Course: Pakistan Studies.

Semester Fall 2020 Credit Hours 3

Assessment Instruments with Weights

6 Quizzes	15%
3 Assignments	15%
Mid Term	30%
Final Term	40%

Course Objectives

Course Learning Objectives CLO 1: to deepen the understanding of the historical and current; social and political movements in Pakistan. CLO 2: to introduces students to the contending perspectives on Pakis their assumptions and ideological bases and students formulating new narratives. CLO 3: to explores in detail how the dynamics of pluralistic society have shaped civic and political culture. CLO 4: to examines the im } (š Z Œ P] } v o v] v š Œ v š] } v o v À] Œ } v u v š • } v W l] • š v [• } u • š]

Learning Outcomes

Articulate a persuasive and well-structured historical argument. Employ multiple forms of evidence in this historical argument and develop independent research and learning mechanisms through credible sourc Explain and critically analyse the relationship between national and international events with respect to Pakistan, especially between 1947-2001. Demonstrate an understanding of the challenges and opportunities for a 21st century Pakistan.

Week 1

Historical background before the beginning of Colonial Period: The failure of the War of Independence and its impact on the Muslims of India. Z } u u v Z] v P • W Ì] Ì U < X < X ~ í õ ó ò • X ^ d Z British in India A Study in Imperialism. Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research. Ziring, Lawerence. 1999. Before the Beginning (221) In Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History. Karachi: OUP

Week 2

Muslim Reformation in India 1857-1905 ^] Œ ^ Ç Z u < Z v [• Œ } o U . W Reformer Jed } (Readings Aysha Jalal, "Conjuring Pakistan: History as Official Imagining" International Journal of Middle E Studies, (1995), 7-89. Aitzaz Ahsan 'Introduction', The Indus Saga and the making of Pakistan (Karachi O 1996) pp. 3-25 Talbot, Ian (2005); Colonial Rule, Authoritarianism and Regional History in North West India;

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The Pakistan Movement: its Dynamics and Legacies; In Pakistan: A Modern History. London, Hurst & Co
94.

Week 3

The Creation of Muslim League 1906 Transformation of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Muhammad Iqbal from Indian nationalist leaders to Muslim nationalist leaders. The Khilafat movement (1919-1924).

Week 4

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Week 5

Towards Pakistan 1940-1947: The Lahore/ Pakistan resolution the prelude to partition: Cabinet Mission Plan 1946, 3rd June Plan 1947 and The Radcliffe Award 1947.

Week 6

Constitutional and political Development in Pakistan 1947-1958: The political and constitutional crises that culminated in the first Martial Law.

Week 7

Th }o t Œ v W l]•š vW ' v Çµ <Z v[• D Œš] o > Á Z P (1958-1969) ‰

Week 8

Gen Yahya and the debacle of East Pakistan 1971, and revision of topics

Week 9

Midterm examinations

Week 10

Islamic Social Democracy of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977), the Constitution of 1973 and impact of 18th amendment.

Week 11

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Week 12

The transition of Democracy 1988-1999, the politics of Troika and the musical chair of power.

Week 13

Military Coup and 9/11: Musharraf's 'Enlightened Moderation'; Laal Masjid and the Lawyer's Movement. Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, its blowback in Pakistan Z }u u v Œ]vPW 'Z] •U ^Z}] }(Z] (:µ•š] W :µ]] o W}Á Œ v šZ > P o }u‰o Æ]v W l]•š v µ (2010), pp. 986-1022 A Political Movement in the Making, S. Akbar Zaidi, Economic and Political Weekly Vol. 42, No. 22 (Jun. 2-8, 2007), pp. 2036-2038 Nasr, Vali. (2004) Military Rule, Islamism and Democracy in Pakistan. Middle East Journal. 58 (2): 199-215 Ayesha Siddiqa (2011) Pakistan's Counterterrorism Strategy: Separating Friends from Enemies, The Washington Quarterly, 34:1, pp. 161-179 Jalal, Ayesha (2014) Epilogue: Overcoming Terror in The Struggle for Pakistan. A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, pp. 383-384

Week 14

Challenges of W l]•š Foreign Policy, FATF, Afghan Peace and Pakistan, The significance of CPEC

Week 15

The Kashmir Dispute: Origin, Peaceful solutions and the current crisis

Week 16

CompleteRevision

Week 17

Final examinations

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Course pack

PAKISTAN STUDIES

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UCP

University of central punjab

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1 CONFLICTING VIEWS ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF PAKISTAN

How does one explain the origin of Pakistan? Is Pakistan the final fulfilment of a clear, uninterrupted, and separate stream of Muslim political consciousness in Indian history? Or is it the crown and consummation of the British policy of 'divide and rule' in India? Mahatma Gandhi, whilst speaking in the second session of the Round Table Conference in London in 1931, said that the quarrel between Hindus and Muslims was 'coeval with the British advent' in India. It would be difficult to maintain such a position historically because the conflict between Hindus and Muslims had started long before the emergence of the British power in India. Perhaps Emperor Aurangzeb (1658–1707) was responsible for increasing Hindu-Muslim tension by trying to Islamicize the Moghal government. Several Muslim historians have actually glorified Aurangzeb for making Muslims conscious of their separate religious and ideological identity. It is also true that Maratha and Sikh leaders raised their banner of revolt against Aurangzeb because in trying to organize his government on Islamic lines, the Emperor was acting against their interests. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's observation on the role of Shivaji, the Maratha leader, is revealing:

> Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from the administration, and legal repression; it can put forth new leaves and branches; it can again lift its head up to the skies.[1]

After Aurangzeb's death, Muslim power started disintegrating. Muslims were so alarmed by the growing power of the Hindus under Maratha leadership that even a Sufi scholar like Shah Waliullah (1703–81), who would have normally passed his life

[1] Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta: Sarkar, 1952, p. 390.

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either in meditation or teaching Islamic theology, was moved into writing a letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali to implore India to protect the Muslim position. In his letter to the Afghan King, Shah Waliullah wrote:

In short, the Muslim community is in a pitiable condition. All control of the machinery of government is in the hands of Hindus, because they are the only people who are capable and industrious. Wealth and prosperity are concentrated in their hands, while the share of Muslims is nothing but poverty and misery. . . . At this time you are the only King who is powerful, far-sighted, and capable of defeating the enemy forces. Certainly it is incumbent upon you to march to India, destroy Maratha domination and rescue weak and old Muslims from the clutches of non-Muslims. If, God forbid, domination by infidels continues, Muslims will forget Islam and within a short time become such a nation that there will be nothing left to distinguish them from non-Muslims.[2]

It has also been argued that Muslim separatism really started after the British conceded separate electorates to Muslims in 1909. This decision has often been described as a deliberate attempt on the part of the British to divide the electorate and thus disrupt the growing Indian Nationalist movement. I examine these arguments in the following chapter, but the point which merits some consideration is whether separate electorates created a new political gulf between Hindus and Muslims, or whether the decision to grant separate electorates was no more than a recognition of the cultural and religious differences that already existed between Hindus and Muslims. Prior to 1909, when separate electorates were granted, no two books were more representative of Muslim and Hindu ways of thinking than Altaf Husain Hali's *Musaddas* (*The Ebb and Flow of Islam*, 1879) and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Anandamath* (*The Abbey of Bliss*, 1882). Hali, in a lucid and flowing verse, described the rise and fall of Islam as a political and cultural force in the world. 'With my unskilful hands,' he wrote in the preface, 'I have constructed a house of mirrors, in which Muslims will find their face and stature reflected and can see what they were and what they have become.'[3] The entire burden of Hali's *Musaddas* was to

[2] Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, ed., *Shah Waliullah Ke Siyasi Maktuba* (*Political Letters of Shah Waliullah*), Aligarh: 1951, p. 106.

[3] Altaf Husain Hali, *Musaddas-i-Hali* (*The Ebb and Flow of Islam*), Lahore & Karachi: Taj. n.d., p. 5.

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appeal to Indian Muslims to discard their ignorance, indolence, and selfishness and forge ahead as a disciplined, industrious, and united nation. *Anandamath*, portraying the rise of Hindu nationalism during the decline of Muslim power in Bengal, sounded a clarion call to Hindus to arise from their languor and take up arms against the degenerate and oppressive Muslim rule. Hindu leaders in the novel made it clear that their struggle was not against the British, who had really come to India as liberators, but against Muslim tyranny and misrule. Though the plot of *Anandamath* dealt with the themes of a bygone age, it left a clear impression on the minds of its readers that Hindus were still bitter towards Muslims.

However, one can argue that even if it were admitted that the Hindu-Muslim conflict existed both before the emergence of British power in India and the introduction of separate electorates in 1909, the British could have used their imperial power to compose these differences and help the two communities to evolve a common nationality. The British not only failed to do this but actually widened the gap that existed between the two communities through the concession of separate electorates to Muslims. These are very formidable arguments. But it may be pointed out that no imperial power in history has been so benevolent and far-sighted as to bring about a *rapprochement* between two rival communities. The traditional British approach in the matter of racial or tribal conflict in the colonies has been very largely that of *laissez faire*. Furthermore, there was no guarantee that joint electorates would have necessarily helped Hindus and Muslims to develop a national outlook in political matters. On the contrary, it was possible that joint electorates, in the short run, when Muslim political leaders were thinking primarily in communal terms, might have worsened the relations between the two communities. At every election in those constituencies where Muslims were in substantial numbers, communal riots might have flared up. Joint electorates might have helped in the long run, but as it turned out Congress leaders were simply not prepared to wait long enough under British tutelage for parliamentary institutions to strike deep roots in the Indian soil.

Even if one were to concede some of the harmful consequences of separate electorates, it could still be argued that a generous attitude on the part of the majority community might have more

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than neutralized most of these harmful consequences. For example, if the Indian National Congress had agreed to include representatives of the Muslim League in the Provincial Congress Cabinets in 1937, much communal rancour and bitterness might have been avoided. Thus, if the British had planned to divide Hindus and Muslims, it seems that the Congress and Muslim League leaders did very little to frustrate British designs. It may also be stated in passing that some writers in their keenness to prove the 'divide and rule' thesis, tend to ignore the unifying influences of British rule in India—namely, modernization of Indian life through education, commerce, and industry, and the establishment of centripetal institutions like the Civil Service, the Army, and the Judiciary.

The British were caught in a vicious circle, which was not entirely of their own making, and from which there was probably no easy way out. The problem of administering justice between Hindus and Muslims was not merely a matter of holding balance between two equal communities. Muslims were not only a minority community, but also a politically backward community in the sense that they lagged behind the Hindus in education, in commerce, in political organization and leadership. To start with, when the British established their power in India, Muslims were sulky and resisted what they regarded as the imposition of British education and political system in India. The British impact on Hindu areas was not only earlier but was received with greater enthusiasm. The Hindus, unlike the Muslims, took to the learning of English with great eagerness and proficiency and soon supplanted the Muslims in most of the important offices of administration. When the Muslims found that they were being reduced to an inferior economic and social status, they tried to acquire English education and assure the British that they also would be loyal to their rule. The British, on the other hand, felt that they had probably been unfair to Muslims and, impressed by their pledges of loyalty, tried to help them. This created resentment among the Hindu intelligentsia and, particularly when Lord Curzon inaugurated his scheme of the partition of Bengal in 1905, there was a hue and cry among the Hindus in India. The British yielded to Hindu agitation, and revoked partition. In the wake of this, there followed a series of events in the Middle East which confirmed Muslim fears and suspicions regarding the

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British policy towards Muslims in general and Muslim powers like Turkey in particular. A barometer of Muslim anger was the Khilafat Movement (1920–2) which was perhaps the first and the last occasion when Hindus and Muslims on an all-India and massive scale co-operated with each other in a political movement.

The Hindu-Muslim conflict was further heightened when more and more political power was placed on the counter by the British after 1919, and Hindu and Muslim leaders appeared as rival contenders to grab as much of it as possible for their respective communities. Unfortunately, progressive realization of responsible government turned out to be progressive aggravation of the Hindu-Muslim conflict. The struggle for power between Hindus and Muslims, which the British policy of transferring more and more power to Indian hands generated, had its economic dimensions as well. Muslims and Hindus not only competed against each other for Government posts but also for jobs and opportunities created in the wake of industrialization and urbanization in India. Muslim middle-classes, starting from a backward position in this competitive struggle, found the idea of Pakistan extremely attractive because this would mean that Muslim banks, Muslim industries, and Muslim commercial houses would be established in Muslim Pakistan with the fear of Hindu competition removed permanently from their state. It was significant that Muslim commercial communities like the Memons and the Khojas in Bombay and Calcutta gave considerable financial support to the Muslim League during the elections of 1945–6. It may also be noted that Jinnah, who was a Khoja by origin and a successful lawyer in Bombay, enjoyed this support from the commercial communities more than any other Muslim leader, and this gave him a distinct advantage over leaders from areas like the Punjab and Bengal. Thus, it would not be fair or accurate to think that Muslim separatism was a product entirely of British machinations. It was Maulana Muhammad Ali, at one time an ardent Indian Nationalist and the famous leader of the Khilafat Movement, who told the British Government in the Round Table Conference in 1930 'We divide and you rule.'

The pendulum of British policy continued to oscillate between the two points—concession of Hindu demands and support of Muslim interests. In 1937, Congress governments were installed in office in seven provinces and Muslims became resentful and

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suspicious once again. In August 1940, when the Congress refused to co-operate with the British war effort, the Muslims were given a solemn assurance by the British that no constitutional advance in India would be contemplated without their assent and approval. It would indeed be a daring historian who would single out the British for all blame, because they were not complete masters of the circumstances in which they were placed. They occupied the apex, but the other two points of the triangle were held by Hindus and Muslims.

For the Congress, the establishment of Pakistan was a cruel blow to their claim of being a Nationalist organization. It meant that Muslims did not trust the Hindus as a majority community to be just and generous towards Muslim interests and culture. This explains why Congress leaders have often tended to attribute the creation of Pakistan almost entirely to the British policy of 'divide and rule'. Obviously, Muslim leaders cannot accept this view, for it not only belittles the tenacity and brilliant strategy of Jinnah and the Muslim League, but also questions their claim that the most potent force behind the Pakistan movement was the consciousness of Muslims of being a separate nation. Truth should lie somewhere between these two positions. The creation of Pakistan was probably helped by British unwillingness, matched by their inability to compose the differences between Hindus and Muslims. But in the main, Pakistan was the end product of Muslim anxiety at first to establish cultural and political autonomy within the framework of a federal India, and later of their bold assertion that Muslims, being a separate nation, must have a sovereign state.

Muslims often claim that Pakistan came into being not only because the Muslims in India were intensely conscious of their national and cultural identity, but also because the Hindu community in India was intolerant and exclusive. They do not seem to be aware that this argument suggests that a genuine secular attitude and magnanimity on the part of the majority Hindu community might have overcome Muslim separatism and thus avoided the partition of the sub-continent. Muslims argue that just as Caste Hindus have maintained caste segregation against Hindu inferior castes, the Hindu community, dominated by Brahmins, has also regarded Muslims, who ate beef and brought with them an alien culture as *Melechas* (unclean). Hindus, on

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the other hand, have remembered the indignities and the occasional religious persecution that they suffered under Muslim rule in India. Even Jawaharlal Nehru admitted that many a Congressman was a communalist under a national cloak.[4] Similarly, a bitter opponent of the Muslim League, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, pointed out that Jinnah could not be blamed entirely for the turn of events that brought about the establishment of Pakistan. It was Sardar Patel who had been communal-minded from the beginning and later, as a result of the obstructive attitude of the Muslim League in the Interim Government, became convinced that Muslims and Hindus were separate nations and that partition was the only solution. According to Azad, if the Congress had shown sufficient patience and far-sightedness and had followed Lord Wavell's advice on the matter, Pakistan would not have been inevitable.[5]

It would not be fair to think that Hindu short-sightedness or exclusiveness was the sole factor which created Pakistan. There were several Hindu leaders like Gandhi, the two Nehrus (Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru), Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and C. Rajagopalachari who tried their best to be fair and sympathetic towards the Muslim demands. But after 1940 the charismatic leadership of Jinnah and the organization of the Muslim League had given Muslims a sense of power, and they were no longer interested in constitutional safeguards and assurances. It seemed that prior to 1940 the Muslims often regarded themselves as an aggrieved minority. They did not realize that at least in part the alleged Hindu hostility to their religion and culture was a product of Muslim ethnocentricity and a thinly concealed contempt for some of the practices of the Hindu religion. However, after the Pakistan Resolution of March 1940 was passed, the dominant theme in Muslim politics was not complaint against Hindu injustice but a demand for a separate political existence. Thus, it may be argued that Muslim separatism rather than Hindu exclusiveness was the principal cause behind the creation of Pakistan.

It is well known that Islam stresses the religious uniqueness and

[4] Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, London: The Bodley Head, 1958, p. 136.

[5] Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1959, pp. 15, 177–8, 185.

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cohesiveness of the Muslim community. This theme is also constantly preached in the sermons that are delivered in mosques every Friday. Muslim masses enthusiastically embraced the two-nation theory of the Muslim League, not because it was a revolutionary doctrine but because it confirmed the basic theme of the Qur'an and the sermons they had heard in the mosques. In addition, memories of Muslim rule in India not only remained alive, particularly among the upper-class Muslims, but were constantly used by them to impress upon the Muslim masses that having ruled India, Muslims should not allow themselves to be ruled by the Hindu majority. It was because of such separatist tendencies and memories of former Muslim rule in India that there was little deep-seated love for India as their motherland on the part of the Muslim élite.

Congress leaders tried to challenge the two-nation theory by pointing out that a large number of Muslims in India were descendants of Hindu forebears who had been converted to Islam. They also argued that there was hardly any cultural difference between Hindus and Muslims in the rural areas where the vast majority of both communities lived. But these arguments could not alter the fact that a change in religion from Hinduism to Islam in the Indian context not merely implied a change in one's religion, but also a significant change in the man's social and cultural status. The new convert became a member of an egalitarian social order as compared to the rigid caste distinctions of the Hindu community. In addition, it should be remembered that for at least seven hundred years Islam was a decisive cultural and social force in large parts of India. Particularly in the North Western part of India, which constitutes West Pakistan today, the dominant culture that emerged was clearly Islamic. As Sir Denzil Ibbetson observed: 'Where the tone and feeling is that of the country beyond the Indus, as it is on the Punjab Frontier, the Hindu even is almost as the Mussalman.'[6] It was true that as one moved away from the Indus basin, the Islamic cultural stream lost some of its vigour and identity, except at Muslim cultural centres like those in the United Provinces and Hyderabad. But it must be noted that ever since the disintegration of the Muslim empire, Muslim religious reformers tried to purify Muslims of

[6] Sir Denzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, Lahore: Government Printing, 1916, p. 14.

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Hindu idolatrous customs and superstitions because they were against the spirit of Islam. The *Faraiziyah* movement[7] among the Muslims of Bengal was an outstanding example of this reformist movement.

Another popular view regards Pakistan as no more than a personal triumph of the brilliant strategy and will-power of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that had Jinnah died earlier, there would not have been Pakistan.[8] It is true that Jinnah's great role was a highly important contributory factor, but without intense religious fervour and zeal for an Islamic state on the part of Muslim masses, Jinnah could not have achieved Pakistan. Khilafat leaders like Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and poets like Hali, Akbar Allahabadi, and Iqbal were mainly responsible for making Muslims conscious of their separate national and cultural identity. Thus, when the message of Pakistan was presented to the masses, it fell on fertile soil. Jinnah, who did not know Urdu, could not have achieved Pakistan without able and zealous lieutenants and without the vision of an Islamic state as an inspiring stimulant. One may even go so far as to say that the Muslim League, led largely by middle-class Muslim leaders, would have probably come to some sort of compromise on the issue of Pakistan had they not been swept off their feet by the intense Islamic fervour of the masses and the astounding success that the Muslim League achieved during the elections of 1945–6.[9] It has been reported that the Quaid-i-Azam himself never expected to see Pakistan in his lifetime.[10]

Each view taken by itself is a highly exaggerated account of the origin of Pakistan. Each, perhaps, contributed its share and Pakistan was brought about by a multiplicity of factors. But

[7] This was a puritanical movement, the aim of which was to take the Muslims back to the essentials of their faith and purify Islam as practised in India of Hindu idolatrous practices.

[8] Michael Brecher, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Political Biography*, London: Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 353.

[9] The Muslim League did accept the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 which rejected the Pakistan scheme. It withdrew its acceptance when the Congress acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan turned out to be a conditional acceptance with its own interpretations of the Cabinet Mission proposals.

[10] Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, London: John Murray, 1954, p. 195.

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perhaps a dominant or decisive cause of Pakistan is that there has never taken place a confluence of the two civilizations in India—the Hindu and the Muslim. They may have meandered towards each other here and there, but on the whole the two have flowed their separate courses—sometimes parallel and sometimes contrary to one another.

The significance and reality of Pakistan has not been fully understood in the West. To the West, nationality based on religion is an alien and often incomprehensible phenomenon. This is because religion in the West has come to play such a restricted role. In the West, Germany and France are accepted as two separate nations. But the fact of Hindus and Muslims in India representing two separate cultural entities is seldom appreciated. A young French student may visit a family in Germany, share their meals, may attend the same church and even marry a girl in the family without creating a scandal or surprise. But such instances of intermarriage have been extremely rare in the Indian sub-continent. Even some of the most ardent Indian Nationalists have found the idea totally unacceptable. As Sir Abdur Rahim observed:

> Any of us Indian Muslims travelling for instance in Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, and Turks, would at once be made at home and would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow townsmen live.[11]

[11] Cited in Sir John Cumming, ed., *Political India 1832–1932*, London: Oxford University Press, 1932, p. 104.

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Ideology:

It is a:

a) widely and strongly shared ideas and conviction that prompts action.

b) for transforming the society into a new social and political order or to preserve the prevailing order

For example: Capitalist countries would want to preserve their prevailing system of Capitalism an ideology. Muslims of the subcontinent had the idea and conviction to achieve a homeland separate from Hindus by changing the prevailing political order and prompt coming into being of Pakistan.

Islamic Ideology:

Islamic Ideology is shared thought of Muslim community/collectivity or Ummah of diverse people held together by bond of Islam with the commitment to preserve and demonstrate its religion.

Pakistan Ideology:

Pakistan Ideology is deep-seated conviction of Muslim separation in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent and of achieving a separate homeland called Pakistan. Islamic Ideology provided the foundation to Pakistan Ideology.

Ideological Rationale:

An ideological Rationale consists of the ideas that provide underlying justification and foundation. It is the set of reasons on which an argument, belief or demand of an ideology is based.

Muslim Nationalism

Nationalism is a political belief that people with some commonalities such as religion, language, race, geography, historical traditions, past experiences and struggles, future aspirations, security needs, values and pride should live under one political system and be independent of others. Most of these commonalities existed among the Muslims of Indo-Pak sub-continent.

Muslim Nationalism is the Consciousness and sense of identity of being a community, a collectivity or Umma of Muslims. It served as the ideological rationale for Muslim separatism in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent

The Muslim Separatism

Religion has always played a role in disintegrating or integrating people. The subcontinent is no exception to this underlying reality. The Hindus and the Muslims, despite having lived as neighbors for centuries, remained distinct and separate. Hinduism is the name of social system and does not assume the form of a credo. In antithesis to Hinduism, Islam is a religion with credo. This factor provided the Muslims of subcontinent the homogeneity as a community.

Islam has built up a system of law that governs society. It believes in the existence of organized community of believers with social equality. Islamic law is the main cementing agent in the society. The law in many ways antithetical to Hindu code in its basic assumptions. Unlike the Hindu caste system Islam rejects birth or profession as a source of pride and superiority.

Hinduism breeds in exclusiveness, which makes even social contacts difficult. Inter-dinning, inter-marriages and some time even touching persons belonging to other castes or religion is forbidden.

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The word Malechhas is contemptuously used for non-Hindus implying that the person is unclean and his touching would pollute food, utensil and the dining area.

Islam on the other hand does not brand anyone inferior on the basis of race, color or descent. It therefore built a different kind of society based on brotherhood and equality. Thus the Hindu and Muslim social systems could exist side by side but they could not work for integration.

The Muslim community of Sub-Continent was integrated despite their heterogeneous origins. The local Hindus converts, the Arab, the Turks, the Afghans, the Iranian and other racial stocks integrated because of the fact that Islam was also a social system and way of life. Islam as a way of life provided a base for Muslim culture to develop in the sub-continent. This Indo-Muslim culture was overwhelming influenced by the Central Asian traits because Muslim rulers of India were also mostly Central Asian. The Iranian and Arab influence was pervasive because of Muslim religion and the Persian and Arabic languages.

Because of this history, Islamic culture in the sub-continent was neither entirely Arab nor Central Asian nor Iranian. Indian influences had also crept into the life of community contributing a local flavor. The culture of Muslim community of the Sub-Continent could be described as predominantly Islamic and Central Asian but which evolved in its own individuality because of the Hindu environment.

It was not just the religion, which kept Muslims and Hindus apart. It was not only the social structures that were different. The Variances ran through other details also. To start with the Hindus houses and Muslim houses were differently planned. The Muslim houses were more spacious, airy and more open to light to ensure larger space for sitting out and catching the breeze. The Hindus houses in the same area would have more built rooms and the verandas would be smaller. Even the Hindu utensil would be of brass and Muslim utensils would be of copper tinned to look white. The Mosques building are open, spacious with place of ablution. The Hindu temple is not intended for congregation. It houses images of deities and the devotees walk in single file, see images in semi-dark room creating an atmosphere of mystery.

Urdu, which is written in modified Arabic script, has large percentage of Arabic, Persian and Turkish words. Hindi similarly written in Sanskrit script has large percentage of Sanskrit words. In this manner one language could become quite un-intelligible to one who knew only the other. The poetic expressions differed in origin. Hindi and Urdu have been chosen as examples because the divides are clearly defined in these two languages.

A cementing force in uniting the nations is common experiences in history. The two communities were not even willing to take the same view of history. Hindus generally belittled Muslim achievements. The Muslim success in conquering such a vast territory and holding them against heavy odds was looked upon as a crime. The heroes of Muslim history were dubbed as robbers and tyrants. No two people who have such different views of history can have that sense of possessing common memories of triumph and humiliation,-which is considered to be the basis of national feelings.

No wonder the Muslims saw through the history and experience that they are a different nation. Their holding themselves aloof from the Indian National Congress, when it was organized, was an open intimation that they did not consider themselves to be part of Indian nation. They demanded separate electorate. The Simla deputation (1906) asked the viceroy that the Muslims of India should not be regarded as mere minority but as a nation within a nation whose rights and obligations should be guaranteed by statute.

Such was the scenario of the Muslims in the sub-continent in later half of 19th century and at the beginning of 20th century.

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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 really; 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 individually 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 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 belong to the same faith, Islam. They demanded that the areas where they were in majority should be constituted into sovereign state, wherein they could order their lives in accordance with the teaching of Holy Quran and Sunnah of Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H).

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 Arabs 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 launced 17 attacks and opened the gate to preach Islam. The Muslim sufi (saints) like Ali Hajveri, 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 among the Muslim Ulama to preserve the pure Islamic character and save it from external onslaught. Role of Sheikh Ahmed 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 Ahmed 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 British. The Congress worked and helped the British rule. Sir Syed advised the Muslim not to join it because, he thought, the Muslims were not in position to involve into the anti-

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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-Indian 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 a basic demand of 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 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 of 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.

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Ideology of Pakistan in the light of statements of

QUAID-I-AZAM and ALLAMA IQBAL

Development of Muslim Identity, 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 face 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 Indian 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 cannons of International law, we are a nation."

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SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

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.

While addressing at Aligarh he clarified the ideology of Pakistan in these words:

" What was the motive of the demand for Pakistan and a separate electorate for Muslims ? What was the need of the division of India? Its cause is neither the narrow mindedness of Hindus nor the tactics of Britishers, but is the basic demand of Islam ? "

Guidance and 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 PHILOSPHER

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 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, Sindh, Balochistan amalgamated into a single state as a self government within the British empire or without. This is final destiny of the Muslims of N.W.India."**

Allama Iqbal in the annual session of Allah India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930, demanded a Muslim state in the North West of the sub-continent.

Iqbal made it clear:

"India is not a country, it is a sub-continent of human beings belonging to different languages and practicing different religions. Muslim nation has its own religious and cultural identity."

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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 Marhatas 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-Hindu agitation led by Tilak. Much later, even the so called tolerant Gandhi once said: "How can 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

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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 scipt. 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 Muslins 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 from 6 to 12, to a greater number viz., 10 to 20. Similarly, the total membership Council of governors (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

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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 1o 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 1875by 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.

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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 es 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.

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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 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 Rowllat 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.

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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 friends, in particular by the remarkable communication from Muhammad Iqbal and personal requests of 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 ar 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 19305 had convinced him of the relevance of the term Muslim nation instead of Muslim minority.

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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. Jinah 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 9139 convinced Jinah 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 Jinah'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.

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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 ہندوستاں ہمارا ہم بلبلیں ہیں اسکی یہ گلستاں 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.

مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیر رکھنا 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 تابخاکِ کاشغر

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-Islmic 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 shreds after 1908. He was a changed man after 1908, more aware of what nationalism meant to 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).

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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 Ijtihad (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 modem 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 riot 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

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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 contactwith its own original spirit and with the spirt of modern times.

A sad fact about Allahbad 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. Jinah 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 arid elsewhere in 2011 demands redefining of Islam in the present day context without compromising on the fundamentals of Islam.

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Iqbal's theory of Ijtehad has relevance to the contemporary Islamic world for it will enable them to reconstruct their societies. It will mobilize Muslim law, education and culture not only in the original spirit of Islam but also bring compatibility with the modern world by nurturing the liberal and tolerant traditions of Islam.

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Geopolitical Importance of Pakistan

Pakistan was carved out in history in desperate urgency. It came into existence with horrible loss of life, property and migration of millions of dazed and destitute men, women and children. The cost was heavily paid in terms of human suffering. But what the Muslims wanted and what they achieved was a homeland of their own.

No post-war nation has been written off more regularly than Pakistan-with numerous setbacks, crises and turmoil of gigantic magnitude, it has so far been able to survive. Its survival remains a profound mystery to outside observers. The forecasts may reflect the worst about Pakistan, but its survival is a testament to the resilience geographical locations and its particular ideology.

Pakistan's geo-strategic importance can be best understood in the regional and global perspective. In geographical terms, it is surrounded by four countries: Afghanistan, Iran, India and China, each of which is a major player in international politics. In one way or the other, Pakistan is vital for these countries and this raises its international stature. Afghanistan which is now the focus of world's attention is generally regarded as the breeding ground for all the international terrorism, militancy and opium production and the whole world, including the US realizes the fact that no peace is possible in Afghanistan without the active support and cooperation of Pakistan.

Troubles began in Afghanistan with the Soviet invasion in 1979, which led to a huge influx of refugees to Pakistan. Pakistan played as safe heavens for US and its NATO allies as well as for Afghan refugees.

Pakistan's geo-strategic importance can be best understood in the regional and global perspective. In geographical terms, it is surrounded by four countries: Afghanistan, Iran, India and China, each of which is a major player in international politics.

Following a soviet with drawl from Afghanistan the so-called Afghan jihad which was sponsored and financed by the West and its Arab allies received unequivocal support from President Zia-ul-Haq's military regime and the country's religious parties most notably the Jamaat-e-Islami, in the hope that a pro-Pakistan government in Afghanistan might be helpful in checking the growing Indian influence in the region.

With this purpose in mind, Pakistan set up and supported Islamist Taliban from the beginning of 1990s with the aim to over shadow Indian influence in religion and religious fundamental ideology. It is therefore not surprising that Pakistan was one of the few countries to recognize the new Afghan government when Taliban took power in Kabul in 1996. Yet in the wake of attacks of 11 September 2001, Pakistan was forced to abandon its protégé regime in Afghanistan and cooperate with the US in the fight against transnational terrorism.

Now the US and NATO troops fighting in Afghanistan are well aware that they are heavily dependent on Pakistan for winning the war in Afghanistan. As Pakistan provides the easiest and cost effective route for the provision of NATO supplies to the forces in Afghanistan, moreover being a land locked country, Afghanistan has to rely heavily on Pakistan for its cross border trade and economy.

At present Pakistan is facing an extremely volatile situation, which has become a threat for its own existence. Fighting a proxy war for US in Afghanistan for nearly four decades has completely destroyed the economic and social fabric of country.

Pakistan and Iran have enjoyed the best time till toppling of Shah's rule as both countries were under the US influence. Iran has been persistently enduring economic sanctions for more than three decades after Islamic revolution.

The pro-western Arab governments are also afraid that the further strength of Iran may encourage their Shi'ite population to revolt against the dictatorial governments in these countries. There are also

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allegations and counter allegations that Saudi Arabia and Iran are supporting Sunni and Shiya sections in Pakistan. This point is being highlighted by referring to Sectarian killings. In these circumstances, Iran needs Pakistan's support to foil the Western Conspiracies against it.

Pakistan's eastern neighbor India with its huge market and its nuclear capability is also ambitious of becoming a global power with a permanent seat in the Security Council. Apparently is insisting that a strong, stable and democratic Pakistan is in its (India's) interests, because any extremist or fundamentalist government in Pakistan may lead to more violence and terrorism in India.

US government being fully aware of geostrategic importance of Pakistan defended Pakistan on multiple occasions. In 1971, when it succeeded in the dismemberment of Pakistan, its army chief at that time told his government that if he was given a few more days, he could easily take the rest of Pakistan. But then the US President Nixon warned India Gandhi not to go too far in his ambitions against Pakistan. Nixon is quoted to have said, "Old witch, enough is enough."

Thus, it was the Americans who saved the rest of Pakistan from going into Indian hands at that time. But they did so because they were fully conscious of Pakistan's geo-strategic significance and hoped to use it at some later stage for their own interests. As stated earlier, during the days of the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan, Americans successfully used Pakistan as a frontline state against their enemy in the Cold War. Similarly, since the 9/11 attacks, they have again been exploiting it for their own political, economic and strategic interests.

The 9/11 attacks and the toppling of Taliban regime in the awake of the US led invasion dramatically changed the situation, which once again forces the West to realize the strategic importance of its old forgotten ally Pakistan

Our third nuclear neighbor is China, which is upcoming superpower. It is the only potential rival of the US economically as well as militarily. It is evident that the US is strengthening India so that in the times to come, it may be helpful for it in any eventual confrontation with China. In this situation, China naturally seeks closer ties with Pakistan.

Furthermore, for its rapidly flourishing international trade, China looks toward Pakistan for giving it an easy access to the Muslim Countries of Central Asia and the Middle East. China has invested heavily in the Gwader Port Project. Despite the fact that some of its engineers and technicians working in Pakistan have been kidnapped and even killed, it is determined to remain associated with the Gwader project because it is fully aware of its potential economic and commercial benefits. China is also an entity in Kashmir Issue as some part of Kashmir is under China contour.

Pakistan's strategic position in the world has been considerably increased ever since it has become an atomic power, which has made it the only Muslim country armed with atomic weapons. When India carried out nuclear explosions in 1974 and began threatening Pakistan, Bhutto declared despite the US opposition that Pakistan would also make atomic bomb even if it people had to eat grass for this purpose. The outraged Americans threatened to make him an example for others and succeeded in removing him from power in 1977.

America reconsidered its decision and allowed Zia-ul-Haq to continue this program only because at that time, they needed his help in the Afghan conflict against the Soviet Union. In the mid-1980s, Pakistan's atomic bomb was ready and thus balance of power in the region was restored.

It is said that when Zia-ul-Haq went to India during his cricket diplomacy, he asked Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi how many atomic bombs were required to destroy Pakistan. Rajiv replied that only one or two or three could eliminate Pakistan. Zia-ul-Haq then asked him how many such bombs were needed to destroy India. Rajiv said that he thought six or seven were sufficient. Hearing this, Zia stood up and remarked, "Rajiv, shake hands, I have more than seven." He further said, "If India is destroyed Hinduism will be eliminated, but if Pakistan is eliminated, Islam will not be eliminated."

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Pakistan compelled India to no war and non aggression pact. Later, in 1988, when India again carried out nuclear explosions, Pakistan came under enormous international pressure not to conduct its own nuclear tests. While Western powers were pressurizing the government, Iran offered huge financial help and Saudi Arabia promised to supply large quantities of cheap oil in case of international economic sanctions. Pakistan's nuclear explosions proved very helpful in highlighting the need for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute, because the whole world realized that in case of another war on Kashmir, nuclear weapons could be used, causing unimaginable explosions.

Pakistan is a poor country confronting countless problems and facing grave energy shortages but even then, its nuclear power has significantly elevated its importance in the international community. A historian has perhaps rightly said that in almost 80 years since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, if any worth mentioning incident took place in the whole Muslim world, it was in May 1998, when Pakistan carried out its nuclear explosions. The apocalyptic scenario of geopolitically important Atomic power with the access to delivery systems falling into hands of extremists and terrorists is questionable. Pakistan's geopolitical importance is underestimated, though it is an important factor in the stability of South and Central Asia. Neither a resolution to the Kashmir conflict nor lasting peace in Afghanistan will be possible without Pakistan playing a major role. And international terrorism can only be effectively fought through close cooperation with Pakistan. At the same time, not only in Pakistan the only Muslim nuclear power it is also facing the threat of state collapse due to Islamization hence the view pronounced by "The Economist" and shared by others "The world's most dangerous place."

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Early Phase of Muslim Separatism: Political Developments (1905-1911)

The policy of Muslim separatism initiated by Syed Ahmed Khan received wider acceptance at different level as reflected in the events that took place during the first decade of 20th century. Political awakening among Muslims spread

1). Partition of Bengal

Lord Curzon's decision to Partition Bengal (1905)

1. Reason: Administrative convenience, Bihar & Orrisa separated
2. The agrarian economy of Muslim Bengal controlled by Hindu capitalists of Calcuta indibited local initiative
3. Relief to predominantly Muslim Bengalis,Appreciation by the beneficiaries.
4. Declaration by British Government that partition is a "settled fact"

These landmarks bear testimony to the fact of Muslim Separatism.

Hindu Agitation:

Hindu capitalists bitterly opposedbecause it would weaken Hindu contol of economy.

Swadeshi Movement (Boycott of foreign goods)

Bal Gangadhar Tilak's politics of pressure through agitation.

2). Simla Deputation (1906)

Reasons:

1 *Need for Active political participation in changing circumstances*
2. Lack of fairplay by Hindus in the face of Partition alarmed Muslims
1. Implications of principles of representation. Example: UP's 14% Muslim, no seat.
2. Forthcoming installment of constitutional reforms

The Deputation:

Led by Sir Agha Khan: Viceroy Lord Minto , Simla , 1st Oct, 1906

Demands

1. Separate Representation
2. Separate Electorates
3. Weightage

Significance

Glimmerings of two-nation theory. An un-intended step towards demanding a separate state for Muslims in future

3). Muslim League's creation (Dec 1906)

Three factors that kept Muslims away from Congress

1. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's advice to abstain from Congress and educational strategy
2. B.G.Tilak religious revivalism
3. Agitation against partition of Bengal

Nawab Salim Ullah of Decca mover of resolution. Nawab Waqar ul Malik gave the presidential address. Sir Agha Khan ,the first President.

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Three factors that went into its establishment

1. The Simla deputation demonstrated the potency of united action
2. The Hindu attitude of hostility particularly against partition of Bengal
3. The expected constitutional reforms

Three Objectives of Muslim League

1. To promote feeling of loyalty to British
2. To protect and advance Muslim interest and rights
3. To prevent rise among Muslim feeling of hostility against other communities

Significance

1. Platform to compose and organize Muslim opinions
2. Provided a forum for united actions.
3.

4). Minto-Morley Reforms:

Proposals of Governor-General and Secretary of State for India enacted into law by the Indian Council Act 1909

Main Provisions

1. Enlargement of Provincial Councils: 50 for large and 30 for small councils. 60 i central council.
2. Election partly direct, partly indirect
3. Non-official majorities in Province but official majority in centre
4. Members could raise questions. Govt.'s statuary majority
5. No power to members to control Government. Could be heard heared only.

The Council was more of a Darbar than Parliament.

Significance for Muslims

1. System of separate Muslim representation: Communal Electorates
2. Separate electorate to save from Hindu exploitation
3. Weightage given
4. Saved Muslims and Hindus from embittered relations during elections

Congress made it a point to condemn the provision of separate electorate in its every meeting, except in 1916.
Period of general content and peace, except agitations of B.G.Tilak from 1906 to 1911

Delhi Darbar and Annullment of Partition

1. Partition of Bengal annulled. Concession to Hindu. Muslims lost majority in B Bengal. Breach of assurances and commitment..
2. Capital shifted to Delhi

It was a turning point in the history of Indian Muslims as it led to significant shift in Muslim policies. Muslim decided not entirely look towards British for pursuance of it legitimate interest. Seeds of separatism were sown on a more fertile ground by this annulment.

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Expe rience of Hindu-Muslim Amity 1912-24

The ScenarioThat Led To This Period of Fraternity:

1. Muslim disillusionment over injustice about Bengal Partition.
   a) Anti-British feelings of even the liberal westernized Muslims.
   b) Already existing anti- British tradition among orthodox Muslims.
   c) Pro-alliance feelings for Congress as the excessive loyalty to British did not pay.
2. Muslim League adopted Congress' objective of self-government for India in1913.
3. Jinnah's role as liberal Muslim and his joining of League in 1913.
4. Higher prospects of long-term settlement with the Congress.
5. Britain's willingness to concede more reforms forged together the League and Congress for a common stand.
6. World War-1 (1914-1918) and Khilafat Issue.
   a) Turkey seen by Indian Muslims as semblance of Muslim authority and as bastion of Islam.
   b) Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey recognized as Khalifa by Muslims
   c) British hostility towards Turkey provoked anti-British feeling among Muslims of India.

This Scenario provided greater zeal to forming anti-British united front. The Hindu-Muslim amity was a natural consequence of British policies and a natural course against British at that point of time.

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The Lucknow Pact (1916)

The great and laudable work of Jinah from 1913 to 1916:

a) 1915 session of both League and Congress in Bombay to facilitate interaction of leadership. It was Jinah' effort.
b) Working paper prepared by Jinah on reforms scheme acceptable to both.
c) joint-Session of League and Congress in Lucknow
d) Hindu-Muslim unity passionately preached by leaders

Following scheme of reforms was unanimously accepted:

i. Separate Muslim representation
ii. Separate electorate
iii. Weightage where each of the two communities formed minority
iv. Muslims were allotted 1/3 seats in the centre.
v. No more double vote for Muslims in general elections
vi. No bill or resolution to be adopted in legislative Councils if ¾ of the Council members of one community opposed.
vii. Maximum autonomy to Provinces in financial and administrative matters.

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Khilafat Movement (1919-1920)

Initiated in the wake of First World War (1914-1918).
Khilafat Movement had three-dimensional character.
First, it demonstrated a feeling of identity with the Umma of Muslims-Pan-Islamism.
Secondly, it was the first real mass movement of Indian Muslims.
Thirdly, this was the only practical occasion of genuine Hindu-Muslim fraternity.

How it started:

1. Europeans claimed extra-territorial authority in the Christian minority affairs.
2. Sultan of Turkey asserted his position as Caliph of Muslims all over, even India.
3. Indian Muslims took it as religious duty to recognize Caliph's sovereignty.
4. When World War-I started, Indian Muslims naturally had sympathies for Turkey.
5. The intended objective of Khilafat Movement was to put pressure on Britain to respect the status of Caliph as promised.
6. Contrary to her promise, the British wreaked a full revenge on Turkey at the end of War through Treaty of Sevres.

The Movement:

All India Khilafat Conference was set up in 1919.It resolved that:

i. Muslims abstain, as religious duty, from participating in victory celebrations.
ii. Boycott of British goods to put commercial pressure.
iii. No cooperation with the government until the terms of Treaty of Sevres revised.

Hindu Cooperation:

An overwhelming cooperation by the Hindus under the courageous and clear stand of Mohandas Gandhi was extended. Gandhi initiated Swarjya, which stood for progressive, non-violent, non-cooperation against the British government in favor of Khilafat demands.

Awakening Role of Muslim Press:

The Muslim press such as Muhammad Ali's 'Comrade', Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's 'Al-Hilal' and Maulana Zafar Ali's Zamindar inspired and motivated the Muslims. Muslims were awoken from lull to loyalty for Turkey. Muslims turned furious over British policy of bulldozing the rights and interest of Muslims all over the world.
A Khilafat Deputation which went to London, to meet and apprise Prime Minister Loyd Gearge about Muslim feelings, was humiliated with ridicule.

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Meanwhile, the Turks. under Mustafa Kemal Atta Turk Pasha consolidated their power. A new Treaty of Lausane was signed in 1923. The terms were favorable. But the institution of Khilafat was abolished. Back in the subcontinent, Gandhi and his fellow Hindu supporters also backed out from Khilafat Movement. His unjust silence over the treacherous treatment meted out to Moplas of Malabar by British and Hindus alike in 1921 disappointed the Khilafat leadership and the Muslim community. This brought to a close the chapter of Hindu- Muslim rapprochement.

The Impact:

Though the Movement could not achieve big success, yet it did draw some benefits.

i) It served as an instrument to bring political consciousness among Muslim masses.
ii) It created and provided a broad-based leadership.
iii) It taught techniques of organizing a mass movement.
iv) Muslims finally realized that they could neither trust the British nor the Hindus and they should look towards their own strength for self-preservation. (Malabar incident of killing of Muslims by British and Hindus alike.)
v) The experiences served as a great asset for organizing struggle for Pakistan.

The 1919 Act
The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

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Another installment of constitutional reforms came through a more liberal enactment, providing for partially responsible government at the provincial level.

1. ***Bicameral Legislature:*** Bicameral Legislature was set up at the centre, replacing the Imperial (central) Legislative Council with two houses named Central Legislative Assembly (3 years duration) and the Council of States (5 years duration).
2. ***Direct Elections:*** Direct elections were provided for both the houses though franchise (eligible voter) was limited

3. ***Diarchy:*** An outstanding new development was application of Diarchy (dual government). The executive of the government was divided into two parts.

a) Certain subjects/departments such as Education, Public Health, local Government, Industries and Agriculture, known as the transferred subjects, were allocated to ministers chosen from and responsible to the provincial legislature.
b) Other subjects known as "Reserved Subjects" consisting of Finance, Land Revenue, Administration, Police, canals and Irrigation were headed by bureaucrats who were responsible only to the Governor.

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Governor headed both the transferred and the reserved departments and could easily override the decisions of the minister. There was no principle of collective responsibility introduced at the provincial level.

4. Separate lists were drawn up under the act, one containing central and the other of provincial subjects. It was a kind of devolution of authority from centre to provinces.
5. Enlarged the legislative councils.
6. The elected element was to be not less than 70%.
7. Franchise (right to vote) was extended by lowering property qualifications..Legislative Councils were to be elected directly on a wider franchise.
8. Separate electorate was practically retained for Muslims.

The Working of Reforms:

Under the system of diarchy, which operated from 1921 to 1937, the transferred subject were allocated to the ministers who were elected members of the provincial legislatures. Wherever the Hindu controlled a department as minister, they used their powers in a manner detrimental to Muslims interest. As a result of executive powers, the Hindu Ministers acted in an arbitrary and authoritarian manner. Their unjust policies prompted communal differences.

The gulf between Muslims and Hindus widened when Hindus started the Shuddhi movement aimed at the mass conversion of certain backward groups of Muslims.

The Rowllat Act and Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy:

In order to enhance their administrative grip, the British Government got the "Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act 1919 passed. This law also known as Rowllat Act (because it was based on Justice Sydney Rowllat's report) gave wide powers in matters of arrest, searches and seizures, confinement of suspects. No right of appeal was provided against the decisions of the speedy trial court under this act.

In fact, Muhammad Ali Jinah resigned from the Central Legislature in protest against the bulldozing of this bill through the official majority in Central Legislature despite strong opposition. Gandhi launched Satayagaraha, a movement of strikes against the draconian Act. Strikes turned into violent protests with the result that people in Delhi and Ahmedabad got killed by police.

The worst one occurred in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on April 13, 1919 when under orders of Brigadier-General Dyer indiscriminate firing, killing more than 400 people died and 1200 injured. Martial Law was imposed in various districts of Punjab.

The Khilaft Tehreek then received cooperation of other communities, in particular from Mohandas Karamchand Gandi.

The Muslim League remained inactive for some years (1918-1924) only to get re-activate d when the next constitution was to come and Simon Commission was set up in 1927..

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Towards The Next Constitutional Act

Act of 1935

1. Appointment of a statutory commission headed by Simon 1927
2. Central legislative Assembly had demanded in a resolution to give self-rule and responsible government in1925. Appointment of all white Simon Commission in 1927 because unanimity among Indians not possible..
3. Committee headed by Motilal Nehru appointed by All Parties Conference to confound Brits. Nehru Report (1928) made the following main recommendations.
   I. Unitary instead of the Federal form of government.
   II. No separate representation except in Centre and those provinces where Muslims in minority. No weightage allowed.
   III. Abolition of separate electorate
   IV. Declaration of rights in constitution assuring fullest liberty of conscience and religion. Muslim problem was treated as religious and cultural problem. The solution of the communal problem was through to be fullest religious liberty and cultural autonomy. The Muslims as Community were belittled.
   V. Full provincial status for NWFP and Sind to be separated from Bombay to be a separate province.

The separate representation and electorate given to Muslims under the 1909 Act, willingly endorsed in the Lucknow Pact 1916 and which the British government had not even contemplated to withdraw was now denied. The Congress changed its mind.

Jinnah's 14 Points

Jinah laid down the basic principles, acceptable to Muslims at the least, for the scheme of future constitution. The most vital are reproduced below:

1. Federal form of government with residuary powers to provinces.
2. Not less than 1/3 Muslim members in the Central Legislature.
3. Separate Electorate for communal groups.
4. No territorial redistribution to adversely affect Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and NWFP.
5. No bill or resolution in any elected body to be passed if ¾ members of any community oppose for it being injurious to their interest.
6. Sind should be separated from Bombay to become province and reforms be introduced in NWFP & Baluchistan.
7. Adequate share for Muslims in services.

The Simon Commission Report (1930)

1. Supported the Federal Framework for India.
2. Devolution of powers from Center to provinces re-conceded except law and order and protection of minorities.
3. Franchise to be extended and assemblies enlarged.
4. Legislative Council for NWFP but no measure of responsible government.

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Round Table Conferences:

In order to explore joint acceptability of the constitutional reforms, Round Table Conferences were arranged in London.

The First (1930): Except Congress, all other parties participated. The outstanding decision taken was the approval of Federal System.

The Second (1931): Gandhi had successfully imposed his conditionality on Governor General Irwin when he was brought straight from jail to the viceroy's office Therefore, as sole representative of Congress, Gandhi remained adamant in the second conference to accept any reasonable suggestions. The conference ended without any solution to communal problem. Gandhi on his return to India resumed Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Third (1932): The participating delegates deliberated on the reports of committees appointed in the previous conference. The Indian national Congress did not participate and the labour Party (then opposition party in Britain) did not participate either.

The Communal Award (1932):

In view of lack of any agreed formula from round table conferences, British government published its own Communal Awards.

1. Separate Electorate and weightage was given to Muslims.
2. The weightage given to Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab reduced the Muslims to minority despite their majority in population. In Bengal where Muslims formed 55%, they were reduced to 48% in terms of the total provincial seats.

Finally, the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of British Parliament reported to Parliament. After some debate, the parliament approved the bill and Royal assent given to The Act of 1935.

1935 Act

Operational on April 1, 1937. Except Part 2, Federal Part, not largely put into operation.

- Polity of India was reconstituted, although the constitution of India remained unitary. It was unitary in the sense that the provincial governments derived their powers by devolution from the central government. The provinces were to discharge their functions under the superintendence, direction and control of the Governor-general and ultimately the Secretary of State for India.
- The Governor-General of India and the Governors of provinces were granted extensive powers by way of safeguards, , reservations, special responsibilities and overriding powers.
- Most important feature: Provinces made separate legal entities.
- Three lists of subject: Federal, Provincial, concurrent.
- Financial resources divided for the provinces.
- Sind separated from Bombay & NWFP given full status.

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- Lowering the property qualifications enlarged franchise.
- Indirect method: first elect members of local bodies, who in turn will elect members of electoral college
- Council of Ministers in each province. Advice binding on governor except when acting in his discretion; exercising individual judgment and performinfspecial responsibilities..

Shortcomings

- No complete self -rule: Indians not given control over the government.
- Provinces under Center because of nomination in State Council and Federal Assembly. Upper chamber(Council of States) was reactionary
- Indirect elections of Federal Assembly.
- Army got lion's share of the Indian budget.
- Discretionary powers of governors re-inforced..
- Provincial autonomy was a farce.

1937-Elections:

Despite criticism of the new Constitution, both the major parties contested elections. The results showed

i) Outright victory of Congress in 5 out of 11 provinces. Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. Congress was relatively larger party in other two provinces. In North Western Frontier Province, Congress was able to form government through an alliance Dr. Khan Sahib.

ii) In Bengal and Punjab the Muslims (not Muslim League) won the majority of seats but were able to form coalition government. Those were non-Congress, non-Muslim League governments of Muslims.

iii) In Hindu- majority provinces, where Muslim League had captured a substantial number of Muslim seats, it was expected that as gesture of goodwill (that had prevailed during the election campaigns) Muslim League members will be included in the Ministries. Intoxicated by her overwhelming victory, the Congress did not ask the Muslim League to be a part of coalition government or asked them to be a minister on humiliating term. In United Provinces , for example, the condition for a Muslim Leaguer to become a minister was to abandon membership of Muslim League and join Congress. The requirement of support of ¾ members of Muslims members in decisions affecting Muslims was to go and decisions were to be made by majority which the Congress possessed.

The election results and general political atmosphere that followed the 1937-Elections indicated no good prospects for Muslims to come by.

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The Defining Phase:
Dictatorship of Congress: 1937-39

Muslim separatism was pushed into a more precise direction during the period of Congress Ministries 1937-39. The short-sighted policy of the Congress leadership alienated the Muslims and convinced the British that Hindu-Muslim Conciliation is not possible. Nature of Congress rule was so ruthless and unjust that it alienated the Muslims and it gpopularized the idea of Pakistan and created hatred for the idea of united India.

As a result of the elections, the reins of power in 8 out of 11 provinces came into Congress hands in July 1937. Only the provincial (second) part of 1935 Act came into operation. The Congress/Hindus, intoxicated with power, used this opportunity in a manner that impacted the future course of political developments.

Jinnah wanted to cooperate with any party or group if the basic principles were determined by common consent. In order to have a share in political responsibility and power, Muslim League proposed formation of Congress-Muslim coalition ministries. The Congress required Muslim League to dissolve its parliamentary board, amalgamate into Congress, share with other members the obligations of party and be subject to the decisions, control and discipline of Congress Party. Muslim League, therefore, remained out of governing. The ridicule and rebuff by Congress and its conduct as intolerant majority convinced the intelligentsia of the futility of constitutional safeguards

How did the working of Congress Ministries (or dictatorship) impacted on the future course of development in Hindu-Muslim relations and politics history?

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1. Un-constitutional Practices of Congress:

The Congress high Command issued instructions, made and unmade ministers and members of legislature at its discretion, controlled policies pursued by ministers and at times instructed them to resign. In other words, their allegiance was to the congress. The congress considered that electorate by choosing their representatives had given allegiance to congress and it is the congress that is responsible to electorate. Gandhi had no elected credentials, no official position, no post, but he dictated the congress policy. He was a dictator by proxy. At the District level, local Congress Committees were converted to the status of parallel administration

The 1935-Constitution had authorized the Governors to exercise their powers to safeguard the legitimate interest of minorities, religious or racial. The Governors could act in his "discretion" or exercise his "individual judgment". A Congress Minister's had no authority to advice Governor in respect of Governor's role as safe f minority interest.. During the functioning of Congress Ministries, historical facts show that in spite of the loud complaints from the Muslims, the Governors remained unable to apply their discretionary powers and safeguard the interest of Muslims.

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2. Aggressive Hindu Nationalism Practiced By Congress:

Policy of stamping out Muslim culture by Hinduising the society was rigorously followed. Imposition of Hindi language in schools, forbidding cow slaughter and protecting slaughtering the cow-slaughterers and violating the sanctity of Mosques by physically interrupting prayer-call, throwing filth and the pigs into mosque and staging violent and provocative processions around mosque.

3. BANDE MATREM:

Congress imposed the singing of Bande-Matrem as a recital in schools every morning to which Muslim students were no exception. The degrading phrases of the song derived from the novel Anandanath were humiliating for Muslim students. The three coloured flag called "Taranga" was imposed to be hoisted in educational institutions and government buildings to demonstrate Congress's authority.

4. Wardha and Widhia Mandar Schemes:

The two schemes were intended to draw the new generation of Muslims away from their culture. Vardha, a scheme of studies evolved under a committee of experts under the guidance of Gandhi had was unsuitable to Muslims. Vardha's net result would have been destruction of Muslim culture and language. Bowing with folded hands before Gandhi's portrait was compulsory for everyone while entering the schoo under Widdia Mandir. The Wardha Scheme required students, including Muslims, to implement Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, glorify Hindu past and publicizing Congress's political ideas. In a nutshell it can be described as building Hindu nationalism at the cost of destroying Muslim culture.

5. Lingua Franca:

The dispute over lingua franca had powerful influence in shaping political course as it bristled with political and emotional difficulties..Gandhi's proposal of using simple Hindi called Hindustani, a blend of Urdu and Hindi, to be written on both Devanagri and Persian scripts was preposterous. It would have resulted into purge of Urdu from colloquialism of Arabic and Persian.

6. Rejection by Congress of Muslim League's legitimacy as Authoritative Representative Body:

The Congress not only ignored Muslim League in power-sharing, but also started a mass movement to lure Muslims through mass contact and some of their leaders into Congress. In actual fact, the dichotomy in Congress Rule and treatment of Muslims worked the other way round. Because of anti-Muslim measures of Congress, Muslim League gained more popularity facilitating Jinnah's work.

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The Decisive Phase:

The Consequences of World War-II for the subcontinent.

The World War II ignited in September 1939 gave a new turn to the affairs of the subcontinent. The Congress refused to cooperate with British Government when World War II and deplored declaration of war without her consent. Congress demanded immediate withdrawal of British and asserted its authority to make constitution. Congress resigned in November 1939 and Muslims considered it a Day of Deliverance for having been relieved from Congress atrocities. Gandhi launched civil disobedience movement to exert pressure. Muslims stood for limited cooperation. The demanded that Muslim soldiers will not be deployed to fight against Muslims and that fair treatment will be met to Palestinians. However, Muslim league insisted on guarantees for provincial autonomy.

The episode of Congress Ministries had alienated the Muslim community which in turn strengthened Muslim nationalism. It convinced the British that Hindu-Muslim conciliation is a far cry. The nature of Congress rule also helped in popularizing the idea of Pakistan.

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Lahore Resolution:

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles.....that the areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority as in North Western and Eastern zones should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' ....."

Impact:

1. Final Message to Congress: No two nations under a single state. The idle dream of common nationality of Hindus & Muslims buried.
2. Final Goal of Muslim League: Division, pure and simple. Idea of partition adopted as final objective.
3. Muslim Stand: Freedom for all and not for one section (Hindu) alone.
4. A constitution providing for "a permanent rule by a permanent majority over a permanent minority" not acceptable to Muslims.
5. Muslims, a nation by any definition of the word.

Cripps Mission 1942:

Why: Alarming situation.

1. Prospects of Japan to overrun India.
2. Indian National Army organized, by Subhash Chandra Bose, out of the Japan-held Indian prisoners of war.
3. Civil Disobedience Movement.

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DECLARATION BY CRIPPS:
Constituent Assembly to be formed of elected members of Assemblies and representative of the States immediately upon end of war.
CONGRESS rejected because in the words of Gandhi; " It was a post-dated cheque of a failing bank". British asked to quit India.
MUSLIM LEAGUE rejected because it did not concede Pakistan. Demanded "divide & quit" because proposed constitution- making would replace British Raj with Hindu Raj.

The Election of 1945-46:

Constitutional & political future of India was to be determined by this election. Results provided indictors. League won all seats in the Centre and 446 out of 495 in provinces.

The Cabinet Mission:

PURPOSE: To seek agreement between political forces on constitutional issues.
CONGRESS: stood for Single Constituent Assembly where Hindus would have majority.

MUSLIM LEAGUE: for two separate Constituent Assemblies of Muslims and Hindus.
ISSUE:One Sovereign state with Hindu majority and Muslims in minority or
Two Sovereign states with safeguards for minorities.
Cabinet Mission could not bridge the gap. No agreement on the fundamental issue.

Mission's Suggested Plan: Scheme of three zones within the union of India.

C- Zone : Bengal and Assam.
B- Zone: : Panjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan.
A-Zone : Provinces of the rest of India Each
Each zone will settle the provincial Constitution.
The union constitution was to be made by a re-assembly of all provincial legislatures.

.MUSLIM LEAGUE accepted the scheme for it subtly pointed to the ultimate establishment of Pakistan.
CONGRESS accepted the constitution-making part of the plan. But when Nehru replaced Abual Kalam Azad as Congress President, he changed his mind and regarded Congress free to alter the plan as it thought best.
LEAGUE withdrew its acceptance and declared 16 August as "Direct Action Day".

British Prime Minister Attlee declared in Feb.1947 to grant self-rule by June,1948.

3rd June Plan:

Viceroy Mountbatten declared transfer of power by partitioning India

Main Features:

1. The principal of partition was based upon Muslim majority areas minus non-Muslim districts to constitute Pakistan.
2. Referendum to be held in NWFP and Sylhit District of Assam.

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3. Boundary Commission to award and demarcate borders.

Independence Act of 1947: Formalized and legalized the partition

i) Interim Government in Delhi split into two successor governments to be headed by Governor-General.

ii) The successor Governor Generals could make necessary omissions, adaptations and modifications in the provisions of 1935 Act as suited to them.

The date of establishment of the two countries was brought forward from June 1948 to August 1947. This was criticized by some as "error of judgment". In particular it was said to have added to more problems for Pakistan.
Also the flaw in Lehore Resolution caused by the use of the word " areas" instead of the words Provinces and States in which the Muslims were in numerical majority led to the division of Punjab and loss of several strategic districts of Punjab.

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Dynamics of Pakistan's Politics: Early1950s 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 factosr 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.

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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 in1959.

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

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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.

Nazimuddinn 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 October1954 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 Nazimmudin'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 October1954, he proclaimed emergency and dissolved the Constituent Assembly on grounds of what he described as political crisis, break down of constitutional machinery and the loss of confidence of the people. Amazingly, the 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-Chief of Pakistan Army, as Defense Minister, Major-General Iskander Mirza, brought back from East 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

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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 Al Bogra lost support in the party and Constituent Assembly, Chauhdry 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 Chauhdry 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 Suharwardi, a veteran and seasoned politician from East Pakistan, in place of Chauhdry Muhammad Ali. . Suharwardy 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 Jammat-i-Islami and leftists found a common cause to voice the dissent.

Suharwardy 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

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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 ne w 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 discretional power could be misused. Once a person is appointed as prime Minister, he/will have a bit of space to manipulate to muster support. Although the Article 50 of the constitution provided for calling of a session of National assembly within two months to seek a vote of confidence, but in a country where party system was not effectively developed the remedy could not prevent misuse 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 powers 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.

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➢ Federal Type:

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 enumerating them in three lists – federal, provincial and concurrent.

➢ Islamic Provisions:.

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.

Emergency Powers:

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.

➢ Amendment Procedure:

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.

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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 (ontinuation 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.

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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 31stDecember 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

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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 (ADBP), 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.

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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, in1967. 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.

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The 1962 Constitution

1. 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.

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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 part 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 intransigence 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 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.

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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. (para20).

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, NWFPand Balochistan. All provinces, according to the Six Points would have separate currencies, separate foreign currency accountand 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 Tajjuddin 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 thatthe 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 elections.

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The Election of 7 December 1970

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.

The Awami League Leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was also making disquieting observation but not loud and not categorical. He told Ardeshir 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

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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 May1966 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 1March 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 abolisihing the Domicile Certificate.[2]
3. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was forced by Mahatma Gandhi to resign as a Congress President in1939. To show his great solidarity with Bengali Leader, the great Bengali poet Rabindrnath 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."[3]

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 19471, 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. Kalikarnjan 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 Ahamd 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,

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p. 513.

6. Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhya, 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 Husian 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 British 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 'Bhuttor 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 villager 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 solider 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. Let.-Gen. Gul Hassan used to ask the soldiers

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"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 importance 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 haveremained 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 crating 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 poopulation 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 supporter the 1965 war.It was apparent, but not expressed then, that there was not a single ant-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. Italso 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

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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 MuktiBahini 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) andthe 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 ant 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 Chain 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

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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 theAgartala Conspiracy But as Karim relates Mujib would not called it conspiracy but "a striving for independence." While Pakistani writers like Syed Shahid Husain haveagreed 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 value able. 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 attributes make the 1971 conflict particularly suitable for efforts towards reconciliation rather than recrimination."[5]

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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.

Hennery 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 USEnterprise to move towards Bengal [36]. And at same time USSR moved his troops to the Chinese border the USS 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 cost of the USA, from where the attack US targets in 8 minutes[38]. In view of the lengths to which the USSRhad gone to dismember Pakistanit was no consolation to be told by its deputy foreign minister that the game being played for high international stakes it has nothing to 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 3December 1971 to relive 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 was possibility that the events in East Pakistan might take the coursethey have taken but Ihad no alternative. People would not have excused me if I had allowed East Pakistan to secede [40].

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Notes (1971 in Retrospect)

1. Badruddin Umar, the emergence of Bangladesh, Karachi: Oxford University press, 2006, vol.2, p. 137.
2. S.A. Khan, Sheikh Mujib: Triumph and Tragedy, Dhaka: The University Press, 2005, p. 111.
3. Syed Shahid Husian, "Of Lesson Not Learnt", Dawn, 11 December 2005.
4. News line: Karachi, February 2001, p. 49.
5. Sarmila Bose at a New York Seminar, Dawn, 7 July 2005.

Notes (complete topic)

1. Dawn, Karachi, 2 May 1970, p.1.
2. Ibid, 4 May 1970, p. 3.
3. Ibid, 9 May 1970, p. 1.
4. Ibid, p.135.
5. G.W. Choudhry, The Last day of United Pakistan, Karachi: Oxford University press, 1998, p. 99.
6. Sultan M. Khan, Memories And Reflections, London: Center for Pakistan Studies, 1997, p. 288.
7. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, The Great Tragedy, Karachi: PPP, p. 28.
8. Ibid.
9. M. Rafique Afzal, Pakistan History and Politics 1947-1971, Karachi: Oxford University press, 2001, p. 416-417.
10. Roedad Khan (ed.) The British Papers, Karachi: Oxford University press, 2002, p. 535.
11. Pakistan Times, Lahore, 18 August 1969, p. 1.
12. Times, London, 6 April 1970.

14. New York, Times, 11 May 1971.

15. Ibid, 28 April 1971.

16. G.W. Choudhry, op. cit., p. 176.
17. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, op. cit., p.19.
18. G.W. Choudhry, op. cit., p. 173.
19. Ibid, p. 182.
20. Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report (HRCR), Dawn, Karachi, 14 August 2000 and 6 February 2001.
21. Ibid, p. v.
22. Ibid.
23. Safdar Mahmood, Pakistan Divided Lahore: Jang, 1984, p.143.
24. HRCP, op. cit., p. v.
25. Oriana Fallaci, Interview with History, Boston: Houghton and Muffin, 1976, p. 160.
26. Khuswant Singh, Truth, Love and a Little Malice, New Delhi: Viking, 2002, p. 315.
27. Pran Chopra, India's Second Liberation, 2nd ed. Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1976, p. 100.
28. Dawn, Karachi, 16 June 1970, p.1.
29. Sultan M. Khan, op. cit., p. 308.
30. Henry Kissinger, the White House Years, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979, p. 862.
31. Ibid, p. 893.
32. Ibid, p. 905 and p. 908.
33. Richard M. Nixon, The Memories of Richard Nixon, New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1978, p.526.
34. Henry Kissinger, op. cit., p. 907.

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35. Richard Nixon, loc cit.
36. S.M. Burke and Lurance Ziring, Pakistan Foreign Policy, 2nd ed. Karachi:Oxford University press, 1996, p. 404.
37. The New York Times, 11 January 1972.
38. Paul Bracken, Fire in the East, New York: Perennial, 2002, p. 102.
39. Sultan M. Khan, op. cit., p. 380.
40. Hassan Zaheer, the separation of East Pakistan, Karachi:Oxford University press, 1994, p. 409.

13. Lawrence Ziring, Bangladesh from Mujib to Ershad, Karachi: Oxford University press, 1992, p. 64.A.O. Mitha, Unlikely Beginnings, Karachi: Oxford University press, 2003, pp. 402-410. Tajul Islam Hashmi, 'The Bihari Minorities in Bangladesh' in Mushirul Hasan (ed.) Islam, Communities and the National Integration, New York: Columbia University Press, 1972, p. 202.

Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman (B. tungipara, 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 negotitiations 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 centrel 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 Leagure, 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 prominance. 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 countary he divided, than in the countary he emancipated. While his Bengladeshi biographer has accepted that Mujib had indeed gone to Agrtala, 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".

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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 yis-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 Mengel 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 Mengel 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 intensions 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 iin 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.

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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 controverted 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 Counties (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.

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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-Etections 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.

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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 word 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 Minster 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

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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 arid 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 fie 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[5]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 1 ^{h} amendment, balance has tilted in favor of provinces.

3) Safeguards for Provincial Interests.

The Bulloch 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.

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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 (MFC) 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 \\ell-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 peech, expression, press, assembly, conscience and employment are guaranteed. All the citizens are to be reated 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 castoff 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 add 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.

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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 \\ent 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 many[1] 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 Chauhdry asserted this 'acquired power' in appointments of judges in 2010. The issue became a public debate involving a section 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^ 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.

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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 one who considered parliament as the sole constitutional authority to amend the constitution in view of the fast that Article 239, clause 2 & 4 bars the court to question an amendment. The said clause has clarified rather explicitly that parliament is &e 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 pavers 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 charged 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 article58 (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 oservient to Zia.

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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 lie 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.

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