
BOOK REVIEW

A HANDBOOK OF ARCHIVES AND MATERIAL ON PAKISTAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE. Compiled by M. H. Siddiqi, Karachi: University of Karachi, 1988, xxxii+417 pp., Pak. Rs. 300.00. \$30.00. HB.

HISTORY of the freedom struggle for Pakistan is a source of abiding inspiration and enduring interest. Our vision of the past opens the vistas of the future. So far there has been such a great emphasis on the motivational aspect of the freedom struggle that it has become cliché-ridden. Repetition of the factors leading to Pakistan has given rise to a petrified historical thought and stereotypic view of national history. This state of affairs has been made possible firstly by the paucity of trained historians in this field, and secondly due to the non-availability of national records. It is not feasible for everyone to consult the archival material in India Office Library and Records and other reference libraries in England. Even if it was not so difficult or so expensive, there lurks the danger that exclusive reliance on source material from English sources would tend to exert an imperceptible influence on the thinking of the researcher. Since the researcher draws his conclusions from given facts it is not possible for him to take a line not warranted by archival material before him.

As for our national archives, they have been in a state of culpable neglect for almost three decades. After the imposition of Material Law in 1958, the records of All-India Muslim League were seized and dumped away into cellars and it was not till 1966 that these records were restored to Karachi University thanks to the untiring efforts of Dr. S. Z. H. Zaidi and influence of Dr. I. H. Qureshi. It took some time before the records were properly housed in that University and Professor M. H. Siddiqi was appointed the Director of the Archives of Freedom Movement. Professor Siddiqi, assisted by Mr. Aqeeluzzafar Khan, has worked for years to sort out and catalogue this

immense collection of records of the All-India Muslim League and after a long and patient research has produced this valuable volume which would be an indispensable guide for all those who are engaged in research on Muslim League and the Muslim Freedom Movement in the Subcontinent.

The book is not just a list of documents; it is a well-planned and scientifically organized work covering about 50,000 documents and printed material under thirty subject heads/series. The Private Collections mentioned in the book are not large for the simple reason that very few Muslim leaders were given to writing their diaries or preserving their correspondence – a handicap beyond the scope of the Archives of Freedom Movement. There is, however, no doubt that commendable work has been done in preserving not only the Muslim League records but also the Private Collections, some of which, including the Collections of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, Haji Abdullah Haroon and Manzar-i-Alam, have already been made available to researchers.

The volume under review is a treasure-house of information for reconstructing history of the All-India Muslim League. The early history of Muslim League, formation of its rules and regulations, organization of provincial branches, intra-League co-operation and problems, correspondence with the Government and the Indian National Congress and other political and religious organizations, in nutshell, are the major subjects included in the book. The bulk of these themes have been covered in separate sections.

The Urdu section though smaller, is very important and contains material of great value.

The *Handbook* is neatly arranged and finely produced and it is confidently expected that it would go a long way in promoting historical research in the country. It would, however, be facile to assume that the material presented here would obviate the need of consulting the archives in the

India Officer Library and Records which would continue to be of crucial importance to researchers on history of Muslim nationalism. The publication of this *Handbook* is, however, a commendable effort and poses a challenge to researchers to come forward to make full use of the materials so meticulously organized by the Archives of Freedom Movement of Karachi University.

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It seems pertinent to mention here that the work on the restoration and listing of documents held in the Archives of Freedom Movement is continuing with unabated zeal even after the publication of the Handbook. The archival material which, for one reason or another, could not be noticed in it, the Archives of Freedom Movement plans to publish its lists in the shape of supplements. The first supplements of this series, spread over 4 pages, and dealing with 27 volumes altogether, mainly dealing with the All-India Muslim League (1906-47), classified series, has already been published and can be obtained from the Archives of Freedom Movement, University of Karachi, Karachi.

Editor

Articles Concluded

CLASS STRUCTURE OF RURAL/ URBAN ELITE

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1. *Subcontinent*, Middlesex, 1975, p. 253.
2. Shahid Javed Burki, "The Development of Pakistan's Agriculture" in Hamza Alavi, Robert D. Stevens and Peter J. Bertocci, eds., *Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan*, Hawai, 1976.
3. Hamza Alavi, "The Rural Elite and Agriculture Development" in Alavi, Stevens and Bertocci, eds., *Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan*, p. 338.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

6. *Ibid.*
7. Nimal Sanderante, "Landowners and Land Reform in Pakistan" in *South Asian Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Jan. 1974, p. 126.
8. William Baredo, "Land Reform and Development in Pakistan" in Walter Froelich, ed., *Land Tenure, Industrialization, and Social Stability*, Cambridge, Mass., 1971, pp. 264-65.
9. Nimal Sanderante, p. 126.
10. Mushtaq Ahmed, "Land Reforms in Pakistan" in *Pakistan Horizon*, March 1959, p. 32.
11. *Report on Land Reforms Commission*, Pakistan. 1959 quoted by Nimal Sanderante, p. 127.
12. FAO, UN, "Agrarian Reform in Asia and the Far East," Bangkok, 1970 (mimeograph), p. 16.
13. William Baredo, p. 271.
14. Gunar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, New York, 1968, Vol. 1, p. 329.
15. *Dawn Supplement*, Karachi, 29 Nov., 1970, p. IV.
16. *Land Reform Regulation*, 1972, Paragraph 8 (i).
17. Ishaque Mohammad, "A Preliminary Analysis of Land Reform," in *Pakistan Forum*, Dec. 1972.
18. *Dawn Supplement*, op. cit.
19. Ishaque Mohammad, p. 8.
20. Angus Maddison, *Class Structure and Economic Growth*, New York, 1971, p. 137.
21. Tariq Ali, *Pakistan: Military Rule of People's Power*, New York, 1970, p. 118.
22. Hamza Alavi, "Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan" in *Socialist Register*, 1971.
23. Hamza Alavi, "The State of Post Colonial Societies" in K. Gough and H.P. Sharma, eds., *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, New York, 1973, p. 155.
24. Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber, An Intellectual Portrait*, University of California Press, 1978, p. 430.
25. Hamza Alavi, "The Army and Bureaucracy in Pakistan" in *International Socialist Journal*, Year 3, No. 14, (March-April 1966), p. 169.

EVOLUTION OF THE STATE AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

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nature of disappointment with the existing situation and the forms of its demonstration. In the colonial period the dominant ideas were those of national liberation and the entire political and public activities in these countries were focussed on achieving these aims. After winning the independence the national feelings of the victorious peoples motivated the ideas of "state" or "new" nationalism which were used by the ruling circles for pursuing their own state policies. Decades of "own" state caused disappointment among the masses which hoped for a better life after the termination of foreign rule. So, hopes were increas-