**PAKISTAN STUDIES**

**COURSE CODE: SS1003**

**WEEK 1**

**BRITISH COLONIALISM IN SUBCONTINENT**

**HISTORY OF COLONIALISM**

* From 1870 after the second industrial revolution all the advanced capitalist (private owners controlling industries and trade) powers of the world at the time brought about a wave of new technologies that transformed their economy.
* Cheaper transport and faster ways of communication created a way for people to explore the world bringing about the first globalization process.
* Colonialism (policy to control a country politically fully or partially for settling and exploiting their economy) or imperialism (policy to extend a country’s power and influence through colonization, military power, or other means) both terms refer to the territorial expansion of the European industrial powers especially after 1870.

**CAUSES OF COLONIAL EXPANSION (1870-1914)**

* **Economic factors:** Capitalist development led to countries seek new spaces to obtain raw materials such as minerals, textile fibers jewels and look for new markets to sell their products. To obtain territories where they could invest for capital on infrastructure such as railways, roads, and bridges. Gaining new land to allow emigration easing population pressure on the country.
* The cost of invading these colonies usually exceeded the benefits coming from it as commercial changes, demographic flows and financial investments were much more intense between free countries compared to their colonies.
* **Political factors:** The 19th century was the century of nationalism (supporting interests in one’s own nation) where European countries were competing to gain power and prestige which would lead to the first world war. France wanted to forget their defeat to Prussia in 1870, Germany and Italy newly born nations to regain their historical greatness and politicians like the British Disraeli or French Ferry defending the importance of colonial expansion.
* **Geostrategic factors:** Countries conquered places to not allow expansion of rival powers or to facilitate communication between different regions such as what happened in Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus or the Suez Canal for the British.
* **Ideological and Scientific factors:** Eagerness to discover new and unknown territories (which the British have been doing since the 15th century), to convert non-Christian nations, to extend values and progress of western culture and to induce social Darwinism (that justify racism and biasness towards the white).
* The Europeans were technologically very superior, had created quinine to treat malaria and used internal rivalries of ethnic groups to facilitate their expansions.

**GREAT COLONIAL EMPIRES AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN POWERS**

* Colonial powers were born in the 15th and 16th centuries starting with the Portuguese and Spanish, then French, English and Dutch conquered vast territories on different continents. Around the 19th and early 20th centuries the British empire was the largest in history, French empire had territories in Africa and Indochina region and empires such as Germany, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Spain, United States and Japan had become colonial powers.
* These expansions brought great conflicts despite attempts to agree upon solutions such as the Berlin Conference in 1895 as the interests of different powers clashed which became an important factor for international instability.
* **British Empire:** Great Britain had established their navy by the 17th century and having advanced technology due to the industrial revolution the empire stretched from Canada to Australia and New Zealand, from Egypt and South Africa to the Jewel of their empire India. These also included enclaves ranging from Jamaica to Hong Kong and Singapore, Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus.
* **French Empire:** French had a strong nationalist attitude and remarkable industrial development which gave them Saharan and equatorial Africa which included Algeria and Morocco and the Indochina Peninsula including Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.
* **Other Empires:** Spain took control in North Africa, Portugal in Africa, Netherlands in the Antilles, Caribbean and Indonesia, Germany and Italy struggled to get places mainly in Africa, USA annexed the Philippines, Puerto Rico and maintained indirect control over Cuba after defeating Spain in 1898, Japan annexed Taiwan and Korea after defeating China in 1898 and Russia in 1904-1905.
* **Scramble for Africa and it’s carving up:** After 1870, colonial powers threw themselves into increasing the expansion in Africa which created many tensions all over the world. German Chancellor Bismarck decided to meet to create general rules to give order to the colonial race at the Berlin Conference in 1885 where it was agreed that a country will have rights over a territory which it has explored completely. This resolution further accelerated the colonization process which led the British and French to fight to extend their influences and almost led to war over an incident in Fashoda (Sudan) in 1898. The French and British became friends in the early 20th century, the Entente Cordiale, which led to a military alliance, but this led to tensions between the German and French being formed, an important element in the road to WW1.
* **Belgian colonization in Congo:** The invention of inflatable tires for J.B Dunlop in 1887 and growing popularity of automobiles increased world demand for rubber. King Leopold of Belgium implemented a brutal system of forced labor on the Congolese population where tribal leaders were forced to make their people work by holding the women and children captive. Men had to complete the goal set for rubber collected otherwise their villages were burned and children were amputated.

**CONSEQUENCES OF COLONIZATION**

* Conquest and occupation were based on violence and the colonial system based on racial oppression and discrimination. Country under a colonial power was exploited economically, was subject to foreign control, loss in its own culture and foreigners being the dominant social class.
* Directly or indirectly the colonized populations were also benefitted through an improvement in health conditions, access to education for the native elite and the construction of railways, ports, and introduction to various industries.

**COLONIALISM IN SUB-CONTINENT**

* We can’t differentiate between the good and bad if we validate the oppression by the British considering the accidental benefits, they have caused to fulfil their concerns as colonists and later the apologists of what they have done.

**ECONOMY**

* Colonial rule of India meant the destruction of industries, denial of opportunities to compete, elimination of indigenous institutions of governance, transformation of lifestyles, obliteration of precious possessions and change to the identities and self-respect of the Indians.
* In 1600 when the EIC was established, Britain was producing 1.8% of the world’s GDP, while India generated 23% which increased to 27% by 1700. By 1940, Britain accounted for 10% of the world’s GDP while India had reduced to a third world country. British left India with 16% literacy, life expectancy of 27, no domestic industries and over 90% living below the poverty line in famine-stricken India.
* Pre-colonial India exported high quality manufactured goods, British elite wore Indian linen and silks, decorated their homes with Indian chintz, decorative textiles and craved Indian spices and seasonings. In 17th and 18th century British shopkeepers tried selling British made products as Indian for higher prices.
* India holds a 1000-year-old civilizational history with great educational institutions, magnificent cities ahead of their time, pioneering inventions, world class manufacturing and abundant prosperity and India could have recovered if the British had not drained them of all their resources.
* Positive byproducts from British made institutions were never intended to benefit the Indians but today the Indians can’t live without railways to transport people rather than freight which the British used to do.

**RAILWAYS**

* Railways were first created by the EIC, Governor General Lord Hardinge stated in 1843 that the railways would be beneficial for the commerce, government, and military control of the country. Indian railway was a colonial scam as British shareholders made a lot of money investing in Indian railways with the government guaranteeing returns paid from Indian taxes.
* The railways were intended to transport coal, iron ore, cotton and other resources to ports for the British to ship home and use in factories. Movement of people were secondary as there were third class compartments with wooden benches herded by Indians. Racism prevailed as there were special white only compartments with better facilities whereas Indian compartments were herded to horrific extents.
* The railways were staffed by Europeans to protect investments, by the 20th century everyone from the directors to the ticket collectors were all white people who were paid according to the British pay scale in India.
* The British had railway workshops in Jamalpur, Bengal and Ajmer in Rajputana were established in 1862 to maintain trains but the Indian mechanics started designing and building their own locomotives by 1878. These locomotives were cheaper and equally good to the British locomotives so in 1912 the British passed an act of parliament that made it impossible for local manufacturing to prevail. During 1854-1947, India imported 14,400 locomotives from England, 3000 from Canada, US and Germany but made none in Indian after 1912.
* After Independence the old technical knowledge was lost, and the Indians had to go to the British to guide them on setting up a locomotive factory in the country whereas today the British heavily rely on Indian technical expertise.

**DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW**

* British had not worked to promote democratic institutions under imperial rule, nor did they try building self-government but destroyed what already existed. British ran government, tax collection and administered what passed for justice and Indians had no say in it. British devolved government authority from the top to unelected provincial and central legislative councils representing a tiny, educated elite who were not accountable to the masses, passed no meaningful legislation, exercised no real power, and just satisfied themselves.
* By 1920 the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, brought Indian representatives in the council but the election was so restricted that only one in 250 Indians had the right to vote. These representatives had power over things the British didn’t care about such as education and health while all the economic powers, law and order were under the British governor of the provinces.
* British claims that they gave India political unity and democracy whereas India had all that before the British had arrived and used cruelty to get their ways. Crimes committed by the whites had minimal punishments and death of Indians at British hands was mostly an accident.

**LANGUAGE AND CULTURE**

* The English language was not a deliberate gift to India but an instrument of colonialism, enforced upon Indians to fulfil the benefits of British. English was only taught to a few Indians who acted as intermediates between the rulers and the ruled. Indians seized the English language and turned it into an instrument of liberation using it to express nationalist sentiments against the British.

**WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

* The war of independence broke out between January and March in 1857 between the Hindu and Muslims of India and the British. This war took place due to a series of events involving political, economic, military, religious and social causes overtime.
* The British had interfered in the local socio-economic system being insensitive to local religious and cultural customs. The Doctrine of Lapse stated that the British EIC will take control over land that had no legal male heir. Lord Dalhousie, the governor general of India annexed many lands including Jhansi and Oudh in eight years.
* The Bengal army of the EIC had drew many recruits from Oudh which brought discontent. The nobility, landlords and armies were unemployed and jewels from the royal family of Nagpur were auctioned in Calcutta which was very disrespectful.
* The British banned sati and child marriages as well as other religious customs which were steps to enforce Christianity. Indians were unhappy with the draconian rule which was a project towards rapid expansion and westernization.
* The justice system in India was unfair as British workers were allowed extended appeals for crimes against Indians, EIC collected taxes and if someone failed to pay their property was taken away. In 1853, the British prime minister Lord Aberdeen opened the Indian Civil Service for the Indians, but the educated Indians stated that it was an insufficient reform.
* The British disrespected the Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar by stating that they should move out of the Red Fort in Delhi and in 1856 Lord Canning, the next governor general stated that Bahadur Shah Zafar’s successors would not have king with their name anymore.
* By 1848, the British were in many financial difficulties and required extending their territory in South Asia. The company began ignoring adoption rights of native princes and annexed more than a dozen rajas between 1848 and 1854.
* Recruitment to the British army was based on discrimination, there were 200,000 Indians and 40,000 British officers in the army. The British officers were promoted, and the promotion of Indian soldiers was very slow.
* The sepoys were given gunpowder cartridges greased with cow or pig fat which insulted both Hindus and Muslims. There were rumors that the sepoy’s flour was laced with pig or cow bones and that the British rule would end after 100 years. The British took control after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 so everyone had it in their minds that a revolt is coming.
* Final spark came with the new Enfield rifle which required the cartridge to be bitten off before use, soldiers refused to use it because the grease was made from pig and cow fat. This brought an uprising in Meerut which spread throughout the subcontinent. After serious resentments the British realized their mistake and assured the sepoys that grease cartridges won’t be used but the sepoys didn’t believe them, and rumors spread that the British is disrespecting the religions of Muslims and Hindus.
* In April 1857 at a military post near Delhi, 85 cavalrymen refused to use the cartridges the British ordered them to. They were thrown in prisons and humiliated by stripping of their uniforms in front of 4000 sepoys. Shocked by what they had seen, the 4000 soldiers revolted, overpowered the British and released the prisoners.
* The sepoys then entered Delhi where the civilians joined them in the revolt for the sake of King Bahadur Shah 2 who was respected by both Hindus and Muslims. The King then called upon the people saying, “May all the enemies of the faith be killed today, and the foreigners be destroyed root and branch!” Looking at the revolt, the British started disarming sepoy soldiers and had only 23000 British troops left to restore order.
* The British had to bring in troops from all over the empire to fight against the uprising in northern and central India. Sepoys, farmers, villagers, government workers, dispossessed estate owners and robbers looted, burned, and destroyed British property while killing any white man they saw.
* The British were thrown out of Delhi and Bahadur Shah Zafar proclaimed himself to be ruler of all of India, launched his own coin and appointed his son at key posts but Zafar was not even close to being a fighter or ruler as his forefathers.
* The freedom fighters captured Haryana, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh but British forces showed resistance in Meerut and Ambala with their superior weapons and better strategy. The Indian army lacked resources and planning which caused them to lose.
* The British army then seeked revenge and started regaining the areas they had lost by killing many Indian civilians, torturing, and blasting them into pieces. The British regained Delhi and Shah Zafar went into hiding, they then hanged and killed many civilians in revenge for the death of their soldiers.
* The Mughal Emperor was captured from his sanctuary, the tomb of Emperor Humayun on 20th September 1857. The sons of Shah Zafar were beheaded and presented to him in prison in Rangoon, Myanmar where he died in 1862.

**MUSLIMS IN THE AFTERMATH**

* The 1857 uprising was attributed mainly towards the Muslims after which the British made a repressive policy against them subjecting them to seizures, confiscations, and executions. Muslims were kept out of all responsible government posts, advertisements for jobs specifically said, not for Muslims.
* William W Hunter, a prominent historian who served in the Indian Civil Service said that Muslims of India have always been a danger to the British power, every decision from the Battle of Plassey to the end of 19th century taken by the British was for the worse of the Muslims after which they neither had social status not honorable means of subsistence.
* The new English education system was avoided by the Muslims as it had no provisions for religious education which caused Muslims to lose political powers, all means of employment and their estates. In their place the Hindus gained education and took up all places of employment available.
* Hunter also admits that the exclusion of Muslims from government positions was complete. The British also replaced Shariah with the Anglo-Mohammedan Law and made English the official language. This had a deep impact on socio-economic and political outlook of the country. Hindus adjusted themselves with these new reforms and benefitted as they had majority population in the country. The Inam Commission appointed in Bombay took away 20,000 estates from Muslims and ruined many families and institutions of the community. After all these problems the Muslims still refused to learn English or associate with the British.
* Hindus were progressing much ahead of the Muslims by agreeing to the terms of the British as by 1878, out of 600 graduates from the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay there were only 19 Muslims.
* As this divide between Hindus and Muslims were deepening, strong feelings of nationalism, communal conflicts and movements based on religion started to spark.

**IMPACT OF ISLAM IN INDIA**

* The foundations of Muslim rule began in the early 13th century over India with Delhi as the capital. Law of the state was based on Shariah whereas the economic, political, and religious institutions of Muslims had their unique impression. Any period of long laxity was followed by reinforcement of these laws under public pressure. It reflected a Persianized Islam represented by the Turks and Turk-Persian administrative institutions became a basis of the Delhi Sultanate and later the Mughal Empire.

**WEEK 2 & 3**

**SIR SYED AHMED KHAN**

**INTRODUCTION**

* Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was an important figure in the early development of Indian Muslim Nationalism and westernization of Muslims. He was an aristocrat deeply hued in the traditions of medieval feudalism, he believed that people in control and who maintain the power were more important than businessmen. His efforts to win British favor were strictly geared towards Muslim elites but some of those elites were against Sir Syed and supported nationalist identities. Some scholars call Sir Syed as the father of the idea of Pakistan, but he was not a nationalist believing in an independent India. He believed that Muslims needed reform to advance under British rule which brought about the threefold program, social reform within Islam, acceptance of western education and friendship with the British.
* He brought education to the Muslims by setting up the Aligarh college. Some scholars believe he deserves a lot of credit for the things he did as his motive was to unify India while some believe that he did this in opposition to the demands of the INC for more representation in India and wider recruitment to government service of Indians, fearing Hindu domination.
* Some he was an elitist and was loyal to the British while others say he feared Hindu rule. He was loyal to the British and opposed the INC based on politics as he wasn’t a nationalist.
* Sir Syed wrote The Causes of the Indian Revolt to the British, blaming Indian Muslims to promote Muslim loyalty while explaining why the Indians revolted and what the British didn’t understand about them in mild terms.
* Under the Delhi Urdu revival, Sir Syed influenced Muslim elites to study and convert studies related to science and technology in Urdu by the end of the 19th century to further achievements in the Muslim community.
* The Muhammadan Literary Society was an early attempt to westernize Muslims in 1863 which later was successful through the Aligarh movement led by Sir Syed. This brought Muslims up to date with Hindus and spread throughout the middle class. This movement slowed the progress of Indian nationalism as Sir Syed showed loyalty to the British and was against the Indian National Congress as they had nationalist ideas. Pakistan was also seen to be a political move rather than a religious one.

**ALIGARH MOVEMENT**

* The Aligarh movement was seen to be a step to westernize Muslims, however a scholar says that it was based on aristocracy rather than Muslims pointing to Sir Syed’s attempts to rally Hindu elites to join him against the INC which later was seen to happen.
* As the movement started some British citizens got to know about the Muslim loyalty and provided funds for the Aligarh College which was created to westernize Muslims. Mohammad Iqbal also studied from this college and Sir Syed said “All good things, spiritual and worldly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty in Europe and especially on England. The natives of India high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners, uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to be an able and handsome man.” This quote was written to the Scientific Society at Aligarh on his trip to Europe where he describes his love for the British and shows how important it is for Muslims to be like the British for them to be able to regain control.
* Even though the Aligarh movement was started to westernize Muslims, it quickly grew into a political movement which was opposing the Indian National Congress as Sir Syed felt the INC was not loyal enough to be given power and believed that the relations of Muslims worsened with the British after the Uprising and to prosper the Muslims needed a strong relationship with the British.
* The Aligarh Movement turned into an elitist group where even Hindu landlords were on the side of Aligarh Muslims. In 1888, these elitists argued that Congress brand of democracy was unsuited for the caste-based social structure and said that men of low stature can’t sit among the British and Indian nobility. This was the early stage of politics for the Aligarh Muslims which became not just a political but also a cultural movement which led to the creation of the Muslim league.

**CREATION OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE**

* All India Muslim League was created in 1906 where a united India had become very doubtful. Ramsay MacDonald, a British Labor party member and later the Prime Minister in 1920s noted that “hoping of a united India, an India conscious of a unity of purpose and destiny seemed to be the vainest of vain dreams.” The INC showed no interest to go against this statement and still wanted Indian Independence whereas the Muslims were promoting their loyalty towards the British and were suppressing the anti-partition movement of Bengal which the British wanted so they can use their divide and conquer tactic.
* Since the INC wanted an independent state and self-governance in a militant manner, the Muslims noted this and realized that INC does not represent all Indians as they consisted of some extreme and militant nationalists. The Muslims wanted a separate organization to represent their interests and came to an agreement to create an organization, recognized by the British as a nation within a nation. By the end of 1906, Muslim leaders met in Dacca and passed a resolution creating the All-India Muslim League whose establishment went unnoticed in Britain.
* The Times picked it up and stated that this was an inevitable outcome of the Congress movement and an exposure of the hollowness of the pretensions of Congress to speak for India.
* A separate electorate for Muslims was also being discussed at the time of the creation of the All-India Muslim League. Representation and elections had been established in Councils Act in 1892 and there was extension of provisions established to incorporate the Muslim League. Muslims made two points of policy in accordance with the act which was known as the Simla Deputation in which they demanded Muslims to be represented separately at all levels of elections and elected by Muslim voters. Secondly, they demanded that their representation shouldn’t just be evaluated through population percentage but also through importance in Indian politics and contribution to defend the empire. These demands were accepted by Viceroy Minto in belief that Muslim loyalty would keep the British in power in India. The British partitioned Bengal into Hindu- Muslim majority regions and provided Muslims reforms in 1909 which further divided the two communities causing a breakout of Hindu-Muslim riots.

**THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

* Indian National Congress was initially created to help bring Indians into the government and kept Hindu culture out of the organization to avoid alarming Muslims until 1905. The Hindus being superior due to education, maintained majority positions in the INC, it also was an elitist group that lacked political emotions and were nationalists who wanted an independent India. If they wanted better for everyone, they would’ve created a sense of patriotism in the people, but they tried creating an emotional connection to the nationalist cause which led to the Hinduization of the INC.
* The INC had failed in its first 2 decades due to internal divisions, lack of Muslim support and aspirations of nationalists. Its elitism gave it support and attempts to expand it were made but INC members and Allan Hume (a British official and one of the founding members of the INC) were criticized by other members quite often. Muslims were seen as a minority and many among the INC showed resistance to them. INC demanded competitive examinations to be able to a part of the civil service which was feared by the Muslims as then better qualified Hindus would take their positions.
* INC demanded cow protection without discussing these concerns with Muslims and by 1889, the INC failed to calm Muslim sceptics by not partaking in Muslim-British discussions over the representation of Muslims in the government.
* During 1889-1906, the Congress did not seek support of the Muslims and believed that Aligarh Muslims were only elite representatives who didn’t provide opinions on the politically conscious Muslim. The Aligarh Muslims were well organized, but the Congress isolated them rather than negotiating with them causing them to demand a different Muslim party. INC leaders believed elective procedures without discrimination would make people think of themselves as a part of a single political community. Muslims believed that INC leaders will only aggravate the communal problem if their actions reflect their beliefs.

**THE REVIVAL OF THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM**

* The communal problem rose due to the Muslims, British and Hindus. The Muslims by resisting westernization put themselves behind Hindus politically under British rule which caused them to lack representation. The Hindus rather than negotiating and making Muslims a part of the INC they prioritized Hindu interests and did not show active cooperation in gaining the faith of Muslims in the INC. The British used these issues between Hindus and Muslims to their advantage in a game of divide and conquer and the myth of Muslim loyalty towards British increased these communal problems. The communal problem came to a head after the Nehru Report which outlined a potential form of independence for India in 1928 and the round table conferences held by the British to discuss constitutional reforms in 1930s while Gandhi refused to attend the first meeting due to a lack of discussion about the communal problem.
* Some political leaders believed that the separation of India into a Muslim and Hindu state was inevitable considering the history of the communal problem which was connected to religion and politics. Each group had the fear of being ruled by the other where their interests wouldn’t be given value due to different religion ideologies such as the cow protection movement and disagreement of nationalism.

**SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN AND THE IDENTITY FORMATION OF INDIAN MUSLIMS THROUGH EDUCATION**

**INTRODUCTION**

* Sir Syed Ahmad khan (1817-1898) held huge importance in the life of Muslims as they had been isolated politically and economically after 1857 Revolt. If Muslims had remained on their backward tracks, Sir Syed saw them getting annihilated as a nation forever. It was his efforts to educate the Muslims so they can match the British and Hindus on many forums later.

**BACKGROUND**

* Nazrul Islam says, “Syed Ahmed Khan was one of the leading spirits of the Muslim revival” in 1990. After British control, Muslims had been left behind in poverty, culture, literacy, and self-pity till the time of Sir Syed.
* To achieve his motive Sir Syed faced many challenges such as the hostility of Hindus and British, criticism politically and religiously, the extreme backwardness of Muslims. He tried his best to face the challenge of bringing Muslims out of their backwardness, defeatism, and moral decadence which any normal person would have backed out off.
* EIC had operated in India for almost a century before taking control from the last emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar. The decline of the Mughal empire gave them the chance to increase their strength in 1764 and took command by 1818.
* After 1857, Muslims were deprived of their positions as leaders and landowners. British were openly hostile and suspicious of Muslims and kept them out of government jobs. Even though Hindus had sided with Muslims in the revolt only the Muslims were thought as enemies by the British.
* The Muslims had created a system of education which worked on a system of self-help and addressed the needs of the people which the British abolished saying, “We have a great moral duty to perform in India.” Western style education was established, and English was made an important language for jobs. English was made the official language, in 1837 by Lord Bentinck and since Muslims went against English, they were not eligible for jobs.
* Persian was a symbol of Muslim identity and the British stripped them of their status, power, and culture. English becoming the official language added to the economic and cultural downfall of the Muslims. The Muslims after these reforms went into a self-induced isolation, state of ignorance and cultural backwardness.
* Sir Syed shared the sense of deprivation and injustice of Muslims but no their pessimism or fatalism and linked Muslim issues with their educational inferiority. Sir Syed believed that Muslim issues can only be solved through gaining education where he tried his best to convince them but the scars of brutalities by both sides were hard to forget. The British blamed Muslims for the 1857 revolt and Muslims blamed the British for oppression and thought that they are trying to convert Muslims to Christianity. Sir Syed accepted that the Mughal era had ended, and the Muslims needed to create a good relationship with the British to avail themselves of the latest scientific education offered by them.

**EDUCATION FOR CONTROL**

* After taking control, the British wanted to create a situation where the people will accept their inferior position, making administration easier for the colonial power. Education is the best instrument to control colonized people as it is a way to combine domination with acceptance known as hegemony as Gramsci stated in the 1930s. Education is important to influence assumptions, beliefs, and values as it is dependent upon what is taught and how it is taught. This system of education was indirectly installed by the EIC after the Charter Act of 1698, a Muslim Madrassah was established in Calcutta by 1781 and a Banaras Sanskrit College for Hindus in 1791.
* After pressure from missionaries and negative results of the Industrial Revolution caused the British to include English literature in the curriculum which taught Christianity and liberal education. They believed that the Indians would accept this education looking at the progress British have made using these techniques. Macaulay’s famous minutes of 1835 established teaching of western education in English as he emphasized on the superiority of English literature saying that it would produce a class of persons, Indian in blood and color but British in taste and intellect.
* Gradually the locals saw the benefits of studying English and chief colleges were established where sons of local chieftains were educated to create a sympathetic pro Raj elite. The Hindus immediately accepted this form of education but the Muslims after initial reluctance accepted it under the guidance of Sir Syed.

**RESULTS OF THE BRITISH POLICIES**

* The British alienated Muslims after the revolt and Hindus realized quickly that their benefits lie with accepting what the British teaches under the influence of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833). British took away power from the Muslims and brought their wrath upon them by disempowering them economically, politically, and morally.
* The replacing of the official language from Persian to English became an economical calamity for the Muslims. This removed the only source of income Muslims had and they also lost their jobs whereas the Hindus were quick to respond to the change. The Muslims with losing Persian lost their identity market, court language and their symbolic past.
* The British educational plan disturbed the self-help system in the country, paying schoolteachers with money collected from villages was diverted to government schools who taught modern education.
* The British educational system was for the urban elite and the middle class which created a class system in the Indian society who were to serve as intermediates between the ruled and the rulers. It was thought that these intermediates would then educate the masses, but this could not be done due to lack of funds. Quaid-e-Azam criticized elite concepts and institutions like the public schools and appreciated the need for mass and non-elitist elementary education. During the creation of Pakistan, the people were divided into two groups, the westernized English-speaking elites and the non-English speaking masses which had created a difference in economic, social, and political privileges.
* Sir Syed informed British about the problems with their educational systems and how they can be made better which he mentioned in the memorandum, ‘Strictures upon the present Educational System in India’ in 1869. Sir Syed wanted a progressive system with three educated strata, the intellectual elite, teachers and the last one comprising of three subdivisions, the professionals, administrators and then the working class all of whom should be educated.
* Sir Syed stated that in the British system the top and middle strata excelled while the lower had deficiencies in the education system. There were very few who made it to the top strata as their proportion was negligible in response to the total population.

**SIR SYEDS WANTS**

* To remove mistrust between Muslims and British, to convince Muslims that their salvation lies in educating themselves according to modern science and bring all sections of society to participate in educational emancipation.

**POLICY OF RECONCILIATION**

* Sir Syed knew that to better the Muslims condition they need to make strong relationships with them, he had love for the Muslim nation and maintained loyalty to the British. He was a part of a feudal family that took the toll after the decline of the Mughal Empire but still believed in loyalty to the British.
* He feared that if Muslims don’t start educating themselves, they will be killed, culturally, politically, and economically by the British and the Hindus who were way ahead in educating themselves. His policy of reconciliation was highly important for the survival of Muslims.
* Cooperation with the British was imperative as Sir Syed wrote the Pamphlet to the British titled, ‘Causes of the Indian Revolt’, which was accepted by the British as a sincere friendly attempt. He stated that the mutiny broke out due to the forcing of the use of paper cartridges which were laced with pig or cow meet which was against both religions.
* Sir Syed’s efforts on, ‘The Loyal Mohammedans of India’, Tahqiq hifz (The commentary on the Bible) and his review on W.W. Hunters, ‘The Indian Mohammedan’ went a long way to remove misconceptions between the Muslims and the British.

**STEPS TO CONVINCE MUSLIMS TO PARTICIPATE**

* Sir Syed believed that Muslim inferiority is because of lack of education and the backwardness of Muslims. The curriculum at the time included logic, syntax, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, scholasticism, Islamic Jurisprudence, mathematics, and the commentary of the Quran.
* Muslims lost political and economic influence after the 1857 revolt; Shah Wali Ullah was the last reformer from (1703-1765) that tried taking the Muslims out of their backward thinking but by the time of Sir Syed Muslims still had a narrow mindedness which prevented them from taking advantage of the new education, but Sir Syed brought a change.

**EDUCATIONAL REFORMS OF SIR SYED**

* Sir Syed wrote the Tahzibal-al-Akhlaq which instilled in Muslims the crucial importance for acquiring western knowledge. The journal was an interpretation of Islam named as ‘Mohammedan Social Reformer’. Sir Syed started a scientific society in 1863 in Ghazipur to create scientific temperaments among Muslims by translating western ideas into Urdu making knowledge available to Muslims in their own language.
* Sir Syed’s rational approach to Islam and western education brought him into conflict with the more dogmatic and conservative Muslim Ulema. They turned against him with more enthusiasm, seeking an internal regeneration of Islam mainly because of the repressive measures by the British.

**A VERNACULAR UNIVERSITY**

* Sir Syed believed that the modern education can be acquired through the mother tongue and promoted the adoption of Urdu as the lingua franca of all Indian Muslims. In 1863 he spoke about the unsuitability of English as the medium of instruction.
* In 1867, Sir Syed developed a plan for a truly national and vernacular university but was discouraged by Bayley, the Secretary of the Government of India as English was an essential prerequisite for education of a higher kind since the object of university education is to prepare and fit the mind for the pursuit of knowledge in the wide sphere of European science and literature.
* Looking at ground realities, Sir Syed rejected the idea of vernacular university as he realized that education should be done in English and by 1881, Sir Syed regarded teaching of traditional subjects in vernaculars as a conspiracy as English is the language of power.

**MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO ORIENTAL COLLEGE**

* Sir Syed’s greatest contribution to Muslim education was the creation of Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College in 1875 at Aligarh which developed into the Aligarh Muslim university by 1920. It followed the pattern of oxford and Cambridge universities which he had visited in 1869.
* In 1859, Sir Syed established the Murad Abad Punchaiti Madrassah which taught Hindu and Muslim students, Urdu, Persian and Arabic along with English. It was financed by the people themselves as the government provided no help.
* In 1864, Sir Syed established the English high school in Ghazipur which was subsequently christened as High Victoria School. It was affiliated with the Allahabad University for Arabic, Science and Law. Due to Sir Syed’s efforts the number of Muslim students to Hindu students had greatly increased as these colleges greatly raised the standards of Muslim education.
* The M.A.O college became a symbol of Muslim friendship and cooperation under Sir Syed, Shibli Nomani, Altaf Hussain Hali, Maulana Mohsin ul Mulk and Maulvi Abdul Haq. It instilled Muslim solidarity, nationality and social obligation which helped it to become a center of politics, culture, and literary life of Indian Muslims. When Muslims of India demanded a separate homeland based on identity and culture, it was students of Aligarh who provided the main impetus to the movement.
* Alumni of the M.A. O college included Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Hasrat Mohani, Abdul Majeed Khwaja, Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim who together organized the Urdu Defense Association and the Anjuman taraqqi urdu. All these efforts led to Urdu being the official language of the Hyderabad State and as the medium of instruction in the Osmania University. When Muslims demanded a separate land, it was Urdu that played a role as a symbol of the political and cultural integrity of the Muslims of India. To meet the need for Muslims to have capable leaders, Sir Syed established the Mohammedan Educational Congress in 1886.

**CRITICISM AGAINST SIR SYED AHMED KHAN**

* Sir Syed was criticized for creating a westernized elite and neglecting the education of women. They believed that just like the British he also focuses on educating the urban elite and ignoring the masses of India but at least 1/3rd of the students at the college had scholarships while public funds were provided to the lower and middle class as financial support.
* It was said that Sir Syed ignored oriental studies in the curriculum of the M.A.O College but even though he fully appreciated western learning, he still made sure he included oriental subjects to transmit the rich legacy of the Muslims to the future generations. English medium was used to transmit the modern scientific and technological education to allow Muslim students to be at par with the rest of the world and an in-house school system based on western lines was used. Many of these students were a part of the great Pakistan Movement whose subjectivity or identity wasn’t influenced by English education but gained all other benefits. This was because Ethics, Urdu and religious studies were readily taught at Aligarh and there was a strong stress on religious observance as each day started off with the recitation of the Quran. These students were in touch with their core and identity while gaining the best education in the world.
* Sir Syed hadn’t educated women as he held a strong view that given the state of the Indian Society, educated women could only cause a breakdown in the traditional power dynamics of the family structure. The uneducated male would never accept the educated female which would cause a rift in the family disrupting the fabric of society.

**CONCLUSION**

* Sir Syed had dedication, was a hard worker and had a clear vision showing how a single man can change the destiny of a nation. It was his efforts that led Muslims out of the horrible condition they were in after the revolt and educated Muslims with the most modern science and high technology. He created a nation where the masses were given equal educational opportunities. Today, the whole educational system of Pakistan owes its beginning to the foundation laid by Sir Syed who talked about the need of scientific and technological education for the betterment of Muslims. He maintained a balance between western education and the religious and ethnical studies of Muslims brought out the best in Muslims.

**MUSLIM PREDICAMENT AND SYED AHMED KHAN**

**SCENARIO**

* The failure of the 1857 uprising and the Parliamentary act of 1858 had left Muslims of the subcontinent in a very bad position unlike the Hindus.
* Hindus benefitted from this as they were open to British education, culture, liberal ideas, and English. Schools and Universities were developed in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta which were Hindu-populated cities by 1858.
* Hindus found it easier to switch from Persian to English as the official language which led them to have administrative and clerical jobs. Muslims were hard on accepting these changes which also led to conflicts and tensions between the two communities.
* Hindus had major issues under the Mughal rule even though Akbar introduced Deen-e-Elahi to remove tensions between the two communities, but Aurangzeb’s attempt to forcefully convert Marathas and Sikhs to Islam further caused rifts between both communities. After the revolt, the Hindus were at a better position than Muslims, by 1877, the Arya Samaj was created which brought reconverted Hindus back from Islam and Christianity.
* Bal Gangadhar Tilak, an extremist Hindu Nationalist wanted to drive the British and Muslims out of India making the region a Hindu only country. After 1857 the Muslims suffered economically, politically, and socially, Persian was replaced with English as an official language which severely crippled the Muslims, and their feudal structure was also destroyed.
* In Benaras, Urdu script was replaced with Sanskrit as a court language which drove the hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity down as Hindus started showing reluctance towards the Muslims.

**CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS**

* The 1857 Act of the British Parliament took away the ruling rights of the East India Company and now there was direct rule by the British Crown. India was now ruled by a secretary of state assisted by a council of 16 members which was a start of the British democratic institutions in India.
* The 1861 Act provided a legislative council of 6 to 12 members elected by the Governor General from within India among which there were nominations for one or two members from the Muslim community. Sir Syed was nominated, and the function of this council was to make laws and regulations whereas a similar setup was given to presidencies and provinces.
* The 1892 Act further emended the 1861 Act which was a turning point for Muslim politics. Membership of the legislative council was enlarged from 6-12 to 10-20 members while members in council of governors and Lt. governors was also increased meaning more representation of Indian residents. Non-official seats were filled by simple nomination, but these nominations were to be made by religious communities, municipalities, universities, and chambers of commerce. Sir Syed being a member of the legislative council of the Governor General successfully campaigned a separate nomination for Muslims to the local government institutions.

**SIR SYED’S PURPOSE**

* The purpose of the movements of Sir Syed were to create a friendly relation between the British and Muslims as this would cause the British to trust Muslims, cause Muslims to not be hostile against the British. This would give them religious freedom and provide them a saying in the economic, social, and political standpoint for Muslims.

**SIR SYED’S STRATEGY**

* Sir Syed’s major technique was urging Muslims to acquire education with emphasis on learning English and Science. Gaining education and English would allow Muslims to get jobs as efficient clerks and administrative officers.
* Command over English would allow them to defend their religion and their legitimate position, would be able to discharge their social obligations, political responsibilities and work for the progress and welfare of their community.
* To motivate the youth about the benefits of education for their future so they will stand up for the betterment of their religion and their community using rationalism. The M.A.O college at Aligarh became a driving wheel for this purpose, Sir Syed merged English, modern and oriental subjects to produce graduates as good as Socrates, Plato or Aristotle who were aware of their religion. Sir Syed did excellent sowing for the nursery of future Muslim leadership, he opposed Muslim’s joining the INC as he was aware of the Hindu mentality and the nature of such political institutions.

**SIR SYED’S POLITICAL STANDPOINT**

* After the substitution of Urdu with Sanskrit as a court language in Benaras, Sir Syed realized that Muslims and Hindus would never walk together. He argued that democracy is homogenous whereas India consisted of heterogenous communities, he stated that this wouldn’t provide Muslims with equal representation as they were a minor population causing Hindus to tramp over Muslims.
* The only logical outcome of this issue would have been violence where the Muslims would have to pay the price, even if the British retreated due to the upheaval it would still cause Hindus to takeover which would be a turmoil for Muslims.
* There was risk in letting inexperienced Muslims into politics as this would be harmful for the economic and political interests of the Muslims. Muslims and Hindus had different interests which would’ve never been clearly represented through a single political organization, INC.
* To counteract the effects of the congress, Sir Syed took four steps to represent Muslim viewpoint in the face of the INC as these steps were also the groundwork towards the creation of the Muslim League. He founded the Indian Patriotic Association, the Mohammedan Educational Conference, the Mohammedan Defense Association of Upper India, and the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defense Association of Upper India.
* Sir Syed was the first modern exponent of the Two Nation theory which Quaid-e-Azam took up about a 50 years later. The Demand for separate electorate at the Simla Deputation (1906), the birth of Muslim League (1906) and the Minto-Morley Reforms providing Muslims separate representation, separate electorate and representation were the outcomes of Sir Syed’s movements.

**WEEK 4**

**QUAID-E-AZAM M.A. JINNAH’S POLITICS**

* A nationalist Muslim is who believed in the loyalty towards the oneness of India without regard for Muslim separateness and later as a Muslim nationalist believing in separateness of Muslims as a nation.

**JINNAH LAUNCHING INTO POLITICS**

* Jinnah was a passionate nationalist having no communal feelings in his rational, liberal, pragmatic, and democratic outlook. He joined the congress in 1903 and chose not to join the Muslim League at the time of its creation as he thought separate representation of Muslims was dividing the nation. He was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council from Bombay against Muslims as a congressman in 1905.

**JINNAH AND HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY**

* Being a nationalist Muslim, Jinnah stood for Hindu-Muslim cooperation and made efforts by attending Muslim League council meetings in Bankipur in 1912. The League adopted a self-government approach suitable to India which softened the way of Jinnah to joining it in 1913 while retaining congress membership. Jinnah motivated Hindu-Muslim unity in the Bombay sessions in 1915 and the repeal of the partition of Bengal showed that to change the constitution Hindu and Muslims need to work together.
* Due to Quaid’s efforts the congress and league jointly held its annual sessions in Lucknow in 1916, creating the Lucknow Pact after which Jinnah was titled as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity. Muslims earned recognition as a separate community due to separate electorates which were previously opposed by the congress, Muslim league was seen as an authoritative representation of Muslims and the congress accepted the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslim community.
* Jinnah showed great justice when he resigned from central legislature in opposition of the Rowllat Act 1919 which was bulldozed by British government in the legislature. Hindu-Muslim unity remained at the level of leadership only as the masses remained unaffected.

**THE PARADIGM CHANGE**

* Change in Jinnah was not sudden as the learning and unlearning about the Hindu mindset was gradual and unconscious. The first glimpse of recognition came in 1917 when legislative changes that affected Muslims without their consent were being implemented. The actual experience of Swaraj (self-rule) by Hindu majority at provincial levels under the British rule showed Jinnah that the Muslim future in a self-governed India weren’t bright.
* Jinnah stood against the Khilafat even when the non-cooperation movement led by Maulana Muhmmad Ali and Gandhi started. Jinnah knew that this wouldn’t succeed as he realized the pitfalls of such unnatural collaborations. The Moplas rising and several clashes of Muslims with Hindus and the British proved Jinnah’s point.
* If British were to grant self-governance to India it would have benefitted both Hindus and Muslims but after the 1919 Act, Congress’s attitude disappointed Jinnah causing him to leave congress and home rule-Congress in 1920. The rejection of his 14 points and the Nehru report of 1928 led him to completely part ways with the congress. 1930s were a turning point in the political direction of Jinnah.
* At the second-round table conference of 1931, Jinnah made it clear to the British and Hindus that a population of 70 million can not be considered as a minority and settled in London leaving politics. In 1934, Jinnah returned to the subcontinent on persuasion of Muhammad Iqbal and Liaquat Ali Khan and became the leader of the Muslim League.

**JINNAHS 14 POINTS**

* Jinnah’s 14 points stated that future constitution should be federal, equal autonomy to all provinces, Muslim representation should not be less than one-third, affective and adequate representation of minorities should be given in all legislatures in the country, representation of communal groups by means of separate electorate, any territorial distribution should not affect Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP, full religious liberty to all communities, no resolution should be passed if three-fourths of members oppose the bill, Sindh to be made a separate province from Bombay, reforms should be introduced in NWFP and Baluchistan, Muslims be given an adequate share in all services, one-third representation to Muslims in central and provincial cabinets, no change to be made in constitution without the consent of provinces and adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture, education, language, religion and personal laws as well as Muslim charitable organizations.

**FACTORS CAUSING CHANGE IN JINNAHS NATIONALISM**

* Jinnah efforts for unity were met with hostile Hindu mind and attitude, he was shocked when Gandhi brought religion into politics at the RTC which left no hope for him to believe in unity.
* Iqbal on the other hand had done a lot to unite Muslims of majority and minority provinces after which Jinnah also accepted his Two Nation Theory. This change in Jinnah was from a secular Muslim to a Muslim nationalist as he was no more a nationalist Muslim now.
* After Jinnah’s acceptance of the Two Nation Theory, Indian Muslims now casted their eyes on a separate homeland. Gandhi, Nehru and congress did not want to recognize Muslims as one of the parties in Indian politics which was shown by their ruthless rule from 1937 to 1939. It was clear to Jinnah that Hindustan was for Hindus and Muslims would never get equal rights or fair play in these regions.
* Jinnah saw only one solution which was parting India into two nations. His efforts in the creation of Pakistan to protect the Muslim nation showed testimony to his faith in Muslim Nationalism. His speech on 11 August 1947 reflected a balanced, liberal pragmatic view of the future shape of the country as he said, “You are free to go to your temples, mosques, or any other places of worship. You may belong to any religion, caste, or creed but that has nothing to do with the business of the state.” This was Quaid’s expression of and prescription for a liberal, tolerant, democratic, and egalitarian Pakistan of the future.
* The address of Quaid was meant for the promotion of material advancement and peaceful living of citizens belonging to all religions and creed. He embraced the qualities of a modern nation in a political sense as Pakistan will follow the Quran’s principles of justice, liberty and socio-economic equality as Pakistan does not represent a specific sect of Muslims of the subcontinent but Islam as a whole.

**ALLAMA IQBAL’S NATIONALISM AND VISION ABOUT MUSLIM STATE**

* Iqbal was an Indian Nationalist and was a true patriot before his visit to Europe (1905-1908). He spoke about communal harmony when he said, no religion preaches hatred and everybody living here is Indian and India is his land.

**PARADIGM CHANGE**

* On his visit to Europe, he realized that Nationalism was against the fundamentals of Islam as it divided Muslims among themselves. He concluded that Nationalism was a weapon used by the British to shatter the unity of Muslims. Iqbal became pan-Islamist and wanted to build a single Muslim Ummah which he conveyed through his poetry but during the World War 1 it didn’t seem practical as many Muslim nations believed in Nationalism.
* Nationalism had become a fact of life in the Muslim World where only one country believed in Muslim Nationalism, but Iqbal believed that 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 a community.

**PURPOSE**

* Iqbal’s purpose was to reconstruct religious thought as the Muslim Worlds framework badly needed it. He wanted to produce a blueprint for a tolerant, democratic, and just human society based on the spirit of Islam. His well-known 6 lectures laid the framework on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam under the new circumstances.

**IQBALS PRESCRIPTION: CONCEPT OF IJITHAD**

* Iqbal believed in the reinterpretation of Islamic laws and teachings to make them compatible with the modern world like the authority of Turkey’s Grand Assembly had done. Iqbal was in favor of mobilizing Muslim law, education, and culture to bring them into closer contact with the spirit of modern times. He wanted to remove the tag of Arabian imperialism from Islam which made Muslims more conscious about their separate natural and cultural identity.
* Western nationalism was territorial and racial, but Iqbal built up Muslim nationalism based on geographical and ideological basis. The creation of autonomous states based on unity of religion, language, history, geography, and identity of economic interest was in fact the manifestation of Muslim Nationalism in India.

**IQBALS CONCEPTION OF MUSLIM STATE IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA**

* Iqbal in his presidential address at the All-India Muslim League session in Allahabad in 1930 talked about his scheme of setting up a consolidated Muslim state comprising of Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan. Iqbal thought only about North-West India and not for Bengal and excluded areas with non-Muslim majority. He was clearer than the formulators of the Lahore Resolution in 1940. He declared that autonomous Muslim state will not have a kind of religious rule and will provide security and peace to India from internal balance.
* Iqbal favored the liberal and tolerant traditions that Indian Islam had nurtured in contrast with their Arabian counterpart which highlighted Iqbal being different from other Indian Islamic Scholars who wanted to cast Indians in their rigid Arabian mold. Sad fact about this address is that not even 75 members attended this address. The feudal, mullah and pirs did not cooperate and poet Hafeez Jallandhari had to read his Shahnama-I-Islam to keep the audience present entertained.

**IQBALS DIFFERENCES WITH JINNAH**

* Jinnah wanted to weld the different classes and sections in the Muslim community into a united monolithic organization. He wanted this so Muslim League becomes a strong political force and is respected. For this purpose, Jinnah entered a pact with the unionist party leader, Sikandar Hayat Khan to involve them into Muslim league but Iqbal resisted by writing to Jinnah that he can’t hand over the League to the Unionists as they had already damaged the League through the pact and will further damage it.
* Jinnah still went on with the pact in the greater interest of the League and appointed some members to the central parliamentary board on Sikandar’s representation but also assured Iqbal that he will be nominating Muslims leaders from Punjab. Jinnah made compromises with non-Muslim League leaders to build up strength, Iqbal wanted Jinnah to concentrate on Northwest India, but Jinnah wasn’t going to let Bengal and Muslim minority provinces go.

**WEEK 5**

**STATE, SOCIETY AND CONSTITUTION**

**STATE AND ITS ELEMENTS**

* State is a natural institution which is the most universal and most powerful of all institutions. For Aristotle, to live in a state and to be a man were identical. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) was the first person to use state in his writings which is derived from the word status. State is the highest form of human association which is necessary because it comes into existence out of the basic needs of life.
* To Woodrow Wilson, state is a people organized for law within a definite territory. To Aristotle, state is a union of families and villages having for its end a happy and honorable life. To Holland, state is a numerous assemblage of humans being occupying a certain territory among whom the will of the majority is accepted. To Burgess, state is a particular portion of mankind. To Sidgwick, state is a combination of people in the form of government, governed and united together into a politically organized people of a definite territory. To Garner, state is a community of people occupying a definite territory free of external control and possessing an organized government to which people show habitual obedience. To Prof. Laksi, state is a territorial society divided into government and subjects whose relationships are determined by the exercise of supreme coercive power.
* Elements of the state include population and territory which are the physical bases of the state and government and sovereignty which are the political bases of the state.
* Population are the people who make the state and Greek thinkers had a view that population should neither be too big or too small.
* No state exists without territory as it is necessary for people to live and organize themselves socially and politically. Territory of a state includes land, water and air and is necessary for citizenship. Prof. Elliot says that territorial sovereignty or the superiority of State overall within its boundaries and complete freedom from external control has been a fundamental principle of modern state life.
* No state can exist without government as it is the working agency of the state, Prof. Appadorai defines government as the agency through which the will of the state is formulated, expressed, and realized. C.F Strong states that to make and enforce laws the state must have supreme authority which is known as the government.
* Sovereignty means supreme and final legal authority above and beyond which no legal power exists. It is derived from the word superanus which means supreme. The father of modern theory of sovereignty was a French political thinker, Jean Bodin (1530-1597). Internal sovereignty means that the state is supreme over all its citizens and associations. External sovereignty means that the state is independent and free from foreign or outside control. J. Laski says, It is by possession of sovereignty that the state is distinguished from all other forms of association.

**STATE AND SOCIETY**

* State is a part of society but is not a form of society. Prof. Earnest Barker in his book, Principles of Social and Political Theory states the differences between state and society under three headings, Purpose or function, organization & structure, and method.
* State is a legal association which acts for the single purpose of making and enforcing a permanent system of law and order, but society comprises of multiple association and acts for a variety of purposes other than legal. These purposes include intellectual, moral, religious, economic, aesthetic, and recreational.
* State employs the method of coercion or compulsion whereas society employs the method of voluntary action.

**STATE AND NATION**

* Nation is derived from the latin word natio which means birth or race, nation and state are synonyms. Leacock states nation to be a body of people united by common descent and language. In recent times psychological and spiritual aspects are emphasized on more than racial aspects to gain a political meaning. People who share common ideas and are naturally linked together are called a nation.

**STATE AND GOVERNMENT**

* Government and state are used a synonym but have differences. State consists of population, territory, government, and sovereignty, it possesses original powers, state is permanent and continues forever, state is abstract and invisible. Government is a part of state, its powers are derived from the state, is temporary, may come and go and is concrete and visible.

**BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT**

Executive: Executive who exercises real power is the real executive and who exercises nominal power is normal executive. It is the power and function of executive to enforce laws passed by legislature, maintain peace and order, repel aggression, build friendly relations with other states, wage war, make appointments to higher posts, raising and spending money, convening session of legislature, conducting business, implement schemes and projects to improve social and economic conditions, issuing ordinances and the power to grant pardon, reprieve, or remission of punishment.

Legislature: It is the law-making branch which has an important role in the amendment of constitution. It is where matters of social, economic, and political concerns are discussed, debated, and decided upon. British parliament is the mother of parliaments as it is the oldest legislature in the world. Prof. Laksi states, other than law-making the legislature watches the process of administration to safeguard the liberties of private citizens. National Assembly is the Lower House whereas the Senate is the Upper House. Functions of legislature are to enact laws, oversee administration, pass the budget, hear public grievances, and discuss subjects like development plans, national policies, and international relations.

Judiciary: Its main function is to interpret laws and administer justice along with determining what is law, scope, and its meanings. It interprets constitution, law and acts as its guardian, issues orders to prevent violation of rights and law, gives advisory opinion on matters referred to it. Lord Bryce states, the best test of excellence of a government is the efficiency of its judiciary. Justice Hughes states that we are under a constitution, but the constitution is what the judge says it is. An independent and impartial judiciary is an essential feature of a democratic setup.

**WEEK 6**

**CONSTITUTION MAKING IN PAKISTAN (1947-1954)**

**INTRODUCTION**

* After establishment Pakistan adopted a modified version of the Indian Act of 1935 and Indian Independence Act of 1947. The Constituent Assembly acted as central legislature and took efforts to frame the constitution of Pakistan.
* Previously, Governor General had adequate discretionary powers and responsibilities and responsibilities which were not given to him under the Act of 1935. He still was the head of state and acted as a titular head on the advice of the cabinet.
* He also enjoyed emergency powers under Section 102 of the 1935 Act where the federal nature of the country ceases to exist, and government forms a unitary system.
* Structure of provinces was like the center with a Governor appointed by governor general who was a titular head, take advice from Cabinet and had similar emergency powers. Governor was the executive head of the province but was not under direct control of the province.
* Pakistan was a parliamentary and federal government in a formal sense during first decade but was in real a unitary system with most powerful executive powers supported by army and bureaucracy.

**PROBLEMS FACED BY PAKISTAN 1947**

* Pakistan had an inadequate administrative system, refugee problems, lack of financial resources and inadequate means of communication and transportation.
* Pakistan was still engaged in creating a constitution and struggled to organize their national government and the administrative system. There was a lot of communal violence as seven million people migrated from India to Pakistan. This put a further strain on the breaking weak government of Pakistan.
* Bengal and west Punjab had 1000 miles of India between them so establishing and functioning a government was a huge challenge.
* Sir Radcliffe Award created a Punjab boundary and gave Muslim Majority state of Jammu and Kashmir to India which became an issue for the two countries after independence which is still in play.
* Indian Congress leadership showed hostility towards Pakistan which caused a war between the two countries in 1947, two months after independence.
* The Cabinet Mission considered Pakistan as impracticable causing Indian government to withhold the shares of cash balances, reserve arms, equipment and stores belonging to the Indian army at the time.
* The parliamentary system adopted after independence was on a bureaucratic foundation supported by the army whereas elected representation was a new phenomenon. Politicians mostly belonged to the feudal culture who wanted to frame a constitution and create the institute of an elected house.

**ESTABLISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT**

* Pakistan’s government was established with the swearing in of Quaid-e-Azam as the first Governor General and Liaquat Ali Khan as the Prime Minister along with minister of foreign affairs and commonwealth relations and defense. Abdul Rab Nishtar from NWFP headed the ministry of communications, Fazal Rehman from East Bengal was given the ministry of interior and information. Chundigar was the minister of commerce and industries, Ghazanfar Ali Khan became the minister of agriculture and health while Ghulam Muhammad was the minister of finance.
* Sir Muhammad Zafarullah later became the foreign minister and headed Pakistan at the UN while Sir Faroz Khan Noon became an envoy in the Middle East. On June 9, 1947, Quaid remarked that he has done his job and was reluctant to resume office due to his fading health. So, looking at the plight of refugees he took up the ministry of refugees while the Constituent Assembly elected him as his first president and appointed its legal advisors.
* According to the parliamentary system, the Prime minister along with his council of ministers are the real executive but Jinnah’s service as the President of Muslim League, Governor-General of Pakistan and President of the Constituent Assembly made him the read figurehead as he exercised more influence and powers than those which had officially maintained office. The Cabinet rarely functioned without his directives After his death, Khwaja Nazimuddin became the next Governor-General of Pakistan but didn’t have all the powers that Jinnah had. Liaquat Ali Khan did his best to increase his own authority and move towards a more parliamentary system, but the powers of the Governor-General Jinnah remained which were distributed among the Prime Minister, Governor General and President of the Assembly.
* Liaquat Ali Khan was the first able to control the government, Muslim League and Assembly but failed to gain consensus on a constitution and provinces went against central government for its failure to solve many problems. After Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1952, Khwaja Nazimuddin became the Prime Minister and left the office of Governor-General. Most of the members of the cabinet were maintained and Chaudhary Muhammad Ali was made the new finance minister. Ghulam Muhammad became the new Governor-General and feared that Nazimuddin being a Bengali will triumph in elections and oust him out of power.
* Nazimuddin was man of piety and couldn’t impose his will on the cabinet who had long experiences in politics. He failed to deal with the language riots in East Pakistan in 1952 which declared Urdu as the national language of Pakistan and the Ahmadiyya riots in Punjab in 1953. The Governor-General dismissed Nazimuddin and his cabinet for being incapable of solving major problems and appointed another Bengali, Muhammad Ali Bogra, the Ambassador to the US to become the new Prime Minister. He assumed office and retained six members of the going government on the Governor-General’s choice which showed the lack of power and leadership of the Muslim League as they couldn’t go against the Governor-General or president even if they had majority in the Assembly.
* The House had two major parties with Muslim League having 60 seats and the Congress having 11. The Assembly which consisted mainly of feudal lords, businessmen and lawyers did not challenge the government. Muslim League had majority and was in power but internally its people had different directions which showed in 1954 March elections where East Pakistan Muslim League lost.
* In September 1954, legislation was adopted by the Assembly which limited the Governor-General’s powers, and he couldn’t act without the advice of the Cabinet which was to be selected from national legislature. Sensing that his powers are being reduced by the legislature, the Governor-General dissolved the assemblies issuing a proclamation which stated that government failed to control political crisis and is causing constitutional break down, so Pakistan went into a state of emergency.
* The new government had Bogra as their Prime minister while Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan challenged this act of the Governor-General and filed petitions in the Sindh chief court stating that members of the Cabinet do not qualify to become ministers under Section 10 of the India Act 1935. He won this case at provincial level, but the federal court upheld the decision of the Governor-General. The court directed the General to summon a second constituent assembly elected indirectly by members of the provincial legislatures. The members elected were divided into 12 groups with Muslim League being the largest though it failed to claim absolute majority.
* The second Assembly comprised of feudal lords, businessmen, retired officials and industrialists, others who represented the Assembly were journalists, Ulemas, newspaper proprietors, tribal chiefs, and rulers of princely seats. In West Pakistan, landlords were a dominant force due to the concentrated pattern of land ownership while lawyers were a dominant force in East Pakistan. The first session of the new assembly was held in Murree in July 1955. Since Ghulam Muhammad was ill, Iskandar Mirza succeeded him in August 1955 while various groups in the Assembly were seeking coalition with the Muslim League and United front. This was formed when Chaudhary Muhammad Ali was replaced with Bogra as the Prime Minister. East Pakistan was well represented in this coalition government while Assembly adopted a constitution that made Iskandar Mirza the first President in March 1956.
* During the first two years of Mirza’s presidency, four prime ministers were changed and there were several coalition cabinets. After the defeat of Muslim League in 1954 elections it did not have representation in East Pakistan while many of their members joined different parties. By September 1956, Muslim League was ousted from central cabinet and cabinets of two provinces which was replaced by the republican party which controlled West Pakistan and maintained seats in central cabinets for several years. The republican party and Awami league shared power for a year but then the party joined forces with the Muslim League which also fell apart causing the cabinet to fall on the separate electorate issue brought up by Muslim League.
* In December 1957, another government was formed where the republican leader, Malik Faroz Khan Noon became the prime minister. He was supported by a coalition of Awami League, Krishak Sramik Party and Republican Party but later the Awami League and National Awami Party did not join the Cabinet. As a result of this transfer of allegiance the government at center was at the verge of collapse with provinces not being in a good state as well.
* From 1947 to 1958, Pakistan experienced high degree of political instability caused by a shift in allegiance from one party to another where both politicians and heads of state were responsible for the break-up of party solidarity. Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Nazimuddin despite his majority in 1953, Iskandar Mirza encouraged the formation of a dissident republican party in 1956, central interference in provincial matters were prominent as Prime Minister Suhrawardy imposed emergency in West Pakistan in 1957 to not allow Muslim league to form the provincial government.

**CONCLUSION**

* The years before the October Revolution 1958 were of instability, chaos and disorder which caused President Iskandar Mirza to implement martial law and appointed General Muhammad Ayub Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. Ayub Khan secured Mirza’s resignation within 3 days and became head of the state and government. The true essence of federalism couldn’t be implemented in Pakistan due to ethnic issues, minorities, East Pakistan, military intervention, and non-serious attitude of politicians.

**WEEK 7**

**AYUB EARLY LIFE**

* Ayub Khan was born on 14 May 1907, in Haripur British India, in the village of Rehana in the Haripur District in the Hazara region of the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). He was ethnically a Pashtun (or Pathan) of the Tareen tribe, although a Hindko speaker. He was the first child of the second wife of Mir Dad Khan Tareen, who was a Risaldar-Major (senior regimental non-commissioned officer) in Hodson's Horse, a cavalry regiment of the pre-independence Indian Army. For his basic education, Ayub was enrolled in a school in Sarai Saleh, which was about four miles from his village, and he commuted to school on a mule's back. Later he was moved to a school in Haripur, where lived with his grandmother. He enrolled at Aligarh Muslim University in 1922, but did not complete his studies there, as he was accepted into the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst.

**AYUB MILITARY CAREER**

* Ayub Khan did well at Sandhurst and was given a commission as Second Lieutenant in the Indian Army on 2 February 1928 and then joined the 1st Battalion of the 14th Punjab Regiment Sherdils, later known as 5th Punjab Regiment. He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1932; a Captain in 1936 and Major in 1940. During the Second World War, he was promoted as a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1942 and was significantly drafted in British Army to participate on 1942 Burma front. He commanded the 1st Battalion, 14th Punjab Regiment as its Commanding officer. In 1945, he was promoted to Colonel and assumed the command of his regiment to direct operations on 1945 Burma campaign.

**AYUB ROLES**

* Defense Secretary Iskandar Mirza played an instrumental role in Ayub's promotion and convinced Prime minister Ali Khan to appoint Ayub Khan to four-star rank. His papers of promotion were approved, and Ayub Khan landed a four-star appointment on January 17, 1951. With Ayub becoming the chief of staff, it marked the indigenization of the military and ending the transitional role of British Army officers.
* He would later go on to serve in the second cabinet (1954) of Muhammad Ali Bogra as Defense Minister, and when Iskander Mirza declared martial law on 7 October 1958, Ayub Khan was made its chief martial law administrator. Azam Khan (general), Nawab Amir Mohammad Khan and Sandhurst trained General Wajid Ali Khan Burki were instrumental in Ayub Khan's Rise to power. This would be the first of many instances in the history of Pakistan of the military becoming directly involved in politics.

**AYUB’S PAKISTAN**

* Chairlift at Nathia Gali over the Neelum river in Kashmir known as Ayubia was named after the Ayub Regime (1958-1969).
* Ayub impacted the foundational problems with respect to authoritarian traditions of governance, political institutionalization, center-province relations, role of Islam in public life, expansion of army into Pakistan’s society and policy and deployment of Islamic groups to counteract India’s predominance.

**AYUB GOVERNANCE AND DEPOLITICIZATION**

* Ayub lost interest in political class during the year he spent as Minister for Defense following Ghulam Muhammad’s dismissal of the Assembly in October 1954.
* Ayub attacked the politicians in his speech as the Chief Marshall Law Administrator on 8th October 1958 stating that they ruined the country in their own wars and fulfilling their own needs.
* Ayub’s basic democracy scheme reintroduced 19th century colonial ideas of political tutelage through indirect elections and official nomination of representatives. The government could nominate up to 1/3rd of the members in the union council and committee level. Another report revealed that 85% of discussions at union council were initiated by government officials. 80,000 basic democrats formed the electoral college which made Ayub president in January 1960. Following the 1962 Constitution the same basic democrats were electorates for national and provincial assemblies.
* Ayub relied more on the civil service of Pakistan but the screening process to remove corrupt elements under Martial Law regulation 61 was done half-heartedly. CSP played a major role at the time as they had central roles of commissioners and had control over development funds which were acquired under the Rurals Works Program. Leading bureaucrats such as Altaf Gauhar and Akhter Hussain acted as Ayub’s key advisors.
* Pakistan already had a weak government and Ayub further ruined it by banning political parties to civilianize his rule and the 1962 elections were on a party less basis which further caused power to come under a few powerful families and feudal landlords. Ayub reluctantly legalized party organization in July 1962 causing Muslim League to emerge as a pro-regime party and the formation of PML Q. Ayub became the president of the Muslim League in December 1963.
* Freedom of expression and individual political activity was restricted while accountability and banning of corrupt officials introduced by Liaquat Ali Khan 1949 was extended. Ayub introduced the Public Offices Disqualification Order and the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order in March and August 1959. Accused had option to go to trial or withdraw from public life. Members found guilty were disqualified from all bodies until 31 December 1966. This was a strong weapon in Ayub’s regime which made it last longer as he disqualified nearly 400 people.
* Censorship further undermined the opposition by using the Public Safety Ordinances and creating the Press and Publications Ordinances in 1963 to make people aware of patriotism. An independent National Press Trust was formed in 1964 which further tightened the grip on news. This trust took ownership of former radical papers and turned into the government’s voice. Altaf Gauhar was Central Information Secretary and Editor in Chief of over 1500 publications. The Press and Publications Ordinance was repealed in 1988 and the National Press Trust dismantled in 1996.

**CENTER-PROVINCE RELATIONS**

* Ayub favored a centralized government and did not modify the One Unit Scheme. The 1962 Constitution gave provinces power over industries and railways but, center had the power which was done through cultural integration. The 1959 report stated that Urdu and Bengali should be integrated by introducing roman script of all Pakistani languages, but this was abandoned due to public opposition.
* The central government played down the 100th anniversary of the great Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) and later banned its broadcasts. People in Dhaka changed names of streets and changed their names from Urdu to Bengali. Urdu was continued to be seen as a building block while Mohajirs pushed towards Punjab through military recruitment. There was a decision to move the federal capital of the country from Karachi to Islamabad, deep in Punjab beside the Margalla hills and adjacent to the Rawalpindi Army headquarters. This movement of officials began in September 1960 while civil servants with their families were kept in Chaklala while construction was being carried out in Islamabad.

**THE ROLE OF ISLAM**

* Ayub’s stance was the modernization of Islam as the 1962 Constitution had dropped the title Islamic from the Republic of Pakistan title and reworded the repugnancy clause which now stated that no law should be against Islam thereby encouraging Ijtihad.
* Ayub sought to introduce secularism into the functioning of marriage and inheritance through Muslim Family Laws Ordinance. He introduced state management of properties attached to mosques and shrines through the West Pakistan Auqaf Properties Ordinance.
* Ayub was among the army officers of the British era which is why he had a modern thinking towards Islam and was more of a nationalist through the study he received at Aligarh. His modern Islam was based more on common sense than theological studies as he believed that a twentieth century man can’t adopt the ways of a Muslim at the time of Islam.
* Ayub placed Mullahs just as bad as politicians as they use religion for their own benefits of money and power but this backtracked and caused Ayub to face resistance through Islamic groups which caused him to accept the traditionalist Islam of Sufi Shrines. He was supported by Pir Dewal Sharif and many of the prominent Sajjada Nashins but by the end of his period Islam was unresolved in public’s life.
* Ulema opposed the 1962 Constitution as they had differences with the composition of the Islamic Advisory Committee that advised the National Assembly on Islamic law. The first Constitutional Amendment Act of 1963 restored the name Islamic Republic of Pakistan. After party making was legalized, JI leader Maulana Maududi fired criticism at the anti-Islamic Ayub regime. He also held a meeting of fifty Ulema from all parts of the country to condemn the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, but Ayub had constitutional cover against judicial scrutiny. The central council of JI met in Lahore during the first week of August 1962 to pass a series of resolutions which condemned the official advisory council of Islamic Ideology, the Muslim Family Laws, the Pakistan Arts Council, the Girl Guides and the Blue Birds, the construction of cinemas and importation of books critical to Islam.
* Ayub helped create room for development through turning to Islam, by emphasizing Pakistan as a territorial homeland and a fortress of Islam in which army played a guardianship role. This motivated the irregular forces to advance Pakistan’s strategic objectives in Kashmir. The 1965 War was a crucial turning point as it bounded Islam, Pakistan’s Identity, and the army together for the first time to fight against Indian aggression.

**TRADER-MERCHANT CLASS TO FINANCIAL-INDUSTRIAL GROUPS**

* In early Pakistan, trader-merchant class was associated with economic policy-making institutions which was Quaid’s dream. Pakistan had a small trader-merchant class that comprised of Bohras, Khojas, Memons, Saigols and Chinnioties which consisted of skillful entrepreneurs who were very successful in undivided India. Through money they soon became a part of the bureaucratic patronage and soon dominated the commercial industrial life in Pakistan. By 1958 there were at least 250 business organizations, and every city had a chamber of commerce but there was no coordination among them. In 1958 an office of the Director of Trade Organizations was created which introduced a reorganization scheme that abolished all competing organizations. Director had power to form new organizations, inspect their records, attend their meetings, and even reject the formation of organizations. The Chamber could only nominate members for their bodies while director regulated membership which created a bureaucratic control of the commercial and economic policy. The president of the Chamber of Commerce protested but without success.
* Vacuum created by the migrating Hindu-merchant class is another factor, the Muslim merchant class adopted to the situation quickly and took over easily due to previous experiences.
* By 1960-61 a small segment of the trader class dominated the trade and commerce of Pakistan as industries had not taken hold and feudal lords tried to focus more on their lands than building industries. Peasants were powerless but the bureaucrats after maintaining order in urban areas looked towards rural lands. Several economic policies were given to transform trader class to industrialist class in the 1950s and while most of them settled in West Pakistan, this area became the prime region for industrialization.

**ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS**

* Ayub’s regime developed many economic institutions by consolidating financial-Industrial groups. US Military and economic aid began pouring in 1954 which the military elites benefitted from and built strong relations with the US. The United States Military Assistance Group and Harvard Advisory Group began operations to boost economics of the country.

**PLANNING COMMISSION**

* The creation of the planning commission with the help of US Military became a pivot of economic planning, development, and growth in Pakistan. In February 1954, the government, Ford Foundation and Harvard University signed an agreement to recruit and guide a group of experts to assist the Pakistan Planning Commission to prepare for long range economic and social development. The HAG organized and planned long-term developments, analyzed major economic policy questions, and trained professional offering a one-year fellowship program.

**WEEK 8**

**ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO**

**BHUTTO’S POPULISM**

* Bhutto became popular in 1967 through his ideas of giving the masses economic and political empowerment. If he had achieved this, he would have stood up to the military and the FSF. Bhutto’s land reforms, nationalization and labor laws did not transform Pakistan but made Bhutto many enemies.
* Bhutto failed as it was inconsistent of a Sindhi feudal lord to preach socialism, but many believed that if Bhutto’s rule had been properly institutionalized, reforms could have been better implemented. Bhutto attempted to reign the military came up sharp against Pakistan’s geo-political insecurities regarding Afghanistan and India, furthermore the 1973 Arab Israeli War caused inflation and annual prices rose by 20%.
* Bhutto’s 1972 land reforms were more radical than Ayub but did not meet his 1970 election aspiration of finishing feudalism. Maximum land ceilings were 150 acres for irrigated and 300 acres for un-irrigated land. Intra-family land transfers were still allowed, and individual ceilings were increased on evidence of agricultural improvements. Bhutto’s reforms removed compensation for owners causing them to distribute the poorest quality of land among landless tenants and small peasant owners. Many Punjabi landlords joined PPP to safeguard their positions which enabled them to take up leading roles and there were numerous instances of fake transfers. During the 1977 polls, Bhutto liberally distributed election tickets to landlords further weakening the party.
* In admission of failings of the reforms in 1977, Bhutto took more severe measures by lowering the ceiling to 100 acres irrigated and 200 acres un-irrigated, but these measures were suspended after martial law on 5th July.
* Bhutto’s labor reforms of 1972 were far reaching with the radical influence of Muhammad Hanif, the Minister of Labor. Works council and special labor courts were established which increased union power. A compulsory system of shop stewards was established in factories and employers were told to provide housing and education until matriculation for one child for every employee. The state also held its promise for old age pensions and insurance against injury.
* For some PPP activists these measures were insufficient as they demanded introduction of a minimum wage and labor law extensions. The new workers took up fights and started riots in many poorly managed new nationalized industries. It was the stepping in of the army that ended this bloody conflict in Karachi which broke Bhutto and several PPP radicals. Small scale industries were hit with providing cost of pension and medical benefits to workers which caused them to revert to a home-based decentralized production. Business confidence was hit in every part of the economy and improved conditions in some working section was due to the migration of labor to the Gulf as unemployment had increased quite a lot.
* The nationalization program encompassed banks, life-insurance, large- and small-scale industries who were at the forefront of the anti-Bhutto campaign. Nationalization was to remove poverty and discrimination once and for all, but our society was too used to discrimination, the people couldn’t settle, and nationalized industries were badly managed. This led to a flight of capital and skills out of the country resulting to a huge decline in private sector investment and economic growth after a prosperous Ayub era.
* Nationalization increased corruption and clientelism at individual and political levels. Large landholders who were apart of PPP benefitted through cheap credit offered by newly nationalized banks. Successive governments used loans from government institutions to buy support causing the scale of defaults to rise to 108 billion rupees by mid 1990s. This created a culture of corruption, undermined Pakistan’s credibility at the international forum and bad loans threatened liquidity ratios of nationalized banks.
* Bhutto’s reforms had unintended effects to expose PPP to disunity and clientelism, create powerful enemies amongst urban and rural elites, failing to create conditions of a just society. The immediate fruit of the socio-economic reforms were displayed during 1977 elections which led to chaos.
* Schools and colleges were also nationalized other than the ones under direct control of foreign missionaries to fulfil demands of a modern and dynamic society. On 1 October 1972, education was made free for children up to the age of 13 which Bhutto thought was his greatest achievement. Poor families couldn’t benefit from this as they wanted their children to work and fulfil the requirements of the household as 1/3rd of the young adults was forced to work and 39.5% of the total labor force were children in 1971. Despite the reforms educational enrollment just increased by 5% from 1972-1974 taking population growth in account. Nationalized schools and colleges failed to meet the standards of the urban middle classes causing Bhutto to make further enemies.

**CONCLUSION**

* Bhutto had sought to transform Pakistan nut at its close much remained the same. He wanted to remove feudalism, but large Sindhi and Punjabi landlords had gained more power. Party system was immature and a major reason that opened doors for military intervention. Bhutto was unable to restructure civil-military ties and unable to resolve tensions between center and provinces.

**THE 1973 CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN**

* Government brings order in the society and constitution brings order in the government. Constitution is the mega law which serves as the higher moral power. It lays down the meta political rules of the game providing a broader set of principles, political values, ideals, and goals. It defines the framework of the government.
* Change in a constitution is inevitable with the passage of time due to new compulsions, circumstances, environment, factors, and forces. The 1973 Constitution has undergone 20 amendments. The major contribution of the 18th amendment (April,2010) is that it has restored the spirit of parliamentary vesting executive authority of the federation in Prime Minister and Cabinet by removing anomalies created by 8th and 17th amendments.
* The 19th amendment struck balance between the powers of judiciary and parliament about the appointment of judges as Judicial Commission will recommend judges and parliamentary committee will provide reasoning for approving JC’s recommendation in writing. The 20th amendment has enhanced the credibility of the electoral process by slashing presidential powers to form an interim government in the transitional phase and the process to take place on a consensual basis between government and opposition.
* 1973 Constitution was a result of consensus among political parties. PPP reached consensus with National Awami Party, Jamiat-e-Ulma-e-Islam, Jamiat-e-Ulma-e-Pakistan, Jamat-e-Islami and Council Muslim League. It was passed on April 10, 1973, becoming the greatest accomplishment of Bhutto.

**MAIN CHARACTERISTICS**

* The original version of 1973 Constitution had faced 19 amendments which brought a parliamentary form of government. Executive authority of federation shall be exercised in the name of the President by the federal government consisting of Prime Minister and Federal ministers who shall act as the Chief Executive of the federation of Pakistan.
* PM shall be elected by majority members of the National Assembly, if no one gets a majority then a second poll will take place between the two major candidates until someone wins. A member with comparative majority rather than absolute can also get elected which is against the principle of liberal democracy but reduces horse trading at time of election.
* Office of PM is very powerful, and the President office is weaker, ineffective, and dependent. President shall appoint Chiefs of Army, Navy, Air Force and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff on the advice of PM. President can dissolve the assembly if advised by the PM and on his own if a no-confidence movement against the existing PM has been carried out and no other member commands confidence of majority members.
* President is a ceremonial and nominal head of state without executive powers. He can not veto any legislative bill as bill would become law on expiry of 7 days if president does not assent it. PM advice is binding on the President and assembly would remain dissolved if the PM dissolved it and the President did not.

**FEDERAL SYSTEM**

* Pakistan has a federal form of government with clear distribution of powers between the Federal and Provincial governments. Legislation on matters of regional importance is left to provincial governments. Uniformity of laws and policies of national importance are vested in federal government, under 18th amendment, 47 subjects belong to provinces, before they belonged to both center and government where center had a greater say. Legislative powers of federal government include defense, foreign policy, communications, water, and power as being important.

**SAFEGUARDS FOR PROVINCIAL INTERESTS**

* Baloch politicians laid claim to the revenues obtained from extraction of minerals and the sale of gas pumping out of the province. Politicians of KPK laid claim to the electricity generated there. Sindh and NWFP had problems over the distribution of water from the Indus River.
* Council of common interest is meant for the formulation of policies regarding industrial development, water, power, and railways. The National Economic Council made plans for policies of financial, commercial, economic, and social matters of all provinces. The National Finance Commission made recommendations for federal grants-in-aid and sharing of net proceeds of certain federal taxes between the federation and provinces.
* The 18th amendment strengthened these constitutional bodies by putting prime minister as the head and 4 chief ministers as members. CCI will formulate and regulate policies meeting every 30 days. Excise duty on natural gas, oil and royalty shall be paid to the government. Mineral oils and gas within a province or near a province shall vest jointly or equally with that province. NEC shall review overall economic conditions and formulate plans for balanced development in all provinces.

**BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE**

* Legislature has two chambers, the chamber of the people, National Assembly represented by the population. Four provinces equally represent the Senate or the upper chamber which checks and safeguards the interests of provinces that have less representation in NA.

**FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS**

* Democratic rights, freedom of speech, expression, press, assembly, conscience, and employment are guaranteed. All citizens are to be treated equally before the law and entitled to equal protection of law. President can suspend some fundamental rights during emergency but civil rights such as life, liberty and property are safeguarded.

**ISLAMIC CHARACTER OF THE CONSTITUTION**

* 1973 Constitution added some Islamic provisions to the 1956 and 1962 constitutions. Article 2 designated Islam as the state religion and required President and Prime Minister as Muslims. Their oath also requires them to believe in unity of God, finality of Prophet SAW and Quran as the last of holy books. Article 223 provided Council of Islamic Ideology to make recommendations to the parliament and assemblies for bringing existing law in conformity to Islam. No law should be enacted which is against Islam as laid down in Quran and Sunnah.

**SOCIALIST FLAVOR**

* Article 3 promised to create a policy that took according to his ability and gave according to his work. Article 38 prevented the concentration of production and distribution in fewer hands and adjusted rights between employer and employees and landlords and tenants. 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.

**APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES**

* The chief judge of Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President and each of the other judges to be appointed by the President in consultation with Chief Justice. (Article 177)
* Superior judiciary later gained power to make recommendations for appointment of judges like in 1996, Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah made many judges appointed during Benazir’s tenure to go home. The judiciary later strengthened its grip over appointment of judges which CJ Iftikhar Chaudhary used in 2010. There was public debate about this so a new article 175-A as part of the 18th Amendment which gave higher courts power over appointing judges. The 19th Amendment then enhanced the number of judges in the Judicial Commission and required the parliamentary committee to give reasons for rejecting Judicial Commission’s recommendation in writing.

**MECHANISM OF JUDGES APPOINTMENT**

* A Judicial Commission makes recommendations and a parliamentary committee to scrutinize. After scrutiny, the names are sent to the president through the PM or sent back to the Judicial commission with reason of rejection.
* Judicial Commission has 6 members headed by CJ making a total of 7. JC consists of Chief Justice, two senior judges of SC, one retired CJ or judge nominated in consultation with senior most judges of SC, federal law minister, Attorney General of Pakistani land and one nominee of the Supreme Court Bar Council from amongst senior advocate of SC.
* Parliamentary Committee is a bipartisan committee consisting of 8 members, 4 from the government and 4 from the opposition selected two each from the senate and two each from the assembly. Confirmation of recommendations is to be decided by two-thirds whereas rejection can be made by three-fourths. Recommendation is forwarded to president through prime minister.
* Independence of judiciary rather domination of judiciary is the recognized principle of modern democratic structure.

**METHOD OF AMENDMENT**

* Articles 238 and 239 deal with the amendment procedure which can be done through act or parliament. For an amendment bill to be passed, two-third majority vote from both houses is required for the bill to be passed which is later presented to the president who can’t reject or veto it.
* 8th,13th,17th,18th,19th, and 20th amendments were very important and related to the power of the president.
* 8th Amendment occurred on 2nd March 1985 during Zia ul haq’s tenure. After the political crisis of 1977, country was at the brink of civil war. Zia held national and provincial assemblies in February 1985 on a non-party basis after which he amended the constitution through a President’s order known as Revival of Constitution of 1973 order. 65 articles were amended, substituted, added, modified, altered, deleted, and omitted. Clause 2 and sub clause B to article 58 were added. Article 58 B empowered the President to dissolve the National Assembly where in his opinion was necessary. Zia used this to remove his own handpicked PM Muhammad Khan Junejo on March 1988 as he was not listening to his orders.
* The constitutional Act 1977 or the 13th amendment was passed on April 4, 1997, by Nawaz Sharif as he had an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly. The Article 58 (2) B and Article 112 (2) B gave powers to President and Governors to dissolve the National and provincial assembly which were removed. Appointment of governors now required the advice of PM to be binding on president.
* NA passed the 17th Amendment on 29th December 2003 and by the Senate on 31st December 2003. It amended several articles, but Article 58 (2) B was restored. In Article 28 a new clause was added stating reference to the SC within 15 days of NA decision. The legal framework order was introduced by General Musharraf on 21st August which was in disregard of the 1973 Constitution. Article 270 AA had been added which validated all laws made during suspension of 1973 Constitution which was held as Musharraf took over on 12th October 1999.
* The 18th Amendment made powers of president ineffective, dependent, and ceremonial with nominal powers as head of state. PM to be chief executive elected after election of speaker and deputy speaker of NA with majority votes of total membership. PM advice be binding on president and can’t do anything if PM dissolves assembly. Floor-crossing was prevented with the provision that vote of such a member who is elected as nominee of a political party will be disregarded if majority members of that political party vote against the no-confidence. It also deleted the clause (Article 17.4) that required intra-party elections which caused dynastic politics to prevail and the family enterprise to flourish. The defection clause (Article 63.A) had been amended making way for party Chairman and not parliamentary leader to decide about the defection reference.

**WEEK 9**

**ZIA’S AUTHORITARIANISM**

* Zia is apart of the long line of rulers to destroy institutions and undermined respect for the law. In May 1978, four journalists were flogged in Lahore as they had gone on a hunger strike to protest the closure of PPP magazine Musawat. The martial law regulation no.48 in October 1979 invoked a penalty of 25 lashes for taking part in political activities. Editors of defamatory publications could be punished by 10 lashes and 25 years of rigorous imprisonment. In September 1983, the Karachi branch of Pakistan Medical Association called on the government not to involve doctors in the process of flogging.
* Opponents of Zia’s regime were tortured which attracted a lot of attention internationally after 1981 and 1983 military crackdowns. Zia indulged in techniques of censorship which stunted healthy debate and the flowering of democratic values. Newspapers were subject to these censorship techniques from October 1979 and required submitting proof for approval before publication as Zia had huge control over the media. The 1979 Motion Pictures Ordinance censored film productions on the grounds of movies undermining Islam which suffocated creative talent in Pakistan, but video cassettes of Hollywood and Bollywood movies were still readily available.
* State controlled educational curricula and textbook production and Pak studies was made a compulsory subject for students from secondary school to university level. Government approved textbooks gave a one-sided version of history but glorified military struggle to the younger generation. Zia deemed the struggle for an Islamic State to be its main objective as the Ulema at the time were elevated to a leading role. IN December 1981 on Jinnah’s birth, Zia omitted his speech to the constituent assembly in which he called for religious freedom and relegation of faith to the private sphere and used film industry to show Jinnah as a proponent of an Islamic State.
* The ministries of Information, Broadcasting, and culture along with Pakistan Television Corporation and scholars were sympathetic to the regime and launched a film on Jinnah. Zia early in his regime promised elections which were never held as PPP would have easily won. Zia’s decision to solve the Bhutto problem through his judicial murder was Zia’s sense of self-preservation. In October 1979, Zia announced a ban on all parties and meetings while in the wake of the movement for restoration of democracy campaign in Sindh in 1983, Zia further imposed a ban of 10 years on PPP members.
* Zia believed that to increase the effectiveness of his government he will have to strengthen its base. Some civilians were taken into the Federal Cabinet which was previously dominated by bureaucracy and the military. The Sindhi Muslim League politician Muhammad Khan Junejo became the railways minister. At the end of 1981, Zia restored the colonial practice of setting up a consultative assembly of nominated members which was called the Majlis-I-Shura, but Ulema were against Zia stating that Islam requires mutual consultation rather than enforcing laws made by the government. As there were delays in Islamization JI distanced themselves from the government and wanted elections. Zia was reluctant to poll elections and banned a powerful student wing of JI known as the Islami Jamiat-I-Tulaba along with other student organizations linked with political parties.
* Zia sought to bolster his own position as president by holding national referendum and determined that any polls should be held on a party less basis. The wording of the referendum arranged on 19 December 1984 made it difficult to go against Zia for another five years as it seemed like going against Islam. Officials like merchants gathered voters, the official turnout was 62% of the population voted out of which 97.71% votes were for Zia. National Assembly elections were held on a party less basis in February 1985 which was civilianization to lifting of Martial Law. There was a ban on public meetings and public addresses, so these elections were deaf and dumb. This encouraged biraderi loyalties and patron-client ties to come which has always stood in the way of modern politics.
* Zia then lifted martial law by making Muhammad Khan Junejo his Prime Minister and arming himself through the 8th amendment of the 1973 Constitution which gave him power to dismiss the PM and dissolve the NA. He had power to appoint provincial governors and chief of armed forces. His aim was to crush PPP but Bhutto’s daughter Benazir after spending time in prison and in exile emerged towards the end of his regime to challenge him. Zia strengthened the groups that stood against PPP as ISI played a major role in doing so but with Zia’s death Benazir returned to power in 1988. Junejo tried to carve out an area of autonomy with respect to foreign policy and interfered with military elite’s perks which caused Zia to remove him by May. Zia’s opponents who regarded him as intolerant admitted that he was in possession of considerable cunning which made him popular which was seen at his burial on 20 August 1988 at Faisal Mosque in Islamabad.

**ZIA’S ISLAMIZATION**

* Zia’s islamization thrived within regional context on the Afghan conflict and drew strength from rapid socio-economic changes in the later 1970s. Was this Zia’s Deobandi influenced piety or a cynical ploy to acquire legitimization? In August 1983, the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology pronounced presidential form of government to be closest to Islam and declaring political parties to be non-Islamic. Zia declared that Pakistan can only survive if it sticks to Islam and in May 1982, he stated that security of the ideological boundaries of the country are as important as its geographical boundaries.
* Islam in Pakistan was never monochrome due to Deobandi or Sufi approach using different expressions of faith. Sufi shrines in 1983 came at the forefront against Zia in Sindh as 50,000 disciples of Makhdum of Hala blocked the national highway. Ulema were no more united and devoted energy to petty issues such as if blood transfusion or eye donation was Halal. They wanted to impose dress codes on women and make beards compulsory for men.
* Initially it was the JI who started the Islamization process but Ulema of JUI and JUP were against Zia’s regime but later began to adopt elements of Islamism to its increasingly neo-fundamentalist world views which was also known as Shariatization.
* By 1983, a range of Islamization measures were taken like the Judicial reform (introduction of shariat courts), implementation of Islamic Penal Code (Hudood Ordinances), economic activity and educational policy.

**JUDICIAL REFORM**

* Shariat courts alienated secular-minded lawyers and generated confusing legal jurisdictions. These courts applied new Shariat laws and checked whether previous laws were against or with Islam. One court in Sindh banned hockey and cricket for women as it was against purdah rules. This created an overlapping of repugnancy issues between Council for Islamic Ideology and Federal Shariat Court which the Ulema complained time and again. In 1984 Qazi courts were added to a system of federal, lower shariat courts, civil courts, and summary military courts. Council of Islamic Ideology strictly had an advisory role, while Federal Shariat Court did not have power to make a judicial review of Ayub’s Muslim Family Laws Ordinance which they were against. As no Shia judges were appointed in Federal Shariah, the community refused to accept its judgements, but the greatest cause of Shia-Sunni conflict came from economic reforms.

**ECONOMIC REFORMS**

* State enforced Islamic taxes which created sectarian divisions as Shia thought the Zakah Ordinance was an attempt to achieve Sunnification of Pakistan. The Tehreek-I-Nifaz-I-Fiqh Jafria was founded to oppose attempts to Islamicize Pakistan keeping with Sunni Jurisprudence. Shia did not object to Zakah as a voluntary donation but were against the cutting of 2.5% from all savings bank accounts and being donated to Sunni charitable institutions. They staged a massive two-day protest in Islamabad in July 1980 which was against the ban on public gatherings. Zia exempted them from paying the alms tax and sum Sunni extremists came out saying Shias are not Muslims. After Feb 1984, Allama Arif Hussain led TNFJ who had studied in seminaries in Iraq and Iran. After his assassination in August 1988, a militant splinter group of TNFJ, Sipah-I-Muhammad Pakistan (SMP) engaged in armed struggle against Sipah-I-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and Sunni Tehreek. They received arms in training camps set up in Pakistan for the Mujahidin struggle against the Soviets in Afghanistan. After the Afghan war they still had camps to train and fight which caused the making of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi who were trained by Harkat-ul-Ansar, a Deobandi anti-Shia group engaged in Kashmir Jihad while having close links to Osama bin Laden. This interconnections between Jihadists and Sunni extremists remains in Pakistan. The Zakah system created Sunni-Shia conflicts and failed to establish an Islamic Welfare Society due to internal conflicts and corruption. The Ramadhan Ordinance which made eating, drinking, or smoking in public a crime and set prayer wardens to persuade people to offer prayer five times a day was open to abuse and failed to achieve the display of piety.

**ISLAMIC PENAL CODE**

* Islamization deepened the divisions between the religious and liberal establishment. Lawyers, human-activists, and elite women were severely affected. Non-Muslims had separate electorate but were vulnerable to charges of Blasphemy. Amendment to the Pakistan Penal Code introduced by Presidential Ordinance made it a crime for Ahmadis to pose as Muslims which later was used by militant Islamists to bring charges against Ahmadis.
* Elite women protested through the Woman’s Action Forum against the operation of the Hudood Ordinances as their legal status was undermined and were not considered as equal citizens which the Constitution of Pakistan provided. Women who were raped were liable to Islamic punishment of Zina while the Zina Ordinance was open to abuse in the form of disobedient daughters or estranged wives. Women protesting outside Lahore court were tear-gassed and lathi-charged by the police. Ulema described protest as an act of apostasy which challenged Quranic injunctions while Lahore Court condemned the act of the police. Zia’s era created such a conservative attitude that the Hudood Ordinances have not yet been repealed.

**EDUCATIONAL REFORM**

* Important educational legacy of Zia was the mushrooming of mosque schools financed from Zakah funds. This was the only way the poor could gain any education and Zia increased the status of studying in an Islamic institution and gave degree level status to their higher awards that weren’t controlled by the University Grants Commission. BY 1984, 12000 mosque schools were opened which counted to 250 by 1947. Some institutions were given extra support to counter Shia activism. Schools taught a mixture of Deobandi, Barelvi and Ahl-e-Hadith while those funded by Saudia Arabia taught Wahabism and Deobandism. Schools in areas of concentrated Pashtun or Afghan refugees were taught Jihadism which helped in the Afghan War, but these schools did not provide military training to kids. A minority of JI and Ahl-e-Hadith provided a modern curriculum but the kids studying there were ill-suited for the religious establishment Zia had created in Pakistan’s business environment. After 9/11 there was pressure to register such madaris as they were used for militant gatherings rather than as an educational institution, but this registration and proper curricula was met with a patchy response. Lal Masjid was seized by the army as students of its two Islamic schools were imposing Shariah by force as the mosque had been extended by Maulana Abdullah under Zia’s patronage after he agreed to recruit Mujahid for the Afghan War.
* Zia encouraged the development of Dawat-ul-Irshad Markaz near Gujranwala as its educational philosophy brought Tabligh and Jihad together which induced the rejection of western democracy while embracing science and technology. Hafiz Saeed at the time was a member of the engineering university Lahore and key component of the Dawat that led to the creation of Lashkar-e-Taiba that conducted many terrorist attacks in India. Zia patronized the Deobandi Jamia-uloom-e-Islamia mosque in Karachi which now attracts students from all over the Islamic world and is the second largest Islamic establishment in Pakistan with over 8000 pupils. This mosque was at the forefront in the Afghan War and its director was among the Council of Islamic Ideology. Many students from this mosque went on to become Jihadist organizations in the future which included Maulana Masood Azhar who became the leader of Harkat-ul-Ansar and Jaish-e-Muhammad that conducted terrorist activities in India and were linked with Osama Bin laden at the beginning of 1996.

**WEEK 10**

**DECADE OF DEMOCRACY**

**BENAZIR BHUTTO (1988-1990)**

* Benazir’s government was a coalition as she had won 93 seats out of 207 and was installed as PM on 1 December 1988. A coalition government is always subject to blackmailing and is an unstable, fragile government. She was educated from oxford and mainly won because of her genetic linkage to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.
* Nawaz Sharif had control over Punjab province causing Benazir to indulge in wasteful confrontations. To strengthen her weak government, she tried giving government jobs and plots in Islamabad to her party members, so they remain loyal to her.
* She spared death sentences until 6th December 1988 given by military or other courts. Some hardened offenders were also spared, and this had no legal justification. Asif Zardari and his father went on a rampage of corruption, bribery and high-handedness which was an enormous embarrassment for Benazir. Many of her cabinet members were also corrupt as they knew that this coalition government can’t last long.
* Benazir had lost the support of MQM and had made a clear deal with Ghulam Ishaq Khan to make him president, but Khan did not reciprocate and supported his own creation the IJI. IJI, NAP and MQM joined and formed a combined opposition party (COP). Ishaq supported the COP which led to a no confidence motion against Benazir. The motion had failed as 124 supported Benazir and 107 were against her but the conspiracy remained.
* According to Article 58-2(B) president has power to dissolve assemblies, remove PM, appoint Chiefs of armed forces, judges, and election commissioner. Benazir wanted to have a say in the appointment of chief of armed forces and judges while Ishaq wanted to keep that power with himself. On August 1990, Ishaq used the Article 58-2(B) to dissolve assemblies and remove Benazir as PM. Elections were held in October 1990 and IJI won 105 seats while Nawaz Sharif had support of 153 members in the NA whereas PPP were left with 45 seats.

**NAWAZ SHARIF (1990-1993)**

* Since Nawaz had support of more than 2/3rd majority in NA he was able to bring fundamental changes in the economic policy. He privatized all industries nationalized under Z.A Bhutto. He provided free movement of foreign exchange in and out of the country while providing incentives to foreign and Pakistani entrepreneurs. For protection of these reforms, he passed the Act of Protection of Economic Reforms 1992.
* However, denationalized mainly favored political bosses and the people they desired. Prices were determined without an objective criterion, bureaucracy interfered to oblige their relatives, management of many industries were handed over without payment of bid-value or without obtaining acceptable bank guarantee for the balance of 60% and bidding were done to ensure personal or individual interests.
* Benazir offered Nawaz her full support if he repealed the 8th amendment, but Nawaz was loyal to Ishaq and rejected her offer. Due to the Afghan War a lot of violence had spread throughout the country. Nawaz government created special courts for trial of heinous crimes through the 12th amendment by adding clause B to article 212 of the 1973 constitution.
* By January 1993, the chief of army staff, General Asif Nawaz died, and Nawaz wanted a person of his choice to replace him. Ishaq asserted his authority and appointed Abdul Waheed Kakar as army chief and Nawaz thought it was the denial of his authority. He wanted to minimize the power of president given through the 8th amendment but had missed Benazir’s offer.
* Looking at Nawaz’s behavior, Ishaq again dissolved the assemblies, dismissed the PM and his cabinet while installing a caretaker government. Nawaz went to the supreme court and the court restored Nawaz’s position as PM on 26th May 1993 by saying that president should’ve done this on the advice of the PM. The government still did not manage to last longer than 2 months. By 18th July 1993, Nawaz sharif himself advised to dissolve the assemblies and resigned, Ishaq committed to these things and stepped down as President. Wasim Sajjad, the Senate Chairman took over as acting President.

**BENAZIR BHUTTO (1993-1996)**

* On elections Benazir again maintained a coalition government by winning 86 seats and having 121 votes in coalition against Nawaz’s 72 seats. She elected her party’s General Secretary Farooq Leghari to become the President of Pakistan. Even though Benazir had army and president on her side it was expected of her to perform well but she still faced many issues which were mostly of her own making.
* Law and order especially in Karachi were very bad as hundreds of citizens were killed in terrorist attacks including sectarian killings, bombings in mosques, Amam Bargahs and public places in Punjab.
* Benazir’s government was severely undermined by family fights, her brother Murtaza Bhutto openly criticized her husband while his mother Nusrat supported him. Benazir removed her mother as chairperson of PPP and Murtaza was shot dead allegedly by Zardari. Murtaza’s Lebanese born second wife set up her own political party PPP (Shaheed Bhutto Group) which divided Bhutto’s votes in Sindh in the 1997 elections and damaged it severely.
* PPP applied political horse trading to topple Sabir Shahs government in NWFP and sacked Manzoor Watoo who was the CM of Punjab.
* Chief Justice of Lahore and Sindh high courts who were thought to be sympathetic towards the opposition were transferred and appointed as judges of the federal Shariat court. They were replaced by judges of the supreme court with an appointment as Acting Chief Justice.
* There has been an understanding between the judiciary and successive governments to cooperate as political favorites were appointed in return for loyalty to the party. Bhutto manipulated judiciary to grant legitimacy in time of need and appointed Justice Sajjad Shah over two senior judges.
* She appointed several judges to the high court who were in favor of PPPP even though many did not have proper experience. It seemed like there was some special quota on which MNAs, CM and governors were selected. Chief Justice Sajjad Ali co-operated as much as he could but then parted ways with PPP. In September 1996, the Supreme Court accepted an appeal with majority judgement against 20 judges appointed by PPP in Lahore high court which became a precedent for the future.
* This judgement led to a rift between Leghari and Benazir as Leghari sent a reference to supreme court if President needs PM’s advice to make appointments to the Supreme and High court. The attorney general being under Benazir opposed it, so Leghari dismissed Benazir’s government on 5th November 1996 while Meraj khalid was appointed as caretaker PM.

**NAWAZ SHARIF (1997-1999)**

* Nawaz Sharif received a vote of confidence from National Assembly and formed a coalition government on 18th Feb 1997. He had support of 2/3rd majority of members which Nawaz first used to take away the discretionary powers of the President. He passed the 13th Amendment which removed Article 58 2-B from the constitution. Now the President could appoint governors only with the advice of the PM as he had just a ceremonial position. This disgrace caused Farooq Leghari to resign in December 1997. Senate Chairman, Wasim Sajjad remained acting President until Justice Rafiq Tarar was elected as President later in the month.
* Nawaz Sharif used his 2/3rd majority and passed the 14th Amendment Act on 3rd July,1997 which caused a member of a party to not defect without the risk of losing his seat in the legislature. This made the head of the political party a dictator on whose recommendation, Election Commission will de-notify the member. This silenced the dissenters within a party and defection in established democracies was prohibited.
* With the Ehtisab Act 1997, Nawaz created an Ehtisab Cell under Senator Saif-Ur-Rehman which was responsible for accountability, but Nawaz used it to victimize the opposition including Zardari while keeping himself and his cronies safe.
* Nawaz came into power due to the chief justice Sajjad Ali Shah, who had legitimized the dissolution of assembly by President Farooq Leghari but soon many differences had started to form between the two.
* The Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) had won elections in India and conducted five nuclear tests in May 1998 while Pakistan on 28th May 1998 conducted five tests of their own in Baluchistan as India’s attitude was reflecting their will to invade Kashmir. Pakistan went into emergency right after the tests and Nawaz froze foreign currency accounts in local banks regardless of whether they belonged to residents or non-residents. This step was against the Protection of Economic Reforms Act of 1992 passed during Nawaz’s first tenure.
* As Nawaz was accumulating power into the office of PM and became the most powerful PM in Pakistan’s history but he came into confrontation with the army. Army Chief Jahangir Kramat while addressing the Naval War Academy on 5th October 1998 proposed the establishment of National Security Council for addressing national issues. Two days later, Nawaz sacked Kramat and made Pervaiz Musharaff the new Army Chief which humiliated the army ranks.
* A bus was launched between Lahore and Delhi which made Pak-India relations better as Indian PM Attal Behari Wajpai visited Lahore in Feb 1999 signing the Lahore Resolution. Unfortunately, these relations didn’t last long as Pakistan army captured certain mountain peaks in Kargil. Nawaz was summoned by USA President Bill Clinton in July 1999 where he signed an accord with USA to withdraw forces from Kargil which was a major setback for Pakistan.
* After Kargil, there were serious issues between Musharaff and Nawaz, as Nawaz was preparing to sack Musharaff and appoint his own choice Lt-general Zia-ud-din who was much junior than other options. The Corps Commander of Pakistan Army denied this while Musharaff was denied landing on his way back from Sri Lanka. Army took control of Karachi Airport and he landed on 12th October 1999. On 13th October 1999, Nawaz Sharif was removed by Musharaff, and the Army took over the affairs of the country.
* Justice Sajjad had handcuffed certain officers on the verbal order of PM and later took Suo moto notice and set them free. Nawaz was demeaned. Sajjad was against anti-terrorist courts for speedy trials set up by Nawaz as further appeals could not be made to High or Supreme Court. Sajjad wanted to elevate 5 high court judges to Supreme Court, but Nawaz disagreed, later Sajjad suspended the 14th Amendment which led to a constitutional war and proceedings against PM and members of Parliament in Supreme Court. To protect PM from these proceedings, Parliament passed Contempt of Court Bill, but Sajjad issued an order restraining the President from signing the Bill.
* Due to Sajjad’s arrogant style made him many enemies as many senior judges were not kept on the benches of important constitutional issues. The Supreme Court bench in Quetta passed an interim order on 26th November 1997 which restrained Sajjad from performing his functions. Peshawar Bench of Supreme Court passed an order which restricted Sajjad from passing any judicial or administrative order. Sajjad along with 5 judges present in Islamabad on 27th Nov, directed that the order passed by benches of Quetta and Peshawar will not be given effect as matters will be heard at Principal seat.
* As Supreme Court took up the case against PM, PMLN workers stormed the Supreme Court preventing the bench from conducting the hearing which one of the most shameful acts in judicial history. After this storming, Sajjad asked army for protection but without response. The judiciary was now five against ten and President Leghari had resigned on 2nd Dec 1997. This controversy ended on 23rd Dec 1997 when Sajjad was de-notified by the federal government and appointed Justice Ajmal Mian as Chief Justice of Pakistan.

**WEEK 11**

**MUSHARAFF ERA (1999-2008)**

**PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER**

Musharaff put emergency on the country, suspended the assemblies and assumed the newly coined office of Chief Executive on 14th October 1999. To legitimize his status as Chief Executive, he induced the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) on 14th October 1999 with the constitution being partially suspended. PCO gave power to chief executive to exercise jurisdiction without being questioned nor will any court have authority to pass judgements against the CE and the president will act on the advice of CE.

**HANDLING OF JUDICIARY**

After Musharaff takeover, Nawaz filed many cases in the Supreme Court challenging the military takeover and seeking restoration of assemblies which were to be heard on 31st January 2000. On 25th January, CE induced the Oath of Office Judges order which required all judges of superior courts to take oath of performing functions in accordance with the PCO and Proclamation of Emergency. If the judges failed to take oath, they would cease to hold office. On 26th January, 7 judges took oath while the chief justice Saidduzaman Siddiqui and four other judges from Sindh and Punjab failed to do so. Irshad Hasan Khan was then appointed as the new Chief Justice of Supreme Court.

**TRIAL OF NAWAZ SHARIF**

Nawaz Sharif and his brother Shahbaz both were put in jail after military control and high-profile trials in Karachi courts which led to life imprisonment for the accused. Nawaz and his family left for Saudi Arabia for 10 years under an agreement which came to public knowledge in written form after 2008 elections.

**SUPREME COURT JUSTIFIES MILITARY TAKE OVER**

On 12th May 2000, Supreme Court disposed off all petitions stating that take over was done under the law of necessity. As the constitution provided no solution to the issue that arose on 12th October 1999, the intervention of armed forces was inevitable based on the doctrine of state necessity.

**REMOVAL OF PRESIDENT TARAR**

Since the Supreme Court provided legal cover to military regime by giving authority to amend the constitution. Musharaff went further and induced the President’s Succession Order 2001 to make himself President until his successor gains office. Tarar was removed unceremoniously and Musharaff was ready to have the next talks with India about Kashmir.

**THE 9/11 EVENT**

US had put the toll of 9/11 on Osama Bin Laden and the Taliban. Since Pakistan was one of the three nations that recognized Taliban government in Afghanistan, they came under heavy pressure. In consideration of larger national interests Musharaff took a U-turn on Pakistan-Afghanistan policy, giving air bases to US and sharing intelligence with American agencies which helped Musharraf extend his rule in Pakistan.

**THE REFERENDUM**

Musharaff then decided to hold a referendum to add legitimization for continuation in power which was held on 30th April 2002. It was just yes or no to be stamped on ballot paper and the result came out as yes. It was challenged in court, but Supreme Court treated it as premature and left to the Parliament for decision. This strengthened Musharraf’s power in the country.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORMS**

Musharaff like Ayub and Zia used local bodies to create a political power base. Musharaff introduced district governors advised by Lt. General Tanveer Naqvi. Four separate ordinances were enacted in 2001 in each province as elections were spaced out from January to August in four stages to make sure that only the administrators who get the nod from the regime come into power. Since local governments gained more power, they started fighting with the provincial governments as their position was being undermined and the administrative division which linked District and Province was abolished. People who had no understanding of problems were in power and the game of experimentations started.

**LEGAL FRAMEWORK ORDER**

Musharaff passed the legal framework order on 21st August 2002 so he could become more powerful with the coming general elections. In this order, Musharaff gave discretionary powers back to the President by renewing Article 58-2B and empowered governors to dissolve provincial assemblies. All laws made during the suspension of constitution were validated through Article 270AA, the elections were to be held according to constitution under Article 270B. All judges who took oath of office of judges’ order were to be approved in constitution under Article 270C. Musharaff will be the President for the next five years, he reduced voter’s age from 21 to 18 and reserved more seats for women.

**SEMBLANCE OF DEMOCRACY: GENERAL ELECTIONS 2002**

General elections were to be held on 10th October 2002, with PPP and PMLN grouping together and a new party PMLQ being created. The political wing of ISI twisted some arms to get more leaders to join PMLQ, but majority was still not attained. Independents joined PMLQ while NAB and ISI broke PPP and created a forward block of 10 members who called themselves Patriots. On 15th November 2002, the constitution was suspended to allow other parties to join PMLQ. Zafar Ullah Jamali gained vote of confidence and became PM, constitution was revived on 31st December which forbade horse trading. In 2004, Chaudhary Shujaat replaced Jamali who was again replaced by Shaukat Aziz.

**17TH AMENDMENT**

17th Amendment was the validation of all amendments made by LFO in the constitution. It validated laws made from 1999 onwards and was used as a tool for amending constitution which was deemed to have been made the Parliament. 17th Amendment was more likely a return of the 8th Amendment. Problems with Afghanistan caused insurgency and violence to devastate the state from 2006 to 2009. Hundreds of soldiers were killed in military operations while hundreds were captured. In September 2006 a peace agreement was reached with Taliban but was scraped in July 2007, Talibanization crept into Pakistan from tribal areas and spreading to Punjab.

**THE LAL MASJID EPISODE**

In January 2007, men and women of Jamia Hifza associated with Lal Masjid in Islamabad went on a riot trying to impose morality. They shut down video and music shops and abducted women believed to be immoral, visiting foreigners and police. Observing this activity, government launched a full-scale attack killing 150 militants bringing this to an end. Subsequently suicide bombings escalated which targeted government buildings in NWFP, Islamabad, Rawalpindi, and Lahore. Swat Valley became a battlefield between militants and armed forces.

**JUDICIAL ACTIVISM AND CONFRONTATION**

Musharaff became tired of chief justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary in cases of missing persons who were believed to be detained, killed, or handed over to USA on Musharaff’s orders. Chaudhary challenged the government which led to his resignation being summoned by the President. On refusal he was suspended on 9th March 2007 but was reinstated four months later after proceedings of the Supreme Judicial Council. The battle between Judiciary and executives however continued.

**ISSUE OF ELECTION AS PRESIDENT AND JUDICIARY**

Musharaff’s rule had to end in 2007 so he got himself re-elected by the present national Assembly as he didn’t want to risk giving this choice to the next NA. Supreme Court accepted a petition that Musharraf can’t contest while being Chief of Army Staff. Musharaff said he would take off his uniform if the decision was in his favor but uncertain of the judges he proclaimed emergency on 3rd November 2007, dismissing judges and implementing another PCO. Previous judges and some new ones took oath and Abdul Hamid Dogar became Chief Justice but many human activists, opposition parties, lawyers and civilians protested despite mass arrests.

**TWO NEW DEVELOPMENTS**

Major developments in the time of Musharaff were independence of broadcasting media and the rise of the civil society. Musharaff liberalized electronic media which brought a flood of satellite television, cable-Tv operators and FM Radios. The fall of Musharaff and restoration of elected civilian rule in 2008 owes mostly to the mass media. The civil society in Pakistan adopted a liberal lifestyle socially and culturally as they supported Musharaff for his pragmatism and enlightened moderation. With huge media coverage and public participation created a huge impact on politics which has grown since then.

**NATIONAL RECONCILIATION ORDINANCE AND ALLIANCE OF CONVENIENCE**

Looking at the coming elections, Nawaz flew from London to Islamabad on 9th September 2007 but was forced to go to Jeddah to complete 3 years of his 10-year deal. On 25th November 2007 he returned and was allowed to stay on Saudi Intervention. Benazir in turn struck a deal with Musharaff who gave her an NRO which waived all charges of corruption on her while Musharraf would resign as Chief of Army Staff and remain a civilian President. Benazir agreed, returned from exile in Dubai and London to work with Musharaff and USA to support the war against terror in exchange for corruption charges on her and her husband to be dropped. Benazir’s arrival wasn’t welcomed as a bomb blast killed 140 party workers while Benazir was assassinated on 27th December 2007 at a public rally in Liaqat Bagh, Rawalpindi. Musharaff handed over COAS title to General Ashfaq Kiyani in November 2007 who distanced himself from the outgoing regime and became politically neutral. Kiyani ordered the withdrawal of hundreds of on-duty army officers placed in bureaucracy by Musharraf.

**NATIONAL ELECTIONS 18TH FEBRUARY 2008**

The elections crushed PMLQ as after Benazir’s death the public was sympathetic towards the PPP who won a comparative majority in the National Assembly by forming a grand coalition consisting of PMLN, ANP, MQM and JUI but PMLN later left due to major differences.

**MUSHARRAFS DEPARTURE**

Observing the public hatred, Musharraf resigned as President in August 2008. PMLN being unhappy over deadlock on the restoration of judiciary and lack of progress over withdrawal of Amendment, pulled out of the coalition. Musharraf left for USA and Europe to deliver lectures and has remained in exile to date.

**RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA**

There were huge technological and economic cooperation for Pakistan’s defense production and industrial development. Production of K-8 trainer aircraft, fighter aircraft Super-7, Warships, nuclear reactors for power stations, transfer of missile technology, construction of Karakoram Highway and Gwadar Seaport have been major landmarks in the Sino-Pak relationship. The Chinese President’s visit to Pakistan in 2008 resulted in 18 different economic and defense deals opening the gateway to China in the Muslim world.

**FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE FIRST DECADE OF THE NEW MILLENNIUM**

* After 9/11 Pakistan had to side with US against Afghanistan on the war of terror to gain benefits but this proved to be more costly for Pakistan in the shape of suicide bombings, disruption in FATA, loosing men and facing terrorism. FATA had been the region where Taliban and Mujahid were trained by Pakistanis under US sponsorship to fight against the Soviets in 1980’s but in 2001 when USA invaded Afghanistan, these militants came and hid in FATA. This caused USA to put extra pressure on Pakistan to find and destroy the Taliban in 2003. Due to the rugged landscape, lack of roads and being unsuitably equipped, Pakistan army could not destroy them. Peace accords were then signed with local Taliban in South Waziristan in April 2004 and North Waziristan in September 2006 after which army pulled back. USA then launched drone attacks which also targeted civilians became a greater issue in Pakistan than it originally was. With the moto of payment of services, USA used IMF to force Pakistan to accept tougher conditions.
* The Indo-US nuclear deal of 2008 aimed at Indo-US military cooperation in Afghanistan and the way India was trained to use bunker-bursting bombs became a deep concern for Pakistan. India with the help of US created camps in Afghanistan, trained Taliban, Uzbek, and Chechens and launched them into the borders of Pakistan. This relation between India and US put Pakistan’s foreign policy in a bad situation as US was still implementing drone attacks in the country stating Pakistan’s inability to control the situation of terrorism. Pakistan marginally benefitted from US financial assistance, but foreign investments dropped due to danger of suicide bombings and inflation rose by 25% which brought Pakistan to a standstill economically.
* US had moved their focus from Iraq to Afghanistan which brought a surge of NATO troops and a surge in Taliban attacks on them. In November 2008, a terrorist attack in Mumbai led by Lashkare Tayyeba which was based in Pakistan caused them to move troops from the western border to the eastern border. Intensive diplomatic efforts saved the two countries from war. The Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act 2009 was an attempt by Senator John Kerry and American Secretary Hillary Clinton to satisfy their anger.
* As the strategy to finish Taliban wasn’t working and bringing India into the situation only complicated it further, USA tried talking to Taliban in 2009 and explored peace-keeping missions but without any successes. The US-Pak relations worsened in 2011 when Raymond Davis, a CIA-contractor killed two Pakistanis on Lahore’s Mozang road who had phone conversations with various terrorist groups, had photos of sensitive military installations and the constant pleading of President Obama to consider him a diplomat and release him. Davis’s release welcomed another drone attack which killed 70 tribal leaders in FATA which caused the public to become angry. COAS Kiyani intervened and told the PM to summon the American Ambassador on this highly sensitive issue but relations between the two countries were quite uncertain.
* Pakistan and India’s relations got better after world cup semifinal, and PM Gillani made a cricket visit on PM Manmohan Singh’s call which was a very welcoming gesture.
* Pakistan’s foreign policy can be summed up as security-ridden, dependent on first world countries, based on bilateralism and Muslim Countries prone. It gets a new lease of life when hyper-level events occur in the world but Pakistan has leverage due to location which USA would always want to keep in hand.

**WEEK 12**

**GEOSTRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF PAKISTAN**

**INTRODUCTION**

* Geo means ‘Earth’, strategy means planning, tactics, and policy. Significance means importance.
* Geostrategic means the importance of a region relating to its geographic location. When a state learns how to exploit its geography to the best of its political and strategic interests is known as geostrategic and geopolitics.

**GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF PAKISTAN**

* Pakistan is in Southeast Asia, 24.35 North to 37.05 North and 61 East to 78 East longitude. Its area is 796096 sq km stretching over 1600km from North to South and 885kn from East to West.
* In 1947, Pakistan was divided into two parts, West Pakistan in the Indus River basin and East Pakistan (Bangladesh after December 1971) located 1000 miles away over Indian territory in the Ganges River delta.
* Pakistan is a land of plains, deserts, mountain ranges and coastal belt. The Eastern border is the Radcliffe line with India (1650km), Sino-park border on the northern side with China, Durand line (2250km) and gold Smith line with Afghanistan and Iran on the western side and Arabian Sea in the south (700km).
* In the west, there is a one-kilometer narrow Wakhan Strip that kept Soviet Union away from Pakistan frontiers. We have China to the north and Pakistan is placed at the mouth of the Persian Gulf that constitutes of 65% of world’s oil production. USA is interested in Pakistan because of the Arabian Sea open for Persian Gulf oil shipments that is an important part of world’s energy supplies. Iran is a neighboring country that is the heart of the Persian Gulf meeting Pakistan at Koh-I-Tuftan, and the Arabian sea also links to the Indian Ocean. Khunjerab pass links Pakistan with China creating a billion-dollar investment through CPEC. Pakistan is a gateway to Central Asia and land-locked Afghanistan which has caused it to suffer from the side effects of the New Great Game and Global War on Terrorism. Pakistan is trying to induce benefits from the TAPI Gas Pipeline from the west and Pak-Iran Gas Pipeline.

**POLITICAL IMPORTANCE**

* US has interests in security and business with Pakistan as Pakistan is playing a front-line role against terrorism. Today, Pakistan is facing preemption policies, US invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan, Iran nuclear program and India’s economy growth to match with China. Pakistan is directly or indirectly involved in Al-Qaeda operations as US believes that the War on Terror can’t be won without Pakistan.
* Main threats to Pakistan are conflicts between Baluchistan and Waziristan causing threats to the IPI Gas Pipeline. Instable governments of the country, problems with India, US and Iran and Kashmir are the accelerating the nuclear race in South Asia.

**GEOSTRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF PAKISTAN**

* In 1947, Pakistan had a fragile economy, vulnerable defense and survival was hard but was located at a region which had great economic, strategic, and political influence. Pakistan sided with the USA during the cold war against USSR and British had previously reigned over the region. Thus, Pakistan is located at the most sensitive region in the world which is why their foreign policy also looks to safeguard its own security.
* Pakistan is located near great world powers such as Russia, China, and the economically growing India.
* Pakistan is located near the biggest oil reserves in the world which start from Iran and extend to Saudi Arabia while China and India lack such energy resources. Pakistan can influence shipment of oil as its Gwadar, Karachi, and Bin Qasim ports are important seaports in the Persian Gulf while China also has access to the Arabian Sea through Pakistan using the Karakoram Highway.
* Pakistan acts as a bridge between South Asia and South-West Asia as it provides CARs the shortest route of 2600km as compared to Iran (4500km) or Turkey (5000km). Afghanistan being a land locked country finds its way to the world through Pakistan. Himalayas, Hindu Kush, and Karakoram provide water and natural resources to the country whereas Gwadar being a deep seaport attracts interests to China, CARs, and Southeast Asian countries. If the IPI gas pipeline is successful Pakistan will receive 400 million dollars annually.
* Pakistan’s strategic position in the world has increased since it gained nuclear capability which has significantly elevated its importance in the international community. Pakistan is the only Muslim country in the region with nuclear power which politically caused them to be a center of attention. US, NATO, Israel, and India see Pakistan as a threat to Indian National Security and in turn their investments.
* Pakistan has the fifth largest gold mine in Baluchistan, second largest salt mine and sixth largest coal mine in Punjab. Pakistan occupies three of the world’s largest mountains which keep us safe from Siberian winds, supply water from glaciers to rivers inducing an export system of these commodities to their neighbors.
* Pakistan has huge potential to develop transit economy as it provides land-locked Afghanistan trade route, provides China the fastest growing economy trade route using highways and Gwadar being a warm, deep seaport. Is located near the Persian Gulf which holds 67% of the world’s oil reserves. Gwadar port was bought by Pakistan from the Omani Sultanate for $3 million in 1958, construction took place from 1988-1992. General Musharraf inaugurated the port in 2007 but the port showed poor performance under the Port Singapore Authority (PSA) so was handed over to China Overseas Port Holding Company (COPHC) in 2013 for a 43-year lease after which work was done at a fast pace. Gwadar port can act as an international trade hub as it connects Central Asia, Middle East and South Asia which would open job opportunities and help in the development of Baluchistan. The Port will attract foreign investment and tourism which will provide foreign reserves, free trade zones and special economic zones boosting the economy of Pakistan.
* Gwadar will help Pakistan monitor the Sea Lines of Communications (SLOCs) originating from the Persian Gulf and Strait of Hormuz, will help them control oil sea routes and trade links. It will boost relations of Pakistan with other countries economically through tourism, trade, hotel industry and state revenue. Gwadar offers tax free investments and trade which will attract huge numbers of investors and is the soul of Pakistan-China Economic Corridor causing Gwadar to be a manifestation of Pakistan’s geographical importance.

**TURKMENISTAN-AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN-INDIA PIPELINE (TAPI)**

* The Asian Development Bank has funded this project to provide gas to these regions from the Caspian Sea. Pakistan is benefitted from this project due to its geography as India will be dependent upon Pakistan for the natural resources coming from Central Asian Republics. The construction started in December 2015 and will be functional by 2019.

**IRAN-PAKISTAN GAS PIPELINE**

* Peace pipeline is a project inaugurated in 2013 which was abandoned by Pakistan due to the bad relations of US with Iran. Pakistan never formally gave up this project and the Iran-US Nuclear deal has removed many sanctions on Iran causing trade to be done easily now.

**CHINA-PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR**

* 80% of China’s trade and energy imports travel through Malacca and Indian Ocean which is patrolled by the US and Indian navies. Pakistan has a safer and shorter route which China will surely want benefit from. Any conflict between the navies can choke trade to China as it will face heavy energy problems due to this issue. CPEC will provide China an entry into the Persian Gulf increasing their geopolitical influence and military presence. India suspects that Gwadar port will serve as a Chinese Naval facility. China trade will travel through the Khunjerab Pass, Karakoram Highway and through roads will reach Gwadar. Chinese engineers are creating tunnels through mountains to provide a safer route for trade which is known as the Pak-China Friendship Tunnel.
* The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is a Game Changer as it is more than a network of roads that link Chinese city of Kashgar with the Gulf states via Gwadar as it provides a package of energy projects and trade opportunities to Pakistan. Pakistan provides China with the most direct and shortest route to the Middle East. Since India has blocked the Strait of Malacca on US interests to block China trade, Gwadar port is a huge opportunity for China and Pakistan which India is trying its best to stop by investing in the Iranian port Chahbahar which connects with Afghanistan through the Zaranj-Delaram road.

**PAKISTAN SHARES MARINE BORDER WITH OMAN**

* Pakistan and Oman have made a maritime agreement adhering to International Law of Sea in 2000. This sharing between the two brotherly countries related to the undersea energy resources of Oman. The sea route between the two countries can be used to have access to the Persian Gulf and its neighboring states.

**IMPORTANT LINK IN THE CHAIN OF MUSLIM COUNTRIES**

* Pakistan is located at the center of the Islamic countries of Asia and Africa and are linked to all of them through land or sea which causes Pakistan to geographically unite the Muslim World. Before the creation of Bangladesh, Pakistan was the largest Islamic State looking forward towards the movement of Islamic Unity. Through their location, Pakistan can actively participate in the activities of Muslim world-economic development, transport of resources and combat terrorism.

**WAR AGAINST TERRORISM**

* Pakistan is a front-line state against terrorism while being a major route for transportation. Afghanistan is thought to be the major breeding ground of all international terrorism. US and NATO both believe that the war against Afghanistan can only be won through cooperation with Pakistan as NATO supplies are provided to troops in Afghanistan through Pakistan.

**WEEK 13**

**CONCEPT OF WELFARE STATE**

* Welfare state is a democratic state that not only guarantees basic rights, personal and economic freedoms but also takes legal, financial, and material measures to equalize social differences and tensions. The most important criterion for organizing the welfare state is justice and it serves to create the conditions for the realization of freedom and democracy.
* Social policy is the largest part of the federal budget, directly through receipt of benefits or indirectly through funding via taxes and contributions. Democracy means that all citizens have the same right to freedom, political participation, dignity, and respect. Aristotle thought that there are people in the world that can’t live freely or are slaves by nature and stated that women are not equal to men.
* Besides food and shelter, education, training, and information are also important as genuine democracy is not possible without social policy. People argue that welfare states are bad for the economy, but freedom and democracy should never be measured in wealth and the biggest welfare states are the richest too. In this people with a lot give some away and people with little receive something. The rule of law safeguards property rights but merely denies people of absolute rights.
* Freedom means the possibility of a self-determined life which states that people must be free from degrading dependencies and must have the opportunity to develop their potential and play a responsible role in society and politics. Without social redistribution of wealth usually organized by the state, civil rights and liberties can’t be realized for all.
* Libertarian thesis: Granting positive civil rights and liberties destroys negative civil rights and liberties which have absolute priority.
* Social Democratic thesis: Negative and Positive civil rights and liberties must be regarded as equal if they are to be applied formally and are to be effective. Relation between positive and negative civil rights must be established through argument.
* Positive civil rights and liberties: Substantive enabling rights, rights to actively exercise civil rights and liberties, social rights and ensuring a welfare state.
* Negative civil rights and liberties: Formal legal validity is sufficient, freedom occurs when there are no restrictions, rights that protect individuals from intrusion of society and formal protective rights.