before the arrival of Shah Brothers. Their arrival rereates socio-economic disruption and destroys the fabric of cultural and racial homogeneity of the locals. Aziz Khan holds fast 'belief in a fixed order'. He loves his land and 'the routine repetition' associated with agriculture based life cycle round the year. His final defeat and dispossession of land at the hands of Shah Brothers symbolizes that the capitalist economy is bound to devastate the cultural roots of the conventional societies. This narrative of change was owned by the elite class of the time. Muhammad Ayub Khan's entire justification behind his self-righteous revolutionary government stood on this notion of replacing the traditional and backward with the modern and progressive. His preface clearly states his ideas and consequently those of elite and modern;

We gained freedom after a long period of domination which left in its wake a legacy of old attitudes and habits. The problem was to change these attitudes and habits and to bring about a more direct and intimate awareness of contemporary realities. (*Friends Not Masters* 1967)

The novel, among other things, is about identity: the identity of the oppressed, the unsung hero who never managed to get his reward because of an iniquitous system, his desires, his visions, his frustrations, his struggles. Aziz Khan affiliates himself always with his seventy acres. These seventy acres are not only his identity but his existence. By dispossessioning him is taking away his identity. The word revolution was being used with great fervor by Ayub Khan and government representatives. This revolution meant transformation of the system; from agricultural into industrial. Shah Brothers actually revolutionized the life in Kalapur on the cost of many lives and sufferings on the part of the poor and downtrodden. Ayub Khan not only used this very word but also symbolically related it with the establishment of Pakistan in his political autobiography;

When Pakistan was established they thought that they would have no more problems in life. Similarly, when the revolution came they hoped that everything would change overnight. Now, the revolution was a logical culmination of events in the country; it did not mean the end of all problems; it only meant a fresh opportunity to deal with the problems in an earnest, realistic manner. This opportunity had to be utilized by the people. (77)

So, the revolution along with its merits and demerits were in intellectual discussions when Zulfiqar Ghose was writing the novel. In the above extract, we find both; the opportunity to get success by dealing with the problems, which goes in favor of Shah Brothers, and the fact that there is no end of problems which falls on Aziz Khan. These events from the literary text and non-literary account presents three different definitions of Pakistaniness: one perceived by General Ayub Khan, that is, Pakistaniness in the making, second one belongs to Shah Brothers who actually enjoy the fruits of independence without having ideological concerns, and the third one which is totally unconscious of any identity except a piece of land and the sense of its loss.

One of the causes of Aziz Khan's fall was inherent, not induced: he was mere a theoretical orthodox Muslim. He would always take psychological refuge in the will of Allah negating cause-effect phenomenon. When Afaq thinks of starting the longtime unattended work anew, not entirely relying on rains for irrigation, "his thoughts turned to the stream behind the house and he contemplated digging a canal to divert its course to the rice field" (*MAK* 149). Upon devising the artificial way of irrigation, his father reacts in the following words; "Have you lose your faith in Allah?" The writer comments here that "Javed was neither foolish nor irreligious enough to contradict his father's unwavering belief" (149). Ayyub Khan also referred to the characters like Aziz Khan in the preface; "It is a story of struggle — struggle to get new ideas accepted" (1967). Shah Brothers, on the other hand, did not hesitate applying 'bright yellow tractors' and all the new methods to enhance the production. Allah did not penalize them for using chemical fertilizers. Aziz Khan's son was bound to use primitive tools, and suppress his doubts as "a slackening of faith could have catastrophic repercussions and that he must be content with what was granted him" (149). Zulfiqar does not stop here; rather he generalizes this misinterpretation of religious beliefs to the Punjabi countrymen who accept their plight as their '*kismet*' (150).

Akram Shah is the second important character in the plot after Aziz Khan. He represents the change, trend and transformation in post-independent Pakistan. He stands contrary to Aziz Khan. Though his character is by no means auspicious, he seems to exert fashioning upon others who get success and riches as is evident in the passage:

Akram in the eyes of these people, who admired his ruthless methods, was not only a Pakistani enjoying his freedom creatively; he was the Pakistani in whose type the successful citizens of the country would be moulded. (*MAK* 23)

It is not void of interest that the characters in the novel are less concerned with vision and outlook, more concerned with the opponents and enemies. Ayub, the middle of Shah brothers, first agitated against British for a free India, and when it became apparent that “British were no more enemy, his enemies was now Hindus and he organized riots against them” (*MAK*; 35). In the same way, Shah Brothers are constantly at loggerheads with Aziz Khan who is not their counterpart in terms of power and commercial contest, but rather their rivalry is based upon the snobbery and ego. They own acres of land and thousands of daily turnover. They have built a mansion to live in. They have hundreds of laborers and workers to exercise power on. Why they need to quibble with an ordinary man possessing seventy acres of land. This was the question asked by Afaq, the youngest brother but was silenced by harsh authoritative jumble of questions by Ayub. Afaqs quest for reasoning was more than simple to him. He wondered why his brothers needed to extend their influence if the purpose of work was to guarantee one’s material comforts. This question is answered by his brothers when he leaves the conversation; Ayub says, “he expects reason for everything. That’s perhaps because he didn’t have to fight for his life as we did. One day he’ll know that for some actions, there aren’t any reasons. They’ve got just to be done. For honor, for dignity, for self-respect” (*MAK* 38). Paradoxically this statement implies a strong reasoning behind unreasoned actions; Ayub who is of the view that some deeds need no reasons other than that dignity and self-respect, and that some acts are driven by the hardships of past life. This is in fact psychological cause of exerting power and influence. When a state is unable to ensure a smooth life without hindrances, people get the notion of survival of the fittest. Therefore, they strive to get their hands to power to make the people their subjects.

The Shah Brothers bring the urban cultures of impersonal, industrial relations, bribery and corruption. Like the colonial settler, and neocolonial ruling class. They are undoubtedly possessors and exercisers of power, hence they have the license to develop a narrative and construct an identity. Stephen Greenblatt says that if there is new social mobility, it means there is new assertion of power (*Towards a Poetics of Culture* 1). When the local people sold their lands and were forced to work in the mills, that was a social mobility.

Riaz is another very significant character who invokes the investigation in two contradictory thoughts and events prevailed in the society; socialist and capitalist. He “had spent his time in reading such diverse political economists as John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx... Riaz’s cold socialist reasoning, which invariably pointed to the injustices of capitalist system, had the effect of gradually engendering a militarist mood in Salim (*MAK* 186). Riaz is a worker at Shah Brothers’ mill and said to have Communist thoughts who set the labor union to elevate the recognition of labor community and, in return, was plotted in such a way that the blame could not be thrown at the owners of the textile mill. Soon after the foundation of union, three founding people, Riaz, Salim and Javed, are appreciated diplomatically by their masters. Some days later, Salim was called by a worker who complained some defect in his loom. Salim lost his index finger and it was conveyed as an ‘industrial accident. It was declared that his services were no more needed at the mills. The very next day, Riaz was rebuked by the floor manager who abused him harshly for filling up forms incorrectly. As a punishment, he was demoted to the rank of floor sweeper decreasing his salary from thousand and fifty rupees a month to twenty five only. Consequently, Riaz was resorted to quit the mills but “it was obvious even to the most recently employed workers, who were new to Kalapur and were not familiar with Ayub’s methods, that Salim and Riaz had been penalized for their presumption at starting the Union”(MAK 214). No law could protect their penalization because no one was there to report the case because they did it keeping themselves behind the scene exerting their power. Power is diffuse and a sharing entity among Shah Brothers, their workers and the bribed police officers, hence it is everywhere. It is embodied and enacted in a way that Shah Brothers do not beat their employees physically, rather they appreciate their actions but still they manage to illustrate their power by getting the news of their donation of ten thousand rupees to a blood center published in the local newspaper. Stephen Greenblatt’s point of view reiterates that there is no identity free from cultural affiliation. If someone claims identity the other way, he would remain unacknowledged;

“Whenever I focused sharply upon a moment of apparently autonomous self-fashioning, I found not an epiphany of identity freely chosen but a cultural artifact. If there remained traces of free choice, the choice was among possibilities whose range was strictly delineated by the social and ideological system in force” (*Renaissance Self Fashioning* 256). Riaz and Saleem have been treated by Shah brothers and other power relations in the same way: they tried to head towards a new identity and got the consequences.

The study of contemporary texts and events of the era is interesting to investigate. Pakistan’s foreign policy, since the onset, was having its affiliation with American capitalist block, and not with Soviet Union. The leftist thinking existed in the country. The manifestation of the Communist Party of Pakistan was clearly and openly against the mainstream narrative of the country. In 1954, and its front organization: National Students Federation, Progressive Writers’ Movement and Railway Workers’ Union were banned. Interestingly the leftists created and got legalized the Party with a new name ‘National Awami Party’ in 1957. A renowned rebellious poet and socialist activist Faiz Ahmed Faiz was arrested for the similar reasons as those of Riaz and Saleem in the novel. Faiz’s quest for Pakistan was in shambles even before 1960. In an interview given to I. A. Rehman, he said that the joy of independence washed away soon by disillusionment (*Herald* 1984). Answering another question, he replied, “by the time of jail phase ended, the dream of Pakistan was in shambles. The country had been mortgaged to the neo-imperialist power bloc. The trade union movement had been broken up” (*Herald* 1984).

The discussion surrounding the characters of Riaz and Saleem and that of Faiz Ahmad Faiz is having a reciprocal relation. Their thoughts, actions and received treatment leads to the inference that a different perception of Pakistaniness did exist in 1960s. That perception centered around a sense of disillusionment of the dreamt Pakistan and rejection of the prevailed socio-political practices.

After Riaz and Salim’s crafted expel from the mills, Javed, the secretly general of the Union decided to collect funds for the marginalized friends. When he successfully advertised the fund-demand in the local newspaper it worked as an insult to Shah Brothers’ regime which they tackled by announcing their to-be-launched projects of establishing a soap company in East Pakistan. This attempt was a successful one because the published pictures of Akram being

welcomed by the Minister in Karachi and the headlines of the noble work the Shah Industrial Enterprises were doing for the national economy mitigated the fund news in Kalapur. This is how, Shah Brothers demonstrated their power through discourse and power.

The civil servants, like capitalists and middle class landlords, also inherit no ideological heritage; neither they look forward to a vision as prescribed by the founder of Pakistan. District Commissioner Mohammed Karim envies himself of those officers who got rich overnight. Often reflecting on his plight of being posted in a backward district, he received Akram Shah “with a dignified amiability” (MAK; 24) because Akram Shah arrives in a car and is wearing a suit. He knew what is meant in Punjab when one came in a suit to see District Commissioner; “there was every hope that the long-neglected District Commissioner might profit from the situation”. Akram Shah actually wants to establish a textile mill in Kalapur, therefore, he wishes Muhammed Karim’s help. The question arises here what sort of help does he need from the officer? Was it illegal to establish a textile mill in early Pakistan? The conspiratory talk between District Commissioner and Akram Shah preceded by Akram Shah’s offer of money which is accepted with a reluctance and protest that “the figure should be higher even though it was ten times more than his month’s salary” (MAK 25). Mohammed Karim does not have a slightest notion why he is being offered bribe, nevertheless, he accepts the bribe. It turns out later when Akram Shah makes him signature the papers giving him possession of some unfertile land that was supposed to belong to the government.

Similarly the plight of ministers and politicians is not less different. The minister whom Akram Shah meets to import machinery from England because it would take unusual amount of time using proper ways was “a charming man of neither education nor ability” who suddenly became powerful by acquiring estates which Hindus abandoned in 1947. The city of Karachi was over crowded with the quarrelling politicians in pursuit of riches worsening the country politically. These politicians, according to Ghose, had neither “ideas nor ideals, neither a sense of justice nor a sense of humanity, but who were all aflame with a burning ambition at once to make their fortune” (MAK 26). The purposes of politics in New Pakistan are also challenged by the writer as the opposite of those claimed in official or academic narratives. The only purpose of politics in the newly formed state was to make a personal fortune failing which one was a “damn

fool' (ibid 27). Akram Shah bribed the minister too to sanction the import of machinery in a time when "the nation was exhorted to save its foreign exchange by using indigenous products" (ibid).

3.5 Critique on the Events in the Novel

Events around which the novel's plot has been constructed are of central importance. There are the events basically that portray the picture of society or that play role in social formation. Stephen Greenblatt elaborates this viewpoint in the Introduction of *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* "both the social presence to the world of the literary text and the social presence of the world in the literary text" (5). Before putting the fictional text into the framework of non-fiction scholarship of roughly the same era, it is necessitated that there should be some point of convergence between the two. Stephen Greenblatt, said to be the pioneer of New Historicist mode of criticism, rejects the old historicism on the ground that it was "monological" aiming at investigating a "single political vision". New Historicism, in contrast, recognizes a variety of "competing centers of cultural power" (ibid). He says that historical study relies on history that is not fact but the interpretation of historians and could serve as substantial point to which literary text refer. This is how literary works got secondary status in old historicism (5). In another of his works, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, he makes a similar point: "if we would not drift back toward a conception of art as addressed to a timeless, cultureless, universal human essence, we must maintain the connection between literature and society". Moreover, "if . . . literature is viewed exclusively as the expression of social rules and instructions, it risks being absorbed entirely into an ideological superstructure" (ibid 4). In simple terms, both (Montrose and Greenblatt) do not endorse text-orientation and self-sufficiency of literature as dictated by New Criticism, neither he holds the view that literary work is totally dependent on history and social codes: he investigates simply In the simplistic terms, Greenblatt is of the view that history and social codes are the central ingredients in the production of literary works and hence determine the literary works on one hand, and literary works also make history on the other. New Historicism is a moderate approach in the sense that neither it is like traditional Historicism that makes the literary work dependent on historical surroundings nor it does exclude socio-historical events from the literary works like New Criticism.

During 1960s, industrialization of economy was started by the military ruler Ayub Khan. It brought about all the consequent evils of an industrialized economy and society, which is bureaucratization of the system, corruption, bribery, and the large-scale destruction of the rural set-up (Iqbal 187). As a result, contemporaneous trends posed a threat to whatever was conventional. Long-lasting value systems were in a state of disarray on the pretext of economic growth and industrial progress. Ironically, the Shah Brothers were considered the icons of development of industry and bringing prosperity to the under-privileged section of society. Contrary to this, Aziz Khan, represents ancient and traditional values: one's affiliation with the land, and commitment with the old values. Ghose writes: "and these seventy acres, this piece of earth, this world of Aziz Khan, did not appear to him as land, as a property with a market value. It was a sufficiency of existence. So that nobody could take the land away from him without first taking away his existence (*The Murder of Aziz Khan* 16). Alamgir Hashmi in Encyclopedia of Post Colonial Literatures holds that "land is a major theme and metaphor in the novel. The protagonist faces both humiliation and expropriation of his land by the new industrialist class in post-colonial Pakistan" (Benson and Conolly 580). Land is not only dead earth. Ghose transforms it into life-blood, a vital source of sustenance. Aziz Khan's prestige and survival both rest on his land.

Such drastic social and economic conditions seem to be true when we later come to know that a politician named Zulfikar Ali Bhutto raised the slogan of "roti, kapra, aur makaan" (the promise of basic necessities of life like food, clothing and shelter), in the late 1960s, the masses responded to his call in the hope of a better future and a decent living. Among the founding fathers of Pakistan Peoples Party were many workers and thinkers whose socialist leanings were the driving force behind the new Party's manifesto. Riaz and Saleem's account in Section 3.4 has a close relevance to the emergence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his socialist fellows. We may call it Zulfikar Ghose's prophetic insight in the rise of Bhutto and his conspired decline is foreseen in the character of Riaz. This is how fiction may constitute social formation.

It is interest-invoking the novel does not portray any picture of governmental references in specific. It does not contain any comment or a minute hint that pinpoint the personalities in government, rather he uses general terms like, ministers and civil servants. Political state narrative of Pakistan, in parallel, hardly matches with the one described by Zulfikar Ghose with a

few exceptions. Zulfikar Ghose deliberately does not leave any clue that freeze the novel in an era rather he universalized it as Ross points out that Ghose's concerns in *The Murder of Aziz Khan* cannot be considered popular ones subject to political and social change. For Aziz Khan not only captures a moment in the grand course of human history but examines as well the events in a timeless way, discovering once more that evil has a way of asserting itself." (Ross 203). However, New Historicist approach does not endorse the concept of art as timeless, it is, rather, a cultural product that gives shape to the reality and is shaped by the reality as well;

Current practice emphasizes both the relative autonomy of specific discourses and their capacity to impact upon the social formation, to make things happen by shaping the consciousness of social beings. To speak, then, of the social production of 'literature' or of any particular text is to signify that it is socially productive - that it is the product of work and that it performs work in the process of being written, enacted, or read. (*Renaissance Literary Studies* 9)

Ayub Khan, the first self-righteous dictator of Pakistan, faced a gush of resistance from his opponents. He used two main approaches to governing in his first few years. To govern here is equivalent to exercising power: he concentrated on consolidating power and undermining the opposition; and also aimed to establish the groundwork for future stability through altering the economic, legal, and constitutional institutions. His proclaimed purpose was to stabilize political and economic framework by checking the smuggling, corruption and black-marketing. Many in the Civil Service of Pakistan and Police Service of Pakistan were investigated and punished for corruption, misconduct, inefficiency, or subversive activities. The first approach shifted to lower level as manifested in the characters of Shah Brothers who euphemize their illegal deeds of occupying government land and undermining the opposing forces through power and services. Aziz Khan was encountered with power, ministers and civil officers were served with money, and locals were offered jobs and facilities accompanied by reasonable amount of charity and offering pilgrimages to Makkah.

The most obvious discrepancy between the policies claimed politically and their absence from the novel's plot is the possession of land as prescribed in the Land Reforms announced in 1959: "the provision for reducing the size of the landholdings to 500 acres of irrigated and 1,000

acres of non-irrigated land” and that “excessive acreage was confiscated for relevant compensation and distributed among the needy farmers on repayment” (Belokrenitsky and Moskalenko 132). Neither of the points is observed in the novel; Shah Brothers manage to buy acres and hectares of land and no one can stop them from the act of exploitation. Some of those reforms state that no-one could own land holdings less than 12.5 acres or greater than 500 acres (irrigated) or 1000 acres (unirrigated). This restriction is observed on Aziz Khan’s part, while Shah Brothers violate it entirely purchasing acres and acres of land by hook or by crook. The official reforms say that the land in excess was confiscated by the government, and redistributed among the landless farmers. Landowners were forced to find tenets, hence the small farms were run more efficiently than large farms. The plot of the novel does not match this condition too. In the presence of industry, people are reluctant to work as tenets on farms as “several of them had deserted their toils in the sun to work in the mills under the more brutal pressure of clocks” (*MAK* 51). The forcible condition of hiring tenets for the farms seems unreal when tractors and harvesters were made available on easy installments. The industry was, in clear terms, at clash with agriculture. Shah Brothers purchased all the lands in Kalapur and made Aziz Khan bankrupt because he had to sell his cotton in Lahore through a broker named Hussein. This extended process made his profit less. These policies brought about a green revolution and so crop yields were at an all-time record. However, it lead to large scale unemployment and these facilities for the farmers were not for poor peasants who found them too expensive or inaccessible. So they made the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Ayub Khan’s regime promised that the reforms will be carried out, and that they would cleanse the administration of the rampant corruption. Many steps were taken to get the desired output such as disqualification of a public servant in case of holding any offer from public for fifteen years. Ayub Khan Government put emphasize on agriculture and land reforms the most. His reforms and other supportive measures to maximize the production and resultant industrialization and piling economy marked it as Green Revolution. Strict measures were taken against hoarding, rural credit programs were launched, Agricultural development Banks were established for the provision of generous loans to rich and middle class reformers. The government showed its interest in the betterment of labor class; for the factory owners, it was mandatory to recognize the elected union council and to regard its opinions and reservations in all important issues. The leaders and members of unions were provided the surety of security and

protection from any revengeful activities of factory owners. A law was passed in September 1961 which stated that labor were to be facilitated in case of emergency.

About his reforms and policies, the then-president of Pakistan, Ayub Khan, wrote in details in his famous autobiography *Friends not Masters*. He admitted the fact that it could not be claimed that the new political system had not got the universal acceptance, people were beginning to recognize its advantages. He proposed the further development of the system for a “strong sense of nationalism, which means rising above the personal and the parochial and evolving a mature mode of dealing with the problems of the country’ (Preface 1967). Faiz Ahmad Faiz, in his interview to I. A. Rahman, asserts the similar thought regarding national identity of the people; “Finding the political stage demolished, I decided to concentrate on culture because I felt it was necessary to define the people's cultural identity, the sheet anchor of their existence as a nation, so that they were able to acquire a clear perception of their national identity, which is the base of every other struggle” (*Herald* 1982). Thus, it can securely be inferred that when Zulfikar Ghose was writing the novel, there were discussions about the national identity the characteristics of Pakistaniness were in the making.

Many questions have been arisen on the formation of Pakistan and the attainments of its desired consequences. One of the pivotal purposes of demanding the separate nation was to insure the justice for the Muslims which would be otherwise in the undivided Hindustan led by Hindu majority. But the novel unveils the shallowness of the narrative when a Muslim poor girl of a peasant family is raped by another Muslim, a rich influential young man, Afaq. For the sake of argument, this barbaric act has the least to do with religion or ethnicity as harassment is a social taboo present in every society. But the real matter of plight begins with the legal investigation of the murder carried out by Chief Superintendent Fazal Elahi, head of the Kalapur district of Punjab Police. He comes to Shah Brothers’ office and offers them his servitude. He ensures them to plot the incident against Aziz Khan’s son, Rafiq by reshaping the evidences for which Ayub asks him to “come and collect the reward tomorrow” (*MAK* 118). The reward was fifty thousand rupees for him and another fifty thousand to share with twenty officers. Akram and Ayub are less outrageous on Afaq for committing the barbarity because his act had done them an advantage over Aziz Khan and that will make Rafiq’s prosecution easy.

Rafiq's legal prosecution was a one-way process; the young counsel for the prosecution was educated in London with a "superior dialect" (ibid 137) against whom a local barrister could not contest, therefore, Aziz Khan did not hire any lawyer to protect his son. He, instead, kept praying for his son. He attributed the failure to the lack of his piety. His lips kept on repeating "what had to happen has happened". The novelist calls this "Muslim adage "a monument to Islam's defeatist fatalism" (ibid 137). Another bit of Pakistani narrative is under diatribe here; if the Muslims were to pray to Allah sitting in a corner for acquiring justice in society, where does all devastation and massacre to exert the Muslim individuality stand? If 'what had to happen has happened' is Islam's defeatist fatalism, what does it mean to change the rulers, replace the British with Muslims, and why not with the Hindus. People at least would not have nourished their utopian expectations from the being-demanded Pakistan.

Haris Gazdar wrote an essay on the history of land reforms in Pakistan entitled *The Fourth Round, And Why They Fight On: An Essay on the History of Land and Reform in Pakistan* states that the allotment of land from the landowners to landless and poor reformers have been facing hindrances by the "political power wielded by landowning classes" (1). His statement that the relative decline in the importance of crop economy does not reduce the economic value of the land shows the flipside of the aforesaid recurrent dominant argument. The cropland leads to diversification of economy if used for commercial, industrial, educational and residential purposes. This mode of thinking may give a favor to Shah Brothers who utilized the acres of fertile and barren land to employ hundreds of people in the community. Moreover, they multiplied the production using foreign machinery and, eliminating the stage of transporting the raw cotton to other city, made cotton in the textile mills near the cotton-producing fields in Kalapur. This not only diversifies the economy and offers a variety of skills to learn for the people, but also adds to the existing treasury of the country.

None of the promulgated reforms have been observed in the novel. After Rafiq's prosecution, his younger brother Javed cannot resume his work in the field due to lack of investment. If he really lives in 1960s as Tariq Rahman calls the novel depicting socio-political Pakistan of 1960's, he could avail himself from the policies announced for the sake of betterment of farmers. He nowhere thinks of any loan from the bank. His father, Aziz Khan though visits a bank to get loan so that he may pay the bills from doctors and nursing home and may re-cultivate

his land. The bank manager refuses to raise him loan on the security of a herd of buffaloes or the promised dowry of his to-be-married son. The bank manager's explanation of not issuing him loan unfolds more than his explanation;

But a son's engagement is a very, very risky manner, very risky indeed.... I had been promised ten thousand rupees. Everything was fine, settled and decided upon with the utmost finality. And then we found, quite by an accidental chance and to our utterly amazed horror that they were Syeds. Now, we are Sunnis and no one in our family has ever married a non-Sunni. It's unthinkable and unheard of... Caste is caste, it's like dye, it's either fast or it runs, why it's like silk and cotton fibers, you can't weave the two together. (*The Murder of Aziz Khan* 223)

Such narratives based on religious and cultural distinctions carry the handsome weight of what led to the formation of Pakistan. The verdict of not weaving together was passed on Hindu-Muslim relation to intensify the demand of separation. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's many speeches state that Hindu and Muslim were two distinctive civilization and they have their own values and distinctive names and nomenclature. They cannot live together under a single dominion. If that formula of distinctive cultures and practices is applied on Sunnis and non-Sunnis outlook, there should be another separation on state level. Such picture of the culture further divides the Pakistani society in early Pakistan.

To conclude, *The Murder of Aziz Khan* revolves around the keywords like, corruption, bribery, rapes, murders, exploitation, social injustice, power-lust and hatred. The novel's acclaim and different commentaries and reviews of the critics declaring it a realistic novel testify the author's keen eye on Pakistan's socio-political affairs in the 1960s. However, other narratives about Pakistan did exist at the same time which have their own relative worth. What can be gathered from the discussion is that the Pakistaniness cannot be concentrated on a single author or a single work; rather it rests on multiple narratives.

Chapter: 4

Pakistaniness in *Sunlight on a Broken Column* (1961)

4.1 A Brief Introduction to the Novel

The novel is an autobiographical domestic account of a young girl Laila who is being brought up in a rich Taluqdar family of Muslim background in Lucknow, United India. The family resides in a large house with its servants and their families. In the beginning, Baba Jan is bedridden and a tension prevails round the household. After his death, the order within the house is disturbed and the family starts breaking. Laila decides to stay with her Uncle Hamid who admits her wish to continue college studies. Asad and Zahid, two of Laila's orphaned cousins also leave the house for the sake of studies. Zahra, Aunt Majida's daughter is married to a high official, and Aunt Abida who has brought up Laila also gets married and moves to some far city. The first hand exposure of the real world outside the household makes the second generation argue and question the traditional and all the structural imposter of thoughts. Laila's life at college and at home with Uncle Hamid and his wife Saira goes on and after the return of Kemal and Saleem, Hamid's sons to home after getting education from England, is filled with amusements and merry-making with frequently held parties and get-togethers. In the meanwhile, a minor incident of communal riot on the eve of Muharram takes place and gets unnoticed by the family as it is not that much significant to get attention from all the factions of society.

The unity and being tolerated multiculturalism is slightly exposed after an event when some rebellious students create mess on the eve of official ceremony of Viceroy's arrival to inaugurate the foundation of University hostel. A rebellious procession marches towards the Council Chamber with vigorous slogans of *Inqilab* (Revolution). Asad, a Muslim nationalist, is wounded in the procession facing a heavy *lathi charge* (stick-blows). Nita, a Hindu nationalist, also meets the same treatment and dies after some days of the event. The time goes on and the confusion and chaos touch the peak when general elections of 1937 come at hand. People within the family are politically divided, once all-embracing family is haunted by warm arguments at dinners and lunches. Saleem and his father encounter severely; the former wants Saleem to work for the family politics but the latter is interested in broader Muslim interests and supports

Muslim League. Saleem challenges his family feudal politics saying that people are educated enough to question the privileges enjoyed by Taluqdars and that there must be end of feudal practices in the democratic India. He also disapproves of his father's longing that there is no harm for Muslims to live among the Hindus as they have been living this way for centuries. While Saleem rejects the notion claiming that the prevalent circumstances are different now. In the meanwhile, elections are held and Hamid wins on the seat reserved in the provincial constituency for Taluqdars. Later we are told that the privileges and the estates of Taluqdars were constitutionally discouraged and tenants and landlords under feudal families got their own identity as equal and independent citizens.

Soon after the elections, the plot plunges to 1952, when 'ashiana', the grand ancestral house of Taluqdars is abandoned and partially resided by the strangers. Kemal and his mother are having a hand to mouth life. Saleem has been settled in Karachi since partition. Uncle Hamid died five years earlier. The novelist is regretful on the partition of family. Saleem returns to India after five years and the family feels happy by the temporary reunion. Ranjit Singh, the family friend of Kamal and Saleem, is still friendly hospitable with Saleem who is now a citizen of enemy country.

4.2 Novel's Relevance to Pakistaniness

The novel, divided in three generations, depicts a multicultural society at calm and towards disruption as the plot moves on. The beginning is quite harmonizing and orderly in the household and in the society. The first generation, in Fatime Siddiqui's words is "timeless silhouettes of age-old traditions, customs, family relation and tensions, idiosyncratic relatives, wedding dramas and somber funerals" (Siddiqui). The second generation is in a flux due to numerous events. The first generation and its characters are irrelevant to delve into the controversies as they exist before the narrative of a separate nation breaks out. The second and third generations are important for the discussion as they experience the change in society and in nation. Baba Jan, the representative of the first generation, is counting his days due to acute illness. Still he is the sign of order and authority in the household; "could he have been tender and gay, and doubted and wondered? Was there ever a time when in his presence anyone could talk and laugh without restraint?" (*Sunlight on a Broken Column* 32). The inclusion of Hindu servants like Nandi and

Mushtry Bai in the Muslim upper class family makes the society capable of bearing the complexities of multiculturalism. Baba Jan, Syed Muhammad Hassan, a Muslim, and British Freemantle and a Hindu, Thakur Bilbir Singh are exemplary family friends. Raja Hassan Ahmad of Amirpur and Mr. Freemantle's visit to Baba Jan daily not only shows the harmony but a strong friendship bond despite ethnic and religious differences. Their friendship bond was so stronger that Freemantle's death-will read that he should be buried near Syed Muhammad Hassan, his friend, and he was actually buried there in the family graveyard in Hassanpur. Surprisingly they have nothing in common except "a strangest arrogance and a will to exercise power" (Husain 34). The purpose of such detailed illustration for a substantial part of the novel might be to convey that before the Hindu-Muslim ideology-oriented segregation, society was at peace and having an order. The things worsened after the political awareness on the basis of distinctive religious and cultural ideology.

However, the British nowhere lose the advantage of being in ruling section, so they behave patronizingly as Mrs. Martin tells Aunt Abida that "our customers are hard for you to understand" (48). Besides, when she had brought Laila to a party when she was in childhood, the padre's sister passed compliments on Laila upon which Mrs. Martin boasts, "I brought her up according to the light of my principles and beliefs" (50). In response, the padre's sister said, "The Light must shine in every home. The light must reach into the darkest corners of the land" (50). Such discourses reveal the self-righteous superiority and authority of British over natives. These two situations partly challenge the narrative of Pakistan and partly accept it: the bottom-line of the narrative of Pakistan stands on the assumption that Hindu and Muslims are different and cannot bear each other's existence, this notion fades away in the novel's setting.

Similarly the representative youth of second generation is frequently found debating and arguing warmly on political discussions. But still they are good college friends and their arguments never get physical. Nita follows the Congress because she is a nationalist. Nadira believes in Islamic ideals, upholding the Muslim League, and Joan, an Anglo-Indian upholds the British rule.

Nandi, a Hindu maid servant in the house, is accused of wicked acts of seduction, she is labored heavily and beaten badly over nothing by Uncle Mohsin once. The strange thing is that

working a Hindu low-born in a Muslim elite family negates the being-spread fear among the masses that Hindu will rule the Muslims after British abandon the country. Rather one should say that a low-born has always been and will be oppressed by the powerful ever. Whereas the bottom-line of the narrative launched in the similar era says that Hindus and Muslims, the followers of two entirely different codes of life with distinctive cultures, arts, nomenclature and civilizations cannot coexist at the cost of Muslim's interests. We have always been taught about the Aligarh university students and their contributions as leading youth towards the destination of Pakistan in our national academia. But in the novel, we meet a character who studies at Aligarh University. That Muslim character, Zainab's brother, "very thin, very pale, and had wild curly hair" and returns from Aligarh university a "delicate consumptive" calls the idealism of driving the English away an ignorance (*SBC* 102), referring to history, he calls it non-existing to seize the power from others' hands easily. In response to Laila's idea about the inevitable freedom from the English, he burst out as following;

What difference will it make? What difference does anything make? Look around this village. The people rotted under the rulers of our own race, as they do under the English and as they will do if we rule ourselves again. (*SBC* 102)

The above mentioned examples and the general story-line of the novel show clear relevance with Pakistaniness. Though the narrative about Pakistan as presented in the novel goes against many factions, yet the point here is to relate the novel with Pakistaniness.

4.3 Attia Husain's Views on the Narrative of Pakistan

The discussion in previous paragraphs, in a way, reflects author's stance on Pakistaniness. However, her point of view requires to be collocated with other texts of hers and that of others as well as discussed by Louis Montrose' idea of resistance of binary oppositions or dichotomy, the idea leads to the role of author in determining the meaning of his texts in New Historicism as 'new' is "resisting a prevalent tendency to posit and privilege a unified and autonomous individual—whether an Author or a Work—to be set against a social or literary background" (*Renaissance Literary Studies* 6). Paradoxically he also restricts this construe of reality as determined by individual agency;

The possibilities for action are always socially and historically situated, always limited and limiting. Nevertheless, collective structures may enable as well as constrain individual agency; and they may be potentially enabling precisely when they are experienced by the subject as multiple, heterogeneous, and even contradictory in their imperatives. (*New Historicisms: Redrawing the Boundaries* 414)

The narrative of Pakistan undoubtedly is diverse, contradictory and relative. Therefore, the authoress' autonomy does not fixate the meaning or the shade of meaning. However, her point of view might be valid within her ideological mechanism. She is also a product of society and the formation of her thoughts is indebted to the prevalent events, literary and social writing and her intellectual ideals.

Before discussing Attia Husain's own thoughts on her work and the subject-matter, a brief survey of literary and non-literary writing in circulation in the era is necessary. The time she wrote *Sunlight on a Broken Column* was a time when Pakistan's political instability was on the rise. After eight years of political uncertainty, Pakistan succeeded in claimed her first constitution in 1956. To add fuel to fire, it stayed functional hardly two years when Field Martial Ayub Khan imposed the martial law. Moreover, Progressive Writers' Movement led by Faiz and the epistemic militancy of Communist Party of Pakistan were leaving the notions of misrecognition of the newly adopted capitalist system.

Among the contemporary influential writings were Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistann* (1956), several short stories such as *Toba Tek Singh* (1955) by Saadat Hassan Manto, Urdu poems such as *Subh-e-Azadi* (Freedom's Dawn, 1947) by Faiz Ahmad Faizz. The poem declares metaphorically that this was not the *sahar* (dawn: the metaphor of independence) that was dreamt. Muhammad Hassan Askari was also writing in early 1950s. His essays especially *Building Pakistan and Filmmaking* is more concerned with cultural identity (Nobil 1). These intellectual circumstances might have shaped or influenced her novel.

The narrative and demand of Pakistan was questioned and investigated soon after independence. Like many other non-literary writings, Ayesha Jalal, a historian also points out the discussions in the earlier Pakistan or even before it. She states in *The Struggle for Pakistan* that when the question of projection of Pakistan's identity was to be addressed, no one was quite

where to start the recognition of Pakistan's identity: should they claim Pakistan's history from 1947, or it was to be extended backward. The discussion further demanded the investigation in the origin of identity; ideologically conscious group wanted to affiliate it with the advent of Islam in Arab or with the introduction of Islam in India in 712, others were having geographical stance. (ch; 1). This ambiguity was so entrenched in the social writings and discourses of the time that *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (4th edition 1955) defined Pakistan as "a separate Muslim state in India", or "Moslem autonomy" and "the independent Moslem Dominion in India". These definitions went unnoticed for eight years. As a reaction, the dictionary was banned in Pakistan in 1963 but the explanation was given that Pakistan was declared a part of Indian geography, not that of their political dominion. The Pakistan government, after apology, lifted the ban shortly afterward. The point to be made after these references is that the time when Attia was writing or getting prepared for writing was replete with ambiguity and diversity regarding the definition of Pakistaniness.

In her interview, Attia Husain admitted that she, from very earlier, advocated the concept of United India, rather divided India. She had a very rich background in a sense that among her relatives, mostly were very prominent. Even Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Indian Prime Minister, was the son of her father's friend; "I grew up in an atmosphere where people spoke of what to do next, how to be involved, not only in the national movements but in the community" (Husain: 1991). Attia Husain grew up in an atmosphere where she did not have even the idea of difference between religions and caste system. She tells in the interview that they had had lights for Diwali and friends, Hindus and Christians, would also visit on Eid. She, on the basis of her personal experiences, did not advocate the idea of partition. Her stance stands in favor of Indian Nationalism;

Perhaps we could not go into their kitchens, we could not go near them when they were eating, but it made absolutely no difference to the friendship. That was their life, our life was ours and it came together in friendship. We were together in marriages, at births, deaths, and any festivities. That is why for me all that happens now [the antagonism between Hindus and Muslims] is beyond belief. That is why I think I was already conditioned to believing that faith, in the fact that it cannot be that we will be divided because of religion. I couldn't conceive of it myself. (ibid)

Whatever intentions pertained to Attia Hosain while writing *Sunlight on Broken Column* (1961) restraining to the life of a Muslim elite family, the domestic detailed overview of three generations was nevertheless the reflection and a product of society. The novel's sudden flight over fourteen years let the historical narrative overcome the novel-presented history. But the concluding chapters of the novel are sensational in reasserting the humanistic bond between Hindus and Muslims beyond the religious or ethnic limitations. Laila, whose voice as a subject to all right and wrong being occurred in nearby, bursts out with aggressive remarks when Zahra, sarcastically calls her an escapist;

Where were you, Zahra, when I sat up through the nights watching village after village set on fire...Do you know who saved me and my child? Sita, who took us to her house, in spite of putting her own life in danger with ours. And Ranjit, who came from the village, because he had heard of what was happening in the foothills and was afraid for us. He drove us back, pretending we were his family. (*SBC* 304)

Moreover, she complains that those who found no 'Sitas' and 'Ranjits' were not saved by their leaders who had landed safely across the border. The very Hindus against whom they had ranted, she goes on, were left to save them. Attia Hosain, the novelist seems to be speaking herself in Laila when she defines the meaning of 'responsibility' and 'duty'; "to stop the murderous mob at any cost, even if it meant shooting people of their own religion (ibid). Tone of such indignation by the writer brings the novel on the same note of Hindu-Muslim inevitable bond on which she had switched off in 1937. This may be justly inferred that Attia Husain and her literary narrative indirectly rejects or at least challenges the history-political narrative of Pakistan.

In short, Attia Husain's narrative about Pakistan goes to anti-Pakistaniness. She stands by her view on humanist underpinnings. However, she was brought up in Lucknow and admits that she did not know what was happening in other parts of India. Thus, her point of view represents an aspect of Pakistaniness.

4.4 Critique on Major Characters in the Novel

The political narrative about Pakistan is not overt in the novel, yet there are certain elements that stand relevant to it. After studying the novel, one obliges to agree with Fatima Siddiqui's views that Anglophone writers in Pakistan were preoccupied with the phenomena of history and nation (Review). Attia Hosain though has shown it rather she would have told. The novel is a domesticated history of pre-Pakistan period. She has shown the circumstances through characters. Diversity of characters depicts diverse points of view regarding Pakistaniness. Moreover, this fact about such diverse or ambiguous phenomenon has been discussed by Louis Montrose who asserts that "we should resist the reductive tendency to formulate our conceptual terms in binary oppositions [containment vs. subversion]; rather, we should construe them as joined in a mutually constitutive, recursive, and transformative process" (*Redrawing the Boundaries* 413). On the basis of this theorization multiple narratives about Pakistan can be deducted from different characters in the novel.

Attia Husain's skill of characterization is inseparably connected with events. She hardly describes characters with comments and remarks. She makes us see what they say, and what they do, and not what they are. Characters unfold themselves through events. Asad, for instance, undermines the education system as the installation of power struggle in the disguise of ideology and other euphemistic terms like freedom, individuality, culture and religion; "What is the difference? Money or power, that is all that matters... Everything else we are taught is lies, Laila. Money is the only truth... Every day at this theological college where I am taught so called virtues takes me farther away from God" (*SBC* 54). Asad's narrative about independence and identity is closer to what Stephen Greenblatt calls power assertion through different organizational modes in his book *Renaissance Self-fashioning*; "if we say that there is a heightened awareness of the existence of alternative modes of social, theological, and psychological organization, we must say that there is a new dedication to the imposition of control upon those modes and ultimately to the destruction of alternatives (2). So the people of united India were united during Khilafa Movement. But later they got heightened awareness of alternative modes like discourse of Two-Nation Theory, and later Pakistan Resolution, or Jinnah's speeches, rested on the distinctive culture, civilization and values. The fact that further disfavors such narrative is that it represented the voice of Muslim League, Muslim were further

divided in this case and emancipated themselves from the larger communal bond stood against Hindus. This is what Greenblatt, in the above quote, refers as the destruction of alternatives. The point of consolidation is that in the 1930s, a group of people was of the view that questioned the matters of ideology and considered the struggle as driven by power exertion through dividing practices.

Saleem, Hamid's younger son, having rebellious thoughts about the traditional feudalist sort of politics, brings forth another distinctive individual point of view, he studied at Cambridge, "read and talked Marxism, wore red ties and Russian shirts, decorated his rooms with Red banners and busts Marx and Lenin" (*SBC* 172). He is a barrister by profession and undermines the politics; "I had a lesson in practical politics, which makes all one's theoretical studies seem like the pipe-dreams of opium eaters" (*ibid* 195). His statement clearly shows his mistrust on politics and political leaders, Hindus and Muslims altogether. Society in itself was divided into political, religious and ideological layers. Saleem, however, a representative of Muslim League's legacy, is afraid of the Hindus' feeling of revenge as he states at one point; "the majority of Hindus have not forgotten or forgiven the Muslims for having ruled over them for hundreds of years. Now they can democratically take revenge. The British have ruled for about two hundred years and see how much they are hated" (*ibid* 234). So his stance is similar to that of Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The novel denies the general established perception that Muslim League and Muslims majority in India wanted a separate nation for them. Naseer, Zahra's husband and a civil officer comments in disappointment, "Law and order could not be preserved when nationalist leaders preached civil disobedience" (157). Soon we find a more clear historical trace when Laila calls the event a movement and his Uncle Hamid calls it a mere "irresponsible hooliganism". The question arises who were those students who shouted the slogans '*Sons of toadies, Shame! Shame!*' to disapprove of Viceroy's authority. Hindus and Muslims used to be indiscriminatingly parts of university and colleges making it inferable that they were nationalist above Hindu-Muslim differences and stood against foreign government unitedly. But another question arises that to whom belong the civil officer Naseer who laments on civil disobedience, and Uncle Hamid who calls it the Freedom Movement an irresponsible hooliganism. So, one observes different points of view constructed by different circumstances. For common people,

change means a fate-turner, while for those who enjoy power and status like Naseer and Hamid, status quo has nothing wrong with the country's broader interests.

The variety of characters in the novel each with distinctive outlook makes the matter of political standing more intricate; Sita, for instance, is a Hindu nationalist whose father openly and generously *grants* money to the nationalist, but she does not feel it right to give up all even if she had to go to *jail* in return (*SBC* 186). Another Hindu student named Nita is an extreme nationalist as she believes in action of one's thoughts calling it cowardice to get away with the freedom of expression in the name of education. Actually she disobeys the college authorities for not joining the students march to the Council Chamber. She joins the procession that resonates with the slogans '*inquilab.....Zindabad! Long live Revolution, British Raj.....Murdabad! Death to British Imperialism, Azadi ki Jai.....Hail Freedom*', and becomes victim to police's heavy stick-blows and dies after two days. Asad, opposing the views of many of his kins, receives many injuries in the same march. This sudden distortion in the household or in society leads to many inferences, two of the first-glimpse causes are as follows: the new political agitation of freedom divided the people ideologically into many sections causing a mess in a harmonized multicultural and multi-ethnic society; and the availability of education indiscriminately must have made the people aware of their self and they started agitating under their respective leaders. Another reason provided by history is the aftermaths of *Khilafat Movement* that led to countrywide protests in unison against the shackles of British Empire. But one thing is evident that, up to this part of the novel, it turns out a fact that Hindus and Muslims were unanimous in their long for freedom from the foreign rulers except those who held power-position in one way or the other.

The political uncertainty and indeterminacy of measuring the opinions among people is also highlighted by Abul Kalam Azad in *India Wins Freedom*. He states that though both parties; Congress and Muslim League accepted the partition, the real position was entirely different.

When we looked at the country immediately before and after partition, we found that the acceptance was only in a resolution of the All-India Congress Committee of the Congress and on the register of the Muslim League. The people of India had not accepted partition. In fact, their hearts and souls rebelled against the very idea. I have said that the Muslim League enjoyed the support of many Indian Muslims, but there was a large section in the

community who had always opposed the League. They had naturally been deeply cut by the decision to divide the country. (Azad 176)

The non-literary texts of the time also show non-uniformity in society. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was a Muslim but he represented Congress and was a staunch advocator of United India. He was of the view that “history would never forgive us if we agreed to partition” (186). He, like Hamid in the novel, believed in Hindu-Muslim harmony. He saw no real difference between Hindus and Muslims in different aspects of life especially political; “The ancestors of most of us were common, and I for one, do not accept the theory of a superior or inferior race or of different races. Mankind is one race and we have to live in harmony with one another” (131).

The novel’s events clearly conform to what non-literary texts narrate about that era. The time when Saleem, Hamid and other characters represent different points of view about their political affiliations, society actually was divided on this ground. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad’s Hizbullah (God’s Party) ,however, could not attract people in magnitude, he, according to Philip Cohen, was the first to tie the Muslim communities to an organizational solution (164). Maulana Kalam Azad was of the view that Muslim survival and surety of prosperity should be made possible within United India. The party could get no public attention for long and Maulana Kalam Azad joined Congress. Syed Mawdudi was much impressed by Azad’s idea of protecting the Muslim interests through organizational solution. For an evidence, it seems mandatory to mention Maulana Mawdudi’s proposition of two schemes alternatives to the formation of a new country: first the bifurcation of India into Muslim and Hindu majority provinces; the other scheme proposed one large Hindu province and thirteen smaller Muslim ones within the larger India. Mawdudi’s proposal got no attention by the dominant Muslim League which passed the Pakistan Resolution on March 23, 1940 (Cohen 164-65).

The discussion on different characters of the novel in the framework of the co-text reveals that the novel’s image of Pakistaniness is ‘monological’ that leaves the notion that the narrative and demand of Pakistan was unjust to some extent. We get only Attia Husain’s perception of Pakistaniness and a little diversity in the phenomenon through some characters. However, after the parallel study of the contemporary events and texts, the term under question comes out with multiple meanings and layers that might be opposing each other but are the

constitutive part of the entire culture. This justification of such a critical study lies in an extract from Montrose:

The possibilities for action are always socially and historically situated, always limited and limiting. Nevertheless, collective structures may enable as well as constrain individual agency; and they may be potentially enabling precisely when they are experienced by the subject as multiple, heterogeneous, and even contradictory in their imperatives. [...] However, the very process of subjectively living the contradictions within or among ideological formations may allow us to experience facets of our own subjection at shifting internal distances - to read, as in a refracted light, one fragment of our ideological inscription by means of another. (*New Historicisms* 414)

The discussion on Pakistaniness in the following paragraphs conforms to this passage from Montrose that focuses on individual agency for the determination of meanings. The multiple heterogeneous or even contradictory narratives co-existing with different 'ideological formation' may lead our investigation to many perspectives of Pakistanines.

4.5 Critique on the Major Events of the Novel

She illustrated the change through progress in the plot rather than commenting here and there to tell the reader about the undergoing changes. She, for example, keeps the society at rest and harmony for almost first part of the novel, and then we smell a disruption and anarchy when some nationalists succeed in raising the slogans against British Raj and a severe clash between university students and police takes place.

The harmony presented in the novel by Attia Hosain prior to the ignite of Hindu-Muslim communal riots is somehow authenticated by the historians like Belokrenitsky and Moskalenko who divide the Muslims into two categories, one was traditional and religiously fundamental who opposed each and everything that was British and Christians, the other category comprised educated people who were "rather sympathetically disposed towards the materialistic elements of foreign religion and culture" (9). The book *A Political History of Pakistan* emphasizes on the fact that the activity of all groups of Muslim intellectuals preservation and consolidation of Islam as a religion and a worldview. They had two forces in opposition: foreign influence of Christian

colonizers and, Hinduism. During the period between April 1926 to March 1927 which, according to the novel was a peaceful period, recorded 40 large clashes in which about 200 people were killed and 1600 injured (ibid 15).

The historical picture of political activities in the novel mostly revolves around Indian Act 1935 and General Elections of 1937. Attia Hosain reiterates the devastation caused by the political arguments penetrated in society and the consequences that not only split the country in the name of religion but also divided the thousands of families, Muslims and Hindus. She seems quite humanistic in viewing the society as one whole in which people are friendly above their religion. But it is natural to question her humanistic instinct when we are told through History that Congress, a nationalist party, did not cooperate with Muslim League in none of the seven provinces when it took charge of local governments. Even it refused to interact with the Muslim League branch in the United provinces (Belokrenitsky and Moskalentko 24). Such Information of the events through history challenges Attia Husain's understanding of Pakistaniness as the religious hatred and discrimination reached at zenith. That behavior of Congress justifies the demand for a separate country for Muslims. The similar self-righteous domination by Hindu-representative Congress has been pinpointed by Sikandar Hayat, "the traditional Muslim political leadership, as a whole, failed to offer much to the Indian Muslims in their hour of distress, as the Hindu majority community, led by the Congress in particular, advanced towards self-government and freedom in the late 1930s" (139).

Statistically speaking, in 1901, out of 290 million, the total population of India, 62 million were Muslims, or around 22 per cent. This number raised to 23 per cent by 1921 and further increased to 24 per cent in 1941 (Belokrenitsky and Moskalentko 4). The Muslim elite of united India shared more than others because their ancestors had been ruling the country for centuries, and the transfer of power kept their privileges intact. The *Taluqdar* family is a real example of this; they live a luxurious life, they get education in England, they have tenants to rule on, they have servants to be served, they get higher ranked jobs in civil services. The community who is 23 per cent of the entire population of the country and among these 22 per cent, a reasonable number of families comprises the elite class. For the sake of argument, if we call it reality that Muslims lower classes were victimized and marginalized by the Hindus, the character of Nandi counters the argument. Nandi is a poor maid servant in the novel who works

in the *Taluqdars'* house. She is accused of adultery, is called wicked without concrete assurance and is beaten heavily by a Muslim master, Muhsin. Her marginalized figure wins our humanistic compassion when Laila expresses her wish to go round the world and Zahra says that she wishes to go to the moon, and Nandi says, "I just want to go home to my parents' (*SBC* 106) because she was sent to Hassanpur away from her family as a punishment.

The thing that becomes problematic in the analysis of Narrative of Pakistan in its surrounding is the historical gap from the 1937 General Elections to 1952 untouched by the novelist. This was the flourishing period for the narrative of to-be Pakistan when Congress got power after forming local governments as a reward from one-sided victory in 1937 elections. This was the time when Hindus got power after centuries of a peripheral role; first by Muslim rulers and then by English. Their behavior as power-holders especially in Muslim minority provinces proved an eye-opener for the Muslims who advocated the Congress because "the fears of the Indian Muslims about Hindu majority rule turned out" (Majid, Hamid and Zahida 186). The same article titled *Genesis of the Two Nation Theory and the Quaid-e-Azam* counters Attia Hosain's stance on the unity of different communities saying that their integration was inconceivable and, even the Mughal emperor Akbar's to unify the both the Hindus and Muslims into a single nation had miserably failed" and that even after Nehru's complete rejection of Muslim League as a countrywide representative party of the Muslims in India, the conditions of Muslims became agonizing (Majid, Hamid and Zahida 180). Nehru's open proclamation that there were only two forces in India: British imperialism and Indian nationalism represented by Congress, the shuddi campaign, the Vidhya Mandar Scheme and Bande Matram are the examples of Hindu retaliation. A brief introduction to these political phenomena will intensify the Hindu-Muslim bridge.

Bande or Vande Mataram is basically a poem written in Bengali language in 1870 by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. The lyrics of the poem were composed into song by Rabindranath Tagore. In October 1937, the Congress working committee included its first two verses in the National Song of India. The song got constitutional support on January, 24 1940.

Vidhya Mandir Scheme was a devised educational policy presented by the committee consisting on some educationists under the headship of Zakir Hussain followed by Indian

Educational conference at Wardha in 1937 initiated by Gandhi after getting power in most of the provinces. The points in the final approved policy that received acute reservation and criticism from the Muslim sections were neglecting Urdu language entirely and serving Hindi as a medium of Primary education and compulsory participation in singing the Indian National Song, *Bande Matram*. These two points widened the bridge between Hindus and Muslims intensifying the Muslim grievances against prejudicial Hindu mentality behind policy-making.

Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah is considered as co-founder of the ideology of Pakistan and all-time representative of Muslims who advocated the proposal of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. He rejected Nehru's claim of existing only two forces in India; British Empire and Indian Nationalism in the following words; "There is another party, the Muslim League which alone has the right to represent the Muslims of India". In his speech on Oct 15, 1937 at Lucknow, he stated, "the majority community had clearly shown their hand: that Hindustan is for the Hindus" (Columbia.edu). Unlike the Hindu-Muslim unity shown in the novel, he was of the view that both the two communities could never put up with each other. These views were expressed in his article *Time and Tide* on March 9, 1940;

The British people being Christian sometime forget the religious wars of their own history and today consider religion as a private and personal matter between man and God. This can never be the case in Hinduism and Islam. Both these religions have definite social codes and aspects of their social life. (Vol 15: 87)

In one of the most referred of his addresses given at the historical place, on a historical day, March 23, 1940, he reiterated his view on Hindu-Muslim fate as different as white and black. After expressing his distrust and grievances on behalf of the Muslims in India against the Congress, the party in government, he declared that Muslims are a nation by any definition of a nation. In support of the stance, he added; "Hindus and Muslims belong to two religion, philosophies, social, customs, and literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine and indeed belong to different civilizations which are based on conflicting ideas and conceptions" (ibid; 188). Some critics are of the view that Muslims' stance led by Jinnah was on the cause of power and separate political identity. For instance, Sikandar Hayat in *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement* states that "Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah responded to the situation, and offered the

Muslims on 22 March 1940 a ‘formula’ that was to secure them power, security and freedom in a separate state” (142).

The authoress of the novel has been very careful and skillful with the progress of the plot. Dividing the novel into four parts, she allocated first two parts to demonstrate the smooth and order in society. Beginning with the organization in the house and society marked with traditions and values and purities, she talks of wedding ceremonies, friendly gatherings, funeral ceremonies, family feasts, love affairs and natural jealousies and rivalries in relations. In the second half of the novel, the disruption begins to penetrate which makes itself forcibly visible in the chapter twelve of Part Three which begins as follows;

No one seemed to talk any more, everyone argued and not in a graceful tradition of our city where conversation was treated as a fine art, words were loved as medium of artistic expression, and verbal battles were enjoyed as much as any delicate, scintillating, sparkling display of pyrotechnic skill. It was as if someone had sneaked in live ammunition among the fireworks. In the thrust and parry there was a desire to inflict wounds. (*SBC* 230)

The lament on the present and the nostalgia for the past glory of the social rich life is worthy of feeling. The ‘dividing practices’ leading to the subject-object alteration, the upcoming elections under newly enacted Indian Act, the widening bridge between Hindu and Muslim communities represented by Congress and Muslim League respectively and the resulted effects on Taluqdars made the people unbearable to one another’s existence. Hamid’s quibble with his son, Saleem heightens the controversy to the zenith. Saleem advocates the modern democratic values supporting actively the Muslim League. His father, on the other hand, sticks to his status as Taluqdar and feudalist who thinks that the granted privileges should remain intact as they are the guardians of people’s rights. Saleem argues that now people are getting politically educated, hence they question such privileges. Finally they remain poles apart when Saleem logically wins the argument on the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity in the society. Hamid states, “I always found it was possible for Hindus and Muslims to work together on a political level and live together in personal friendship” (234). The most confusing fact is that Congress was not purely a Hindu platform; Muslims like Abul Kalam Azad were its staunch advocates. Khan Abdul Ghaffar

Khan, the head of 'Khudai Khidmatgars', a Pashtun nationalist organization, also allied himself with the Congress in 1933-34. Saleem says that there had never been such clashes as now are. Time has changed and that his experience is of the time that is running out. Moreover, he argues, the majority of Hindus have not forgiven the Muslims for being ruled by them for generations, "British have ruled about two hundred years and see how much they are hated" (234).

To sum up the discussion, the contextual study of the novel reveals that Pakistaniness is a is not a frozen phenomenon. It has not only multiple facets, aspects and dimensions but also a heterogeneous audience. Regardless of dynamics behind each and every notion of Pakistaniness, the one represented in the novel is indebted co-existing texts and discourses.

Chapter: 5

Conclusion

To conclude the discussion, there are definite discrepancies and plurality in the narratives of Pakistan not only in post-independent Pakistan but also those of pre-independent. It turned out from the discussion that Pakistaniness is not all-encompassing or absolute term, rather it is relative. This phenomenon, as expounded by New Historicist proponents, is socially constructed and constructing the social formation. A diverse variety of opinions shows that there is no determinacy of meaning, neither there is a centre where the realistic opinion could be authenticated.

The quest for Pakistaniness set off with three questions. First, how Pakistaniness is treated in different textual narratives in 1960s? Investigating the question, as discussed in Chapter No 3 and 4 that 1960s was a time when the narrative about Pakistan was in discussion on account of political instability, rebellion against military regime in Pakistan and the criticality of the period is further intensified with the fact that in the upcoming years political unrest between the two wings of the country broke the country geographically and partially ideologically, Pakistaniness has been treated pluralistically different in literary and non-literary texts of 1960s.

Second question is integrated with first one; how a literary text is shaped by non literary texts of the time? Though there are discrepancies among different literary and non-literary texts produced during 1960s, these discrepancies occur due to the fact that there is no centre for semantic determination, everyone has his own perception and these different perceptions make up the poetics of culture. An artist has his/her own background that constitutes thoughts and ideology. A politician, likewise, represents his stance on his own typical grounds, and historians, critics and researchers also represent a certain population through their perception about Pakistaniness. All fictional characters, in some ways, find affinity with the outside real world. Hence, there are discrepancies among different narratives but there are also affinities in presenting these narratives with relation to society.

The last question aimed at explaining the nature of differences between literary and non-literary texts. This question after being addressed in details in Analysis Chapters finds the declaration that fiction and non-fiction do not necessarily challenge each other; either plays its role in shaping the construction of reality or is being shaped by the constructed reality. The answer partially overlaps with previous ones on the account of mutual inter-connection of the three questions. To crystallize the outcomes of this investigation, a brief account of the analysis of both novels is presented here.

New Historicist study of *The Murder of Aziz Khan* represents different narratives about Pakistan through its characters, events and the author Zulfikar Ghose. First, we come to know writer's own discern about what is meant by Pakistaniness. The autobiographical factor has clear imprints on the novel. He is an expatriate and the dominant theme of his writings revolves around alienation, cultural dislocation and ambiguity in defining his identity. So his perception of Pakistanines is the construction of his experiences and observations. Aziz Khan meets the similar exile and dispossession of his land which has been his identity and cause of existence. However, some critics and scholars identify him with every typical Pakistani. Shah Brothers are antagonists or villains in the novel. However, in the sight of some critics, they are models for success and they shape peoples' mentality about how successful persons are like. As a matter of fact, they do represent a class in Pakistan and one gets the idea of industrialization and capitalism being enacted in post-independent Pakistan.

Similarly, the characters of Riaz and Javed represent a different perception. They reflect leftist and revolutionist points of view. Such rebellious outlooks did actually exist in Pakistan that challenged the prevalent system by resisting prevalent systems with the view that Pakistan was not meant for what was actually taking place. In brief, the contextual study of novels and its events and characters proves that the narrative of Pakistan has a relative meaning; the position of writers, critics and readers shapes the discernment of Pakistaniness.

The second novel *Sunlight on a Broken Column* has also similar social embedment. The time it was written clamored with diverse discussions on Pakistan's identity, ideology, and post-independent losses and gains. Attia Husain, as she herself asserts in interview, was not in favor of new country. She was brought up in Lucknow where political unrest was much less as

compared to other cities of India. Moreover, her family was among the elite educated Muslim families. She was not exposed to such Hindu-Muslim vulnerability, but she witnessed the atrocities and violence at partition. Thus, her perception of Pakistan is shaped by her previous social experiences and stands against the narrative of Pakistan launched in favor of separate nation for Muslims.

Most of the novel's characters come from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Each character has his/her own political affiliations. They decide their future in the wake of partition independently. Many characters' actions and decisions challenge the narrative of Pakistan at that time, and some of them conform to it as well. Contemporary non-literary texts also set forth the similar diverse opinions on part of the people.

To sum up the discussion, investigation of the narrative of/about Pakistan in 1960s has significant worth on many grounds. The outcomes of the study carried out on New Historicist lines state that Pakistaniness has not a fixed meaning, rather it is defined and perceived relatively, and the texts literary texts contribute in shaping a culture and is shaped by the culture represented by non-literary texts. Consequently, the Pakistaniness in 1960s turns out to be pluralist, diverse, relative and multidimensional.

The discussion and findings of the current research provides a gateway to the scholars and researchers who intend to investigate in this area. The following are my recommendations based on this dissertation. The researchers may get assistance and ideas in the future to carry out research around the following topics:

1. The dynamics of formation of Bangladesh in 1971 through Pakistani/Indian Literature.
2. Ideology of power and power of ideology: Identifying the narrative shifts through ages.

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