

Construction of Nationalism amid war narratives in Pakistan's history textbooks

Ikram Badshah, Assistant professor, department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam, Islamabad

Iqra Ejaz, MPhil scholar, department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam, Islamabad

Jan Alam, Lecturer in Sociology, Kohat university of Science and Technology

Abstract- The present study was designed to bring into view the militarized presentation of war narratives inculcated in our Punjab and Oxford history textbooks. The research intended to unfold the underlying jingoistic and war glorified dogmas within texts that has been imparted to Pakistani students. Content analysis of Pakistan studies textbooks of Oxford and Punjab textbook boards has been done from 6th to 10th grade. Students from four different educational institutions, both government and private schools, have been made part of this study to scrutinize their perspective pertinent to war dogma with the help of a close ended questionnaire. The study has unearthed the patterns of chauvinistic writings by twisting or aggrandizing historical narratives of wars or dictators' regime in Punjab textbooks. The glorification of war was rampant in Punjab textbooks of Pakistan studies in comparison to the slightly neutral and pluralistic historical representation of war events in Oxford textbooks. However, Students of both textbook boards have reflected the bellicose jingoistic thoughts and perspectives, but the ratio was higher among Punjab textbook boards' readers. Wars are portrayed as indispensable for survival amid rivals in Punjab history textbooks, which has profound impact on the young mind of students as their prime source of knowledge is textbooks.

Key words: War, Nationalism, History, Textbooks

I. INTRODUCTION

When any nation is on verge of deterioration, nationalist dogma is called upon to reinsure cohesion and integrity among nation. History, usually, most readily imbibe the nationalistic doctrine as it helps in tracing common ties of socio-cultural roots. The pride of nation inheres in its glorious past and injecting false pride in nation through fancy fairy tale of glories by concealing all rotten realities is one end to achieve it (Ali, 1993). History is deemed as pathway to retrieve truth but the fact that history is not a reality rather an opinion, an interpretation, a perspective that is prone to change in response to new evidences, new questions and new power figures. History is thus subject of manoeuvring by historians who always endorse people in power and adulate conquerors in history (Ali, 2011).

The ethnocentric construing of history is common to every country in world to bring forth the 'exemplary version' of state. Liam Hogan thus befittingly called nationalism "cocaine of Middle class" entrenched in history where 'we' are always on right against 'them' on wrong side (Hogan, 2016). The binary of "us" and "them" positioned the inclusivity and exclusivity of people from society complementary to historical chronicles (Jalal, 1995). In Portugal, Salazar dictatorship was underpinned by pledging of revitalizing past glory. Same in context of Pakistan was done by dictators to deploy the weapon of reinvigorating past glory. The 1857 war had brought great loss to Muslim community; a loss of their property, their lives and their dignity. To revivify the lost dignity of Muslims, history has been reinvented to impart false confidence and pride among Muslims. (Ali, 1993).

Historical frames are constructed amid "grand narratives" to codify ideological themes. (Hendry and Winfield, 2013). The impact of colonialism and world wars are potent on construction of historiography in almost every country of the world. These two phenomenon were problematized by power figures to pervert reality by aggrandizing nationalists and be sided with victims against perpetrators. The binary of colonists versus colonial and invader versus defender shapes the war narratives which was reshaped and remoulded by changing political scenarios (Panikkar, 2004). The political messages were incorporated in textbooks and disseminated to the target audience to strengthen the hegemony of government by achieving compliance and blind obedience (ibid). Nationalism can directly or indirectly influence to instigate wars.

Nationalist dogma perceived any assumed external threat to be a great cause to start fight in order to retain nationalist integrity as in the case of Nazi- Germany of 1930 (Bingham, 2012).

The Global Education Monitoring of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published 2017-2018 report, which addressed the issue of glorifying war events in textbooks across the world. The report contended that in number of countries, school textbooks are replete with glorifying war dogmas and celebrating war heroes rather than disseminating the idea of non-violence and peace. The report asserted that only 10% of the textbooks across the world incorporated the values of peace and conflict resolution dogmas in them. The school textbooks of Pakistan and India are also highlighted in the report for teaching bias and warmongering content.

After the creation of country, the captivating war stories indulge us in wars of 1965, 1971 and 1999. The Bangladesh tragedy tried to indoctrinate the lesson that one division beget other division and the chain of segregation never ends but we failed to even grasp this lesson. (Naseem, 2009). The Fall of Dhaka was squarely blamed on India and subsequently soiled Bangladeshi nationalism, propagated by Bangali politicians, make students conceive an image that only justifiable nationalism is Pakistani nationalism and there is no room for any other racial or provincial nationalism in Pakistan. (Khan, 2018).

Madiha Afzal in her special report on Education and attitude formation in Pakistan reported that Pakistan studies textbooks are bombarded with misguided notions perpetuating chauvinistic and bigoted attitude among Pakistani nation. She reviewed 9 and 10 grade Pakistan studies textbooks of Punjab, KPK and Sindh Boards and analyzed the attitude formation of students through interviews and focus group discussions. Her analysis of government sponsored Pakistan studies textbooks concluded that these textbooks are of substandard quality containing grammatical errors. These textbooks lay emphasis on dates of the events than explanation of those historical accounts. No justification or historical source has ever cited in textbooks with the presentation of one sided historical views. The description of events pertinent to India and Hindu community are completely partial and biased especially Punjab textbooks profusely used obnoxious language against India by accentuating its' role in wars and Bangladesh tragedy (Afzal, 2015).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Henry Rousso has coined the term negationism. The phenomena deal with how history of humans has perverted by humans themselves and manipulation of historical evidences for socio-political reasons. It demands re interpretation and sceptical inquiry about every standard truth and established fact. Historical negationism cater the needs of achieving national goals; to transfer blame of war to other countries, to demean and cursed enemies and to always emerge as victorious or have side with victorious group in order to elevate nation's self-esteem. Historical negationism demands historical Revisionism, that is to say, is re interpretation of historical truths to cross check the validity of sources collected by previous historians. Historical negationist and revisionist always open up for new ideas and are thoughtful for possible distortions and twisted facts in history. The ideological interpretation of history and ongoing political conditions culminates into revision of history with every socio-political reorientation. Historical negationism is inquisitive to inquire in historical revision of wartimes (Skoric & Beslin, 2017).

In Pakistan, history textbooks encapsulate state narrative regarding different historical events and groups. Nationalistic reconstruction of history in Pakistan can be traced from Military regimes of Ayub and Zia to justify their illicit regimes on the grounds of nationalism and patriotism by promulgating war narratives through textbooks curriculum. These narratives hold potential of generating violence and hostility among readers (Butt, 2016). The Pakistan studies textbooks contains inaccurate facts, loose articulations, pedagogically problematic, destructive for peace and critically impotent (Nayyar & Salim, 2005).

Pakistani dictators invent and reinvent history to underpin their political agenda. Every time, under the umbrella of dictatorship, history is readjusted to serve the best interests of dictators. The tenure of dictatorship is longer than civilian governments in Pakistan and history kept remain on the mercy of dictator's tutelage (Ali, 1993). The refashioning of Pakistan studies textbooks in alignment with ultra-nationalist and Islamized approaches of state was profusely done in dictators' regime. The curriculum in Ayub regime vowed to eradicate the plague of regionalism as disruptive force and national integrity will be clinched by driving adherence to strong leadership disguised in militarism. (Saigol, 2003). The Pakistan studies was coloured with the shades of Muslim nationalism when General Sher Ali raised the slogan of "Islam in danger" to counterblast the Bengali nationalism during Yahya regime (Alavi, 2002). Zia era was marked by Islamic reorientation of every institution of society including Pakistan studies (Nayyar & Saleem,

2005). After fall of Dhaka, Pakistani state officials set new agenda that would fortify national integrity at every mean possible. The fall of Dhaka was successful implication of provincial nationalism that threatened the state sponsored 'Pakistani nationalism' (Alavi, 2002). The rife militaristic approach in curriculum portrayed magnanimous attitude of military in 1971 war to protect Bangalis against Indian conspiracies rather discussing the ignorant attitude of Pakistani state that culminated into Fall of Dhaka tragedy (Khan, 2018). Textbook historians omit historical accounts or present them in vague manner that nothing can be decipher and one of best example is Bangladesh separation, which is documented in history with such brevity that no student is able to comprehend the severity of that tribulation and fail to learn any lesson from this adversity (Ali, 1993).

The Pakistan studies textbooks have extensive material in following areas; 1) loathly enemies, 2) war glorification, 3) instigating violence and fuelling militancy, 4) stimulating perspectives that vindicate religious bigotry (Nayyar & Salim, 2005). War is ironically glorified in history and is still encouraged to spark off sentiments among people. The ring of war bell is conditioned with stimulating patriotic sentiments among people that underpin ruling government. (Ali,2011). The textbooks history is replete with wars and plunders. The two nation theory of Pakistan is believed to have roots in Muhammad Bin Qasim invasion of Sindh. The Muslim ruling in sub-continent dawned with invasions and war and continued to rule by crushing opponents and resistant. (Ali, 1993).

Madiha Afzal in her comparison of Punjab textbooks and O level textbooks of Pakistan studies enlisted some of the differences in her article pertinent to Islamic ideology, Gandhi image, evolving political history of sub-continent and what Jinnah foreseen for Pakistan. The matric textbooks stresses on Islamic ideology whereas O level books emphasis on evolving historical story of partition with systole and diastole. The issue of grave concern is the polarization of education system, treating O level students as one with intelligent and skeptical wisdom, on contrary, matric students are trained to be pliant and dumb by designing shoddy content for them (Afzal, 2016).

III. METHODOLOGY

The Pakistan studies textbooks of two different education system; public and private schools, has been picket out to discern the jingoistic and militarized content incorporated in them. The content analysis was done from grade 5 to grade 10 Pakistan studies textbooks of Punjab and Oxford board. Under the thematic area of war and militarization, codes were generated to scrupulously examine the manifested meanings of words and tones in content. The alternative historical opinions of various historians were also given along the analysis to substantiate the pluralistic argument of any event.

Theoretical Framework

The research body of the study was analysed under the theoretical discourse of the Foucault's idea of problematization and Gramsci's theory of hegemony to speculate about the nexus of power and history.

Antonio Gramsci theory of hegemony postulates about the ruling of dominant narratives through effective mediums to revivify the dominance of one group over other subjugated groups. Problematization involves the process of the critical thinking regarding certain problematized phenomenon, which allows person to speculate about that phenomenon through new reflections and knowledge. It targets core of the specific problematized idea that how, why and when particular idea or opinion became problematized for people and whom was benefited from it. History has been problematized to create new avenues in power politics as it can easily succumb to travesty for being relying on objective interpretations of subjective human beings. To be problematized means to reflect on any phenomenon critically and contextually for gaining insight into the socio-political reasons of making any idea problematized to safeguard the interest of big guns (Bachhi, 2012).

The interpretation of research data was conceptualized as the problematized historical war narratives within framework of Gramsci's 'hegemony', operated in realm of dominant narratives. Hegemony is domination of one group over other through ideological manipulation which serves the interest of ruling class and perpetuates their dominance over the rest of society. Our perception, knowledge, worldview, ideology all are being moulded and controlled by ruling class through using certain intellectuals and institutions that propagate their interest as common sense. For Gramsci, dominant ideologies are internalized in society as they become the "common sense" (Staddort, 2007). Through disseminating certain idea and knowledge in a society, you made people willing to follow those ideas uncritically and

become subject to rulers– expressed through consent rather than force. It is a view of the world that is “uncritically absorbed” (Smith, 2010). In the light of the research data, war narratives and nationalism were problematized and research aim was to understand how, when and why it was being problematized in Pakistan’s history over time and whose interest it served. The role of hegemony in constructing war narratives through medium of Pakistani curricula and textbook authors in a role of *intelligencia* were scrutinized through frame lens of Gramsci’s theory.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Depiction of Military regimes in Punjab textbooks

P114 of class 9 Pakistan studies stated that Ayub Khan strangled democracy by rigging elections. However, without providing accounts of democracy, very few students would have true idea about democracy and Marshal Law. And the fact is that every imposition of Martial Law is strangulation of democracy. Imposing emergency, ousting democratic governments and subverting the constitution is illegal and heinous crime that demands retribution not adulation. But, textbook praises Ayub’s economic reforms in country, shying away from the fact that Ayub Khan development reforms were contingent on foreign aid. He imbibed the logic of functional inequality and adopted measures to promote growth, not redistribution. Regional disparities and economic inequalities in his era increased grievances of East Pakistan (Iqbal, 2008).

The class 10 textbook, P 15 spill beans on Afghan Jihad while heaping praise on Zia policy in words “Zia adopted a firm policy with great confidence and courage”. This is the most brazen lie of history teaching to the students. The textbook says that Pakistan provided only moral support to gallant Afghan *Mujahideen* who continued Jihad against Russia, which ended with Geneva Accord. In reality, there is no end of Afghan Jihad till now and, there was not only a moral support, but militant support has been conferred on Afghanistan, causing political upheavals in whole region, which Afghanistan accused Pakistan to be culpable for. Textbook wrote “The services of Zia are praiseworthy in Afghan Jihad”. It is also written that Pakistan was internationally praised for the successful Afghan policy.

In reality, the amount of sufferings that Afghanistan and Pakistan borne out is result of Zia bunkum and cunning violent policies to address the issues of Afghan and Russia. Pakistan’s “forward policy” for Afghanistan supported violent Islamist factions inside Afghanistan. Afghan Islamists received covert aid from Pakistan, engaged in violent activities and sabotage peace of Afghanistan” (Ross & Vassefi, 2012).

The book acquainted students with Ayub Khan regime by throwing light on his economic policies and land reform programmes, but his policies, which were responsible of increasing economic disparity between East and West Pakistan was blotted out from eyes of students.

The Zia Ul Haq was eulogized and hailed for his gallant policies, but students are never acquainted with the fact that Martial Laws are illegal and is strangulation of democracy. The textbook vehemently hailed Zia Islamization and his commitment with promulgation of Islamic culture in the country. Textbooks wax lyrical about Islamized policies of Zia, for instance, his set up of Shariah courts, implementing Shariat Ordinance, formulation of prayer committees, Ehtram-e-Ramzan Ordinance, setting up of Shariat faculty and funding of madrasa schools. His policy of making Islamiat compulsory to B.A level is hailed for harmonizing the education system with Islamic values.

In reality, Zia ul Haq and his regime was most controversial of all in Pakistani history. Majority of historians and social thinkers lambasted Zia of his invidious policies and exploitation of Islam for his wicked political interests. Hamza Alavi contended that Zia bigoted policies to sought the support of religious clergy in an attempt to retain his illicit reign exploited religious ideology of Pakistan. The credulity of nation was triggered by inciting religious sentiments. His Islamized polices had distorted the image of Islam in international world and jeopardize women and minority rights. He trained militant Jihadis and sent them to Afghanistan to induce terrorist activities (Alavi, 2002). Zia was the most invidious of all leaders Pakistan ever had. His Islamized policies proselytized militant mind set and sow the seeds of terrorism (Jalal, 2014). Zia Ul Haq introduced draconian laws in a society to appeared as a Muslim hero, who reinstated the Islamic laws and protected society from being infidel (Waseem Altaf, 2019).

In an article 2A of Objective Resolution, minorities were allowed to freely avow and practice their religious duties, which then was amended in Zia regime and word “freely” was inked out by him, pretty much explains

why cases against minorities discrimination and their disenfranchisement exacerbated during and after Zia reign (Farid, 2020).

Ojhri Camp disaster

The 10 class textbook narrated that Ojhri camp was accidental disaster that engulfed many lives in it. In reality, it was not an accidental explosion, but our national psyche has been vitiated by conspiracy myths and baseless stories. The explosion was the blunder of Army men who while recklessly exchanging the position of a rocket box dropped it to the ground that resulted in explosions and outburst of fire. It sparked enrage between Junejo and Zia ul Haq as Zia didn't want to identify his men as reprehensible for the incident, whereas Junejo wanted transparent inquiry of the incident that left hundreds of lives killed and wounded, resulted in dismissal of Junejo government. One alternative narrative is of view that to escape from US inquiry of weapons, army deliberately caused this incident to eschew from Pentagon investigation of US-Supplied arms that were reportedly hand over to Afghan Mujahideen by Pakistan military. The Ojhri camp disaster was a cover up story made by Pakistan army to not let anyone have access to Ojhri stock of weapons. Sources; (Wasim, 2008), (Aziz, 2017).

Despite of the fact that what narrative is more close to reality, the point to ponder is that not a single person was held accountable or penalized for the incident, giving an impression that army officials are prerogative of full impunity or Civilians are children of lesser Gods.

There is no realization of this fact in textbook that every war in Pakistan has been fought under the military regimes. The kargul war happened under democratic reign but it was imposed by General Musharaf to intrude into state politics. The K.K Aziz has rightly called it "armed forces textbook bond" which fashioned a normal textbook to "armed textbooks".

Glorification of war

"If a person kills a man, he is a murderer, if he kills thousands, he is a conqueror" Quoted by Jean Rostand perfectly depicted the psychology behind war glorification.

Class 5, P28 panegyricized Pakistan army for gaining triumph over large Indian army.

The class 7 Punjab textbook of history is full of war glorification and war events during 17th and 18th century in sub-continent. Rather apprising students of socio-political events, the whole textbook is devoted to eulogize Mughal Empires and Muslim wars.

To glorify the Indo-Pak war of 1965, it is written in class 9 textbook that India encroached Pakistani territory in an aim to confiscate it and attacked Pakistan on 6th September. Pakistani forces had meagreness of resources, but were filled to the brim with Jihadi spirit that helped them to give ignominy defeat to India. While giving detailed accounts of war, textbook stated that Hindus were never in favour of Pakistan and Pakistan's stability made them concerned about it as they were anticipating for destabilizing of country. Kashmir conflict is also mentioned that Pakistan uphold Kashmir freedom with moral support. This moral support is a big question mark on historical facts as Pakistan not only provided moral support to Kashmir but military support as well by sending Jihadis to Kashmir, which in turn initiated war between Pakistan and India. Pakistan attacked on Kashmir borders and faced retaliation of Indian forces, who did counter strike on Lahore borders to divert attention of Pakistani forces from Kashmir. As the matter of fact, it was Pakistan who triggered war not India. There is no testimony that India was on verge of defeat at 1965 war and pleaded for peace by intervening United Nations in this matter as mentioned by textbook.

The Punjab textbooks draw a veil over actual war events to impart false pride and ultra-nationalist ideology among students.

Under the heading of 'effects of war', war is glorified by accentuating only pros of war for instance, it is written in textbook that Pakistan got international fame by 1965 war, it instilled unity and solidarity among Pakistani people and Pakistan was able to discern between friend and foe. So ultimately, 1965 war was very constructive for Pakistan in the eyes of Punjab textbooks. The war has its roots in destruction, it could never ever be constructive. The rampant glorification of war conveys an impression that only war can unite people and revivify lost glory of Pakistan. How war helped Pakistan getting fame is still questionable. If that so then India must have gotten more fame than Pakistan from 1965 war. Mentioning pros of 1965 war in school textbook is substantiating the psychology of "war for cause". As Mubarak Ali contended that war for cause is core of engaging more and more number of people in it. Religion, nationalism and Jingoism are the causes that can instigate war like situations between state countries. (Ali, 1993). In Punjab textbooks, 1965

war has been glorified for making enemies realized of strength of Pakistan without providing the actual estimates of war casualties.

Constructing controversial war heroes

The heroes are constructed at times of adversity to either follow their ideology or seek refuge in lost glory of nation. The construction of heroes in curriculum is either fully distorted or exaggerated for the sake of nationalistic paradigm. The heroism is of utmost symbolic significance in any society. The Attributes attach with any hero elucidate structural worldview and moral convictions of the society. If the qualities of being assassin and invader is extolled by any nation, it depicts the societal inclination towards war and jingoism. The Pakistani history panegyricized assassins and trespassers who ransacked others' properties and pay homage to those, who are involved in more and more number of battles against infidels. The history always sings paeans to conquerors rather defenders who gallantly confronted their enemies. The conquerors trespassed other's land and property with brutal war tactics while defenders mount guard on their people and land with gallantry. If anyone justifiably can claim heroism in history then it must be a defender who protected his land on his life than a duplicitous conqueror, who at first place was as trespasser.

Class 5, P23 of book has acquainted students with history of Muslim rule in sub-continent by adulating Muhammad Bin Qasim, who defeated Dahir and treated Hindus with veneration, rendering Hindus to converted in Islam. Why is Pakistan movement traced back to Muhammad Bin Qasim? Number of historians with valid evidences augmented that Muhammad Bin Qasim, Mehmud Ghaznavi and Ghori were plunders, invaders and assassins but are celebrated in our history as crusaders, who ransacked blasphemy and Hindu majority. (Ali, 1993). Historiography in Pakistan is akin to hagiography in Pakistani textbooks, which hailed two most renowned heroes of Muslims, Muhammad bin Qasim and Mehmood Ghaznavi.

Textbook of Class 6 goes on how the Arab invasion brought Islam in sub-continent, which textbook writes about as golden era when Muhammad Bin Qasim invaded Sindh and defeated Raja Dahir who fled away from war. Muhammad Bin Qasim freed imprisoned children and women and established the reign of justice, which influenced Hindus and they started converting into Islam. After him, Mehmud Ghaznavi invaded India and conquered Somnath, the Hindu temple. P34 writes that many Hindu Rajas proffered wealth to Ghaznavi for not annihilating idols in Somnath but, Ghaznavi spurned all the offers saying that he is a breaker of Idol, not its' seller. P35 was lyrical of Ghaznavi for his love of literature and how education flourished under his regime. In fact, all he ever done was invading, plundering and tyrannizing others' religion.

The class 6 textbook demonized image of Dahir by saying that he fled away from war field which is a brazen distortion of history. He, in reality, fought to death to protect his land from Arab invasion.

Muhammad Bin Qasim and Mehmud Ghaznavi represented two binary pictures of Islam; Islam through benevolence and Islam through violence. The action of sanctimony in history goes into raptures about Muhammad bin Qasim who bestowed minorities with their full autonomy of religion and defied any forced conversion and imposed jurisprudence upon non infidels. The same history also applauds Mehmud Ghaznavi for demolishing Hindu temples and ransacking Hindu properties. One was hailed to promulgate Islam through acts of magnanimous and latter was eulogized to raise the flag of Islam on remains of Hindu temples. Many notable historians believed that Muhammad Bin Qasim and Ghaznavi were consciously created by Pakistani state to justify the grounds of two nation theory. In fact, both were notorious for plundering and looting.

Fall of Dhaka tragedy

The minority majority conflict has been problematized in interpreting Fall of Dhaka tragedy. For this mourning tragedy, Pakistani textbook of class 9 held only two perpetrators culpable of segregation; India and Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman. While jotting down the reasons of surrendered Pakistan army, geographical distance and non-cooperation of local people were blamed. Page 125 writes "Eventually, India succeed in achieving her objectives"

In the 3rd chapters, causes of separation of East Pakistan are enlisted. Ayub Khan regime was very vaguely implied as blameworthy, none of his policies and actions were discussed that culminated into separation. Even one-unit policy was nowhere discussed in fanning parity between East and West Pakistan.

Lack of national leadership was placed in second number. But the questions remained unanswered that why there was and is a leadership void in Pakistan? Was it Muslim League who endeavoured for establishing prosperous Islamic state but unable to produce single leader for the purpose? Or is it military's

enigmatic interference in politics and frequent Martial Laws that impeded the flourishing of political leadership? Both are valid and sound reasons but never discussed with students in Punjab textbooks.

The third reason in list is poor economic conditions. Surprisingly, again Hindus were held blameworthy for the pauperized economic state of East Pakistan. It is written that before partition, Hindu industrialists and landlords deliberately let this area backward and that was the sole reason of destitute economy of East Pakistan but, what role West Pakistan played for the betterment of impoverished area? There is no voice on it, in fact, it is written that “despite all efforts, it remained backward,” conveying the impression that West Pakistan made all prerequisite attempts to stabilize the economy of East Pakistan but, Hindus done the damage to the extent which could not be undone.

The 4th reason is interesting and wondering at the same time. It is said that due to heavy influence of Hindu teachers in Bengali schools, Pakistani nationalism was not inbred by students and their minds were ‘tarnished’ by Bengali nationalism. They rebel against ideology of Pakistan. So every person who doesn’t espouse two nation theory is a rebel of state?

Issue of Bengali language was declared as a reason of perpetuation of Bengali nationalism but why Urdu was imposed on them and why this issue was not sorted out by East Pakistan remained undiscussed. The irony is that the same language which is hailed for bridging gaps between Pakistani people and imparting solidarity among them is mentioned as a reason of separation of East Pakistan. The rigidity of Pakistan in imposing Urdu on East Pakistan proved to be a short sighted decision of him but questioning the decisions of leaders is not the approach of Punjab textbooks.

The sixth cause of separation held politicians blameworthy for confronting each other and not settling down the issues. The textbook failed to make students realize that during initial 24 years of independence till 1971, 13 years were ruled by military and only 11 by civil governments. In sharing of blame, military must receive bigger chunk of it.

The seventh cause is politics of local leaders like Fazl-ul-Haq who ally with Hindu member of assembly in game of power and Hindus cunning tactics lead separation of East Pakistan.

The eighth cause is very uncanny as Israel, America, Russia and India is considered for secretly conspiring against Pakistan to destabilize it and it is written that “separation of East Pakistan was the secret agreement of big powers” but, what exactly was the agreement? The rampant conspiracies theories in Pakistan emanated from this particular mind-set, which is imparted through our textbooks.

The 9th listed reason is six points formula of Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman. It is written that this formula was fatal for demanding provinces as separate states but isn’t the same Pakistan demanded before partition? It is stated that “Mujeeb ur Rehman succeeded in his self-made drama of independence”. To tarnish his image, he is censured for asking independence for East Pakistan. This situation was very much akin to Muslims in sub-continent asking for separation to escape from Hindu dominance and flourishing socially and economically.

The last three reasons are pertinent to military interference. It is written that on call of revolt by Mujeeb ur Rehman, people of west Pakistan were massacred and Pakistani army had to intervene to control the situation. There is no record of what Pakistan army massacre did in East Pakistan. India frequent interference in the matter to attack on the integrity of Pakistan and its hijacking drama is deemed as blameworthy for the separation.

Private schools’ textbooks

Invasion versus Invention

In class 6 textbook of Peter Moss, the difference in narration of story about arrival of Muhammad bin Qasim in Arab can also be observed between Oxford and Punjab textbooks. The oxford textbook writes that Dahir was killed in a great battle, unlike the distorted fact of Punjab textbook that he fled away from war field in order to demonize Dahir. Muhammad bin Qasim behaviour or actions are not discussed anywhere rather it is written that local Muslims behaviour with Hindus inspired Hindus to be converted into Islam. P86 also writes a logical reason of conversion that Hindus wanted to avail chance of becoming an official or a trader and the generous behaviour of Muslims was not the sole reason of Hindus conversion. In the end of para, book familiarize students with death of Muhammad bin Qasim that he was tortured to death by his foe Sulaiman. Unlike Punjab textbooks, his regime of justice and generosity towards Hindus is not part of a book as a historical fact.

Mehmud Ghaznavi and his proclaimed achievement of Somnath is nowhere mentioned in textbook. Even from grade 5 to O level, Mehmud Ghaznavi is not discussed a single time in history textbooks of Private schools. P86 contains information on mathematical numbers in Roman, Chinese, Arabic and Modern language, making students learn diverse knowledge and polishing their scientific wisdom. Rather focusing on invasions and kings' regimes, the invention of Chess game and discovery of writing of numbers during Arab era is a part of Arab chapter in Oxford textbook. The preference given to any knowledge indicates the direction of every nation. Here we are building two different nations, one who hailed Qasim and Ghaznavi for doing war, plundering, assassinating and, other who knows about earliest humans, archaeological facts, cultural significance, inventions and scientific discoveries. The former will be enthusiastic of invasion and later with invention. The student imbibing content of war will be enamoured of invasions and student learning about discoveries will opt for inventions. This is a dichotomy of invasion versus invention that has polarized our education system. The one system is producing invaders and the other is manufacturing scientists.

While sketching the Muslim World for students, the chapter 12 of 7th grade Peter Moss textbook cited the accomplishments of Muslims in realm of science and philosophy. The accounts of Ibn Batuta, Al Beruni, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sina, Ibn Khaldun, Al Khwarzimi and Omar al-Khayyam are gen up on for students. No such accounts are given in Punjab textbook boards. Only warriors are eulogized in books and hailed as hero for inciting Jihad against infidels.

Military regimes in Oxford History textbook

To acquaint students with Bhutto and Zia regime, the book elucidated that land reform programs of Bhutto agitated rich and socialism infuriated Islamic clergy, culminated into ousting Bhutto government by military and facing 'political murder'. The Bhutto execution was a 'political murder' is the most significant information provided to students to enrich their political database. The p95 gen up on students about Zia regime and stated that Zia policies were unpopular and received backlash from International leaders, prompting people to protest against regressive policies of Zia. Zia referendum was a political tactic to seek approval of his Islamized policies. Zia demise in 'suspicious aero plane crash' was also part of textbook content.

In the O level book of Nigel Kelly, The chapter 3 of book briefed students about 1857 war. Students are accustomed to reality that British historians labelled it as "Indian mutiny" and for Indian historians it was "war of independence", p27 of book then writes "that's how history can be a matter of interpretation". And that's how you make students learn about history. The design content for Government school students will not let them have the idea that same events can have different interpretations and one need to see both sides of coin before establishing reality of her/his own. P129 shed light on first dictator regime of Pakistan. On very start, Fatima Jinnah favourable reply on Ayub dictator regime is mentioned in book. The students are then asked that why they think Fatima Jinnah endorsed the military regime in spite of the fact that Quaid rebuked of army government. The book didn't reproach army government, but at least recognized students with this fact that Jinnah was unapproved of military governments. In enlisting reforms of Ayub governments, p131 realizes students that efficiency in agricultural productivity in his era owed to mechanization, which only landowners could afford. In Industrial reforms of Ayub, book writes that it mostly benefited richer of society and in 1968, 22 families hold 66% wealth of Pakistan. The East Pakistan rightfully resented because all these families were from West Pakistan. The other drawback of this development was that Pakistan became dependent on foreign aid. However, book listed many effective socio-economic programs of Ayub government as well.

Zia Islamization

The Zia-ul-Haq was not severely censured by book but neutral tone was maintained. His policies were gen up on in detail without any praising or censuring. Howbeit, the book did mention that his Islamized policies overshadowed Women and minority rights. His Islamic reforms agitated women and minorities for blemishing their individual rights in country. The reference book of Nigel smith also acquainted students with Zia invidious and opportunist policies of Islamization. In p167 it is written, "These policies damaged the international standing of Pakistan". Zia-ul-Haq so called referendum was exposed in p169, "the way the referendum paper was worded made it difficult for voters to vote against Zia without seeming to vote against Islam" "It was reported that 62 per cent of the people has voted with 97 per cent voting. In fact, probably only about 10 percent voted". These lines depicted the actual version of Zia reign and his illicit fraudulent regime.

War events of 1965

The researcher was flabbergasted while comparing the narration of war events in Punjab textbooks and the Nigel Kelly's O level textbook. In writing of 1965 war, the book only summarized war in 4 lines in which Pakistan was held responsible for waging this war. P132 writes that Ayub Khan provoked India into war over Kashmir issue and claimed victory but, the peace treaty at Tashkent hold no evidence of it. Pakistan instigated war to recoup Kashmir territory. This is actual reality of 1965 war which remain obscure from majority of our Pakistani nation owing to the fact that their worldview is constructed by Punjab textbooks, who in spirit of inculcating ultra-nationalism among students glorify distorted war events in books. In the reference book of Nigel Smith which is also part of O levels syllabus, the 1965 war is described in these words "on 1 September, Pakistan forces launched operation Grand slam against Indian forces in Kashmir. On 6 September, the Indians retaliated by crossing the official border of Pakistan and moving towards Lahore. This war had been a waste. Indian control over a large part of Kashmir continued. Even so Pakistan made no apology for its role". The unprejudiced and factual accounts of 1965 war is completely buried from the eyes of government schools' students, who were taught the glorification of 1965 war and martyrdom to revivify nation's self-esteem.

Fall of Dhaka

While discussing 1970 events, p93 of 8th grade textbook of Peter Moss writes that it was legal right of Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman to claim the seat of president or Prime Minister. No derogatory remarks have been attach to Sheikh Mujeeb as it was done in Punjab textbooks. The page also acknowledged the fact that India defeated Pakistan army due to sharing closer border with Bangladesh.

The chapter 13 of book hold accounts of tragedy of Fall of Dhaka. The Book very rationally started from the Lahore resolution which demanded 'independent Muslim states, where constituent units would be autonomous', rendering Bengalis to believe that Bengal would be autonomous state in Pakistan but, in 1946 the word 'states' became 'state' and East Pakistan got appalled on being governed by Karachi. Then book enlisted numbers of reasons of separation including language issues on top. P135 writes that Bengalis resented on making Urdu spoken by only 6% of Pakistan as national language, but not Bengali, which is the language of 56% nation. The Quaid refused requests of Bengalis and made Urdu as only national language.

The second enlisted reason by book was of economic disparity. In an attempt to clarify things in a sound way, book presented figures of income per capita during 1949 to 1960, which illustrated that per capita income increased in West Pakistan from 330 to 373 rupees and slumped in East Pakistan from 305 to 288 rupees. By 1970, the gap had grown to 40%. The numbers of primary schools in west had grown by 167% but, in West it was just 38%. After analysing the figures, it would be of no more surprise to students that why East Pakistan preferred to be separated from West. The book mentioned East Pakistan grievances about earning money from trading Jute of East Pakistan but using it in West, spending big chunk on defending borders while there was no border dispute of East Pakistan with India and employing all resources in West Pakistan is mentioned by book. The figures contain no bias and are completely authentic, involving students to look for ground realities of any historical events with concomitant facts and figures.

The political disparity between East and West Pakistan is an established reality, book mentioned that less than 20% army officers belonged to East Pakistan and all potent positions in civil services, governments and even high ranked posts of Dhaka were occupied by West Pakistan. The book also reported of 1970 cyclone in East Pakistan that how West Pakistan was indifferent of it and even blocked Indian air services to fly in aid, which was the first country to offered help.

The book then opened up the darkest chapter of Pakistan to students; Operation searchlight. The impartial details of Operation searchlight have given by Kelly book. The Book writes that Yahya launched operation to quash Bengali nationalism and the latent agenda of operation was to stamp out all opposition. The Bengali nationalists and Hindus were besieged and assassinated by Pakistan forces. The Bhutto claimed that intervention of Army saved Pakistan but the ground realities reprimanded his claim. Thousands of Bengali refugees fled to India and in response, India declared its' support for Bengali nationalists and intervened with its' army. The political scenario was not favourable for Pakistan as Russia allied with India and Pakistan's own allies, China and USA were not favourably disposed to Pakistan in this situation still, Yahya was determined to do war with India as he reckoned that he could win it. In 3 December, Pakistan did air strike on Northern-India and in retaliation, Indian army attacked East Pakistan. In Dhaka, Mukti Bahini carried out massacres. However, Pakistan army is also alleged of assassinating large number of

professional Bengalis to deteriorate new state. In the end, Yahya surrendered and the defeat brought disgrace for the army and Yahya.

The last page of textbook illustrated a picture of two children, wearing insufficient clothes and standing in the middle of the devastated ground by artillery shells. The caption of the picture reveal that Children were of East Pakistan surrounded by spent artillery shells. The picture and the caption disclosed the reality of chaotic war situation in East Pakistan after the military operation of West Pakistan.

Comparing worldview of students

Political consciousness is the level of awareness any individual `has pertinent to political tenets and contemporary politics. In an order to gauge the political awareness of students, keeping in view of elementary mental capacity of students, basal and rudimental questions of politics were formulated to ascertain the political consciousness of students.

Is democracy best system of government or dictator regime?

| | Democracy | Dictatorship | Don't know |
|-------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| Government school | 70% | 30% | 0% |
| Private school | 84% | 16% | 0% |

Is Marshal Law legal or illegal?

| | Legal | Illegal | Don't Know |
|-------------------|-------|---------|------------|
| Government school | 34% | 37% | 29% |
| Private school | 34% | 66% | 0% |

Are political leaders doing more corruption under label of democracy than military dictators?

| | Yes | No | Don't Know |
|-------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 61% | 15% | 24% |
| Private school | 77% | 23% | 0% |

Is India Worst enemy of Pakistan?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|-------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 76% | 17% | 7% |
| Private school | 71% | 29% | 0.0% |

Is India responsible for terrorist activities in Pakistan?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|-------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 82% | 11% | 7% |
| Private school | 71% | 17% | 12% |

Is Pakistan also engaged in destructive activities in India?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|-------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 19% | 47% | 34% |
| Private school | 57% | 43% | 0.0% |

Is Jihad only solution to settle Kashmir dispute with India?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 59% | 32% | 9% |
| Private school | 11% | 80% | 9% |

Should Pakistan negotiate to settle problems?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 71% | 10% | 19% |
| Private school | 94% | 6% | 0.0% |

Should Pakistan reinstate diplomatic relations with India?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 64% | 19% | 17% |
| Private school | 86% | 13% | 1% |

Should Pakistan deploy its nuclear weapons if India and its ally tries to suppress Pakistan?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 49% | 34% | 17% |
| Private school | 21% | 79% | 0.0% |

Should Pakistan and India have friendly relations?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 74% | 24% | 2% |
| Private school | 94% | 6% | 0.0% |

Should Pakistan go for war with India to counter Indian conspiracies?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 43% | 50% | 7% |
| Private school | 19% | 79% | 2% |

Should Pakistan sign treaty of peace with India?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 46% | 33% | 21% |
| Private school | 89% | 11% | % |

Should Pakistan attack Israel to free Palestine?

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Government school | 69% | 19% | 12% |
| Private school | 34% | 66% | 0.0% |

What should Pakistan do for Muslim countries like Palestine, Kashmir and Myanmar?

| | War | Effective policies | Foreign | Economic Stability to help them |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| Government school | 39% | 54% | | 7% |
| Private school | 11% | 13% | | 76% |

War tendency

The responses of students were indicative of the type of content they have been exposed to. The government school students had favoured the idea of deploying nuclear weapons to India. Majority bawl out of any kind of socio-political ties with India. The Jihadi ideology seem to overwhelmed students as majority of them approved of Jihad with India and wanted Pakistan to deploy its nuclear weapon to settle Kashmir issue. Majority of them see war as only possible solution to wipe out all problems. The 'peace in the war' is idea followed by majority of Public school students. In question of peace building with India, majority responses were constitutive of "no", there should be no negotiation, no political diplomacy, no socio-economic ties and no peace contracts between Pakistan and India. The only thing which would deter Indian atrocities is an attack by Pakistani army. India "the worst nation on planet" is a dominant narrative among all public school students.

It come as no surprise when students declared India as their worst enemy, been engaged in carrying out subversive activities in Pakistan. Upon the question of role of Pakistan, it is stated by all of respondents that Pakistan has never been engaged in any conspiracy against India. The war attitude is not confine to India but every conflicting situation is wanted to be handle with violence and force. Upon question of Palestine and Myanmar issues with 24 sample of students, majority of public school students' respondent that Pakistan must be in war with Israel and Myanmar to disentrall Muslims fellows from tyranny of infidels. Is Pakistan socio-economic situation prepared to tackle the aftermath of wars? There is no thought on it from students. On contrary, the responses of O level students bespoke their critical assessments of peace and conflict which is illustrated above through tables. Although, on some issues like considering India as worst enemy and responsible for conspiracy activities in Pakistan, both government and private school students were on same grounds with slight difference of ratio. However, O level students were more inclined to solve problems through negotiation and disapproved of any war and Jihad.

The results depict the jingoistic mind set of very young age students who considered war as an only viable solution for solving most of internal and external affairs of country. On some issues, both private and government school students seems to hold common grounds but, some issues were addressed more

neutrally and peacefully by private school students in a relatively better ratio than government school students.

V. CONCLUSION

The history textbooks are of centre of attention for not only students and teachers, but for historians and researchers as well owing to the fact that these textbooks captures state narrative. Pakistani history textbooks are altogether twisted by state to serve their interests, but war events were more emphasised to be in compliance with state agenda to intensify nationhood. The systematic incorporation of war narratives is incorporated in our government sponsored textbooks in a such twisted manner, which is impregnating mind of students with Jihadi ideology and warlike attitudes. State sponsored history is history of wars where triumph left readers with pride while defeat is disdained with great loathe by urging sentiments of vengeance among students.

The history in government textbooks encapsulate a state version of history and disseminating the state narrative pertinent to war events of 1965 and 1971. The popular narrative of glorious and victorious wars of 1965 and 1971 was strengthened through nationalistic depiction of these war events in Punjab history textbooks. The Punjab history textbooks describe war events as a Holy experience of country, which reassured the national integrity, unity and patriotism. The factual distortions were blatantly incorporated in textbooks while describing war events to students. Aggrandizing the images of war heroes and associating erroneous facts with them is inculcated in Punjab history textbooks. On the other hand, Oxford history textbooks presented more factual based description of 1965 and 1971 war events and war heroes of Pakistani history. The most prominent contrasting fact in both textbooks is that former declare both wars as victorious one, whereas later enlightened students that Pakistan were defeated in both wars and it cost great political and economic loss to Pakistan. Punjab textbooks presented one sided version of history, while Oxford history textbooks attempted to present a balanced and pluralistic picture of history.

The study proved that manipulation of content can have adverse effects on worldview of students. The nationalistic war history of textbooks render students believe on annihilation rather negotiation as shown in recorded responses from students upon questioning conflicting national affairs. The comparative analysis between government school students and private school students unmasked the warmongering opinion of the students regarding grave International issues. However, private school students were comparatively more unprejudiced and less fanatic as compared to the government school students. The war tendency and jingoistic attitudes were profusely found in government school students in comparison to the slightly tolerant and unwarlike opinions of the private school students in some issues. Along with other variables and influences of the society, one of the potent variable of such contrasting worldviews among students is curriculum. The result of warmongering discourse in state sponsored Punjab textbooks is evident in the belligerent and warlike opinions of students, who were taught these books.

To write the history of conquerors and warriors rather painting the images of scientists and scholars depicts nation walking on the path of violence and war rather pursuing discoveries and inventions, which results in scientific adroitness. The sentiments of nationalism incited out of war is evanescent, so instead of achieving nationhood through short cuts like war, the need of time is to let students' prerogative of socio-economic amenities to build strong and long lasting nationhood. Pakistan is in grave need of studying history not to be awed by historical glories but to figure out the root causes of our present decline.

REFERENCES

1. Afzal, M. (2016, February 3rd). Making 'O' levels Pakistan Studies textbooks available to all. *The Express Tribune*.
2. Alavi, H. (2002). Social forces and Ideology in the making of Pakistan. *Economic and Political weekly*. 5119-5124
3. Alavi, H. (1971). Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan. *The socialist register*. 8. 289-317
4. Ali, M. (2011). *Pakistan in search of identity*. Aakar Books. New Delhi.
5. Ali, M. (1993). *In the shadow of history*. Lahore. Fiction House.
6. Ali, M. (1993). *War without heroes*. In (Ed) Ali, M. (1993). *In the shadow of history*. Lahore. Fiction House
7. Ali, M. (1993). *History and War*. In (Ed) Ali, M. (1993). *In the shadow of history*. Lahore. Fiction House

8. Aziz, K. K. (1993). *The Murder of History: A critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan*. Lahore. Vanguard.
9. Aziz, S. (2017, February 07). The Ojhri camp disaster- who's to blame? Dawn.
10. Bingham, J. (2012). How significant is nationalism as a cause of war? E-International relations. Retrieved from <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/06/19/how-significant-is-nationalism-as-a-cause-of-war/>
11. Farid, F. (2020, January 26). Why the Struggle for secular Pakistan was doomed from very beginning. Express Tribune.
12. Global Educational Monitoring Report 2017-2018. (2018). Retrieved from https://www.campaignforeducation.org/docs/reports/AnnualReports/Global_Campaign_for_Education_Global_Report_2018.pdf.
13. Iqbal, J. (2008). The Separation of East-Pakistan: Analyzing the Causes and Fixing the Responsibility. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*. XXIX (2). 53-74
14. Jalal, A. (1995). Conjuring Pakistan: History as Official Imagining. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 27(1). 73-89
15. Hendry, P., & Winfield, A. G. (2013). Curriculum history as memory. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*. 29(1), 1-24.
16. Hogan, L. (2016). The Myth of "Irish Slaves" in the Colonies. Retrieved from https://figshare.com/articles/The_Myth_of_Irish_Slaves_in_the_Colonies/1250146
17. Khan, F. E. (2018). Historical Revisionism in Pakistani Textbooks: A Case Study of Public School Curriculum.
18. Liao, T. M (2018). Distorted Facts in History Textbooks. Sampsonia way. Retrieved from <https://www.sampsoniaway.org/blog/2018/01/29/distorted-facts-in-history-textbooks/>.
19. Butt, A. (2016). (Rep.). US Institute of Peace. Retrieved May 10, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep20173>.
20. Naseem, M. A. (2009). Construction of Militaristic identities in Pakistani textbooks. In Stephen M. Lyon, and Iain R. Edgar, (Eds.). *Shaping a nation: An examination of Education in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
21. Nayyar, A. H., Salim, A. (2005). The subtle subversion: The state of curricula and textbooks in Pakistan Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics. SDPI.
22. Panikkar, K.N. (2004). History textbooks in India: Narratives of religious nationalism. Retrieved from [www.sacw.net > India_History > HistoryTextbooksinIndia](http://www.sacw.net/India_History/HistoryTextbooksinIndia)
23. Ross, D. G., Vaseefi, T. (2012). The Forgotten History of Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations. *Yale Journal of International Affairs*. 7(1). 38-45.
24. Saigol, R. (2003). *Becoming a Modern Nation: Educational Discourse in the Early Years of Ayub Khan (1958-64)*. Council of Social sciences. Islamabad.
25. Stoddart, M. C. J. (2007) Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: A critical review of theories of knowledge and power. *Social Thought and Research*. 28. 191-225.
26. Skoric, M & Beslin, M. (2017). Politics of memory, historical revisionism, and negationism in postsocialist Serbia. *Filozofija i društvo*. 28(3). 631-649.
27. Smith, K. (2010). Gramsci at the margins: Subjectivity and Subalternity in a theory of Hegemony. *International Gramsci Journal*. 1(2). 39-50
28. Waseem Altaf. (2019). Seeds of a Bitter Harvest. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/iconoclast999>.
29. Wasim, A. (2008, April 11) 20 years on, Ojhri camp truth remains locked up. Dawn.