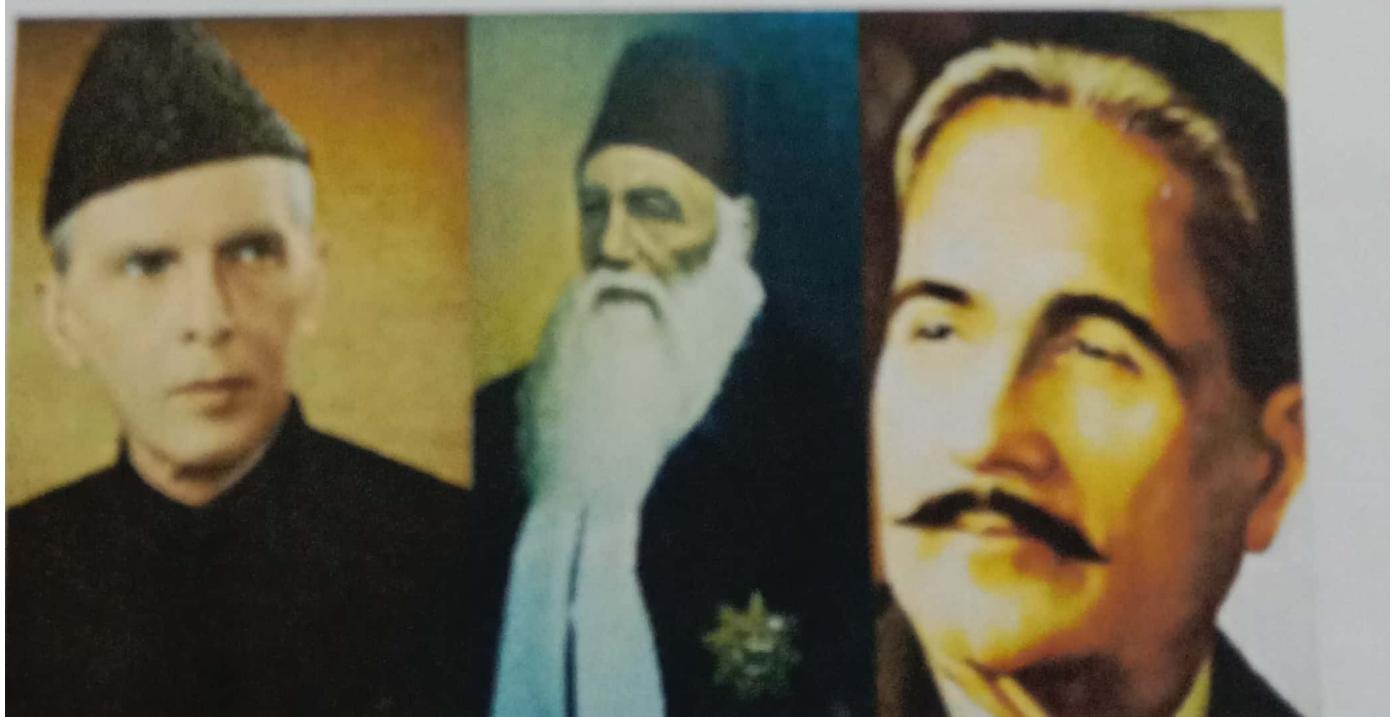




COURSE PACK

PAKISTAN STUDIES



10 Learning Outcomes

After studying this course the students should be able to:

1. know about their homeland
2. Transform themselves into more useful Pakistanis
3. Have complete faith in Pakistan and a better understanding of its ideology, the Two-Nation Theory.
4. Have great regard for the Pakistan Movement and to study the role of dynamic personalities who participated in it.
5. Better understanding the root cause problems of Pakistan and their effects, and try to suggest their remedies in the light of the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
6. Work for the solidarity of Pakistan, to build a real welfare Islamic State.

11 Lecture

<u>Weeks</u>	<u>Topic of Lecture</u>	<u>Web resources</u>
Week-1	Creation of Pakistan (Historical Perspective) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War of Independence and the subsequent role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan 	https://www.bibliome.d.org/mnfulltext/218/218-1620043716.pdf?1664807131
Week-2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideology of Pakistan • Growth of Separatism among Indian Muslims and Two Nation Theory 	https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article_file/1033923#:~:text=The%20two%20national%20theory%20is.ca%20live%20freely%20their%20identities.
Week-3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allama Muhammad Iqbal – Idea of Pakistan 	https://storyofpakistan.com/iqbaland-pakistan-movement/
Week-4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The demand of Pakistan and its fulfillment under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah 	https://www.pakembassytokyo.com/content/quaid-e-azam-muhammad-alii-jinnah
Week-5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Birth of Pakistan, Location and Geography 	http://www.pakinformation.com/
Week-6	Society and Culture of Pakistan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material and Non-Material Cultures • Role of religion in society • Ethnic diversity and Social Structure 	http://www.heritage.gov.pk/ http://www.pakinformation.com/ https://storyofpakistan.com/

Week-7	Government and Politics in Pakistan (Constitutional Development in Pakistan) • Objective Resolution • 1950 , 1962, 1973 1952	https://www.academia.edu/38566122/THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAKISTAN
Week-8	(Political Development in Pakistan) • 1947 – 1977	https://storyofpakistan.com/ https://historypak.com/
Week-9	MID TERM EXAMS	
Week-10	(Political Development in Pakistan) • 1977 - 2008	https://storyofpakistan.com/ https://historypak.com/
Week-11	(Political Development in Pakistan) • 2008- to-date	https://storyofpakistan.com/ https://historypak.com/
Week-12	Contemporary Issues in Pakistan • Terrorism, Unemployment and Education	https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter22/PES12-POPULATION.pdf
Week-13	Contemporary Issues in Pakistan • Governance, Population Crisis, Corruption	https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter22/PES12-POPULATION.pdf
Week-14	Foreign Policy of Pakistan • An overview of Pakistan's foreign policy • Geo-strategic importance of Pakistan • Determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy	https://historypak.com/foreign-policy/ https://storyofpakistan.com/security-a-factor-in-pakistan-foreign-policy-1947-1997/
Week-15	Foreign Policy of Pakistan • Indo-Pak relations (Kashmir Issue) • Relations with Great Powers (US, China, Russia) • Pakistan and the Islamic World (Iran, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia)	https://historypak.com/foreign-policy/ https://storyofpakistan.com/security-a-factor-in-pakistan-foreign-policy-1947-1997/
Week -16	Economic Conditions and Issues • General overview and Major Sectors Issues: • Health Issues • Agriculture & Food Security • Water Issues Conclusion and Review	https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters21/Overview.pdf

Week # 1

Muslim Predicament and Syed Ahmed Khan

The Scenario:

1. At the time of Syed Ahmed Khan's appearance on the scene, the unfortunate position (predicament) of Muslims was at its peak. The failure of uprising in 1857 and final takeover of India by the British Crown under the Parliamentary Act of 1858 had left the Muslims of the subcontinent into gloom and despair. As descendent community of the past rulers, it was difficult for them to reconcile to the new political order. Unlike Hindus, Muslims were reluctant to readjust and reconcile to the new ground realities.
2. Hindus ceased the moment and took the prospering path. For them, it was a switch over from one to another ruler. Besides, Hindus were in advantageous position as they already had exposure to British education, culture, liberal ideas and above all the English language. The colonialism had entered into India from the predominantly Hindu-populated cities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. The first educational institutions based on British pattern were opened there. "No wonder, even the first three universities were established by the British India government in the same cities in 1858
3. Hindus found it easier to switch over from Persian, the official language of Mughal courts, to English, the new official language. With the disappearance of Muslim rulers, the system of education with Persian as the medium of instruction was unhelpful to them for obtaining administrative or clerical jobs.

Muslims could not perceive the need for a paradigm change. This educational and intellectual imbalance was largely responsible for conflict and tensions that took place between the two communities.

4. Past is only one step behind the present and it goes along with the future. Muslim-Hindu tensions existed in the past only sparsely surfacing because of Muslim rule. The orthodox Hindus did not reconcile to conversion of Hindus to Muslims/The hidden hate and agony of Hindus against Muslims surfaced in the aftermath of events of 1857 would occasionally surface.

The fact that Akbar, the Mughal king proclaimed a new religion called Deen-e- Elahi was intended to reconcile the underlying Hindu-Muslim tensions. But Aurangzeb's attempt to Islamize the Marhattas and the Sikhs actually alienated them towards the end of his rule. During the rule of later Mughals who were weaker, hate and reaction against Muslims emerged more vigorously.

Once a final stamp was fixed, by the British Parliament Act of 1857, to end the remains of Mughal Empire. Hindu fanaticism emerged with greater fervor. The Arya Samaj, a Hindu movement, was established in 1877 to reconvert the Hindus who had been converted to Islam and Christianity.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak an extremist Hindu nationalist made the Hindu revivalism to bear upon politics. He spoke of purging the sacred soil of India of the foreigners, Muslims and Englishmen. The heritage of Tilak polarized the Indian National Congress into pro-Hindu and secular factions.

The partition of Bengal (1905) was annulled in 1911 due to the efforts of anti-partition and pro-bodies of converts called a nation."

5. As a payback for Muslims participation in the 1857 uprising (labeled as mutiny), the British India Government deprived the Muslims as a community from economic means. Feudal structure of Muslim society and Muslim aristocracy was made to disintegrate. Their lands were confiscated particularly in Delhi and surrounding areas. The replacement of Persian by English (1835) as a

language of education and administration has drastically crippled the economic survival of the downtrodden Muslims.

6. The well-known Hindi-Urdu controversy of 1867 served as another prompting factor for Muslims to realize the reluctance of Hindus to accept Muslims legitimacy. In Benaras, Urdu with Persian script as a court language was substituted by Sanskrit (pure Hindi) With Devanagri script. This particular event opened the eyes of supporters of Hindu-Muslim unity and rapprochement.

Constitutional Developments:

The constitutional developments from 1858 to 1892 have had their own impact on the politics of inter-communal relationship. In particular, the 1892 Act had implications for Muslims as a community.

The 1857 Act of the British Parliament provided for direct rule by the British Crown replacing the East India Company for all practical purposes. India was now to be ruled by a Secretary of state for India along with a Council consisting of 16 members. This opened the way for the gradual introduction of the British democratic institutions in India.

The 1861 Act provided for a legislative council wherein 6 to 12 members were to be nominated by the Governor General of India from within India. There was a chance of nomination of one or two members from Muslim community as well. In fact Syed Ahmed Khan was nominated*. The function of the legislative council was to make law and regulations. Similar setup was provided for presidencies (big provinces) and provinces

The 1892 Act, though amended the 1861 Act, was of much significance for it provided a turning point for the Muslims politics. It enlarged the membership of Legislative Council of Governor-General (presidency) and of Lt. Governor (provinces) was increased. Beside, some of the non-official seats of the Legislative Councils were to be filled by simple nomination, but for the majority of the "recommendations" were to be made by religious communities, municipalities, universities, chambers of commerce and the like.

The enlarged membership no doubt opened the way for appointment of Indian residents. As a member of Governor-General's Legislative Council from 1878 onwards, Sir Syed had successfully campaigned for separate nominations of Muslims to the local self-government institutions.

But having worked with the Legislative Council, he concluded that "if the representative government were to expand, its election process would be counter-productive for Muslims because of the majority principle."

It was against this scenario that Syed Ahmed Khan emerged on the scene to determine the direction of political pathway for the then Muslim India.

Q: What was Syed Ahmed Khan's purpose, strategy and techniques to rescue Muslim community from unfortunate situation?

Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98) a man of original vision and perceptive wisdom, emerged as a guide and rescuer to Muslims of subcontinent. He initiated a movement to rescue Muslims.

The Purpose: The intended purposes of his movement were:

1. To minimize all grounds of animosity which the Muslims were likely to harbor against the British;
2. To remove all doubts from British mind that Muslims were not loyal. He wanted to persuade the British to change their policy of hostility towards the Muslims on one hand and infuse a sense of profound loyalty among the Muslims to the British. He pleaded with his community to remain loyal to British. His argument was that by doing so, they could ensure peace and religious freedom for themselves. Muslims of India were not subjects of Sultan Abdul Hamid, king of Turkey nor would he be

able to help them from such a far-fetched place. There is a sharp contrast here in his policy of Muslim India and Turkish Khilafat. The Muslims supported him on the first but didn't on the second. As a result, the British attitude started changing in the 1870s through 90s. William Hawker in his book "Indian Musalmans" wrote in 1872 that the government was determined to see that no legitimate grievances went unattended. As a result of Sir Syed's campaign with Englishmen of importance, Lord Randolph Churchill visited the Secretary of State for India in 1885 to apprise him of Muslim predicament. This visit mattered and marked a turning point in the official policy towards Indian Muslims. Syed Ahmed Khan successfully raised the tolerant and respectful image of Islam towards other religions.

The Strategy:

Sir Syed's major technique was urging the Muslims to acquire education with emphasis on learning English language and science.

- a. It was in their worldly interest to do so. English would enable them to be good and efficient clerks and administrative officers. Command over English language would enable them to defend their religion and their legitimate position.
- c. Equipped with education and command over language, they would be able to discharge their social obligations and political responsibilities and work for the progress and welfare of their community.
- d. The learning would enable young Muslims to be rational so that they could show that every doctrine of Islam could measure up to all principles of science, reason and common sense (rationalism). Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh established in 1875 by Syed Ahmed Khan became main vehicle of Muslim education. He synthesized the English and oriental subjects, modern as well as Islamic education at the MAO College. He was able to produce graduates as good as those of Oxford who would talk about Socrates and Aristotle, Plato and Hippocrates while wearing ichken with a turban on his head. Syed tried to marry reason with religion at Aligarh.

Syed Ahmed's was the seedtime and he did the excellent sowing for the nursery of future Muslim leadership. Syed Ahmed's reason for opposition to Muslim's joining the Indian National Congress (1885) was based on his empirical study of Hindu mentality and the nature of political institutions of representative kind as he was himself a member of Governor General's legislative Council.

Syed Ahmed's Political Stand Point:

From Hindu's Benaras campaign for the substitution Sanskrit with its Devanagri script for Urdu as court language, Syed Ahmed had learnt that the rapprochement between the two communities was a far cry. They had a diametrically opposed vision of nationalism. Syed Ahmed's arguments were:
i. Democracy pre-supposed homogeneity whereas India consisted of heterogeneous communities. Therefore democracy of the western kind with majority rule as its basic principle would be disastrous for Muslims. They would not be able to have representation equal to their proportion. Even if they do get the right proportion, they would not be able to affect the decision-making. Congress's objective of representative government meant that the Hindu majority would bulldoze Muslims,
ii. The Congress with its Hindu and Muslim membership might agitate on issues of politics. The logical outcome would be violence in which Muslims would bear the brunt of the consequences. Even if the British had withdrawn as a result of political upheaval launched by the Congress, it would have ushered in an era of chaos and turmoil for Muslims.
iii. There was a risk involved in politically immature and unprepared participation of Muslims in politics at this stage. It would have been detrimental to the political and economic interest of the Muslims.
iv. Divergent interests would have adequate representation only through their own representatives of the communities, and not through a single political organization called Indian National Congress.

Practical Political Steps:

To counteract the effects of the Congress, Syed Ahmed Khan took four concrete steps. He founded (i) the Indian Patriotic Association, (ii) the Mohammadan Educational Conference, (iii) Mohammadan Defense Association of Upper India, and (iv) the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Defense Association of Upper India. These were the semi-political forums, which provided representation of Muslim viewpoint in the face of Indian National Congress. These four forums also served as the groundwork for the eventual creation of Muslim League

Sir Syed was as such the first modern and genuine exponent of two-nation theory. He was advancing the same views that Quaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah got him associated with 50 years later. The demand of Simla Deputation (1906) for separate electorate, the birth of Muslim League (1906) to safeguard Muslim interest and in consequence thereof Minto-Morley Reforms (1909) providing separate representation, separate electorate and weight age were the logical outcomes of the movement that Syed Ahmed Khan set in motion.

Week#2

Ideology of Pakistan (Separatism among Muslims and Two Nation Theory)

Ideology is a set of beliefs, values and ideals of a group and a nation. It is deeply ingrained in the social consciousness of the people. It is a set of principles, a framework of action and guidance system that gives order and meaning to life and human action.

Ideology emphasizes on some particular principles, ideals and blueprint for the future. It is a review of the existing political, social and economic arrangements that create consciousness based on its principles. It legitimizes or delegitimizes certain actions and philosophies. Ideology gives nation a direction and worldview and its implementation is the responsibility of the concerned people.

Ideology of Pakistan

The ideology of Pakistan took shape through an evolutionary process. Historical experience provided the base; Allama Iqbal gave it a philosophical explanation; Quaid-i-Azam translated it into a political reality; and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, by passing Objectives Resolution in March 1949, gave it legal sanction. It was due to the realization of the Muslims of South Asia that they are different from the Hindus that they demanded separate electorates. However when they realized that their future in a 'Democratic India' dominated by Hindu majority was not safe, they changed their demand to a separate state. The ideology of Pakistan stemmed from the instinct of the Muslim community of South Asia to maintain their individuality in the Hindu society. The Muslims believed that Islam and Hinduism are not only two religions, but are two social orders that produced two distinct cultures. There is no compatibility between the two. A deep study of the history of this land proves that the differences between Hindus and Muslims are not confined to the struggle for political supremacy but are also manifested in the clash of two social orders. Despite living together for more than one thousand years, they continue to develop different cultures and traditions. Their eating habits, music, architecture and script, all are poles apart.

The basis of the Muslim nationhood was neither territorial nor racial or linguistic or ethnic rather they were a nation because they belonged to the same faith, Islam. They demanded that the areas where they were in majority should be constituted into a sovereign state, wherein they could order their lives in accordance with the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah of Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Evolution of 'Two Nation Theory'

Concept of Muslims as a Nation developed before the establishment of Pakistan. Pakistan was the product of this concept of nationhood rather than Pakistan creating a concept of nationhood. Retrospectively the Muslim nationalism emerged with the advent of Islam that introduced new

principles pertinent to every sphere of life. It pledged the redemption of the humankind establishing a benign society based on Qur'anic teachings. The beginning of the Muslim nationalism in the Sub-Continent may be attributed to the first Indian who accepted Islam. The Arab traders had introduced the new religion, Islam, in the Indian coastal areas. Muhammad bin Qasim was the first Muslim invader who conquered some part of India and after that, Mahmud of Ghazna launched 17 attacks and opened the gate to preach Islam. The Muslim sufi (saints) like Ali Hejveri, Miran Hussain Zanjani etc. entered Sub-Continent. They, rejecting the vices in the Indian society, presented the pure practical picture of the teachings of Islam and got huge conversions. Qutub-ud-Din Aibuk permanently established Muslim dynasty in India that followed Sultanate and Mughal dynasties. Thus a strong Muslim community had emerged in India who had its own way of life, traditions, heroes, history and culture. Islam could not be absorbed in Hinduism. Deen-e-Ilahi, Bakhti movements, etc. created reaction amongst the Muslim Ulama to preserve the pure Islamic character and save it from external onslaught. Role of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi and others is noteworthy. Equality and social justice inspired conversions to Islam.

The British won over the Muslim rulers due to the industrial and scientific developments and modern war strategy. The War of Independence (1857) was a shattering setback to the Indian Muslims who were held responsible for the rebellion by the British. The Muslims were put into the backwardness with the help of Hindus. This was one of the outstanding motivations that paved the way to declare the separate identity of nationalism, the Muslim nationalism. The Muslim scholars sought to reform the teaching of Islamic law and to promote its application in a Muslim society. The prominent name among them is Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) who awakened and guided his community well in time. His educational drive, the Ali-Garh movement, proved to be the best means of social mobility for the Muslim gentry under colonial rule.

In 1885 the Indian National Congress was founded to indicate the beginning of the Indian nationalist movement under the British. The Congress worked and helped the British rule. Sir Syed advised the Muslims not to join it because, he thought, the Muslims were not in position to involve into the anti-government activities. It has been argued that Sir Syed's fear of Hindu domination sowed the seeds for the "Two Nations Theory" later espoused by the All-India Muslim League, founded in 1906 and led to its demand for a separate state for the Muslims of India. Sir Syed argued that modern education and non-political activities might be the key to Muslim advancement. The Ali-Garh movement produced educated leadership who could protect the Muslims' rights on the Western political lines.

All India Muslim League had been founded in Dhaka to promote loyalty to the British and to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India. Thus the concept of 'separate electorates' was put forward to dawn a new day for the Indian Muslims. The Two-Nation Theory served as the basis of demand for Pakistan by the Muslims in British India.

There are two major nations in British India. The Muslims are not a community but a nation with a distinctive history, heritage, culture, civilization, and future aspirations. The Muslims

wanted to preserve and protect their distinct identity and advance their interests in India. They wanted to order their lives in accordance with their ideals and philosophy of life without being overwhelmed by an unsympathetic majority.

Initially, they demanded safeguards, constitutional guarantees and a federal system of government with powers to the provinces for protection and advancement of their heritage, identity and interests. Later, they demanded a separate state when neither the British nor the Hindu majority community was willing to offer those guarantees and safeguards.

Hindi-Urdu Controversy

Hindu revivalist movements turned more against the Muslims. Hindu nationalism was rival to the Muslim nationalism. The Indian nationalism forced Muslims to organize themselves politically to defend their interests effectively. After 1857, Hindi-Urdu Controversy was the major assault by the Hindus on Muslim heritage and legacy of the great Muslim Empire. Hindus were biased against Urdu as it was the Muslims' language. They demanded Hindi as the official language replacing Urdu. There were demonstrations against Urdu by the Hindus in Banaras in 1867. It was the start of the Hindi-Urdu controversy. On the very issue, Sir Syed foretold about the unstable future of Hindu-Muslim unity. Hindus struggled vigorously to replace Urdu by Hindi in the offices. This enhanced the importance of the sense of Muslim separatism.

The Muslim nationalism is manifested with the sublime principles to implement like:

1. Rule of Law, socio-economic justice, equity and fair play.
2. Equality of opportunity to all citizens irrespective of caste, sect, religion or region.
3. Religious and Cultural tolerance.
4. Respect for human dignity and rights.
5. Protection of the rights and interests of non-Muslims and freedom to practice their beliefs and religions.

These principles are enshrined in the constitutions. We ought to work towards realization of these goals in reality and create institutions and processes that reflect these principles and values.

Week#3 and 4

Ideology of Pakistan in the Light of Statements of QUAID-I-AZAM and ALLAMA IQBAL

The Development of Muslim Identity and Two-Nation Theory and Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal:

The sense of nationhood developed among the Muslims before the establishment of Pakistan. Their goal was mostly to protect and promote their identity and interests and shape their lives in accord with their ideals and philosophy of life without being overwhelmed by an unsympathetic majority. They adopted the strategy to get constitutional safeguards from the British against the cruel majority of Hindus but because of the antagonistic treatment from the rivals they set the goal of a separate state. Islam had central place to their further developments.

The role of leadership is very important to put nation on the way. A good leadership infuses the qualities of awareness, consciousness, mobilization, sense of direction, and defense against the adversaries. The Muslims were lucky having such competent leadership.

Muhammad Ali JINNAH

M. A. Jinnah was a history-making leader who changed the course of history. He possessed a visionary leadership, commitment to the cause and political mobilization capacity. He was a Charismatic Leader in the real sense of the meaning.

ROLE OF JINNAH

Jinnah played a decisive role in articulating the Muslim demands and pursuing these faced strong opposition from the Hindus and the British. He started his political career in 1906 by joining the Indian National Congress. He was elected to the Legislative Council in 1909 and in 1913 he also joined the All India Muslim League (AIML). Now he was member of both the political parties. Having disagreement with Gandhi on the issue of Swaraj (self-rule), complete freedom from the British and on using extra-constitutional means, Jinnah resigned from the Congress in 1920.

His early efforts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity were materialized when THE LUCKNOW PACT

(1916) was signed. The Hindus accepted the Muslim demands:

- Separate Electorate
- One-third Seats in Central Legislature
- Protection of minority rights

In the Nehru Report, the accepted Muslim rights were ignored. Jinnah retaliated forcefully by presenting 14 Points in 1929. He defined Muslim identity and mobilized them with reference to Islam and convinced others that Muslims are different from the Hindus and the Congress. Islamic principles, concepts and symbols surfaced in his speeches and statements.

Jinnah used the term NATION for the Muslims of India in Feb 1935 (Legislative Assembly). He argued that the combination of religion, culture, race, arts, music and so forth make a minority a SEPARATE ENTITY. In March 1936 Bombay, he stated that the Muslims could arrive at a settlement with Hindus as TWO Nations. In 1937, he asserted that there is also a third party in India, the Muslims. In 1939, he roared that the Muslims and Hindus are two nations and they are going to live as a nation and playing part as a nation:

"We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral code, custom and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation."

Speeches and statements: 1940-47

Jinnah believed in the force of Islam as he said that Islam is a dynamic force that can unite the Muslims. It can help to overcome the present crisis. It's a source of inspiration and guidance providing ethical foundation, a framework, social order and civilization.

Guidance & inspiration for constitution-making and Governance

He also talked of the modern notions of state, constitution, civil and political rights and democracy. He assured that constitution of Pakistan would be framed by the elected assembly.

Modern democratic and Islamic State

He gave assurance of equality of all citizens and rights and freedom to religious minorities in the new state.

ALLAMA IQBAL: POET AND PHILOSOPHER

VISION OF A SEPARATE MUSLIM STATE

Men like Allama Iqbal are born but in centuries. He was conscious of significance of Islam in lives of the Muslims. His first public appearance was in 1899 at the annual session of Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam in Lahore when he presented the poem, Nala-i-Yatim.

At initial stages Dr Iqbal was a nationalist by ideas and his poetry contained verses like Tarana-i-Hind. His poetry was a critique of the existing societal conditions. Being educated from Europe, he knew all weak aspects of the Western culture. He criticized capitalism, materialism and lack of spiritualism.

IQBAL- Focus on the conditions of the Indian Muslims

Islam can salvage the Muslims

Islam has always saved Muslim

Islam is a living and dynamic ideology that can meet modern challenges

Islam to help them to overcome their internal
discord and enable them to meet external challenges
With spiritualism based derived from Islam
Ijtehad and Reinterpretation

(READ: Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam)

Address to the Muslim League Session, Allahabad, December 1930

**I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sind, Balochistan
amalgamated into a single state as a self government within the
British empire or without. This is the final destiny of the
Muslims of N.W. India.**

(Dr Iqbal's verses may be quoted) web site may also be visited:

<http://brain.brain.net.pk/~wisetech/50/bio/quaid.htm>

<http://brain.brain.net.pk/~wisetech/50/bio/iqbal.htm>

Allama Iqbal's Nationalism and Vision about Muslim State

Nationalism demands loyalty to a society, to religions, to the soil to language, singly or collectively. Indian Nationalism was based on loyalty to the soil and to the Indian Society.

Iqbal was Indian Nationalist before his visit to Europe (1905-1908). Expressed his feelings of patriotism he construed India superior to the rest of the World.

سارے جہاں سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا ہم بلبیس ہیں اسکی یہ گستاخی ہمارا

He also spoke of the inculcation of the communal harmony when he said, "No religion preaches hatred and that everybody living in this country is Indian and India is his land.

نہ بُنیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیڑ کھنا ہندی ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

How did change occur?

After his visit to Europe, he underwent a paradigm change. He found that Nationalism was contrary to the fundamentals of Islam. He thought Nationalism divided Muslims from their fellow Muslims within the Ottoman Empire. It negated universal oneness of Muslims, which recognized no race, language or geographical distances. He also concluded that the concept of Nationalism served the imperialistic design of Europe.

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کیلئے نیل کے ساحل سے لیکر تاباک کا شتر

Europeans used it as an effective weapon and propagated the conception of Nationalism to shatter the unity of Islam (the Millat or Umma). Iqbal became Pan-Islamist and he exhorted to build up a single Millat or Umma. The message to Muslims was conveyed in his poetry to unite for the defense of Baitul Haram from the banks of Nile to the frontiers of Kashgar.

But this was his ideal. His zest for a Pan-Islamic society was not practicable after the World War-1. Many Muslim countries stood for Nationalism. Nationalism with territorial boundaries and racial and linguistic unity was a ground reality in almost all Muslim countries after 1920's. Nationalism became a fact of life in the Muslim World. Muslim Nationalism was now confined to one country.

Meanwhile, Iqbal's temporary zeal for a composite Hindu-Muslim Indian Nationalism collapsed in different countries in different circumstances & in different contexts.

Iqbal was pragmatic (fact-oriented, practical) despite his ideals. He recognized Nationalism in one Muslim country for facility of reference. The Muslim countries need to find Nationalists solutions to their desperate problems of their respective countries. But that should and would not stop them from wider unity among Muslim countries. The door of cooperation and cohesion however limited or lose it may be, should remain open to all Muslim countries. The ethos would remain essentially Islamic despite their racial, linguistic and geographic distinctions. The social horizon of the whole community should remain intact because Nationalism of a single Muslim country does not restrict Muslims from coming together as community (Umma).

The Purpose:

The purpose of Iqbal's thought was rehabilitation of Muslims in the contemporary world. On one side, there were the realities of politics, national and international, on the other side, there was the Muslim World whose existing framework badly needed reconstruction. Iqbal therefore, stood for reconstruction of religious thought. He wanted to produce a blue print for a tolerant democratic and just human society based on the spirit of Islam. His well-known 6 lectures on Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Iqbal laid the ideas regarding how best Muslims as community can re-construct itself in the new circumstances.

Iqbal's Prescription: Concept of Ijithad (Reinterpretation of Islam)

His prescription to achieve this purpose was Ijithad (reinterpretation of Islam) to meet the requirement of modern world. There was a need to reinterpret the Islamic laws and ethos to make them compatible with the modern world. That is why he supported the authority of Turkey's Grand Assembly in its endeavor to reinterpret Islamic laws and ethos for modern Turkey.

Back home, he provided intellectual foundation of Muslim India. As a liberal thinker, Iqbal favored the liberal and tolerant tradition that Indian Islam had nurtured so assiduously in contrast to its Arabian counterpart. Iqbal was in favour of ridding Islam of the stamp of Arabian imperialism. Iqbal was in favour of mobilizing Muslim law, education and culture to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

His greatest political contribution was that of making Muslims conscious of their separate national and cultural identity. Western nationalism was territorial and racial. Iqbal built up Muslim nationalism in the subcontinent based on geographical and ideological. The destiny of Muslims was based on the ideological legacy of Indian Islam. Iqbal's demand for "The creation of autonomous states" on the basis of unity of religion, language, history and geography and of identity of economic interest was in fact the manifestation of Muslim Nationalism in India.

Iqbal's Conception of Muslim State in North-Western India:

The suggestion contained in his presidential address at the All India Muslim League session at Allahabad in 1930, for the setting up of a "Consolidated Muslim State" in India was not only visionary and creative but also pragmatic. He presented his historical address prescribing his conceptual scheme in these words:

"I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state, self-governing within the British Empire or without the British Empire..... The formation of a consolidated North West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India."

Iqbal's scheme was conceptually clearer in the sense that it was based on both geographical and ideological factor for present day Pakistan. Iqbal was thinking of only North West India and not for Bengal as the future Pakistan. He even suggested exclusion of Ambala Division and the districts where non-Muslims predominated could be excluded from the proposed Muslim state. Iqbal was thus clearer than the formulators of the Lahore Resolution of 1940. Iqbal's liberal and flexible views should have been convincing to alleviate Hindu fears of Muslim state. He declared that autonomous Muslim state will not have a kind of religious rule. Such a state, Iqbal explained, will provide security and peace to India resulting from internal balance. A highly revealing part of Allahabad address, but not highlighted, was related to his conception of Islam which was different from the one held by the traditionalist. He was in favour of Muslim India continuing in the liberal and tolerant traditions that Indian Islam had

nurtured in contrast to the Arabian counterpart. On the basis of this viewpoint, it is not difficult to demonstrate that Iqbal's conception was different from that of some Indian Islamic scholars who in their zeal to purify Islam of Mughal or Indian impurities, wanted to cast it in rigid Arabian mould. Iqbal stood for ridding it of Arabian stamp and wanted to mobilize Islamic law, culture and education to bring into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

A sad fact about Allahabad session is that it did not even have its quorum of 75 members and poet Hafeez Jallandhari was asked to read his Shahnama-i-Islam to keep those who were present entertained while the organizers were busy enrolling new members in town. The feudal, mullahs and the pirs who formed a link in the prevailing system of indirect rule of British in Punjab and elsewhere did not cooperate at that time.

Iqbal's difference of opinion with Jinnah:

Iqbal differed with Jinnah on his plan to weld the different classes and sections in the Muslim community into a united and monolithic organization. Muslim community was divided into different economic, religious, ethnic and provincial groups. Jinnah wanted to bring them together on a broad common program so that Muslim League becomes strong-as apolitical force and is treated with respect. For this very purpose, he entered into a pact with Unionist Party leader Sikandar Hayat Khan to involve them into Muslim League.

Iqbal resisted the move by writing to Jinnah: "I cannot take the responsibility of handing over League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact had already damaged the League in this province and the tactics of Unionists may damage it still further".

Jinnah had to follow dictates of politics. He allied with the Unionists in the larger Muslim interest-he was playing his political game on chess-board. In order to strengthen Muslim solidarity, he continued with the pact. He had appointed some members to the Central Parliamentary Board which were suggested by Sikandar Hayat. But Jinnah assured Iqbal that he was determined to appoint some members representing Punjab which were to be suggested Iqbal and other Muslim League leaders from Punjab. As a strategist, Jinnah had made compromises with non-League Muslim leaders to build up strength and power for Muslim League. Iqbal wanted Jinnah to concentrate on North West India, but Jinnah did not want to ignore Bengal and Muslim minority provinces.

Iqbal's Relevance to Contemporary Muslim World:

Iqbal's thought is relevant to even today's Pakistan and to the contemporary Islamic world. The 9/11 episode in the recent history brought into focus, beside other aspects, the concept of clash of civilizations, resurgence of Jehadi Islam, so called terrorism. This has alarmed the Western World and caused concerns to Muslim community as a whole. The current real world challenges have again called for the reawakening of the Muslim community. Given the loose and weak organization of the Muslims called Organization of Islamic Conference, the new challenges have not been taken collectively. The need and awareness for one is there though.

In contemporary world configuration, Pakistan in particular and Islamic World in general need to develop and demonstrate the softer image of Islam to the World. The new reality that had emerged after the 9/11 (2001) event, and the recent upsurges in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Jordan, Syria, Algeria, Morocco and elsewhere in 2011 demands redefining of Islam in the present day context without compromising on the fundamentals of Islam.

Quaid-I-Azam M.A. Jinnah's Politics As Nationalist Muslim and as Muslim Nationalist

How did various factors prompt M. A. Jinnah to abandon his demand for Home Rule (Self-Government) and struggle for a separate homeland for Muslims?

A nationalist Muslim was the one who believed in Indian nationalism meaning loyalty to oneness of India without regard for Muslim separateness. It reflected a sense of belonging to Indian society and soil.

A Muslim nationalist was the one who considered himself a Muslim first and Indian afterwards. He believed in separateness of Muslims as a nation. In a nutshell it was "one nation verses two nation commitment".

Jinnah's launching into Politics:

Jinnah launched himself into politics as an ardent nationalist having no communal feelings in view of his rational, liberal, pragmatic and democratic outlook. Eager to give his input to politics, he joined the Congress Party, the only one available, in 1903. He chose not to join the Muslim League at the time of its creation because he was then opposed to separate representation for Muslims which he thought was dividing the nation. Besides, he was then (1905) elected to the Imperial Legislative Council against the constituency for Muslims from Bombay as a Congressman.

His Romance with Hindu-Muslim Unity:

As nationalist Muslim, he stood for Hindu-Muslim understanding and cooperation. He made overtures to Muslim League by attending its Council meeting in Bankipur in 1912. The League adopted a resolution of self-government suitable to India as its new ideal. This softened the way for Jinnah to join the Muslim League in 1913, while retaining his Congress membership.

His passion for Hindu — Muslim unity — Muslim unity received impetus when the Congress and Muslim League in Bombay sessions in 1915. Meanwhile In fact, he was instrumental in hammering out the ground for this collaborative arrangement- The repeal of partition of Bengal had also created a ground reality which prompted Muslim leadership to go for a collaborative stance for the next installment of the constitutional reforms.

Largely due to the Quaid's initiative, the Congress and League held its next annual sessions jointly in Lucknow in 1916. The two parties concluded the famous Lucknow Pact. Jinnah earned the reputation and title of 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity' on this success (Poetess Sarojini Naidu used the phrase in her foreword she wrote for a collection titled "Jinnah's Speeches in the Central legislative Council" published in 1919).

The Muslims earned recognition as a separate community as a result of the acceptance of their demand for separate electorate previously opposed by Congress. Muslim League recognized as the authoritative representative of Muslims. By implication of the Lucknow Entente, the Muslim League was now accepted by the Congress as the sole representative of Muslim community. Muhammad Ali Jinnah demonstrated great sense of justice and wisdom when he resigned from the central legislature in protest against the so called Rowlatt Act. This draconian law titled "Anarchical & Revolutionary Crimes Act 1919" was bulldozed by the official majority of British government in the legislature. The Hindu-Muslim unity, however, remained at the level of leadership only. It failed to reach the grass-root level. The masses remained unaffected.

The Paradigm Change:

The paradigm change in Jinnah was not sudden. The process of learning and unlearning about the Hindu mindset was gradual and unconscious. The first glimpse of recognition of reality surfaced in 1917 when legislative measures affecting Muslim position were being brought without taking the Muslims' point of view into consideration*. Jinnah warned that "If seventy million people did not approve the measure, do you think that it can be enforced". This was the first glimpse that Jinnah reflected about his rethinking. The academic debate about the Swaraj (self-rule/ self-government) since Lukhnow entente centered around its face value. Jinnah as well as the Muslim League discovered its practical implications. The actual experience of Swaraj (self-rule) by Hindu majority at provincial level and for a limited period of time, while the British authority was still intact, crystallized what Swaraj would mean to Muslims. The question at Jinnah's tongue was what will be the Muslim future in a self governing India.

Despite his concern for Turkey, Jinnah remained aloof from Khilafat when non-cooperation movement started by Maulana Mohammad Ali and Gandhi. He did not think they would succeed because Jinnah as a realist knew the pitfalls of such unnatural collaboration. The Moplas rising and subsequent clashes of Muslims with British and Hindus alike proved Jinnah's point.

Jinnah's commitment to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity was intended to get maximum benefits for both the communities as a result of self-government for India to be granted by the Britishers. But soon after the 1919 Act, the Congress's attitude disappointed him. He was compelled by this Hindu inflexibility to leave Congress and Home-Rule League in 1920. He saw little chance of united stance on some kind of agreed Constitutional Formula in the future.

The Nehru report of 1928 further alienated him. The rejection of his 14-points by the Congress led him to part ways with the Congress's leadership.

The decade of 1930s was a period of transition and change for the political direction of Jinnah.

At the second Round Table Conference (1931), Jinnah made it clear to the British and Hindu alike that: "A community of Muslims that of India alone must be numbering more than 70 million cannot be called a minority, the way Europeans are habitual to consider European minorities".

He settled in London after the 1931 Round Table Conference. But in 1934, Jinnah was persuaded by Liaqat Ali Khan, he returned to the subcontinent. Jinnah assumed the leadership of Muslim League and stewardship of Muslim community.

Factors causing shift in Jinnah's nationalism:

Jinnah was the voice of secular Muslims until his face to face experience with Hindu leadership at the Round Table Conferences (RTC). He stood for solving communal problems through providing political safeguards to minority communities. Jinnah's rapprochement gestures were met with hostile Hindu mind and attitude. He received the shock of his life when Gandhi brought religion into politics at the RTC and remained adamant to Jinnah's reasonable proposal for communal safeguards, Jinnah concluded that there was no hope of Hindu-Muslim unity and it was parting of the ways.

Meanwhile, Iqbal had done some spadework in unifying Muslims of minority as well as majority province. Iqbal's views about constitutional problem facing India led Jinnah to the same conclusion. Two-Nation theory of Iqbal received acceptance by Jinnah. Jinnah's own political experience of the early 1930s had convinced him of the relevance of the term Muslim nation instead of Muslim minority.

Yet Iqbal's theory of two-nation became better established after its adoption by Jinnah. This was a conversion of thought in Jinnah, although it was centered on Islam as a moral and political force to unify Muslims. The transformation was gradual though, yet it was definite from a secular Muslim to Muslim nationalist, no more a nationalist Muslim. He was now a Muslim Nationalist. With new vision, he turned the League into self-conscious mass organization. He became the champion of Muslim cause. Led by him the nation of Indian Muslims cast their eyes on a separate landscape for Muslims and marched to its destiny as sovereign status.

How Nehru and his Congress Party moved Jinnah to ideological conversion? Gandhi, Nehru and Congress had always considered and described communal problem as cultural and economic one. They did not consider communal problem as important as to recognize Muslims as one of the party in Indian politics. They claimed Congress and British government as the only two parties in the country. Jina responded that there is a third party too, namely the Muslims ready to work as equal partners. The ruthless rule by Congress from 1937 to 1943 convinced Jina that Muslim's interests could be safeguarded from now onwards by the Muslim League alone without seeking Congress's cooperation. It was clear now that Hindustan is for Hindus since their governments in six provinces had shown, by their words and deeds that Muslims cannot expect justice or fair play from them.

The only settlement and solution was possible, in Jina's view, on the basis of ground reality that there were two nations in India. His tireless and vigorous campaign to safeguard the interest of Muslim Nation through the creation of Pakistan was a testimony to his faith in the Muslim nationalism.

His speech of 11 August 1947 to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan reflected a balanced, liberal pragmatic view of the future shape of Pakistan's political system. An excerpt from his speech is reproduced below.

"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go your mosques or to any other place of your worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any Religion or caste or creed; that has nothing to do with the business of the State."

This was Quaid's pledge, to make Pakistan a safe place for all Pakistanis including the minorities, without any discrimination on the basis of caste, colour and creed. It was in fact in the spirit of liberal, pragmatic and democratic perceptions of Quaid-Azam that he said so. It was not a question of Pakistan being a secular state or theocratic state. It was simply Quaid's expression of and prescription for a liberal, tolerant, democratic and egalitarian Pakistan of the future.

The controversy ignited by pro-secular and pro theocracy and the pro-liberalism over the August-ii speech has confused the minds of young generation. The excerpt from the said presidential address of Quaid was intended for the promotion of material advancement and peaceful living of all citizens of Pakistan without distinction of religion. Jinnah embraced the qualities of modern state not in the irreligious sense of secularism but in the political sense of Islam. He did not in any way stand for fusion or synthesis of secularism and Islam. He saw Pakistan as an Islamic state that will be true to Quran's spiritual (universal) principles of justice, liberty and socio-economic equality. Quaid recognized that Quran is a book that emphasized deed rather than idea which means there is no dichotomy between matter and idea (spirit) as both are inextricably linked.

As Deen (Quranic Credo) provides ethics to Politics. It does not ignore the mundane political and sociological dimensions of human life. The universal principles are applicable to the entire humanity and transcend nations of different religions, creeds or races. Pakistan's polity is to be based on this conception because Pakistan is neither founded on nor projects the personal viewpoint of any particular sect of Muslims of the subcontinent.

Week-5

The Birth of Pakistan, Location and Geography

The British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act on July 18, 1947. The Act created two dominions, Indian Union and Pakistan. It also provided for the complete end of British control over Indian affairs from August 15, 1947. The Muslims of the Sub-continent had finally achieved their goal to have an independent state for themselves, but only after a long and relentless struggle under the single-minded guidance of the Quaid.

The Muslims faced a gamut of problems immediately after independence. However, keeping true to their traditions, they overcame them after a while. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was appointed the first Governor General of Pakistan and Liaquat Ali Khan became its first Prime Minister. Pakistan became a dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The boundaries of Pakistan emerged on the map of the world in 1947. This was accomplished on the basis of the Two-Nation Theory. This theory held that there were two nations, Hindus and Muslims living in the territory of the Sub-continent. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the first exponent of the Two-Nation Theory in the modern era. He believed that India was a continent and not a country, and that among the vast population of different races and different creeds, Hindus and Muslims were the two major nations on the basis of nationality, religion, way-of-life, customs, traditions, culture and historical conditions.

The politicization of the Muslim community came about as a consequence of three developments:

- Various efforts towards Islamic reform and revival during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
- The impact of Hindu-based nationalism.
- The democratization of the government of British India.

But after the collapse of the Khilafat Movement, Hindu-Muslim antagonism was revived once again. The Muslim League rejected the proposals forwarded by the Nehru Report and they chose a separate path for themselves. The idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims of Northern India as proposed by Allama Iqbal in his famous Allahabad Address showed that the creation of two separate states for the Muslims and Hindus was the only solution. The idea was reiterated during the Sindh provincial meeting of the League, and finally adopted as the official League position in the Lahore Declaration of March 23, 1940.

Thus these historical, cultural, religious and social differences between the two nations accelerated the pace of political developments, finally leading to the division of British India into two separate, independent states, Pakistan and India, on August 14 & 15, 1947, respectively.

Location:

Pakistan lies between 23 degrees 35 minutes to 37 degrees 05 minutes North latitude and 60 degrees 50 minutes to 77 degrees 50 minutes east longitude. It touches the Hindu Kush Mountains in the north and extends from the Pamirs to the Arabian Sea. The country has a total area of 796,096 sq km and is nearly four times the size of the United Kingdom. From Gwadar Bay in its south-eastern corner, the country extends more than 1,800 km to the Khunjerab Pass on China's border. It consists of such physical regions as:

- a) the western offshoots of Himalayas which cover its northern and north western parts of which the highest peak K-2 rises to 8611 meters above sea level;
- b) the Balochistan plateau
- c) The Potohar Plateau and salt range and d) The Indus plain, the most fertile and densely populated area of the country. It gets its sustenance from the Indus River and its tributaries.

Climatically, Pakistan enjoys a considerable measure of variety. North and north western high mountainous ranges are extremely cold in winter while the summer months of April to September are very pleasant. The plains of the Indus valley are extremely hot in summer with a cold and dry weather in winter. The coastal strip in the South has a moderate climate. There is a general deficiency of rainfall. In the plains annual average ranges from 16 centimeters in the northern parts of lower Indus plain to 120 centimeters in the Himalayan region. Rains are monsoonal in origin and fall late in summers. Due to the rainfall and high diurnal range of temperature, humidity is comparatively low. Only the coastal strip has high humidity.

Urdu is the national language and is used as a medium of understanding throughout the country. Aside from this, Pakistan is culturally divided into four linguistic provinces. Punjabi is spoken in the Punjab, Sindhi in Sindh, Pashto in KPK, and Balochi in Balochistan.

Geography:

The immediate neighbors of Pakistan in South Asia are:

- Afghanistan and Iran in West
- China in the North
- India in the East
- Arabian Sea in the South

Central Asia is not physically attached to Pakistan but the region of Central Asia is divided by a narrow strip of Wakhan Corridor of Afghanistan. The closest state is Tajikistan to Pakistan from Wakhan Corridor (12-13km).

Pakistan is divided to mainly four provinces – Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan. Apart from these provinces Pakistan has control in Gilgit Baltistan and Azad Kashmir.

Note: Maps are available at the end of this course pack

Week#6

SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF PAKISTAN

“Society” is a well-known word for every individual living in the world. Human being spends his life in a particular society till death; therefore, he could not remain detached from the society. In fact there is a strong binding between individual and the society.

What is Society?

Interaction and relationship between individual and group(s), and addition of humans by birth make up a society. In general term we could say that when individuals and groupsof people contact and associate with each other, a society comes into being.

- According to Prof. Wright, It is a system of relationships that exist among the members of human groups.
- According to A.W. Green, It is a large group where individual establishes relationships.
- According to Mac Ivor, society is a web of relationships.

Evolution of society

Society evolves and develops gradually, as social values advance, so the society becomes more and more modernized.

There are six stages of evolution of human society:

1. Hunting and gathering society
2. Pastoral society
3. Horticulture society
4. Agricultural society
5. Industrial society
6. Post-industrial society

Hunting and gathering society: This was a primitive society, where individuals started learning to live in social group. Men hunted and women gathered food. Family institute can be seen in this society in an embryonic form. It was starting of social life, but people were living a nomadic life settling nowhere permanently.

Pastoral Society: In this stage people had learnt the art of storage of food. Human groups managed to live by raising livestock, so they moved from one place to another in search of fodder. However, they had developed social values.

Horticultural society: This is third stage where people already knew how to cultivate plants. History shows evidence that in some part of the world, like Latin America, Asia and Middle-East, human beings cultivated fruit, vegetable and food plant first time. So people also started living permanently near the cultivated area they had acquired.

Agricultural society: This is an advanced form of horticultural society. For the first time,

humans started using technology to grow crops on large pieces of land. Feudal system is the example and very advanced stage of agriculture society.

Industrial Society: In this stage people used complex machines like steam engine and other appliances. This society emerged and developed with the “Industrial Revolution.”

Post-industrial Society: This stage rightly defined is an upgraded form of industrial society. Modernization and industrialization caused massive changes in social structure of all societies. New values, new cultures and new civilizations are built and reformed in this stage. Rapid change in human societies can easily be observed in this era, but unfortunately, as material comforts prevail spiritual values are vanishing day by day.

Significance of Society

Society plays significant role in growth of individual. Here we discuss how society is important for a person as a member of the society.

- Society organizes individual groups by sharing their common problems then seeking solution afterward.
- In society, individual is taught rules and regulation which regulate his/her life.
- Society is a source of comfort and security for an individual.
- Society provides patterns of relationship and identity for an individual.
- Society provides all means of socialization.
- Society fulfills all social needs and demands of individual.
- Every social member is a product or representation of his/her society.

Pakistani Society

Islam came in the Indian subcontinent on a large scale with the arrival of Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 AD. Muslims ruled here for about 1100 years and established an Islamic society. Muslim civilization became a strong cultural force throughout India even the Hindus adopted certain elements of Islamic culture. After British occupation in 1857, Muslim culture and Islamic traditions were deliberately damaged by the Hindus and British. So Muslim showed hesitation in cooperation with the new rulers. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was first man who used word “Nation” for Muslim as a separate identity.

Muslim League was founded in 1906 to protect Muslims' rights and save Islamic culture and civilization. Muslims of the subcontinent overwhelmingly supported the Two Nation Theory. In 1930, Allama Muhammad Iqbal demanded a separate state for the Muslims. He suggested that Sindh, Punjab, N.W.F.P, Baluchistan and Asam etc., should be amalgamated into a Muslim state. It was demand of a Muslim society in other words. In 1940, at Lahore, a resolution was passed where Muslims League demanded a separate state for the Muslims for the Indian Muslims to practice and develop their culture and form an Islamic Society. At last, on 14 August 1947, Pakistan came into being as a Muslim State. In 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan delivered his speech in America where he defined the aim behind achievement of Pakistan, which was to make it a real Islamic Model. In short, we can say that Pakistani society is predominantly an Islamic society, where non-Muslims are allowed to live as respectable

citizens.

Culture

Culture is a very common term. Some time when we meet a decent and noble person, we say "he is a cultured man" or some time we use the sort of term, Western culture, Eastern culture, etc. It is however important to define 'what is culture?' The answer is as follows:

- The art and other manifestations of human intellectual achievements is culture.
- Culture comprises the ideas, customs and social behaviour of a particular group or society.
- Culture is the social behaviour and norms found in human society.
- E.B. Taylor says, culture is a complex whole including knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities acquired by a man as member of society.

Types of Culture

There are many types of culture. Some types are mentioned as under:

- **Material culture:** It includes material objects used in a particular culture, like buildings, furniture, books, etc.
- **Non-material culture:** It includes intangible and abstract things like emotions, attitudes, ideas, belief, etc.
- **Real culture:** It consists of that part of culture on which individuals act upon in real form, like how people pray *Namaz* in an Islamic culture is the real culture.
- **Ideal culture:** It refers to that part of culture which is not in practice but remains as a guiding principle behind the cultural patterns. For instance, Islam teaches lesson of universal brotherhood (as ideal culture) but we see sectarian killing and violence in our society (as real culture).

Significance of Culture

Culture is very important part of social life and is backbone of a society. Here, we see what role culture plays in our social life.

- Culture unites people in a society.
- Culture gives unique identity to the group members.
- Society is run and moves forward by culture.
- Culture provides patterns of socialization.
- Culture is a source of individual identity in society.
- Cultural values setup a particular frame of mind.
- It is the way to balances the roles and statuses in society.
- Cultural patterns set once, are transferred from one generation to next generation.

Through this continuous process culture remains alive.

Relationship between Culture and Society

Generally, term culture and society are used as alternative to each other but technically both have different meanings as we have discussed in this chapter. In spite of being different, both have a strong relationship. The bonding between culture and society is explained as under:

- People define the culture and contribute to the society.
- Culture is a significant part of society which has various aspects like language, customs, values, norms, and institutions, etc.
- Society runs through social institutions, like family, education, religion and every institution has its own norms, rules and regulations. These rules and regulations are set by culture.
- Society is built through social interaction among its members. The way of social interaction is determined by culture.
- Society has geographical limits. Within the geographical boundary, different cultures may develop and together they run the whole society.
- Examples of culture are fashion, life style, music, art, etc. Society examples are Economy, village, city etc.

Culture of Pakistan

Pakistan bears rich diversity of cultures. It consists of various ethnic groups like Sindhis, Punjabis, Pathans, Baloch, Mohajirs, Seraikis, Hindkoes, Brahvis, Baltis, Gligitis, Kashmiris, etc. Every ethnic group has its own specific life-style but they share certain common characteristics. These common traits mingle up to form the mainstream culture of Pakistan.

- **Literature:** Our literatures have developed after the creation of Pakistan. These are written in both national and regional languages including poetry and prose. The literatures reflect Islamic spirit while social and cultural issues are discussed in poetry and prose. Our national poet is Allama Iqbal.
- **Performing art:** This includes music, dance, drama and theatre. Through performing arts, artists highlight different social and cultural issues and present their solution. It has been a major mean to create social awareness in Pakistan Society.
- **Painting:**

This exhibit different social aspects and present real picture of our rich culture. Sadequain, Abdul Rehman Chughtai and Guljee are true Ambassadors of Pakistan.

- **Architecture:**

It has two types:

- i. Pre-Islamic architecture
- ii. Post-Islamic architecture

Moen-jo-Daro, Harrapa and Taxila are the example of pre-Islamic architecture. Badshahi Mosque, Shah Jahani Mosque and Tomb of Shah Rukn-e-Alam are examples of post- Islamic architecture.

- **Sports**

Cricket, hockey, squash, snooker, and football are famous popular games of Pakistan. The world knows Pakistan as a sports-loving country.

- **Festivals**

We celebrated both Islamic and national days and occasions like Eid-ul-Fitr, Eid- ul-Azha, Eid-e-Milad-un-Nabi, Urses of Saints, Independence Day, Defence Day, etc. The whole nation

gets involved in celebrating with national spirit because these festivals are part of our culture. In short, Pakistani culture is the basis of identity of Pakistan and every Pakistani feels proud to adopt these cultural values wholeheartedly.

ETHNICITY

There are thousands of ethnic group found in the world and everyone has its own unique characteristics. Ethnicity is considered as basis of identity of an individual living in society. In Pakistan, people seem very much concerned about their ethnic identification; but why?

What is Ethnicity?

- Ethnicity refers to sharing of a common culture and similar way of life by an ethnic group. Its common elements are language, religion, culture, music, art etc.
- Ethnicity is basically an "in group or own group."
- The word 'ethnicity' is derived from the Greek word 'ethos', used for "folk" and 'people' centuries ago
- The term ethnic group was first recorded in 1935 and inducted in Oxford English Dictionary in 1972 as synonym of ethnicity, nationality and citizenship.

Ethnicity and Nation

Though, term Ethnicity mixes with nation because both have shared culture and common characteristics as a social group, but technically, these are two different terms in nature. The difference among ethnic group and nation are mentioned in the following:

- Nation is combination of variety of sub-groups while ethnic group is a particular-group of nation. In other words, we could say that ethnic group is a part of nation as a sub-group.
- Nation or state bears boundaries and sovereignty but ethnic groups have no specific boundaries.
- Lot of ethnic groups could be merged in nation but lot of nations could not be inducted in ethnic group.

Ethnicity and Prejudice

Ethnicity is a source of social cohesion which integrates and associates a member with his/her group. Sometime it becomes a source of social prejudice, as well. It proves that the term ethnicity is a product of behaviour or individual acts whether constructive or destructive.

Ethnocentrism

Renowned sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz and William R. Sumner coined the term 'ethnocentrism'. William Sumner explains it as: "The technical name for the view of thinking in which one's own group is centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it. Love with your "in-group" is the source of solidarity. When individual makes his "in-group" as a criteria to judge other culture or "out-group", is "ethnocentrism".

Prejudice

Prejudice is an unjustified or incorrect attitude towards other individual on the basis of different race, gender or religious group. In prejudicial frame of mind individual acts in irrational and emotional way, so it could be harmful for the society.

Ethnocentrism is “objective approach” while prejudice is “subjective approach”.

Suppose if a Muslim loves Islam because it is the best way of life, it is “ethnocentrism”, but if he loves Islam and hates other just because others are not Muslims it is “prejudice”. Extremism is the best example of “prejudice”.

Ethnicity in Pakistan

Pakistan is multi-ethnic country where various major and minor ethnic groups are found and every group has its own identity and style of living. For instance:

- **Sindhis:** Lives in Sindh province and speak Sindhi language. They are 15 % of total population.
- **Punjabis:** Consist of different tribes and dwells in Punjab province.
- **Pakhtuns:** This is second largest ethnic group and living since last five thousand years near Indus River. They make up 15% of total Pakistan's population.
- **Muhajirs:** They came from India after creation of Pakistan and speak “Urdu” as a mother tongue. They are settled mostly in Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur but are living in different urban and rural areas of Pakistan.
- **Baluchs:** Settled in Balochistan and speak Baluchi. Their ethnic base is in Iran and their language is also inspired by Persian.
- **Kashmiris:** Live in Azad Kashmir and speak Kashmiri language. Their famous casts are Dar, Butt, and Lone, etc.
- **Brahvis:** Live in Baluchistan and speak Brahavi language. It is a small group of Afghan origin.
- **Seraikis:** Live in lower Punjab and speak Seraiki language.

In spite of these major groups, some small groups are living in Pakistan like Hazaras, Shinas and Kalash, etc. These groups are smaller in number but play significant role in the progress and prosperity of Pakistan.

Week #7.8.9.10

Government and Politics in Pakistan

Constitutional Development in Pakistan

The Objectives Resolution (1949)

The Objectives Resolution was the first constitutional document that proved to be the 'foundation' of the constitutional developments in Pakistan. It provided parameters and sublime principles to the legislators. It made the constitution-making process easy task setting some particular objectives before them that would be acceptable to the people of Pakistan who had suffered a lot under the Hindu-dominated majority. The Resolution was moved by Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and approved on March 12, 1949.

The Constituent Assembly (1947-54)

The first Constituent Assembly came into existence under Indian Independence Act 1947. The elections were held in July 1946 to decide the destiny of the All India Muslim League (AIML)'s claim that it is the only representative party of the Indian Muslims that desire separate homeland, Pakistan. The members from the districts that became part of Pakistan were declared members of the Constituent Assembly. The number of such members was 69. It increased to 79 after the 1947 when some states joined Pakistan and then increase in the population. There were two major parties, Muslim League and Congress in the Assembly at that time. This Assembly had dual functions to perform.

Features of the Objectives Resolution

1. Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone.
2. The authority which He has delegated to the state of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust.
3. Constitution will be framed for sovereign, independent state of Pakistan.
4. The state shall exercise its power through the representatives of the people.
5. Principles of Democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam will be fully observed.
6. Muslims shall be enabled to organize their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Quran and the Sunnah.
7. Minorities to have freedom to freely profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures.

8. Provisions for safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities, backward and depressed classes.
9. Pakistan shall be a Federation with autonomous units. State's sovereignty and territorial integrity will be protected.
10. People of Pakistan should prosper and attain their rightful place in the comity of nations and make contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.

Explanation and Importance

The Resolution declared the sovereignty of God as the distinctive political philosophy. The Western democracy gives the notion that sovereignty lies in the people but this Resolution is important having the concept of the sovereignty of God. It clarified that people would utilize powers gifted by God so they would have to work within the limits prescribed by Him. The exercise of the powers is a sacred trust. The representatives of the people of Pakistan will manage the affairs under the universal ideology of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice with the spirit of an Islamic framework.

The Resolution pledged to give the due respect and rights to the minorities, backward and depressed classes in the benign society of Pakistan. Their rights, interests, religion and culture were not confuted.

Post Creation Studies

Dynamics of Pakistan's Politics: Early 1950s Era

Crises do occur in a country's life. Political crisis occur more often. In the developing countries, political crisis, invariably, bring change in the existing political structure of a country. Crisis in the existing system of a country may be generated by two factors.

1. Poor performance of the existing government
2. Changes in the international environment.

The crisis, prompted by those two factors and in consequence thereof the structural changes in the political system has happened several times in Pakistan since 1950s. For the major part of post-independence history of Pakistan, this pattern of crisis and the resulting structural change appears to be the dominant characteristic of Pakistan's political system. The components of the political structure of Pakistan have been identified as military, bureaucracy, industrial-merchant class, political elites and religious leaders. Of these components, the military, bureaucracy and Industrial-merchant classes have been rather more durable. Hence they remained dominant component in comparison to the other components, in particular during the military rule. Whenever the process of making ruling coalition occurred, the military, the bureaucracy and the industrial-merchant class became dominant components.

From 1950s until 2008, several ruling-coalitions, civilian or military, had come into existence in a cyclic pattern. They had a tendency to recur after some years. Each was preceded by a crisis in the existing system, each changed the composition of ruling elite and each altered the structure of the system and molded the existing institutional balance in its favor. So far Pakistan's ruling elites have been alternately altering the system than developing a consensus. That is why tendency of having to face one crisis after another in the political system has not come to an end.

Pakistan had inherited the institutions of British India government in which the bureaucracy and military with sparing use of judiciary were the dominant institutions. These institutions had greater durability compared with other institutions; at the time of birth of Pakistan, The political elite in the Muslim League, the founding party of Pakistan, had low governance capability compared with its counterpart in India, the Congress Party.

The political elite, which had its social origins in the landed aristocracy and legal professional, became the ruling elite at the time of creation of Pakistan. They, however, had to rely on the bureaucracy to rule because it had more experience and tradition of governance, compared with the political parties. Ruling elites started formulating ruling coalition with the help of and by the political use of bureaucracy. The rehabilitation and settlement of refugees from India during late 1940s and early 50s forced reliance on bureaucracy. This factor also revitalized the position of bureaucracy as durable component of the political structure.

The Muslim merchant class of Gujarat and Bombay (India), who had provided the initial finance for Pakistan movement, had migrated to Pakistan. Because of their historical association with the political elite, they, as merchant-Industrial class then, emerged as coalition partners.

International Environment of the Early 50's

After the World War-II (1939-44), international environment changed because of the containment policy of United States towards Soviet Union (now Russia). USA looked for partners in Middle East, South Asia and South East Asia to create a rim of resistance to possible expansion of Soviet influence. Pakistan, being under security threat from India and its military being eager to modernize itself, responded positively to American request to be a partner. Pakistan and USA entered into bilateral and multilateral treaties and pacts for cooperation and mutual defense such as the bilateral one in March 1954, a multilateral one called South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in September 1954, another multilateral one called Baghdad Pact (re-named as Central Treaty Organization "CENTO" in 1959, after Iraq quitted under Arab pressure) in 1955 and a bilateral but more comprehensive agreement with the military regime in 1959.

A deeper involvement of military elite in external affairs such as in concluding these alliances and, domestically, in handling religious agitations by imposing limited martial law in 1953 reinforced the position of army. This episode gave military its first taste of civilian affairs and political process, encouraged and facilitated her to be aspirant for ruling position.

The US involvement in Korea in 1951 gave a boost to Pakistan's export of cotton and jute to U.S.A., which in turn induced initiation of US collaboration in economic and industrial policies and eventual economic and industrial growth. In the process, the industrial-merchant class also got involved leading to increased interaction between bureaucracy and merchant-industrial classes. This interaction added more importance to these components.

The in-fights of political elites and the agitations posed to them made them weaker. The religious elite, critical of the political elite, demanded the enforcement of Islamic law. In particular, they demanded Ahmedia community to be declared as minority. The crisis reached a climax in 1953 and the ruling elite imposed Martial Law in several cities with Major General Azam Khan as Administrator in Punjab. Limited though, it gave military its first taste of the political process and civilian power.

The internal crisis as well as International environment introduced military as a new component with some durability in the political system of Pakistan. The bureaucracy and merchant-industrial classes' collaboration expanded in the mid 50's and the relevance of political elites to the system became minimal. The cleavages in the contending political elites deepened leading to several governments changing hands in the 1950s. Political and Constitutional Developments: 1947-58 Phase.

Pakistan's creation was just like a baby who becomes orphan in infancy. Of the several handicaps that the new state of Pakistan suffered the most significant were ;(1) the crisis of leadership emanating from the early deaths of its founding fathers namely Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (September, 1948) and Liaqat Ali Khan (October, 1951) which could not be compensated or replaced by leaders of the same stature, vision, command, commitment and personality, (2) problem of rehabilitation and settlement of 10 million refugees who migrated from India, (3) the lack of infrastructure and enough number of trained administrators, (4) unresolved Kashmir, (5) issue and withholding of Pakistan's share of capital and defense equipment from central reserves of British India government, (6) severe droughts in West Pakistan and cyclones in East Pakistan. Pakistan, therefore, started off from a scratch and with problems of peculiar and intense nature.. By comparison the political stock, expertise and experience of Indian leadership were beyond doubt. India availed the existing infrastructure and had sufficient number of trained administrators, financial resources and defense equipment.

Pakistan inherited the 1935 constitution of British India which became the working constitution of Pakistan with certain adaptations under the Indian Independence Act of the British parliament to suite

the newly formed states of India and Pakistan. A Constituent Assembly consisting of members elected by the provincial assemblies on the formula of one representative for one million of the population, elected in July 1946, was empowered to frame the constitution. Until a new constitution was made, the constituent Assembly was temporarily made legislature with the power to make modification or adaptation.

The Constituent Assembly was supposed to accomplish its task promptly. It constituted several committees and sub-committees to carry out its task. The only positive step towards framing a constitution that the Assembly took was the passing of Objectives Resolution, in March 1949, that outlined its aims and objects.

The office of Governor-General was empowered, till March 1949, to amend, add, modify and omit any provision of the 1935 constitution after which the constituent assembly had that power which means that Governor-general was to be the constitutional head of the state with the Prime Minister and his cabinet having real executive powers.

When Jinnah, the first Governor-General, expired on September 9, 1948, Khawaja Nazimuddin assumed as Governor-General. He remained a figurehead while Liaqat Ali Khan, as Prime Minister exercised real power. On assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan on 16 October, 1951, the Governor-General Nazimuddin succeeded him as Prime Minister whereas Malik. Ghulam Muhammad, formerly Finance Minister in Liaqat Ali Khan's cabinet, took over as Governor-General.

Nazimuddin was an honest, well-meaning, simple man and not an intriguer. The riots erupting out of anti-Ahmedia religious movement and food shortages posed serious problems for him. The limited imposition of martial law by Major General Azam Khan, an area commander in Punjab province, quelled the anarchy. But the poor financial condition forced Nazimuddin's government to slash the army budget by one third which naturally annoyed the army. The Governor-General sacked the Prime Minister along with his cabinet on April 17, 1953 and thus Nazimuddin became a victim of bureaucratic-military coup.

On the dismissal of Khawaja Nazimuddin's government, Muhammad Ali Bogra, an East Pakistani and then Pakistan Ambassador to USA, was summoned from Washington and appointed Prime Minister.

The year of 1954 has been eventful in the history of Pakistan not only in terms of domestic politics but also externally. Internally, Bogra was successful in achieving compromise on constitutional matters and by 20th October 1954 it looked as though constitutional issues were settled when the constituent assembly adopted the report of Basic Principles Committee. However, at the same session, the Government of India Act, 1947, as adapted for Pakistan, was amended resulting into stripping the Governor-General of his powers to dismiss his ministers. The ministers would instead be, individually or collectively, responsible to the federal legislature. The dismissal of Nazimuddin's cabinet by Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad had taught the Assembly a lesson. The lesson resulted in the curtailment of the discretionary power of Governor-General that ministers would hold office during his pleasure.

Malik Ghulam Muhammad struck back four days later. On 24th October 1954, he proclaimed emergency and dissolved the Constituent Assembly on grounds of what he described as political crisis, Governor-General instructed Muhammad Ali Bogra to form a government without the help of an assembly. The cabinet formed by Bogra included General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Pakistan to become, Home Minister, and Dr. Khan Sahib of NWFP. Supremacy of civilian over military power seemed to have vanished because of the induction of General Ayub and Major General Iskander in the cabinet.

Externally, USA enlisted Pakistan as a partner in pursuance of her containment policy against expansionist Soviet Union (now Russian Federation). Muhammad Ali Bogra accepted the first gesture of goodwill in the shape of a gift of 70,000 tons of wheat from USA in 1953. A bilateral agreement called 'Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement' was signed on May 17, 1954 Military aid in the form of

equipment and training to defense forces was provided to Pakistan. It was followed by a multi-lateral pact called South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) consisting of USA, UK, France, Pakistan, Thailand, Philippine, Australia and Newzealand was signed in 1954. Yet another multilateral agreement called Baghdad Pact, to enlist the support of some Muslim countries bordering around Soviet Union (Turkey, Iran and Iraq) along with Pakistan and U.K. was signed in 1955. In fact USA sponsored it without formally becoming its member. Baghdad Pact was re-named as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1958 when Iraq due to Arab pressure quit.

Meanwhile India had completed Bhakra Dam on Sutlej River which factor drained away the waters of Ravi, Sutleg and Bias. Besides, India was dragging its feet from her commitment to let UN hold plebiscite Kashmir.

In order to start work on constitution-making, Ghulam Muhammad summoned a 60-member convention at Murree in summer 1955 and authorized it to legislate also. This was the last mentionable work that he did. In July, 1955, Governor-General went on a two month leave on account of ill health and Iskandar Mirza was appointed as acting Governor-General, only to become regular two months later because of Ghulam Muhammad's irreversible ailment. The change of Governor-General also saw the change of Prime Minister. Because Mohammad Ali Bogra lost support in the party and Constituent Assembly, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, then Finance Minister was appointed as Prime Minister in August 1955. Late in 1955, the constituent Assembly empowered the Governor-General to integrate West Pakistan into one unit which he happily did.

Early 1956 saw the hard work of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali result into 1956-Constitution. Since it was stipulated to be a parliamentary form of government with a President as head of the state and Prime Minister as the head of Government, Iskandar Mirza was elected by the Constituent Assembly with effect from February 1956. Pakistan was proclaimed to be the Islamic Republic of Pakistan with effect from 23rd March, 1956 (Republic is a form of government in which supreme power is vested in people and their elected representatives).

Following this episode, change of hands in government became frequent. Muslim League lost its prestige and hold. A group of seasoned Muslim leaguers formed a new party called Republican Party. In East Pakistan Awami League became the major party. Both Awami League and Republican Party formed a coalition and elected Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, a veteran and seasoned politician from East Pakistan, in place of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali. Suhrawardy was faced with the Suez Crisis of 1956 when Britain, France and Israel attacked Egypt over the nationalization of Suez Canal by Col. Jamal Abdul Nasir. The reaction in Pakistan to the invasion of a Muslim country was extremely violent as the Jamiat-i-Islami and leftists found a common cause to voice the dissent.

Suhrawardy couldn't hold longer, because Iskandar Mirza also pulled strings from behind and exercised manipulations. Many political leaders broke away from their parent organizations for want of political office and for enhancement of gains, political and material. In October 1957, Mr. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, a Muslim Leaguer, became the Prime Minister but only to be swept away from the office after two months. Malik Feroze Khan Noon, a feudal and Republican, was called to form yet another government. As the new Prime Minister Feroze Khan Noon had no control over events despite support from Soharwardi and Dr. Khan sahib for the new government. In East Pakistan, political commotion resulted in frequent changes of ministries. Within a period of 6 month there were four different ministries. In a scuffle between two groups in the East Pakistan Assembly, Deputy Speaker, Shahid Ali got hit by a paper weight hurled on his head and he died later. The violence that tore up East Pakistan and mayhem that spilled over the streets rendered the province uncontrollable by the police and army had to be called in.

General elections under the 1956-Constitution were due in 1958, but it looked as though the race for elections and campaign had no concern for tolerance and respect for law. In order to enhance their chances of winning elections, politicians started selling favours. Nepotism, parochialism and deceit became order of the day. Smuggling, black marketing and hoarding was at its peak. Less production

more needs made living miserable. The country was at the verge of bankruptcy. Administering the country had become unmanageable for Mr. Noon. The assassination of Dr. Khan Sahib, the Chief Minister of West Pakistan followed by anti-American demonstrations demanding severance of alliances with America created havoc with law and order. A call renewed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, known as Sarhadi Gandhi, for secession and forming a sovereign state of Pukhtoonistan in Frontier province was another problem. Khan of Kalat, the inheritor of the ruler of previously state of Kalat (Baluchistan) announced renunciation of bond with Pakistan.

Against these precarious circumstances, President Iskandar Mirza was prompted to declare a state of emergency, dismiss ministries, prorogue parliament, abrogate constitution and declare Martial Law on 7 October, 1958. After 20 days (27th October), General Ayub Khan, the Supreme Commander and Chief Martial Law administrator, made Mirza to resign and to go into exile. Ayub took over as President. Taking advantage of the poor performance of political elite and encouraged by the favourable international environment, the army intervened to resolve the crisis and evolve a new ruling -coalition and a new power-structure.

Main Features of the 1956- Constitution

➤ Parliamentary Form:

In a parliamentary form of government, the real executive authority of government is vested in the Cabinet, consisting of Prime Minister and important ministers, responsible to the legislature. The constitution provided for this system. The constitution provided for a cabinet of ministers headed by Prime Minister. The cabinet was collectively responsible to legislature. The cabinet advice was binding on President except in matters that were specified in the constitution as his discretion. The key appointments, such as those of Chief Justices and judges of Supreme and High Courts, provincial Governors, the Attorney General, principal military Officers were to be made by the President on the advice of Cabinet.

Position of President:

In countries having a parliamentary system, it is necessary to have separate head of the state (not of Government) who normally exercise only ceremonial and formal functions. Besides , a neutral constitutional official is needed to fill the gap between one government and the other. He does not take over the government but provides decisions necessary for bringing a new Government in place.

The constitution though limited the discretionary powers of President to appointments of members and heads of Public Service Commission and Election Commission but a discretionary power of far reaching consequences was to appoint from among the members of National Assembly a Prime Minister who in his opinion was most likely to command the confidence of majority of members of National Assembly. In a system where more than two parties exist with no clear cut majority of one party, such a discretionary power could be misused. Once a person is appointed as prime Minister, provided for calling of a session of National assembly within two months to seek a vote of confidence, by President as demonstrated by later events. It was provided in the constitution that "The Prime Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the President, but the President shall not exercise his power unless he is satisfied that the Prime Minister does not command the confidence of the majority of the members of the National Assembly. Later events demonstrated that practice was contrary to this constitutionality.

> Federal Type:	S
The 1956 constitution embodied all the features of a federation viz., written constitution , governments at the provincial and national level, distribution of powers between Provincial and federal government and a federal court. Ever-increasing domain of welfare in modern age is forcing governments to expand their sphere of activities. Decentralization is inevitable. The 1956-Constitution distributed the powers between Federal and provincial governments by enumérateing them in three lists – federal, provincial and concurrent.	1. 2. 3.
> Islamic Provisions:.	4
Pakistan was declared to be Islamic Republic. The principles of freedom, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam were to be upheld. Steps were to be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan individually and collectively to order their life in accordance with the Holy Quran and Sunnah. No law shall be enacted if repugnant to the injunctions of Islam.	5 6 7 8
Emergency Powers:	9
In case of grave emergency in which the the security and economic life of the country was threatened by external aggression or by internal disturbance, beyond the control of provincial governments, the president was authorized to proclaim emergency. The parliament could make laws for provincial matters. President could himself assume powers or direct Governors to assume all or any powers of the provincial government. Besides, a unique feature was added. In any of the provinces if the constitutional machinery (ie; the provincial government) had failed to carry out its responsibilities, the President could by proclamation assume to himself or direct the Governor to assume powers of provincial government. The net effect of this provision would be to suspend the provincial government. There existed danger of misuse of this provision for party or sectional interests.	1 1
> Amendment Procedure:	1
The constitution could be amended by the majority of total membership of parliament and by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting. The assent of president was required. There was no provision as to the question what if the President withholds his assent. For all practical purposes, president possessed the veto power over constitutional amendment. It looked as though the 1956 Constitution was in theory Parliamentary but essentially Presidential in practice.	1

Political Dynamics of Ayub Khan Era: 1958-69

Some of the major developments:

1. Thorough purge of bureaucracy through scrutiny and screening process.
2. Land Reforms announced in January 1959.
- 3.. Prohibition of politicians from taking part in politics by enacting "Elected Bodies (Disqualification) Order (EBDO) 1959.
4. System of Basic Democracies, introduced on 27th October, 1959.
5. PRESIDENTIAL Referendum in Feb. 1960
6. Indirect Presidential Elections in December 1964.
7. Shifting of Capital Order 1959, Completed by 1964.
8. Identified itself with the United States in the global context and Internally encouraged capitalist system of economic development
9. 1962- Constitution: Presidential, Federal, Unicameral, indirect elections.
10. Rapid Industrialization, Phenomenal agriculture growth and 5-year Planning strategy.
11. 1965 War with India and re-orientation of Foreign Policy.
12. Agitations of 1968-69: Handing over to COAS instead of the National Assembly Speaker: March 27, 1969

General Muhammad Ayub Khan ruled Pakistan from 1958 to 1969 and he ruled by bringing structural changes and by formulating ruling coalition loyal to him. In broad terms, whenever the military took over in Pakistan, it began with legitimizing its position through obtaining a court's verdict and more importantly forming a favorable ruling coalition, suitable to its new role of political kind.

Legitimization under the Doctrine of Necessity:

There was a legal vacuum when the military took over on 7th October, 1958. Under which legal system the courts would operate. The President issued a new legal order titled "Laws (continuation in Force) Order" on 10th October, 1958, which provided for:

- a) Validation of laws in force before the declaration of Martial law;
- b). Restoration of jurisdiction of courts; and
- c) Governance as nearly as possible in accordance with the 1956 Constitution.

The above mentioned Law Order was called into question before the Supreme Court in a case called Dosso case, already pending even before the imposition of Martial Law. Chief Justice Munir of the Supreme Court was keen to appease his new masters and in haste to legitimize the imposition of Martial Law. He treated the "coup d'état" (violent or subversive take-over of state affairs) as a revolution, wrongly though, like the French Revolution or Soviet Revolution. He justified the imposition of martial law on the following grounds.

- A) That where a revolution is successful, it satisfies the test of efficacy and becomes a law creating fact
- B) That the writ if issued would not have been enforceable; and
- C) That the common law of state necessity comes into operation when it is essential to prevent the society from disruption and the state from dissolution. This means preservation of state becomes over-riding consideration or higher purpose than the law of land in situations of national disaster, war, extreme anarchy and such like conditions.

Devices applied to perpetuate the Rule:

Changes in the political structure become inevitable when military takes over. The purpose is to bring the balance of power in favour of military. Ayub Khan not only made drastic structural changes but also adopted a mechanism or devices to achieve this purpose. In order to perpetuate his rule, which became a standard practice for successive regimes, was based upon: (i) Selective Co-option (ii) Containment (iii) Collateralization (iv) Economic policies. The international environment at that point of time served as a supportive factor and favoured perpetuation of military rule.

1. Selective Co-option: (to associate, choose or persuade for cooperation and sharing responsibility)
The selective co-option policy was intended to bring into government fold those conservative land lords and middle level land-owners who were willing to cooperate and socialize in subordination to the administrative rulers. In order to slash the role of former political elite and to level the ground for selective co-option, the regime took two steps. First, the regime enforced a law called Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order (EBDO) in 1959. About 6000 politicians of various size and shades were debarred from holding any elective office till 31st December 1966. Second, a new system of local bodies called the Basic Democracies (BD) System was introduced by an order on 27th October, 1959. Those who were consistent in showing loyalty towards the government were selectively co-opted at different levels of local self-government.

2. Containment: (to keep in limit or discipline, to nip the opposing groups in the bud)
The masses, the former political elite and the religious elites had to be contained or kept in limits. The previous civilian government had been penetrated by the religious elites to assert their role in the political system. The military, however, considered them peripheral to the coalition. They did agitate and protest but were contained by the military with the help of bureaucracy.
The regime de-politicized the masses by banning political parties and political activities. The political cleansing of the country was considered essential. It was done by treating political activity as anti-state and by containing it.

Land reforms also served the purpose of containment. The upper limit of land owning being 500 acres of irrigated and 1000 acres of non irrigated land, despite its half-hearted implementation, rendered some land to landless farmers. The fear of more reforms kept a hanging sword over the heads of feudal aristocracy and they remained docile to the new regime. The middle-order felt no cause for concern.

3. Collateralization: (sharing in subordinate position and not as equal partners in power structure. collaborate or serve as supplementary partner. It is like step-brother having a rapport but not an absolute position like other brothers from the same father but from a different mother.)

The martial law regime of General Ayub Khan socialized the bureaucracy to descend from co-equal to collateral relationship. An order was passed in 1959 for thorough cleansing of corrupt government servants. The process of close scrutiny initiated by Ayub led to the removal of about 3000 government servants including 138 senior officers. Many military officers were inducted in the civil service. The bureaucracy after some resistance acquiesced. This collateralization enhanced effective control of the regime and prolongation of its life.

4. Economic Policies:

There was no organized class of merchants, traders, or industrialists, even at small scale, at the time of Pakistan's creation. The trader-merchant class comprising of minority Muslim communities such as Bohras, Khojas, memons in Karachi and Saigals and Chinioty Shaikhs in Punjab were dynamic and

skillful entrepreneurs. As business community, they were quick to seek bureaucratic patronage from the Ayub Khan's regime and soon came to dominate the commercial and industrial life. The Chambers of Commerce came into existence. The vacuum created by migrant Hindu businessmen was filled. The trader-merchant class was converted into financial-Industrial class.

By identifying itself with the United States the regime was able to receive capital and foreign exchange flow. The regime increased the credit facility which led to fostering of industrial growth. U.S expertise came in for development of economic institutions. The Harvard Advisory Group (HAG) from USA began operations and played a key role in planning, promoting, and expanding economic institutions.

Industrial Growth:

Fostering of economic institutions and planning of economy was initiated. Planning Commission was set up and it organized long-term, 5-years development plans. The Planning Commission not only trained the professionals but also provided the intellectual and administrative leadership. Industrialization grew in major part because the Pakistan Industrial Development Bank (PIDC) set up several industries such as Jute, Textile, Sugar, fertilizers, paper board, ship-building. Some of the industrial projects were transferred to private sector.

Agricultural Growth:

An Agriculture Development Bank of Pakistan (ADB), set up by the Government, provided liberal loans for the purchase of tractors, installation of tube-wells and purchase of fertilizers. There occurred a green revolution and agriculture production boomed. The Village Aid Program under US economic assistance improved irrigation facilities.

The Drawbacks:

1. New Economic Class:

The regime recruited new members to the Industrial Commercial classes to undermine the established industrial-merchant classes. A scheme was introduced as commercial policy which led to change the structure of merchant-industrial class. It was called Bonus Vouchers Scheme (BVS). The scheme allowed exporters to receive vouchers priced at certain properties of the values of goods and commodities they sold abroad. The BVS were bought by the importers to obtain foreign exchange and import consumer goods. This served as a tool for distributing economic benefits from one class to another. Thus a new merchant commercial class was inducted into the economic system which was sympathetic to ruling coalition.

The basic thrust of the regime was on economic development. The third five year plan (1965-70) generated tremendous growth but it also increased economic inequality. The famous 22 families dominated. The crises of unequal growth produced political crises. Urbanization accelerated with attached social problems.

2. No Viable Political Institutions Evolved:

Yet the rate of development of political institutions remained extremely low. The regime made no effort to develop viable political institution that will give the urban proletariat and industrial labour a sense of political participation

By mid-sixties the ruling coalition was confident of its durability. It conceded limited political participation by having the National Assembly elected through an indirect election by members of the local councils in 1964-65. General Ayub got himself elected as President, through the same Electoral College.

The Crisis:

The political participations through elected bodies in the mid-1960s, limited though, mobilized the masses eventually. The EBDO period had come to an end by 31st December 1966. The regime's economic policies came under attack. The change in external environment occurred when Pakistan, despite being member of Western Pacts, began to cultivate relations with the communist Countries particularly with China. Bhutto pushed for closer ties with China and a border agreement was signed in 1963. Pakistan sought aid from China as alternative source. America terminated aid to Pakistan during the 1965 war with India. The bad harvest and slackened economic growth also have had adverse effects.

The crisis of the system further aggravated and the politics of protest reached a turning point. By 1968-69 the students, the intelligentsia, middle-class, anti-regime political elites had mounted agitations against the quasi-authoritarian rule of Ayub Khan. There was internal bickering and disintegration process within the ruling elite evolved as well. The former Foreign Minister, Z.A.Bhutto had quit the government and formed his own separate party, the PPP, in 1967. The young students and the working class were attracted to the party not only because of Bhutto's charismatic personality, his fiery rhetoric but also because of its appealing manifesto with socialist flavor. In East Pakistan, Shaikh Mujib's Awami League became increasingly popular because of its anti-military stance.

The Abdication:

Under extreme pressure from public in both the wings of Pakistan, Ayub Khan abdicated power to the Military and Martial law was again imposed in March 1969. Unlike the 1958 military intervention which was seen as restoring political order, the 1969 martial law was perceived as an act of vested interest to forestall the revolution. Instead of handing over the power to the speaker of National Assembly (Fazal-ul-Haq Chauhdry, an East Pakistani) as per the 1962 constitution, Ayub Khan preferred another military ruler for Pakistan presumably in order to escape accountability.. Yahya Khan's rule for over 2 years remained under pressure and in crises, in particular in East Pakistan. Selective co-option of religious elite didn't work. The 1971-Elections altogether changed the capacity of government to have coalition base any more. The external environment, the 1971 war and the resultant dismemberment of Pakistan with the creation of BANGLA DESH, brought a collapse of the regime. The task of rejuvenating the system in new Pakistan had to be left to next regime.

The 1962 Constitution

Presidential System

President was to be elected independently of the Legislature and had a direct mandate from the elections to perform the executive functions. His election was to be through the Electoral College consisting of 80,000 members of the local bodies, called BD members..

The President was to be elected for a fixed period of 5 years and could not be removed from office by an adverse vote of Legislature. He could be removed only by a special process of impeachment, as provided in the constitution.

President was so powerful, under the 1962 Constitution that his position was described as that of the Ghanta Ghar (clock-tower) of Lyalpur (now Faisalabad) where all the seven bazaars converged. From wherever one starts reading the constitution, one reaches the powerful President at the end.

The President could promulgate ordinance to meet any situation but such ordinance had to be laid before the National Assembly as soon as possible.

The National Assembly

The National Assembly (Legislature, Law-making body) was elected independently but through the same Electoral College, consisting of BD members, for a fixed term of 4 years. The Legislature worked independent of the executive and could not be dissolved by the President. The National Assembly was the supreme law-making body. No proposal could become law unless voted upon by the National Assembly.

Budgetary powers of the National Assembly were limited to passing the non-recurring expenditure and imposing new taxes. The part of budget relating to the recurring expenditure lay with the President and the National Assembly could not reject or reduce the recurring Budget.

Federal System;

The constitution provided for a federal system, in which the powers to govern were distributed between the federal government and provincial governments, East Pakistan and West Pakistan.

Unicameral Legislature:

The constitution provided for one chamber legislature. This was seen as a strange phenomenon because in federal type of systems an upper chamber consisting of equal representation from each federating unit is considered essential. Probably it was because there were only two provinces only with no extremely high difference of population that a single chamber was retained, less difference.

6. Centralized System:

Matters of national importance were allocated to the central government whereas rest of the subjects were allocated to the provinces. The subjects given to the center included defense, external affairs, inter provincial trade and commerce, national economic planning and national economic coordination, currency, foreign exchange, insurance, nuclear energy, mineral oil and natural gas, industry, preventive detention for reasons connected with security.

The system revolved around the office of President who was the symbol of unity, integrity and solidarity of the state of Pakistan. It was a centralized system.

General Yahya Khan and Pakistan's Dissolution:

Fall of Ayub Khan and his replacement on March 25, 1969 by General Yahya Khan as President (also as Chief Martial Law Administrator) led to a still greater fiasco i.e., dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971.

Faced with the immediate problem of legal vacuum due to abrogation of 1962 Constitution, Yahya promulgated a Provisional Constitutional Order on April 4, 1969 which served as an interim constitution of Pakistan from 1969 to 1973 until a new Constitution was framed and adopted.

Yahya resorted to the device of collateralizing bureaucracy. Surging the Bureaucracy, he removed from service 303 officers, posted the Army Officers against several civilian positions and deputed Army Officers as Martial law Administrators, Sub-Martial Administrators and Sub-Sub Martial Law Administrators at different levels of administration.. The jurisdiction of judges was curtailed in relation to the judgments passed by Special or Summary Military Courts.

Once his grip over the polity was tightened, Yahya permitted resumption of unrestricted political activity from January 1970 onwards and announced elections to be held towards the end of 1970

With the new regime in place the demand for autonomy in East Pakistan assumed intense proportion. Shaikh Mujeeb, leader of Awami League, had already floated the famous 6-points.agend for greater autonomy during Ayub Khan's period. Yet with the announcement of elections to be held, his insistence on 6-p0ints hardened and more vigorous campaign was launched.

Elections were held on December 7, 1970 on the basis of one man one vote.. As a result of free and fair elections (perhaps the only one held absolutely impartially), and as a result of Mujib's indictment of West Pakistan for everything that was wrong in East Pakistan Mujib's Awami League emerged as the single largest party winning 151 seats (all from East Pakistan only) out of a total of 291 seats. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party amassed 81 seats (all from West Pakistan only).

The election fervor and the landslide victory turned the Awami League to call it a victory of Bengali Nationalism. The demand for a sovereign independent East Pakistan became the hallmark of politics of Awami League from January 1971 onwards.

The national assembly session was fixed for March 3, 1971, but it had to be postponed on the insistence of Bhutto not to participate. He even threatened other members from West Pakistan of dire consequences in-case they participate.

Hectic parleys between Army junta on the one hand and Mujib, on the other to resolve political constitutional issues ended in fiasco. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Mujib-ur-Rehman also negotiated but without any mutually acceptable settlement.

Large scale strikes, violence, burning, looting and anti Pakistan movement broke out and East Pakistan slide into anarchy. Parallel government was set up by the Awami league. Political impasse between the central government and East Pakistan leadership resulted into a military action on the night of 25th march 1971. Awami League had already progressively raised its stakes from provincial autonomy to the constitutional break-up of Pakistan and started an armed struggle against Pakistan Army in East Pakistan. Systematic armed uprising by the Awami League revolutionary forces was led under the command of Col. Usmani who was responsible to Mujib. With the support of guerrilla force called Mukti Bahni (trained and equipped by India), India launched a full-sized attack on East Pakistan towards the end of November and by the middle of December captured Dacca by large-scale launching of paratroopers by aircrafts.

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was then representing Pakistan, with the status of Deputy Prime Minister, the case in the United Nations. He severely criticized Security Council members for dilly dallying in convening its meeting and walked out of in desperation. The reason was that India's Foreign Minister Swaran Singh had privately confided to the permanent members of Security Council that the problem is likely to be over in a matter of few hours by intervention of Indian paratroopers. Meanwhile, Pakistan's East Pakistan Command surrendered before the Indian army and instrument of surrender was signed by Lt. General A.A. Khan Niazi and General Jagjit Singh Aurora, C-in-C of Indian Army on December 16, 1971. Four days later, on December 20, General Yahya handed over the office of President to Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

Period of Transformation Events Leading to Disintegration of Pakistan (Fall of Dhaka)

On 25 March 1969, Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan (1908-1974) imposed martial law, abrogated the 1962 Constitution and transferred the offices of chief martial law administrator and president to Gen. Yahya Khan (1917-1980). He temporarily banned all political activities, vowing to lead the country back to sanity, as the demonstration against Ayub Khan had violent proportions. The 1962 constitution had provided for transfer of power to speaker to National Assembly, Abdul Jabbar Khan, Bengali leader who had not spared even his son Rashid Khan Menon for his revolutionary activities. Constitutionally and personally, Abdul Jabbar Khan had a better chance than anyone else to address the tidal Bengali nationalism, but he was never given the chance.

General Yahya Khan asserted that he had neither staged a coup d'état; nor was he the elected representative of the people. He was instead, a soldier on "deputed duty". On 28 November 1969, he announced the dissolution of One Unit; the restoration of three West Pakistan provinces and the creation of Balochistan. He also announced that equality between two wings was canceled. This had meant an equal number of seats in National Assembly for both wings. Yahya Khan affirmed the principle of one man, one vote which meant that East Pakistan would have the majority in the next assembly. The legal Framework Order (LFO) had simple majority sufficient for framing the constitution.

The LFO was promulgated on 30 March 1970. This prescribed the limits in which elections would be held and within which the constitution was to be framed. The LFO provided that:
Pakistan shall be Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in which the Provinces and other territories which are now and may hereafter be included in Pakistan shall be so united in a Federation that the Independence, the territorial integrity and the national solidarity of Pakistan are ensured and that the unity of the Federation is not in any way involved. (para 20).

In addition, the LFO provided that the constitution was to be framed within the 120 days, failing which the National Assembly would be dissolved.

After the breakup of One Unit, the term federating unit would apply equally to Sind, Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan. All provinces, according to the Six Points would have separate currencies, separate foreign currency account and separate militants. The politician immediately understood that the LFO and the Six Points were not compatible. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League president said on 2 May 1970 that the Constituent Assembly should be made sovereign. He pointed out "the coming elections were not for achieving power, but to frame the country's constitution..." He said that the certain provisions in LFO had negated the principles of democracy.[1] On 3 May Awami League Leader Tajuddin said that Six Points were a must.[2] On 8 May 1970 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman reiterated that there was no possibility of compromise on Six Points.[3] Thus we see that the incompatibility between the LFO and the Six Points glaringly apparent even before the 7 December 1970 general elections. On 14 August 1970 Independence Day, student of Dhaka University, in meeting presided over by the Vice-Chancellor Abu Saeed Choudhry displayed a new map and flag of Bangladesh.[4] Former professor and the chairman of Political Science at Dhaka University and the member of Yahya's cabinet G.W. Choudhry later commented that Mujib's scheme of a center with only two responsibilities, defense and foreign affairs was devoid of financial and administrative means to carry out its obligations. [5]

Mujibur Rahman had stressed for framing the constitution and not for achieving power. There would be no provision under constitution law to limit the Six Point to only one province. The Awami League insisted that constitution be framed only by the simple majority it enjoyed and strongly rejected the suggestion that the constitution can be passed only by the 61 per cent majority. This figure was proposed as a compromise since it is a universal convention to frame or amend a constitution by a two thirds majority. The importance of the Six Points became clear after the Awami League won the 1970

The Election of 7 December 1970

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These were the first general elections to be held on the bases of the direct and universal franchise throughout Pakistan. The framing of the constitution had been an elusive exercise, therefore the enthusiasm of the voters to secure a lasting constitution for Pakistan was unprecedented. It was generally recognized that the conduct of the elections had been free and fair. For this Yahya Khan was really praised. In East Pakistan Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats. Out of the 144 seats allotted to the west wing, the PPP, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto won 81 seats initially. After independent members joined the PPP its representation grows to 88. The Awami League had not won any single seat out of West Pakistan, and since One Unit had been done away with PPP, the same bases of the regional representation represented only the Punjab and Sindh; as in Balochistan and NWFP the National Awami Party, led by Khan Abdul Wali Khan (d.2006), had the majority representation. Thus three parties represented the three regions: East Bengal, Punjab and Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP. The party caught in the middle, the PPP set off the constitutional crisis.

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The Awami League Leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was also making disquieting observation but not loud and not categorical. He told Ardesir Zahedi and Ihsan Cagliyangli, the foreign minister of Iran and Turkey, that "he would rather be the father of the new nation than the Prime Minister of Pakistan." [6] On 14 January 1971, Yahya Khan announced that the Mujibur Rahman was the next prime minister of the Pakistan. On 17 January, Yahya went to Larkana to confer with Z.A. Bhutto. That created a bad impression since Yahya had not visited Mujibur Rahman at his home but called him at Governor's house, Dhaka. According to Bhutto, he expressed to Yahya, his misgiving on the Six Points. [7] Bhutto therefore went to Dhaka to confer with Mujibur Rahman about the Six Point formula from 27 to 30 February. These talks proved inconclusive and on his return Bhutto asked Yahya to delay convening the Constituent Assembly.

The Constitutional Crisis

Yahya did not acceded to Bhutto's request and fixed 3 March 1971 as the date when the Constituent Assembly would be convened at Dhaka. At this Z.A. Bhutto set off the constitutional crisis by stating, on 15 February 1971 in Peshawar, that he would not attend the Constituent Assembly on 3 March. In Bhutto's own words, "unless assured that our point of view would be heard, and if found reasonable, accepted by the Awami League", [8] he would not attend. On 28 February in Lahore, Bhutto said he was willing to go to Dhaka if pre-conditions of framing the constitution within 120 days were lifted. Bhutto's condition was equivocal; he had denied at Peshawar that he was boycotting the sessions, but this was only the play of the words but his refusal to attend and moreover, his refusal to let his party member attend was, in effect, a boycott.

In East Pakistan, Mujibur Rahman told New York Times on 4 March 1971, that each wing should have its own prime minister. As M. Rafique Afzal aptly says: "No one took notice of his extreme statement, but after ten days later, similar statement by Bhutto evoked the uproar". [9] Whatever the objective situation, Bhutto's ambition is the factor which no body is willing to discount. Whether Bhutto was justified in depicting the Six Point as secessionist can be judged by tracing the history of Bengali nationalism.

The course of Ethnic Violence

On 25 March 1971, General Tikka Khan (1917-2002) ordered military action which was indiscriminate and reprehensible but not unprovoked. The violence was initiated by Bengali militants and not by Pakistan army. In fact there were two broad phases of violence a limit phase dating from 1954 and a second phase beginning on 1966. The first ethnic riot took place on 23 March 1954 at Chandraghona Paper Mills (near Chittagong), second took place in Adamjee Jute Mills at Narayanganj (near Dhaka) on 15 May 1954. The majority of the victims were non-Bengali, lumped together under the name of the

Biharis as the most of them had sought refuge from anti-Muslim riots in Bihar.

The round of ethnic riots took place in Chittagong in early May 1966 when the Khoja family refuses to marry his daughter with a Bengali boy, (for the sectarian rather than ethnic reason). [10] Following Yahya's Martial Law, on 7 August 1969, there were attacks on non-Bengali localities in Dhaka, [11] and another attack on 1 November 1969.

On 1 March 1971 when Yahya Khan announced that the Constituent Assembly session scheduled was being postponed, Mujib held a press conference and called for strike and civil disobedience. This was the signal of wide spread genocide against the non-Bengalis. This was a program in which around 30,000 non-Bengali, men, women and children were killed.

History of Bengali Nationalism

Following are excerpts from different books and journalists that trace the various stages of Bengali nationalism.

1. Since the dawn of history, Bengal had been a problem, demanding political independence against imperial domination whether Hindu or Muslim; since the age of Harsha down to the age of Akbar.[1]
2. Ethnic animosity between Bengalis and Biharis, specially Hindu Bengalis and Hindu Biharis surfaced before Partition. The Congress working committee forms a sub-committee to deal with the problem. It finally adopted the Dr. Rajendra Prasad's proposal of doing away with ethnic distinction by abolishing the Domicile Certificate.[2]
3. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was forced by Mahatma Gandhi to resign as a Congress President in 1939. To show his great solidarity with Bengali Leader, the great Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore hosted a reception in the honour of Bose and delivered the welcome address. [3]
4. In 1947 Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, then Prime Minister and Kiran Shanker Roy, then leader of the opposition in Bengal Legislative Assembly, provided the scheme of United and Independent Bengal. M.A. Jinnah,[4] Liaquat Ali Khan, Sarat Chandra Bose and even Mahatma Gandhi agreed, but the Congress President, Jawaharlal Nehru refused, saying that "there was no chance of Hindus there agreeing to put themselves under permanent Muslim domination." [5]

This led to Nehru endorsing the Two-Nation Theory, he had otherwise detested and ridiculed. It was wrong for Hindus to be permanently subjugated in Muslim majority Bengal; but it was acceptable for Muslims to be permanently subjugated under Hindus Majority India. Nehru had realized that if a signal Province Bengal was allowed independence, other province would make the same demand, and the princely states would be encouraged to retain their freedom. [6]

In 1947, Nehru blocked the independence of Bengal to preserve the integrity of India. In 1947, Yahya blocked the independence of Bangladesh to preserve the integrity of Pakistan. Three out of five provinces, East Bengal, NWFP and Balochistan had voted for pro-USSR parties (Awami League in post Suhrawardy era and NAP). While M.A. Jinnah could agree to an independent Bengal; there was no constitutional device by which he could refuse the accession of East Bengal to Pakistan.

Notes

1. Kalikamjan Qanungo, Sher Shah and his times Calcutta: Oriented Longman, 1965, p. 303.
2. Star of India, Calcutta, 16 January 1936, p. 6.
3. Stanley Wolpert, Gandhi's Passion, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 188. Shakeel Ahmad Zia, Sindh Ka Muqaddama (Sindh Case); Karachi, April 1987, p. 25.
4. H.V. Hodson, The Great Divine, Karachi: Oxford University Press 1989, p.246.
5. S.M. Burke and S.A.D. Qureshi, The British Raj in India, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995,

p. 513.

6. Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhyay, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan, New Delhi: sterling, 1991, p. 323.

A British technician who crossed the border on 6 April 1971 reported the massacre in Dinajpur. "After the soldiers had left, the mobs set upon the non-Bengali Muslims from Bihar. I don't know how many died, but I could hear the screams throughout the night". The European manager of a Chittagong Bank said, "It was fortune for every European living here that the Army arrived when it did; otherwise, I would not have lived to tell the tale". Most of the non-Bengali was killed before 23 March. [13]

All these atrocities are well-documented. The effect of the violence was to the shape the outcome of the three-sided negotiations being carried out between Yahya Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The negotiations began on 22 March 1971. Tajuddin conveyed the Awami League decision that it would not allow any central or national cabinet, and demanded that power be transferred to two wings directly.[14] This meant which had already called for martial law to be lifted wanted not a transfer but an abdication of power. The next day-Republic Day-Kamal Husain submitted the final proposal of Awami League to Yahya Khan.[15] According to G.W. Choudhry, who personally saw the draft, the Awami League set forth the procedure for framing to constitutions by two sovereign constitutional conventions. "In fact, the Mujib plan was nothing but an unqualified scheme for splitting the country into two separate entities, Bangladesh and Pakistan." [16] Although the G.W. Choudhry is critical of Z.A. Bhutto throughout, his analysis of the Six Points in the same as Bhutto's.

Thus the crisis had nothing to do with transferring power to the majority party. It was a constitutional crisis. As Bhutto had explained, the Six Points programme was a confederal not federal scheme. In the confederal system, the majority party of one unit cannot become the majority party of the federating unit,[17] for example both Britain and Australia are both the member of the Commonwealth and both have Queen Elizabeth 2 as their head of state, but the majority party of the Britain cannot form a government in Australia. If the Awami league wished for the power at the centre it would have had to compromise on Six Points. Mujibur Rahman could not be come the prime minister and remain a six point mandate.

Bhutto became the adversary for pointing this out the slogan chanted by the Awami league protesters was 'Bhutto Mukke Lati Maro' (kick Bhutto face). It is clear from the conclusion reached by all political analysts that the Six Point programme was a scheme of secession. Why did Mujibur Rahman not make a direct declaration of the independence? G.W. Choudhry's explanation is that Mujibur Rahman wished to employ a weak confederal link to extract financial benefits. He writes: "While the central Government was denied any financial powers or resources as far as the Bangladesh concerned, it might be liable to pay dues to Bangladesh Government on the basis of the 1970-71 budget".[18] This marked at the end of the talks and was the signal for action by the Pakistan Army on 25 March 1971.

Pakistan Army Atrocities

G.W. Choudhry, a professor of Political Sciences, was present during the crisis and was able to depict unerringly the event that unfolded. He concedes that the armed rebellion had to be encountered, but condemns the action taken by the army and then asks: "But could there be any justification or rationale for the killing of thousands of innocent villagers who had not the slightest idea of the issues involved?" [19] The atrocities cited in Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report are sufficient to convey the sense of trauma: "There was a massacre in Comilla Cantonment on 27 March 1971 ordered by Lt.-Gen Yaqub Malik. Seventeen officers, nine hundred and fifteen soldier were killed. In Salda Nadi another five hundred people were killed." Brigadier Arbab also asked Lt.-Col. Aziz Ahmad Khan to destroy all the houses in the Joydebpur, who carried out the order to carry out to a great, extend. In May, Brigadier Abdullah Malik gave the written order to kill the Hindus. Lt.-Gen. Gul Hassan used to ask the soldiers

"how many Bengalis have you killed?"[20]

The Hamoodur Rahman Commission stated that there were indiscriminate killings of Bengalis. [21] While it is to the credit of West Pakistan that no Bengali was killed in West wing, it is a matter of grave discredit that the terrorists were allowed to escape and innocent people were killed. [22] When asked, about the army action, General Tikka Khan said, "it was a complete distortion of history to believe as everyone in the world does, that we started everything. Mujib wanted the showdown". [23]

As far as the statement goes, it is true. He complained about exaggeration by the Awami League. His own estimate of the Bengali killed was 30,000! The Hamoodur Rahman Commission estimated 26,000 Bengalis killed. The verdict of the Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report is that: "No amount of provocation by the militants and Awami League or other miscreants could justify retaliation by the disciplined army against its own people". [24] It is in the background of the verdict, perhaps, that President Pervez Musharraf apologized on 29 July 2002, in Dhaka for the army action.

West Pakistan Arrogance

Just as important as the history of Bengali nationalism, is the need to analyze mindsets of the West Pakistanis. The history of the Bengali nationalism and the language issue encompass policy, but not conduct, as all the portents of the nationalism could have remained latent, possibly even contained, even after having emerged from the Calcutta and Noakali communal riots. The arrogance of the ruling elite towards the Bengali population had a cumulative effect in creating alienation.

The language factors led the Bihari refugees to side with the Urdu speaking with the West Pakistan, but this was a purely sentimental attitude of a largely lower middle class community. In practice, the Biharis were fluent in Bengali and only needed to learn the script. This involved effort, since the script was so different and few facilities for on-job-training.

The Bengali population was overwhelming responsive to rulers who showed sensitivity to their feelings. The popularity of Lt.-Gen. Azam Khan as the governor general of East Pakistan is irrefutable evidence that the population of East Pakistan was actively constructing Pakistan nationalism. It is in the governorship of Azam Khan that we find the factor that kept East Pakistan loyal to Pakistan. His term and style as a governor should be studied in any analysis of the crisis. In spite of being military governor and a Pathan and ethnically poles apart from the Bengalis, he identified with masses.

On the occasion of the state visit queen Elizabeth 2, while the road connecting Dhaka airport to the city under repair, Azam Khan shared food and drink from the earthenware vessels of the laborers, squatting with them during visits which were round the clock. Apart from laborers, he identified with fishermen and farmers. Even after braving the shock of his removal presidential election which was bitterly contested in 1965, the population of East Pakistan had solitarily supported the 1965 war. It was apparent, but not expressed then, that there was not a single anti-aircraft gun in whole of East Pakistan.

It was this spirit of patriotism that had to be broken before secessionist plan could succeed. The fourteen points of 1954 had similarities to the six points of 1966. When, in 1954, the popular and newly elected chief minister, A.K. Fazlul Haq made a statement in Calcutta decrying the creation of Pakistan, there was widespread protests in the province and the largest protest was led by Mulana Abdul Hammed Khan Bhashani (1885-1976). The same man called for outright secession in 1970. It was only after the 1965 war that politicians waiting in the wings could bring secessionist feelings into the mainstream of Bengali politics.

It is now admitted that the east wing was treated as a colony. This is true only of the urban areas; the rural areas were treated worse than colonies. It also ridiculous to blame, as some authors do, Hindu teachers for spreading disaffection. By 1965 Hindu teachers were in a minority and did not feel as

secure as their Muslims colleagues, who were the once preaching secession. It is also true that his literary and cultural bias of the east wing was different from that of the west wing but this was not an insuperable problem. The killing of Dr. Govin Chandra Dev, and Pro. Jyotirmoy Guhathakurta was tragedies.

Cross-border terrorism

By 1970 Bengali militants cadre had been organized the Indian government took advantage of the ethnic unrest to train saboteurs the Indian prime minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi admitted in an interview with Oriana Fallice that Indian help to the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Party) marked the beginning of the 1971 war she openly admitted that India started the war.[25] the Indian general who train and lead the Mukti Bahini was Shahbeg Singh who saved his beard for purpose[26] in order to give an ideological cover the cross-border terrorism Indira Gandhi began to negate the sovereign status of Pakistan she stated in London on 1 November 1971 that India and Pakistan were not equal and that India would not except such treatment.

In a future development the USSR and India concurred that if Pakistan attacked India in retaliation against Indian assistance to the Mukti Bahini it would be considered aggression USSR regard the Mukti Bahini as a liberation movement and its support was just and defensible[27].

The Role of Foreign Powers

The concord between the USSR and India reflects on the role of foreign power in the 1971 war paradoxically Pakistan's with the USSR had improved considerably on 15 June 1970 the USSR and Pakistan had signed a pact for cultural and scientific cooperation[28]. Relation thereafter were deliberately worsened to take advantage on 25 March 1971 military crackdown only three days later the USSR prime minister Alexei Kosygin expressed his concern about the situation in Pakistan and on 2 April the USSR president Nicolai Podgorny threatened Yahya Khan with dire consequences Yahya called it blatant interference Pakistan's internal matters the same day the US State Department issued a statement that the Awami League insurgency was internal matter this would be the first and the last time the US State Department would issue a statement openly supporting Pakistan both Richard M. Nixon (1913-1994) and the national Security Advisor Henry Kissinger mention in their memories that the Secretary of state William Rogers was pro- India and obstructed the efforts of President Nixon.

In April the Chinese prime minister told a Pakistani delegation that China would side with Pakistan but would not be able to support military measures [29]. When Henry Kissinger made his clandestine trip to China 11 July 1971 he said that the US would support Pakistan in the crisis but could not take military action [30]. Thus though Pakistan won the diplomatic support of US and China but it was unable to secure military guarantees for its integrity at different times each country would encourage the other to intervene militarily on Pakistan's side but this never materialized.

Henry Kissinger's secret trip to China and the announcement that president Nixon had expected an invitation to visit China created quite a stir Pakistan had suffered badly in the 1965 war and Tashkent negotiations because of US and USSR collusion with the aim of containing China with the change in world alliances there was hope for Pakistan this hope was not fulfilled as a counterpoise to thaw in US-China relations India and the USSR signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation on 9 August 1971 which included military collaboration.

Instead of showing solidarity with Pakistan and China US State Department chose to contradict the contention of Benjamin Oehlert Jr, a long-serving US Ambassador to Pakistan that the US had obligations towards Pakistan [31]. By issuing this statement US State Department undermined the joint efforts of the US and China to support Pakistan the US had not still formally recognized China and the secret assurance of Henry Kissinger were not consider reliable enough by China to take military

initiative on 11 December Z.A. Bhutto carried the intelligence that the Chinese were confused by the split in the US establishment [32].

Thereafter the pace of the events increase on 2 December 1971 the president "Yahya Khan invoked the 1959 Mutual Defense Territory on 3 December war begin on the western front on the same day the Washington special Action Group (WSAP) held a meeting in which President Nixon's wish to tilt towards Pakistan was raised. William Rogers continued to be obstructive but George Bush Sr. then US envoy condemned as aggressor the UNSC considered a resolution for a cease fire and withdrawal of force their own countries but the USSR vetoed it on the following day 6 December India formally recognized Bangladesh on 7 December the UN General Assembly called for a ceasefire and withdrawal from each other territory the 104 against 11 votes for the motion reflected international support for Pakistan there is no vote in the UN General Assembly but its resolutions are not binding.

The US State Department deplored Indian intervention the same day but Henry Kissinger confides that when Maj.-Gen. Rao Farman Ali's offers of ceasefire were received at the UN, the State Department personal was jubilant [33]. On 9 December Nixon said he reprimanded the State Department however Nixon expected the State Department assessment that the independence of East Pakistan was both inevitable and desirable [34]. Nixon and Kissinger violently disagreed with another assessment of the US State Department held that India had no decision on West Pakistan India gave the US an undertaking that it would not invade West Pakistan but much to the chagrin of India Nixon insisted that this undertaking would have to include Azad Kashmir.

Henry Kissinger explained first to Hung Hua and then to Bhutto that the military conditions on the ground were deteriorating so fast that if efforts were directed at saving east Pakistan Azad Kashmir and West Pakistan would mean while fall [35]. India could mount a single air attack with the hundred planes Kissinger took the precaution of telling General A.N. Raza Pakistani ambassador that Pakistan should insist that any ceasefire proposal should include ceasefire in West Pakistan as well on 9 December after East Pakistan was a lost cause President Nixon ordered the Seventh Fleet's USS Enterprise to move towards Bengal [36]. And at same time USSR moved his troops to the Chinese border the USSR are the ambassador assured India that they would divert Chinese troops and would allow the Seventh Fleet's to intervene [37]. Another explanation of how they USSR prevailed over the US and China is provided by a Yale professor in 1971 the USSR developed nuclear Submarines of the East coast of the USA, from where the attack US targets in 8 minutes [38]. In view of the lengths to which the USSR had gone to dismember Pakistan it was no consolation to be told by its deputy foreign minister that the game being played for high international stakes it has nothing to do with you. You are the victims of an objective situation [39].

The Outbreak of War

On 22 November 1971 without a formal declaration of war India started all-out offensive in East Pakistan on 3 December 1971 to relieve some pressure on the eastern front Yahya Khan ordered a counter offensive in the West the total result was the loss of Kargil to India the defeat of Pakistan was expected with the simultaneous US arms embargo on Pakistan and the Russian Supply of arms to India no other result short foreign intervention could be expected President Yahya Khan was to complain that his order on the western front were not being carried out while the soldiers complained of not receiving orders. President Yahya Khan Attempt to retain power even after the surrender in Dhaka on 16 December but by 20 December he forced to resign his comment on the out of the war was:

There was always possibility that the events in East Pakistan might take the course they have taken but I had no alternative. People would not have excused me if I had allowed East Pakistan to secede [40].

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Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman (B. tunglpara, 1920-d.dhaka,15th August 1975) was the leader who founded Bangladesh, and in the process dismembered Pakistan. What was his precise role during the last round of negotiations remains unclear, even after the release US STATE Department papers . one report says that Mujib reneged on an agreement with Yahya Khan which called for (a) immediate establishment of provincial Governments, (b) temporary continuation of the central Government under Yahya Khan, and (c) a constitutional scheme in which the centerel Government would deal only with defence ,foreign affairs and currency.

A subsequent report asked that Mujib-Ur-Rahman wanted confideration, not separation .

Sheikh Mujib ur rahman began his political life in Mission High School, Gopalpur, when he told A.K.Fazlul Haq and H.S. Suhrawardy who were jointly on inspection, that the roof leaked. The principal thought he had spoken out of turn, but in the years ahead, Mujib's encounter with the two leaders would continue. He went on to Islamia College, culcutta and the university of Dhaka. He became an ardent Muslim League, and in the 1946 Bihar, riots, played a leading role in rehabilitating the refugees in East Bengal.

It was in the wake of 1948 Bengali language Movement that Mujib-ur -Rahman gained prominence. He was able to persuade H.S. Suhrawardy to retract he statement favouring Urdu as the national language, but was unable to associate Fazlul Haq with the Language Movement this defend his attitude towards them. On 5th january 1956, he criticised Fazlul Haq for challenging the H.S. Suhrawardy.

Number.of times Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was sent to jail needs to be noted:(i) he was arrested while picketing the Dhaka Secretariat on 11th March 1948; (ii) he was again arrested while agitating for better working conditons in the Dhaka University; from 10th April to 29th of July 1949; (iii) he was jailed on 1st January 1950 for two years; (iv) he was already in jail when he was indicted Agartala Conspiracy Case. This writer saw him in being tried by the Magistrate in 1965. He was released in 1968 participating in Round Table Conference. (v) the last time he was arrested after the Army Action 25th March 1976. He looked at the (burning) skyline and asked the commanding officer "Was it necessary to do all this?" Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman had courted arrest to avoid a crackdown: other than him, each and every Awami League legislator had escaped.

Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman remains a living factor in the politics of Pakistan. This is because most Pakistanis blame only Yahya and Bhutto for the 1971 debacle.

He has more ardent supporters in the country he divided, than in the country he emancipated. While his Bangladeshi biographer has accepted that Mujib had indeed gone to Agartala, and the militants who killed the Dhaka intellectuals on 14th December 1971 were Bengalis not Beharis, Pakistani reviewer complained: "Mr.Karim's considerable capacity to respect the truth is likely to deepen a Pakistani majority's miscomprehension of the event of the 1971".

Bhutto's Era 1971 -1977

Two features marked Bhutto's era. At the Global level, it showed solidarity with the Muslim countries and the third world. Relations with the United States cooled and with China became warmer. At the domestic level, he encouraged socialist pattern for economic development and adopted reformist policy.

His most Significant contributions to the political system of Pakistan were:

- (a) Raising the political consciousness of the down-trodden, and
- (b) Adoption of the 1973- Constitution of Pakistan.

The Mechanism that he applied to resolve the immediate political crisis and to establish his supremacy were not very different from the ones applied by General Ayub Khan with whom he had worked as Minister for 8~years. His electoral success was very much his personal achievement which enabled him to command authority over his party. The ruling coalition that he formed consisted of segments of feudal, urban middle class and industrial labour leaders who had led his election campaign effectively. He co-opted various political elements but contained some. He collateralized the powerful components, the bureaucracy and the army, into subordinate position vis-a-vis political leadership.

1. Collateralization:

A). Military:

To give effect to this mechanism and to limit the role of army, he adopted two measures. He purged some of the army Generals and reorganized the command structure of the Army. But more importantly he got a provision (Article-6) provided in the 1973- Constitution that any person abrogating or subverting or conspiring to subvert the constitution by use or show of force or other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason. The constitution also specified under Article 245 that "Armed Forces shall, under the directions of Federal Government, defend Pakistan against external aggression or threat of war, and, subject to Jaw, act in aid of civil power when called upon to do so. Demoralized after the debacle of East Pakistan, Army acquiesced to a subordinate position. The Army, in any case, was in need of a civilian political leader of Bhutto's stature and charisma to pull the masses and country out of despair and demoralization. Besides, a Para-military force called Federal Security Force (FSF) was created and put under the direct control of Prime Minister.

B), Bureaucracy:

Bhutto removed 1300 officers from service to exert pressure on bureaucracy. As part of administrative reforms, legislation was enacted which authorized the government to retire from service senior civil servants without assigning any reason. To increase further pressure on them, a scheme of lateral entry was introduced to recruit loyalist in the bureaucracy. These measures deterred the bureaucracy from declining to resist even the illegitimate orders of the regime. This treatment in fact ultimately increased latent hostility from bureaucracy towards the PPP regime.

2. Economic Reforms:

In order to broaden the support base as well as to fulfill the manifesto promises, the regime pursued a reformist agenda.

A). Nationalization:

Within two weeks after he took over as president, Bhutto issued Economic Reforms Order (January 3, 1972) and the government took over 10 basic industries stating that it is being done for the benefit of people of Pakistan. The managements of each of the industrial establishments were taken over by the central government.

Commercial Banks in the private sector were also nationalized. By April 1972, the management of private educational colleges and schools was taken over.

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The net result of nationalization process was a sharp decline in production, poor service and business in the Banks and fall in the standards of education. The policy of nationalization apparently adopted to strengthen his power-base by pleasing the employees of the industry, banks and private educational institutions proved counter-productive as it neither created a support base for him nor the employees came forward give more to their profession through hard work and strengthen institutions.

B). Land reforms:

As a decree of martial Law, Bhutto announced land reforms on March 11, 1972, fixing 150 acres of land as the limit for owning irrigated land and 300 acres for non irrigated land. A word got spread around that as-a result of land reforms; tenants would be getting 12.5 acres of land on nominal charges. It gave the rural masses new confidence arid it left on them a psychological impact of being important. No land was distributed to the tenants. In fact, the psychological impact led to tenant-landlord clashes in some rural areas.

PPP, however, improved its support base. The small landholders, the tenants of big landlords and the working class felt naturally sympathetic towards the Pakistan People's Party. Z.A. Bhutto's most significant contribution to the political system was the formulation of constitution in 1973. It provided a relatively stable basis for coalition making. There was a broad consensus of all the major political parties on the constitution. The PPP-NAP-JUI provided the lead Of the 133 members of the National Assembly, 125 cast their vote in favor of the constitution, adopted on April 10, 1973 and put into practice on August 14, 1973.

3. Containment

The Bhutto regime made efforts to co-opt the religious elite into the ruling coalition. The NAP-JUI (National Awami Party and Jamiat-i-Ulma-i-Islam) had reached an understanding with Z.A. Bhutto to form governments in NWFP and Baluchistan. Atta Ullah Mengal was sworn in as Chief Minister in Baluchistan and Maulana Mahmood Mufti (father of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman) had constituted government in NWFP on May 1, 1973. However, this coalitional relationship was short-lived. The two had different perceptions in terms of social and economic policies. This cleavage led to alienation of political elite. The other components, the military and bureaucracy, got reinforced. As a result of repressive policies of Mengal against Zehris and Jamotes and even against Punjabi settlers, Mengal faced resistance and he raised a private army called Lashkar. The federal troops were sent to disarm the Lashkar. The two provincial governments resigned On August 16,1973.

Besides, there was an overall resurgence of Islam in the Middle-East, which had spill over impact of Islamic revivalism in Pakistan also. The potential of crises increased because of enhanced position of religious elite, the resentful landed aristocracy also being skeptical about the intentions of the regime turned hostile.

4. The Language Crisis in Sind:

Demand for Sindhi as official language of Sind was floated in March 1972. Rasool Bakhsh Talpor, as Governor, and Mumtaz AH Bhutto, as Chief Minister, yielded to pressures and agitations by Sindhis. It led to reaction by Muhajirs in Sind who too agitated about preserving Urdu as the language. Despite that, official forms were being filled in English or Sindhi. Student clashes occurred against Muhajirs in Liaqat Medical College in Jamshoro and against Sindi teachers in Polytechnic Institute. Bill in favour of Sindhi as official and educational language was passed by Sind Provincial Assembly on July 7, 1973. In response to it widespread clashes took place between Sindhi and Mihajir population and at some places curfew had to be imposed. Bhutto intervened and restrained the Governor from signing it and the dispute subsided.

5. Simla Accord with India:

To resolve issues of Pakistani prisoners of War stranded in India and withdrawal from occupied areas as a result of 1971 War, a summit was held in Simla (India) in the last week of June 1972. Hard peace negotiations resulted in signing of an agreement between Bhutto and Mrs. Indra Gandhi in early hours of July 2, 1972. As per agreement 90,000 prisoners were to return to Pakistan. However, the cease-fire line existing between Indian occupied Kashmir and Pakistan occupied Kashmir since 1949 was to be replaced with the line of control resulting from the ceasefire on 17 December, 1971. It was said in the agreement that "the line of control of control shall be respected without prejudice to the recognized position of each side". This agreement was controversial by the political forces who blamed Bhutto to have sold national interest. However, analysts commented that this was the price Bhutto paid for the return of prisoners.

6. Fraternity with the Muslim World:

One effect that the 1973 Arab-Israel War had on the world was in the shape of Oil Crisis, enhancing the economic and strategic importance of oil-producing countries, in particular the Muslim world. Bhutto perceived the importance of the event and ceased the moment He made hectic tours of the vital Muslim countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Libya, Egypt and many more to sound them for an intimate collaboration. The second Summit Conference of the Organization of Muslim Countries (OIC)-was hosted by Pakistan in March 1974, in Lahore.

The summit exceedingly enhanced a closer collaboration among Muslim Countries and the prestige of Pakistan on the one hand, led to the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan but also alarmed the West, USA in particular, on the other hand. When India tested atomic device in 1974, Pakistan announced its intention to reciprocate, much to the distaste of Henry Kissinger, the then Foreign Minister of USA.

Foreign aid and loans from the Muslim world increased. In 1974, Iran provided a loan of 250 million dollars and Saudi Arabia provided 100 million dollars. The Muslim countries emerged as the major buyers of Pakistani goods. Almost a quarter of exports went to Muslim countries. The regime not only identified itself with the Muslim countries in the international system but its dependence on Muslim countries also increased.

7. Labor Export and its Impact on Pakistan Society:

The regime encouraged labor export to the Middle East During the period of 1972 - 77, there were one million Pakistani workers in Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iran, Abu Dhabi, Dubai and other Middle Eastern countries. The remittances from these workers rose from 500 million rupees in 1972 to 17 billion rupees by 1980. This was a major source of foreign exchange earnings.

Influx of more money and foreign gadgets brought back by the labor force, mostly of rural areas, had disrupting effect on the traditional rural structures. There was a rural patron-client relationship, which got broken. Resultantly, the social transformation intensified tensions in rural structure, which, it was thought, had been caused by Bhutto's policies.

8. Economy and International Monetary Fund:

Foreign Debt was a major constraint on the economy for which the regime had to make a major compromise with International Monetary Fund (IMF) which in turn caused increased American pressure on restrictions were lifted on condition of Rupee's devaluation by 13%. This caused inflation and price hike.

9. Adverse Result of Nationalization Policy:

Nationalization of industries, banks and educational institutions was a major step of economic nature adopted by the Bhutto regime. Through nationalization, the regime attempted to alter the power balance of institutions. It intended to reduce inequality and improve economic conditions of poorer people. But instead it brought down productivity and caused stagnation in industrial growth. It could not generate capital. The proportion of private investments went down. The merchant-industrial class went hostile on deprivation of their industries and business concern.

The regime, however in fact, it encouraged foreign investments by passing a bill in the parliament in 1976 guaranteeing immunity from nationalization of foreign investments.

After the dismemberment of Pakistan, the changed reality of geo-political environment had its own demands. The regime wanted to give the impression to the international community that Pakistan has a responsible and responsive government.

10. 1977-Elections and End of Bhutto's Era:

When in 1977, Bhutto announced elections, the resentful elements ganged up against him. Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) consisting of a segment of landed aristocracy, religious elite, trade merchants, industrial class and the disgruntled urban political elite who were affected the regime's, socio-economic policies was formed. It was broad coalition of opposition. Shocked by the results of the elections, which were partly rigged, the PNA proceeded to launch a movement against the election fraud. The PNA intensified the politics of protest and confrontation, putting Bhutto on the defense.

The crises in the system re-emerged. The ruling coalition crumbled. The system came back full circle. The army, a durable component, stepped in and vicious circle of ruling coalition and structural change started again.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan

Government governs. A constitution governs the government- Government brings order in the society. A constitution brings order in the government. Constitution being the mega law it serves as the higher principle and higher moral power; it lays down the meta political rules of the game. Therefore, the constitution provides a broader set of principles, political values, ideals and goals for the political system of a country. It defines the framework of government. The authority, responsibilities, functions and limitations of the various institutions of state and government are specified in the constitution.

Change in a constitution becomes inevitable with the passage of time, necessitated by new compulsions, circumstances, environment, factors and forces. No constitution in the world is immune from change, even though as little as the reinterpretation of Islamic laws (Ijtihad) to meet new or changed situations in the light of Quran, Sunnah and Hadith. No wonder the 1973- Constitution of Pakistan has undergone 20 amendments, to date to meet new situations and requirements. The major contribution of the 18th Amendment (April, 2010) is that it has restored the spirit of parliamentary system vesting executive authority of the federation in the Prime Minister and Cabinet by removing the anomalies created by 8th and 17th amendments.. The 19th Amendment had struck fine balance between the powers of judiciary and parliament about the procedure of appointment of judges by increasing the number of serving judges in the Judicial Commission (recommendatory body) and by requiring the Parliamentary Committee (scrutiny and approving body) to give its reasons for rejecting the JC's recommendation in writing. The 20th amendment has however enhanced the credibility of electoral process in the country by slashing presidential powers to form an interim government in the transitional phase. (Transfer of power from one government to another). Now this all is to take place on the basis of a consensual process (after consultation between the government and the opposition)

The 1973 constitution was the result of a consensus among the political parties. The Pakistan People's Party (party in government) reached an accord with the opposition parties namely National Awami Party (Abdul Wali Khan), Jamiat-e-Ulma-e- Islam (Mufti Mehmood), Jamiat-e-Ulma-e- Pakistan (Shah Ahmed Noorani), Jamat-e-Islami (Maulvi Tufail Alimed. through Prof. Abdul Ghafoqr) and Council Muslim League (Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan).

The passage of the 1973 constitution on April 10, 1973 is considered to be one of Z. A. Bhutto's greatest accomplishments. Even his bitter enemies acknowledge this fact. The 1973 constitution represented a broad national-consensus for which credit goes to Bhutto's bargaining skills as well as to opposition's reasonable and realistic stance. They all had made concessions and they all had made gains;

Main Characteristics:

Although the original version of the 1973 constitution was different, yet a total of 19 amendments changed its shape and substance in several ways. The main characteristics of the constitution, in its amended form are as follows:

1) Parliamentary Form of Government:

Parliamentary system has been adopted. Executive authority of federation shall be exercised in the name of President by the federal government consisting of Prime Minister and the Federal Ministers who shall act through the Prime Minister and who shall be the Chief Executive of the federation of Pakistan

Election of Prime Minister:

The Prime Minister (PM) shall be elected by the majority of total members of the National Assembly. There will be a second poll in case no one gets majority votes of the total members in the first poll, the two candidates scoring the highest will go for a second poll. A candidate who receives the majority

votes of the members present and voting shall be declared as Prime Minister. In the case of a tie between the two candidates, further polls will be held until one of the two secures majority votes of those present and voting. In implied terms, a member of National Assembly supported by a comparative majority and not by absolute majority of the total membership of the Assembly can also get elected. Apparently it negates the principle of liberal democracy. On the other hand this provision may reduce, if not eliminate the chances of horse trading at the time of election of PML.

The office of Prime Minister is made extremely powerful and the office of President is made correspondingly weak, ineffective and dependent

Power of appointments:

The President shall appoint Chiefs of Army, Navy, Air Force and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff on the advice of Prime Minister.

Dissolution of National assembly:

The national Assembly shall be dissolved by the President if so advised by the Prime Minister. President can dissolve the National Assembly on his own if a no confidence move against the existing Prime Minister has been carried and no other member commands confidence of the majority of members.

Position of President:

The President is a ceremonial and nominal head of the state without executive powers. He could not veto any legislative bill as the bill would become law on the expiry of 7 days if the President does not assent it.

The Prime Minister's advice is binding on President. The National Assembly would stand dissolved on the advice of Prime Minister even if the President did not agree.

2. Federal System:

Pakistan has a federal form of government with the clear distribution of powers made between the Federal Government and Provincial Governments. In federation legislation on matters of regional importance are left to provincial governments. For uniformity of laws and policies matters of national importance are vested in the federal government. Under the 18th amendment, the principle of decentralization has been followed and in addition to residuary powers, 47 subjects previously in the Concurrent List belong to provinces. The legislative powers of federal government are enumerated in the Federal List, which include defense, foreign policy communications, water and power as being the most important. The 47 subjects, originally in the concurrent list, meant for centre as well as provinces wherein the federal law was to prevail over provincial law, have now been devolved exclusively upon provinces. In the original 1973-Constitution, strong centre was envisaged with due autonomy to provinces. With the passage of 18th amendment, balance has tilted in favor of provinces.

3) Safeguards for Provincial Interests.

The Baloch politicians laid claim, and they still do, to the revenues obtained from the extraction of minerals and the sale of gas pumped out of their province. The politicians of Pukhtoonkhwa-Khyber (formerly NWFP) made similar royalty claims concerning the electricity generated there. The Sind and NWFP had worries over the distribution of Indus water. In order to handle these and other matters fairly, three constitutional institutions have been provided

- I. The Council of Common Interest (CCI) is meant for the formulation of policies regarding industrial development, water, power and railways.

- II. The National Economic Council (NEC) is mandated to make plans for policies to be adopted in respect of financial, commercial, economic and social matters common to all provinces.
- III. The National Finance Commission (NFC) makes recommendations for federal grants-in-aid and sharing of net proceeds of certain federal taxes between the federation and provinces.

The 18th amendment has enlarged and strengthened these constitutional bodies by putting Prime Minister as their head and by placing all the four Chief Ministers as members and by requiring convening meetings within a specified period of time. The CCI will formulate and regulate policies and meet at least once in 30 days. This constitutional body will resolve also disputes over hydro-electric power stations in any province.

The excise duty on natural gas and oil, and the royalty collected by the federal government shall be paid to the government where well-head is located. Mineral oils, natural gas within the province or within the territorial waters adjacent to the province shall vest jointly or equally with that province.

The NEC shall review overall economic conditions and formulate plans in respect of social, Commercial, financial and economic policies and formulate plans for balanced development in all provinces. Any province may raise domestic or international loans within limits set by the NEC.

The NFC awards shall not be reduced from the share previously made to a province

4) Bicameral Legislature:

Two chambers legislature has been provided the chamber of the people, the National Assembly was represented on population-basis. All the four provinces regardless of their population or size represented the upper chamber called the Senate equally. The upper chamber was meant for checks and balances to safeguard the interests of provinces having relatively less representation in the National Assembly.

5) Fundamental Rights:

Great emphasis is laid on fundamental rights/The familiar democratic rights and freedoms such as freedom of speech, expression, press, assembly, conscience and employment are guaranteed. All the citizens are to be treated equal before the law and entitled to equal protection of law.

During the emergency, the President can, by an order, suspend the enforcement of some of the fundamental rights. The civil rights such as right to life, liberty and property are guaranteed, though with some qualifications and safeguards.

An important provision from the standpoint of civil liberty was laid down that if a person were arrested, he/she could not be detained in custody without being informed as soon as possible, of the grounds of such arrest. Nor a person could be held without lawful manner. However, in several instances, it made the rights subject to reasonable restrictions in public interest

6). Islamic Character of the Constitution

The 1973 constitution while retaining the Islamic provisions of 1956 and 1962 constitutions, added some more Islamic provisions.

Article 2 of the constitution designated Islam as the state religion and required President and Prime Minister to be Muslims. Oath of the President and Prime Minister required them to affirm their belief in unity of God, finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (SAW) and the Quran as the last of Holy Books. This oath had the effect of excluding members of Ahmedi sect from holding any of the two offices.

Articles 223 provided for Council of Islamic Ideology to make recommendations to the Parliament and Assemblies for bringing the existing law into conformity with the injunctions of Islam.

Another article declared that 'no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in Quran and Sunnah.

7). Socialist Flavor

Article 3 promised to create a policy that took from each according to his ability and gave to each according to his work" Article 38 provided for preventing the concentration of the means of production and distribution in a fewer hands. Under the constitution, equitable adjustment of rights between employers and employees, and landlords and tenants as to be ensured. Article 253 authorized parliament to designate business and industries that might be placed in the public sector. Article 34 required the state to ensure the "full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

8). Appointment of Judges:

The judges have always been appointed politically in the sense that the political executive has the discretion of appointing judges to the higher courts. In the words of 1973-Constitution, "The Chief Judge of Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President and each of the other judges shall be appointed by the President in consultation with the Chief Justice" (Article. 177). There was a consultative process, yet ultimate discretion was left to the President. In practice, however, both accommodated each other in appointment of judges during consultative process. This process precipitated political controversies as to the power of appointing judges to the higher courts, in particular when tussles between a President and Prime Minister went on. As the controversies went on, the superior judiciary acquired power to make binding recommendation

for appointment of judges. This power was acquired through different judgments. The starting point was the famous "Judges Judgment" of 1996 by Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, as a result of which many¹ of the judges, appointed during Benazir's second tenure, and had to go home. From that point onward, the judiciary strengthened its grip over the appointing procedure. The struggle reached culmination when CJ. Iftikhar Chaudhry asserted this 'acquired power' in appointments of judges in 2010. The issue became a public debate involving sections of lawyers, media and the parliamentarians. In order to end the controversy, a new Article 175-A as part of 18th Amendment was inserted which provided for a mechanism of appointing judges to the higher courts. To meet the concerns of Supreme Court, 19th Amendment in the constitution was adopted; which not only enhanced the number of judges in the Judicial Commission on the one hand and made it obligatory on the part of Parliamentary Committee to give reasons for rejecting Judicial Commission's recommendation in writing.

Mechanism of Judges Appointment:

The appointment procedure consists of two bodies and two stages. A Judicial Commission makes recommendation and a Parliamentary Committee to scrutinize. After scrutiny, the names are either sent to President, through the Prime Minister, for appointment or returned to the Judicial Commission with reason for rejection.

a) **Judicial Commission:** The JC will have of 6 members and headed by Chief Justice, making the total strength as 7. The JC will consist of, in addition to Chief Justice, two senior most Judges of the SC, one retired Chief Justice or a judge to be nominated in consultation with the senior-most judges of the supreme court, federal law Minister, Attorney General of Pakistani land one nominee of the Supreme Court Bar Council from amongst the senior advocate^a of supreme court. The Commission will make recommendations to be considered by the parliamentary committee.

b) **Parliamentary Committee:** A bipartisan committee consisting of 8 members, 4 from the government and 4 from the opposition, two each from the Senate and National Assembly, will scrutinize and decide about the judges. Confirmation of the recommendations is to be decided by two-thirds (5 out of 8) whereas rejection can be made by three-fourth (5 out of 8) but it has to be done within 14 days. The recommendation for appointment shall be forwarded to President via Prime Minister.

The new method of appointment of judges is consultative in substance and transparent in nature. It assigns a rather pre-eminent, though not the sole, role to the judiciary in the appointment process. The controversy that surrounded the 18th Amendment revolved around the point that whether or not appointing procedure amounts to upsetting the basic structure of the constitution. The pro-CJ lobby in the legal entity who favored the exercising of "acquired powers" wanted the appointing procedure in the 18th Amendment to be struck down. Opposed to basic structure theory were the ones who considered parliament as the sole constitutional authority to amend the constitution in view of the fact that Article 239, clause 2 & 4 bars the court to question an amendment. The said clause has clarified rather explicitly that parliament is the sole authority to amend the constitution. In the final analysis, basic structure argument did not seem applicable to the constitutional authority to amend the constitution. It has been argued that supremacy of elected parliament in the matter of constitutional amendment cannot be infringed upon through the device of judicial activism. By playing with the tool of judicial activism, the judiciary should not become the sole power in a polity as asserted by the legal analysts. Independence of judiciary rather domination of judiciary is the recognized principle of modern democratic structure. Widely accepted and adhered to are the principles of separation of powers and checks the principal features of a successful political system.

9). Method of Amendment:

Article 238 and 239 of the constitution deal with the amendment procedure. The constitution may be amended by act of parliament. A bill to amend the constitution may originate in either house and when the bill has been passed by the votes of not less than two thirds 2/3 of the total membership of the house, it shall be sent to the other house where the amendment bill shall have to be passed again by the votes of not less than 2/3 of the total membership of the house. Once passed by respective both houses it shall be presented to president for assent who cannot alter or veto it.

Important Amendments:

So far 20 amendments have been made in the 1973 constitution. The most important amendments, which changed the very nature of the constitution, are 8th, 13th, 17th and, 18th, 19th and 20th which relate in the major part of the powers of the President

8th Amendment:

The original structure of the polity was parliamentary in nature with President as a nominal, ceremonial and titular head of the state. Some called him the rubber stamp of Prime Minister. This position was altered by the 8th amendment in the constitution on 2nd March 1985 during General Zia-ul-Haq's period of Government.

General Zia held the parliamentary form of government responsible for the political crisis of 1977, which according to him had brought the country to the brink of civil war. He held the general elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies in February 1985 on non-party basis. By holding elections, he wanted to create some semblance of democracy that would give him an appearance of legitimacy.

But before the parliament could meet, he comprehensively amended the constitution through a President's order known as Revival of Constitution of 1973 order (RGO). As many as 65 articles were amended, substituted, added, modified, altered, deleted and omitted. The most important was the addition of clause 2 and sub clause B to article 58 of the constitution. This article 58 (2) B empowered the President "to dissolve the National Assembly at his discretion where, in his opinion, appeal to the electorate was necessary." General Zia-ul-Haq exercised this power to dismiss his own hand-picked Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo on March 1988 because he was asserting his powers and position and being not subservient to Zia.

The 13th Amendment

After the General Elections of 1997, Nawaz Sharif having an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly did away with the discretionary powers of the President (then Farooq Laghari). The constitutional (13th Amendment) Act 1977 was moved and passed in a matter of minutes on April 4, 1997.

The Article 58 (2) B of the constitution vesting discretionary power in President to dissolve the National Assembly was omitted. Similarly, the corresponding power of the governors under Article 112 (2) B to dissolve Provincial Assembly was removed.

The power of the President to appoint governors was watered down. Previously the President made such appointments after consultation with the Prime Minister. After the 13th Amendment, such power was exercisable 'on the advice of Prime Minister'. The advice of the Prime Minister was a new binding on the President.

The 17th Amendment

The National Assembly passed the 17th Amendment Bill on 29th December 2003 and by the Senate on 31st December 2003. It amended several articles but restoration of Articles 58 (2) B and were the most important because those were deleted under the 13th Amendment. A concession was however made here on the demand of opposition. In Article 28, a new clause (3) had been added to provide for reference to the Supreme Court within 15 days of the National Assembly under Article 58 (2) B.

The Legal Framework Order 2002 (LFO) was promulgated by General Musharraf on 21st August, which indeed was in total disregard of the 1973 constitution.

Under the 17th amendment Article 270 AA had been added validating all the laws made during the period of suspension of the 1973 constitution and actions taken there under. The constitution of 1973 was held in abeyance soon after. Musharraf had taken over on 12th October 1999.

The 18th Amendment

The major contribution of 18th Amendment is that the office of president has been made ineffective, dependent and only ceremonial with nominal powers as head of the state. The Prime Minister will be the chief executive of the federation who will be elected immediately after election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker by the National Assembly with majority votes of the total membership.

The Prime Minister's advice is binding on President. The National Assembly would stand dissolved on the advice of Prime Minister even if the President did not agree. Floor-crossing is apparently prevented with a provision in the constitution that vote of such a member who is elected as nominee of a political party will be disregarded if the majority of the members of that political party had cast votes against the resolution of no-confidence. The 18th amendment, however, has deleted a clause (Article 17.4) that required intra-party elections; thus letting the dynastic politics prevail and the family enterprise flourish. The defection clause (Article 63.A) has been amended making way for the Party Chairman and not the parliamentary leader to decide about the defection reference.

initiative on 11 December Z.A. Bhutto carried the intelligence that the Chinese were confused by the split in the US establishment [32].

Thereafter the pace of the events increase on 2 December 1971 the president "Yahya Khan invoked the 1959 Mutual Defense Treaty on 3 December war begin on the western front on the same day the Washington special Action Group (WSAP) held a meeting in which President Nixon's wish to tilt towards Pakistan was raised. William Rogers continued to be obstructive but George Bush Sr. then US envoy condemned as aggressor the UNSC considered a resolution for a cease fire and withdrawal of force their own countries but the USSR vetoed it on the following day 6 December India formally recognized Bangladesh on 7 December the UN General Assembly called for a ceasefire and withdrawal from each other territory the 104 against 11 votes for the motion reflected international support for Pakistan there is no vote in the UN General Assembly but its resolutions are not binding.

The US State Department deplored Indian intervention the same day but Henry Kissinger confides that when Maj.-Gen. Rao Farman Ali's offers of ceasefire were received at the UN, the State Department personal was jubilant [33]. On 9 December Nixon said he reprimanded the State Department however Nixon expected the State Department assessment that the independence of East Pakistan was both inevitable and desirable [34]. Nixon and Kissinger violently disagreed with another assessment of the US State Department held that India had no decision on West Pakistan India gave the US an undertaking that it would not invade West Pakistan but much to the chagrin of India Nixon insisted that this undertaking would have to include Azad Kashmir.

Henry Kissinger explained first to Hung Hua and then to Bhutto that the military conditions on the ground were deteriorating so fast that if efforts were directed at saving east Pakistan Azad Kashmir and West Pakistan would mean while fall [35]. India could mount a single air attack with the hundred planes Kissinger took the precaution of telling General A.N. Raza Pakistani ambassador that Pakistan should insist that any ceasefire proposal should include ceasefire in West Pakistan as well on 9 December after East Pakistan was a lost cause President Nixon ordered the Seventh Fleet's USS Enterprise to move towards Bengal [36]. And at same time USSR moved his troops to the Chinese border the USSR are the ambassador assured India that they would divert Chinese troops and would allow the Seventh Fleet's to intervene [37]. Another explanation of how they USSR prevailed over the US and China is provided by a Yale professor in 1971 the USSR developed nuclear Submarines of the East coast of the USA, from where the attack US targets in 8 minutes [38]. In view of the lengths to which the USSR had gone to dismember Pakistan it was no consolation to be told by its deputy foreign minister that the game being played for high international stakes it has nothing to do with you. You are the victims of an objective situation [39].

The Outbreak of War

On 22 November 1971 without a formal declaration of war India started all-out offensive in East Pakistan on 3 December 1971 to relieve some pressure on the eastern front Yahya Khan ordered a counter offensive in the West the total result was the loss of Kargil to India the defeat of Pakistan was expected with the simultaneous US arms embargo on Pakistan and the Russian Supply of arms to India no other result short foreign intervention could be expended President Yahya Khan was to complain that his order on the western front were not being carried out while the soldiers complained of not receiving orders. President Yahya Khan Attempt to retain power even after the surrender in Dhaka on 16 December but by 20 December he forced to resign his comment on the out of the war was:

There was always possibility that the events in East Pakistan might take the course they have taken but I had no alternative. People would not have excused me if I had allowed East Pakistan to secede [40].

The Poland Resolution

On 15 December 1971 when surrender had already been agreed upon Poland than a Russian satellite moved a resolution which called: (a) Power to be transferred to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the elected representative of East Pakistan (b) After Awami League had been installed there would be an initial ceasefire on seventy-two hours (c) Thereafter steps would be taken to evacuate Pakistani troops to preset positions (d) West Pakistan civilians would be allowed to go Home through the auspices of the UN (e) Indian armed forces shall start withdrawal after the Pakistani troops fixed in consultation with the Awami League government.

The Pakistani permanent representative to the UN rejected the resolution on the ground that it provided to first withdraw [1] from its own territory only then they occupying Indian forces would begin to withdraw¹. Other analysis has pointed out that (1) that the resolution mentioned no ceasefire in the West [2] (2) it was the most stringent specific of all the drafts so far moved [3].

Notes (The Poland Resolution)

1. Sultan M. Khan Memories and reflection, London: Center for Pakistan studies, 1997, p. 384.
2. Iqbal Akhund, Memories of a Bystander, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 203.
3. Hasan Zaheer, The separation of East Pakistan, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 414.

1971 in Retrospect

Of late, some new material about the 1971 crisis has surfaced more papers from the US archives have been declassified, but they do not add substantially to what has been revealed in the Americans papers (1999) and the White House and Pakistan (2002) or in the memories Richard M. Nixon and Henry Kissinger (see biography).

Bangladeshi writers like Badruddin Umar^[1] and S.A Karim^[2] have written that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was indeed involved in the Agartala Conspiracy But as Karim relates Mujib would not called it conspiracy but "a striving for independence." While Pakistani writers like Syed Shahid Husain have agreed that Six Points were not secessionist^[3] Bangladeshi writers do not bother to agree. But her also honour go to Bangladeshi writer while B. Umar and S.A. Karim mention some killing of non-Bengalis; Pakistan HRCP director, I.A. Rahman says killings of non-Bengalis is 'not relevant'^[4] more than documents retrospection has been valuable. Sharmil Bose an Indian Bengali belonging to illustrious political family gave a verdict that all the combatants of 1971 should consider after starting that allegations of Pakistani atrocities were grossly exaggerated, she added:

"The civil war of 1971 was fought between those who believe they were fighting for untied Pakistan and those who believe their chance for justice and progress lay in an independent Bangladesh both were legitimate political positions. All parties in this conflict embraced the violence as a means to the end all committed act of brutality outside accepted norms of warfare and all had their share of humanity. Their recrimination."^[5]