



Ideology of Pakistan

Ideology

Ideology is the basis of nationalism which is the fundamental belief of the nation-state system. It can be defined in some of the following ways. *“Science of ideas, visionary speculations, the manner of thinking, characteristics of a class or individual ideas based on some economic, social or political theory or system.”* Or *“Body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values with positive action program for attaining these goals.”*

Ideology constitutes a system of human life which includes a certain set of theories, objectives and assertions of life. The importance of Ideology in human life cannot be defied on the grounds that individuals should ideally share a common ideology in society look homogenous.

It is also important to have an ideology because it offers an interpretation of the past, an explanation of the present and a vision of the future. It tells you that where you come from, where you are and where you suppose to reach afterwards. Some people detach themselves from the past and does not connect themselves with the ideology or past.

Ideology of Pakistan

Ideologies take firm roots in society only when people feel that they are being mistreated under an existing order or when their status is threatened by fundamental changes occurring in the society. There were some fundamental political changes which occurred in the subcontinent. The Muslims came as invaders (conquerors). The Muslims were being checked thoroughly and Hindus were given leverage over the Muslims and that was the fundamental change occurring in the society. In the war of 1857 the whole blame was put on Muslims in that war. The British government tried to suppress Muslims and to crush that rebellion. Then Sir Syed Ahmad Khan played a role to impress the British and to impress the Muslims. He told that Muslims were not sole responsible for their reward. Moreover, new ideology in any given society emerges when the prevailing ideology no longer satisfies the people living in a society. That is why, they didn't prefer to live in India rather they prefer to ask for a independent state for themselves.

Pakistan is one of the few countries which have been formed based on ideology. Therefore, when the Muslims in the subcontinent felt that the prevailing ideology in the Indian subcontinent is not catering for their spiritual and material needs, then the ideology of a separate nation began to evolve. The ideals for which the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent started to strive for many decades were drawn from the Islamic system of beliefs. Moreover, the idea of a separate homeland for Muslims of the subcontinent was conceived and matured as a reaction to the Hindu and British exploitation of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. It was a revolt

against the prevailing system in order to save it from annihilation. The foundation of that ideology was built and later sustained by Muslim nationalism.

Ideology of Pakistan Based on Muslim Nationalism

What is Nationalism? Nationalism is quite a broad term, and it is a toilsome effort to define this term without going into detail. However, it suffices to say that nationalism is essentially a European Concept. During the medieval times, a group of students from one country studying in a European university was called “nation”. If someone threatens their unity or oneness, then they fight them with power, but they try to go living as one they would try to protect their way of life. They will try to live together that aspect is being threatened and nationalism created havoc. We have seen nationalism in the earlier twentieth century in the shape of world war 1 and in world war 2. That is purely the outcome of narrow nationalism. Nationalism is paving its way towards good society to live in harmony and consider themselves as a part of one society. Nationalism can be called consciousness, a sentiment or sympathy which binds a group of people together. We may call it the desire of a group of individuals, who are already united by certain ties, to live together and, if necessary, to die together. It is the wish of people who feel that they are one, to go on living as one.

Economic Ideology

The nation whose ideology is based on economies or their ideology has gotten roots in economies. Soviet Union had the ideology of economic equality. Every ideology has the commonality that if people follow it then they will remain happy and there will be harmony and prosperity in the whole world. Moreover, the Islamic ideology creates the sense of oneness in Islamic ideology.



Nationalism and Two Nation Theory

Nationalism

The term “nationalism” is generally used to describe two phenomena:

- (1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and
- (2) the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination.

(Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2018)

Modern Nationalism is made up of thirteen conditions or beliefs; following are its subgroups.

Emotional Basis

- Common group feelings
- Love for the fellow nationals
- Common hostility to other similar groups

Political and Social Apparatus

- Common territory possessed
- The existence of common sovereign government or the desire for it
- The existence of common moral, social or economic institutions or ideas

Spiritual Equipment

- Possession of some common cultural characteristics i.e., language, customs, manners, literature, art, music and folk-lore
- Common religion
- Common history or common origin
- Common character shared by the national group

Nationalism on the Three Time Levels (Past, Present and Future)

Since nationalism itself is an emotion or a combination of different emotions, therefore, feelings of common pride in national achievements and common sorrow in national tragedies. Simple devotion to the nation such as “My country, right or wrong”. Future level for nationalism is like hoping that the nation will one day become a great nation. And if it is already a great nation then hope for it to be the greatest in the world are quite helpful for the furtherance. Nationalism is always drawn from ideology.

Views of Prominent Personalities about Religion and Nationalism

Mahatma Gandhi said:

“The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with the snake....., I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by introducing religion into politics.”

He was in favor of introducing religion in politics as he thought that the politics is very complicated matter and any issues cannot be resolved without logic of religion.

Allama Iqbal said:

“One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history, it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa.”

Two Nation theory

Evolution of the Concept

During the struggle for political independence in India, the Two-Nation Theory emerged, which meant that two nations - Hindus and Muslims - inhabited the subcontinent. It further emphasized that there were sharp discrepancies in culture, language, religious practices of both communities.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was not the first to call the Muslims of India a nation divergent from the Hindus, previously, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, had also addressed them as ‘QAUM’. Moreover, the Agha Khan, Amir Ali and others referred to their community as a ‘nation’. Later on, Allama Iqbal provided the philosophical explanation for the uniqueness of the Indian Muslims. However, Jinnah was the first to conclude that Hindus and Muslims are two distinct nations, which could not live together.

Constituent Assembly of Pakistan gave it a legal sanction by passing objectives Resolution in March 1949.

Jinnah in Lahore Resolution

Muhammad Ali Jinnah said:

“Notwithstanding [a] thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes.”

Stance of Quaid-e-Azam was *“Muslims are a Nation according to any definition of nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state.”*

There were many other people who supported the stance of Quaid-e-Azam. As B. K. Krishna quoted in 1939, *“India is the land of nations”*. Another external evidence who does not support the claim of All India Congress that there is only one nation in subcontinent, *“The reality is that Muslim Population in India go millions, with its own system of law and social organization, its own distinct language, its own historical traditions proves to be separate nation”*.

Mandate of Two Nation Theory

The demand for Separate electorate (SE) was a manifestation of Muslim feelings of separateness. Six years before his death, Sir Syed for the first time demanded for a separate electorate in 1892. Because of the minority status in British India, it was difficult for Muslim candidates to be elected in general elections. If the two communities were not kept apart at polls, every election would result in riots. Wherever S.E had been introduced, it secured peace.

Congress attitude towards Separate electorate was irritating. It could, by no means, compromise with this formula. Congress attitude further pushed the Muslims towards Separatism.

Factors Responsible for the Creation of Muslim Nationhood

Following are the factors that were responsible for the creation of the Muslim Nationhood.

- Historical
- Political
- Religious
- Cultural
- Education
- Literature
- Philosophy
- Art
- Psychological
- National Consciousness



Historical Background of Pakistan

Pakistan did not come into being overnight. Struggle for equal rights for the Muslims vis-a-vis Hindus in British India is spanned over about 90 years which gradually evolved, shaped and reshaped depending on the circumstances. However, the final product of that long historical struggle came out in the shape of Pakistan.

The Basis of the historical movement for the creation of Pakistan started to form with the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1857. The War of Independence started on 10th of May 1857 in Meerut, a remote and small city of the United Provinces of the subcontinent. Though unsuccessful, it brought many changes, particularly in the political strategies of three parties: The British, the Hindus and the Muslims. The causes of the War of Independence can be broadly divided into six categories, i.e., economic, administrative, political, religious, social and military.

Economic Causes

Before the East India Company's (EIC) rule, India's agriculture Industry and trade were flourishing. However, the British tried to exploit India for their economic gains and fulfil the demands of their industry after the industrial revolution. Moreover, the Indian exports to Britain, i.e. cotton, tea, spices ended up in India as finished goods or were further exported to other countries.

After gaining the right to collect revenue at Bengal in 1765, EIC used the money raised through revenue in Bengal for fighting wars in other parts of India. The Policies of EIC badly affected by *Zamindars*, *Talookdars*, middle-income groups, traders and labourers etc.

Administrative Causes

The EIC administrative machinery in India was inefficient and insufficient which created discontent with the locals. The EIC started annexation of Indian States as part of their expansionist policies under the Doctrine of Lapse. All high posts; civil or military were given to Europeans rather than to the locals. Moreover, unjust and exploitative revenue policies were introduced in India which further fueled belligerence against the EIC.

Political Causes

Among the political causes for the War of Independence 1857, the British expansionist policies in the Indian subcontinent takes a fundamental place. Order of Lord Canning to the Mughal Emperor to leave Red Fort Delhi and stay at Qutab Minar further added an insult to the injury for both the Muslims and Hindus alike, as the Mughal Emperor was the legitimate ruler of India. Moreover, a wave of unrest struck the socio-politico fabric of the Indian

society following the Lord Canning's order that after the demise of Bahadur Shah Zafar the Mughal rule will come to an end and all the property of Mughal rulers will be snatched away.

Social/Religious Causes

The EIC started to extend support to the Christian missionaries after 1813. It is noteworthy that the Christian missionaries were not allowed to come to India before that year. Also, the Religious Disabilities Act was enacted which announced many incentives for those Indians who would convert to Christianity. A law made reforms in Hindu customs. However, they were considered as a distortion of the teaching of Hinduism. It was widely believed after 1813 that the actual mandate of EIC was to convert Indians especially Hindus to Christianity.

Military Causes

The EIC had recruited many Indian locals in its military. However, there was a great disparity in the salaries between Indian and European soldiers. Besides, sepoys were sent to distant overseas parts of the Empire but they were not given extra salaries. The Indian sepoys were treated with contempt by their English officers as the English thought they were a superior race and were more advanced than Indian. The Indian sepoys were refused promotion in services as like their English counterparts.

The General Service Enlistment Act, 1856 by Lord Canning, was introduced. The act asked for the soldiers from Bengal to be recruited and posted wherever the Empire needed them. It was greatly resented by the Hindus, as travelling via sea for some Hindus meant leaving the fold of Hinduism. Consequently, out of such discontent, the Indian sepoys revolted.

Immediate Cause

EIC introduced Enfield rifles in the military. Papers with grease like substance covered the bullets of these rifles. The sepoys were to cut the cover with teeth before using it. Rumour spread that the grease substance was made up of the fat of pigs and cows. Therefore, both Muslims and Hindu sepoys refused to cut the cover. They protested against the introduction of this new munition and were arrested. It ultimately ignited the fire of mutiny all over India. However, the Mutiny was, ultimately, suppressed, and the British government officially took over the rule of India from EIC.

Causes for the Failure of War of Independence

For a war to be won, one needs a definite aim and a military discipline apparatus; however, the Indian mutineers lacked clear aim. Every group and faction fought for personal reasons without a central Indian command. Some had a problem with job insecurity, while others had a problem with high taxes, while others were concerned with preserving their rule in their states etc.

Moreover, there was a visible lack of unity among those who were fighting against their oppressors. The revolt was not pre-decided and spontaneous incidents sparked it. It could not start at one time in the whole of India. Therefore, the EIC effectively crushed it.

Moreover, the lack of public support also played a role in the failure of the war. The Educated groups (mainly converted into Christianity), many traders, and lots of peasants did not participate in it because they were blossoming in the rule of the EIC.

Another factor which can be attributed to the failure of the War of Independence 1857 is the lack of national spirit among the Indians. Lucknow, Jhansi and Bihar just revolted to safeguard their rulers' narrow interests rather than safeguarding the larger interest of India. The Mughal ruler and other local rulers had quite weak armies which had no match for the English officers and their war tactics. Therefore, the efficient English officials were able to suppress the revolt in 1857.

Nature of the War of Independence

The War of Independence was not a religious war. It was fought by both religious communities, i.e., Hindus and Muslims alike to reclaim their independence in India. War of independence was fought because of economic and socio-cultural reasons rather than religious reasons.

After the defeat at the hands of EIC, the Hindus blamed that the Muslims were alone responsible for it. They blamed a religious conspiracy against the British by the Muslims.

Hindi/Urdu Controversy

Language is a fundamental means of social-cultural interaction. It may lead to disintegration in societies with cultural diversities. The Urdu language was born in India. India was used to be considered as a golden sparrow regarding its fertile land and workforce. That's why many of invaders, including the Muslims, came to occupy it for different purposes. It happened because when these different people from different regions of the world came to India, they brought with them, over number of other things, their language as well. People like Arabs, Persians and Turks, etc. when mingled with the native people, they exchanged words of their languages and thus with this mingling, a new language emerged which was termed as Urdu, meaning the "language of the troops".

Since the invaders of the Muslim world formed it and emerged during the rule of the Mughals in India, it was termed as the language of the Muslims, and that is why initially it was called "Musalmāni". However, there were not only Muslims that spoke or used Urdu, but all the communities in India joined hands for the promulgation and development of that new language. It was not only used as an everyday language, but a large number of literary works appeared in Urdu in all the regions of the sub-continent primarily Deccan, Lucknow, Maisur, Dehli etc. Thus, almost the whole of India contributed to the flourishing of Urdu.

In 1837, Persian was replaced by Urdu as the court and state language, no one objected to that. With the fall of the Mughal Empire, Hindus, however, started looking at Urdu as the

language of the invaders. The British on the other hand, in their disregard for Muslims, adopted the same attitude. Thus, both intentionally started their efforts to get rid of the language of the Muslims. In this regard names of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Raja Shiv Parshad, Lakshman Singh, Haresh Chandra and Binkam Chatterji, etc., among many others are well known. The first effort was made at the start of the nineteenth century when a new language was formed with the name Hindi in which words of pure Arabic, Persian and Turkish were removed and replaced by Sanskrit words. In that regard in 1809, a Hindu wrote a novel in that very Hindi with the title “Prem Sagar”, but since it was not a full-fledged effort, soon that language went into oblivion.

However, after the War of Independence in 1857 when the British Crown’s wrath fell upon the Muslims, the Hindus considered it to be a ripe moment to get rid of Urdu and replace it with their language – Hindi. The combined, organised effort started in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1867, the Hindus of Banaras presented a request to their government regarding the replacement of Urdu with Hindi and its Persian script with that of Devnagri script. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, at that demand remarked that when even the language of a nation is not safe at the hands of other nations in a region, it would be unwise to continue living with them.

Sir Syed, who was, in fact, a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity before that incident, started focusing on the cause of Muslims alone. His Scientific Society Gazette presented articles on the importance of Urdu. Similarly, some Muslim newspapers like Noor-ul-Absar and Banaras Gazette also took the responsibility to safeguard their language.

The anti-Urdu process continued when, in 1871, the Governor of Bengal, G. Cambell, banned Urdu in the province at all levels, courts, administration and even schools. The ban on Urdu boosted the Hindus in other regions like NWFP, Punjab, Behar, Sindh, Oudh, etc. to counter Urdu there. Meetings were held of the Hindus in which thousands of them signed memorials supporting the cause of elimination of Urdu. The circumstances became even more hard for the Muslims and their language when Anthony MacDonnel became the governor of UP in 1900. He was a pro-Hindu and thus anti-Muslim. Thus, he dismissed Urdu as the official language of UP, which was in fact considered to be the home of Urdu language. He issued orders and declared Hindi the official language of the province.

Sir Syed’s successors at Aligarh, mainly Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Secretary of the Aligarh Trust, took action against MacDonnel’s act. He called for a popular gathering of the supporters of Urdu at Aligarh and openly condemned governor’s work. He also founded Urdu Defense Association, and it was decided that the association would take actions against the doings of the governor. The result of this Muslim response was that Urdu too- along with Hindi- was declared the official language of the province. However, Mohsin-ul-Mulk was not satisfied with this outcome and continued his struggle. When UP got rid of MacDonnel, he founded another association called Anjuman-e-Tarraqi-e-Urdu to counter all future attempts of the Hindus and the English against Urdu.

Formation of Indian National Congress

Amid agitations over many diverse issues against the British Raj by the local Indians, the Indian National Congress was founded on December 28, 1885. Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee was selected as the leader of the Congress. Among its main objectives was the fusion into one national whole of all the different, and till now discordant, elements that constitute the population of India. It also aimed for the gradual regeneration of Indians along all lines, mental, moral, social and political. And the consolidation of the union between England and India, by securing the modification of such of its condition as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country.

An Englishman A.O. Hume founded the Indian National Congress. He was a retired government official with the blessings of Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of India. When Hume took the scheme to the Governor-General, the latter amended it and gave his blessing on the condition that *"His name in this connection with the scheme of the Congress should not be divulged so long as he remained in the country."* His condition was faithfully maintained, and none but the men consulted by Mr Hume knew anything about the matter.

Sir Syed was quite critical about the Congress; he asked the Muslims not to join it. A vast majority of people followed his advice. He was of the opinion that if he were told that even the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the whole House of Commons had openly supported Congress, he would remain firmly opposed to it. The times quoted Sir Syed on 12th November 1888, *"It is my deliberate belief that should the resolution of the native congress be carried into effect; it would be impossible for the British Government to preserve peace, or control in any degree the violence and civil wars which would ensue."*

The contemporary Muslim Press was also full of criticisms about the Congress. Mohammad an Observer, The Victoria Paper, The Muslim Herald, the Rafiq-i-Hind and Imperial Paper spoke with one voice against it. Moreover, Muslim Organizations and Institutions like Central National Muhammadan Association, Muhammadan Literary Society of Bengal, the *Anjuman-i-Islam* of Madaras, the Dindigal *Anjuman* and the Muhammadan Central Association of Punjab asked the Muslims of Indian not to join Congress as they thought it would never serve the interests of the Muslims of India.

Partition of Bengal

In 1905, the provinces of Bengal and Assam were reconstituted to form two provinces of manageable size. The scheme was sent to London in February 1905. The Province of East Bengal and Assam officially came into being on 16 October 1905.

The whole plan was nothing but a readjustment of administrative boundaries. However, the Hindus resented it. The partition resulted in the creation of Muslim majority province, East

Bengal, which was distasteful to the Hindus. Hindus regarded the partition as an attempt to strangle nationalism in Bengal, where it was more developed than elsewhere. Agitation against the partition included mass meetings, rural unrest, and a “swadeshi” (native) movement to boycott the import of British goods.

Since this partition favoured the Muslims therefore, they embraced it and seven days after the partition, on 22 October 1905, a large Muslim meeting at Dacca appreciated the boon conferred on the people by the change. Two days later, another huge gathering of Muslims offered thanks to the God for the partition and declared that under the new scheme, written by the Manchester Guardian on 23rd and 27th October 1905 that “...*the Muslims would be spared many oppressions which they hitherto had to endure from the Hindus.*”, *the Hindu agitation against the partition was condemned.*

However, even though the partition of Bengal was beneficial for the majority of the Muslims of Bengal, the British India government succumbed to the Hindu and Congress agitation against the partition. In 1911, East and West Bengal were reunited. The aim was to combine appeasement of Bengali sentiment with administrative convenience. This end was achieved for a brief time but the Bengali Muslims, having benefitted from the partition, were angry and disappointed. This resentment remained throughout the rest of the British period. The final division of Bengal was done at the partitioning of the subcontinent in 1947, which divided Bengal into India in the West and East Pakistan (later Bangladesh) in the East, intense violence also accompanied it.



Simla Deputation and All India Muslim League

Simla Deputation

Lord Minto was appointed as the Viceroy of India in 1905. He announced new reforms in which it was said that the British government would extend the elected principle. The anti-partition agitation had convinced the Muslims of the futility of expecting any fair-play from the Hindu majority. Therefore, to safeguard their interests, the Muslim leaders drew up a plan for separate electorates for their community, and presented it to the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla, on October 1, 1906. The Simla Deputation consisted of 70 representatives, representing all opinions of the Muslim community, and headed by Sir Aga Khan.

The demands of the deputation were accepted. The acceptance of the demands proved to be a turning point in the history of the subcontinent. For the first time, the Hindu-Muslim conflict was raised to the constitutional plane. The Muslims made it clear that they had no confidence in the Hindu majority and that they were not prepared to put their future in the hands of an assembly elected on the assumed basis of a homogenous Indian nation. It is in this sense that the beginning of separate electorate may be seen as the beginning of the realization of the Two-Nation Theory, its final and inevitable consequence being the partition of British India in 1947.

The Simla Deputation was successful because the Muslims were strongly urged to protect their separate identity, whereas the British responded to their demands, as Lord Minto was anxious to pull them out of their political discontent. Separate electorates were given statutory recognition in the Indian Councils Act of 1909. The Muslims were accorded not only the right to elect their representatives by separate electorates but also the right to vote in general constituencies. Also, they were also given weightage in representation.

All India Muslim League (1906)

The Simla Deputation made the Muslim confident of the fact that united effort would be fruitful for the Muslim community. Therefore, to further capitalise on the deputation's success, a meeting was convened at Dacca in Dec. 1906 presided over by Nawab Waqar ul Mulk which passed the resolution moved by Nawab of Dacca to established separate Muslim organisation name as the All India Muslim League.

The most important factor of the establishment of All India Muslim League was that a representative government be introduced in India. Moreover, the Hindu agitation on the partition of Bengal (1905) had confirmed the Hindu prejudice towards the Muslim interest. Therefore, the Muslims felt the need for a political platform for themselves. And the acceptance of the principle of separate representation by Viceroy in Simla Deputation encouraged the Muslims to establish one for them.



Minto-Morley Reforms and Lucknow Pact Pakistan Movement (Historical Effects of 1909-1940)

Indian Councils Act 1909¹ (Minto Morley Reforms)

The Indian Councils Act 1909, commonly known as the Morley-Minto Reforms or Minto-Morley Reforms, was an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom that brought about a limited increase in the involvement of Indians in the governance of British India. The number of members of the legislative council of Governor General and the Governors of various provinces was increased. Moreover, the powers of Members of Legislature were increased. They could now, criticize the actions of the executive, ask questions and even supplementary questions, and express their views by moving resolutions. Besides, matters of public interest were also discussed in the Legislative Council.

The following were the main features of the Act of 1909:

- The number of the members of the Legislative Council at the Center was increased from 16 to 60.
- The number of the members of the Provincial Legislatures was also increased. It was fixed as 50 in the provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and for the rest of the provinces it was 30.
- The member of the Legislative Councils, both at the Center and in the provinces, were to be of four categories i.e. ex-officio members (Governor General and the members of their Executive Councils), nominated official members (those nominated by the Governor General and were government officials), nominated non-official members (nominated by the Governor General but were not government officials) and elected members (elected by different categories of Indian people).
- Right of separate electorate was given to the Muslims.
- At the Center, official members were to form the majority but in provinces non-official members would be in majority.
- The members of the Legislative Councils were permitted to discuss the budgets, suggest the amendments and even to vote on them; excluding those items that were included as non-vote items. They were also entitled to ask supplementary questions during the legislative proceedings.
- The Secretary of State for India was empowered to increase the number of the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay from two to four.
- Two Indians were nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs.

- The Governor General was empowered to nominate one Indian member to his Executive Council.

The Indians were included in the councils, where ultimate decisions were made, of the India Secretary and Viceroy. Before these reforms, they were excluded from such assemblies. In fact, a type of consultative body was formed. For the first time, the demand for a separate electorate was accepted. Constitutional recognition of Separate Electorate was an excellent achievement for the Muslims. Muslims could now have their representative members at the Legislative Councils. They were to be elected by Muslims alone.

The Indians were not satisfied with these reforms. Strict qualifications of property and education were imposed on the franchise. Consequently, the number of voters was restricted. Moreover, the system of election was indirect. The members of local bodies were elected by the people who, in turn, were to elect members of electoral colleges. The members of electoral colleges were to elect members of Provincial Legislature who, in turn, were to elect members of Imperial Legislature. To win the support of maximum factions of the society, the Government wanted to give special representation to the loyalist classes. In this context, a unique representation was given to landlords, chambers of commerce and other influential groups. Further, S.P. Sinha, an Indian, was included in the Viceroy's Executive Council. However, this act was bitterly criticized by the Muslims, for they had previously demanded that two Indian members including one Muslim should be included in the Council. The Government promised to appoint Muslim the next time. After Sinha's resignation, Sayed Ali Imam was appointed as a Member of the Executive council.

Criticism

- ✚ Demand of responsible government was rejected.
- ✚ Importance of landlords and industrialists increased which was represented by the common Indians.
- ✚ Restricted franchise (Women were not given the right to vote).

Hindu Reaction

The Hindus organized a demonstrative campaign against this act as they were against separate electorate given to the Muslims. The Congress condemned it and demanded the withdrawal of separate electorate. However, benefitted as result of the act, the Muslims warmly welcomed this act mainly due to the provision of separateelectorate for them.

Lucknow Pact²

The Lucknow pact is considered as a significant event in the political & constitutional history of India. It is regarded as an excellent example of Hindu Muslim unity. It was the first and last pact signed between the Congress and the Muslim league.

Factors Behind the Pact

The relations between the British government and Muslims were tense due to aggressive and unilateral policies of the British Indian government. The annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 and the British policies in the international system had caused deep anguish among the Muslims. Thus, the Muslims leaderships decided to change the strategy of the Muslim league after the annulment of Bengal in 1911.

In December 1912, the Muslim league changed its aim from loyalty to form self-government suitable to India. However, the League retained the right to modify self-rule by their needs and requirements. Jinnah arose as a devoted champion of Hindu Muslim unity; he convinced All India Muslim league to change their policies for the betterment of India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his early career was a member of both the Congress and the Muslim League and was well known as a man free of any religious prejudice, as well as a brilliant advocate and debater. In 1915, mainly due to his efforts, both the Muslim League and the Congress party had their annual meeting in Bombay. At the end of this meeting, a committee was formed with the intention to sort the shared understanding between the two communities. The committee prepared a scheme in November 1916. The plan was approved by both the parties in December 1916 at the respective sessions at Lucknow.

Jinnah and the Pact

Jinnah (Quaid-e-Azam), in his presidential speech at Lucknow, said: *“India’s real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and harmonious relations between the two great communities. About our affairs, we can depend upon nobody but ourselves.”*

The Congress agreed to the right to separate electorate for the Muslims for the first and last time in the history of the subcontinent. The Hindus conceded that the Muslims would have one-third representation in the imperial legislative council. A weightage formula was proposed under which the Muslims would get less representation than their population in the legislative council in those provinces where they were in the majority but more in provinces where they were in the minority. Provinces should be given maximum administrative and financial autonomy. Elections should be conducted by the general adult franchise. The secretary of the state for India should be given the same powers as are given to the secretary of state for other colonies. The executive and Judiciary should remain separate from each other.

The Muslim League and the Congress should jointly demand the establishment of complete self-government in India. The Muslims should be given separate reserved seats in the legislature with the right of separate electorate. Any resolution affecting a particular community should require $\frac{3}{4}$ (75%) majority of the members of that community for its advancement in any council. All India Muslim League withdrew from the demand that Muslims were in the majority in the Punjab and Bengal.

Significance (Importance of the Pact)

The Lucknow pact was a great achievement of Hindu and Muslim leaders, who were successful in offering for the first and last time. It was a mutually acceptable solution of the Hindu Muslim problem. It appeared to be of particular significance in the history of India. It was the Quaid-e-Azam, who had always been a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity. The scheme provided for a substantial step taken halfway towards the establishment of self-rule in India which was the central core of the jointly sponsored scheme of Lucknow Pact. The Congress for the first time accepted the demand of separate electorate for Muslims. The pact ensured the protection of political rights of Muslims. Muslim league's separate status was also accepted. Through this pact, both parties were able to put a joint demand before the British. It was a give and take a sort of agreement between both the parties. The Muslims had to pay a big price of losing the majority in Bengal and Punjab to obtain some concessions. Similarly, it carried great constitutional significance in the future for many developments. The scheme of representation of Muslim community in the central and provincial legislatures as embodied in the Lucknow pact was generally followed in the Montague Chelmsford reforms 1919.

Khilafat Movement

The Khilafat movement (1919-1924) was an agitation by Indian Muslims allied with Indian nationalism in the years following World War I. Its purpose was to pressurize the British government to preserve the authority of the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph of Islam following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the war.

¹<http://storyofpakistan.com/minto-morley-reforms>

²<https://www.britannica.com/event/Lucknow-Pact>



Khilafat Movement, Nehru Report and Jinnah's 14 Points (Pakistan Movement - Historical Events of 1909-1940)

Khilafat Movementⁱ

The Khilafat movement was a very important event in the political history of India. The Muslims of India had a great regard for the Khilafat (Caliphate) which was held by the Ottoman Empire. During World War I, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) joined the war in favor of Germany. But Turkey and Germany lost the war and a pact commonly known as Istanbul Accord was concluded between the Allied Forces on 3rd November 1918. According to this Pact the territories of Turkey were to be divided among France, Greece and Britain.

During the war, the Indian Muslims were in a very awkward position, because they had a deep-rooted devotion to the caliphate. They had profound respect for this holy institution. Therefore, their support to the British Government was subject to the safeguard and protection of the holy places of Turkey and on the condition that Turkey will not be deprived of its territories. The British Government could not fulfill both of these promises. The Treaty of Savers 1920 was imposed on Turkey and its territories like Samarna, Thrace and Anatolia were wrested from it and distributed among European countries. A wave of anger swept across the Muslim World and the Indian Muslims rose against the British Government. Muslim leaders like Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Moulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Moulana Shoukat Ali and others reacted against the British Government policy and were put behind the bars.

Thus, Muslims organized a mass movement, which came to be known as the Khilafat Movement. The aims of this movement were

- (a) To protect the Holy place of Turkey
- (b) To restore the Territories of Turkey
- (c) To restore the Ottoman Empire.

The Failure of the Khilafat Movement

The abolition of Khilafat by Kamal Ataturk was a severe blow to Khilafat movement in the sub-continent, and he exiled Sultan Abdul Majeed, a helpless Caliph and abolished Khilafat as an institution, due to this all agitational activities came to an end in the Sub-continent. The Hijrat Movement made the Muslims disillusioned with the Khilafat Movement due to the declaration of India as Darul-Harab. A large number of Muslims, migrated from Sindh and N.W.F.P to Afghanistan. The Afghan authorities did not allow them to cross the border. After this tragic event, those who had advocated the Hijrat movement come to realize their mistake which failed the movement. When the Khilafat movement became mature and was reaching

its climax a tragic incident took place in the village of Chora Churi in which the police opened fire on the procession of residents. The agitated mob in counteraction set the police station on flames. Resultantly, twenty-one police constables were burnt alive. Due to this incident, the Ali brother and other Muslim leader were arrested, and Mr. Gandhi put off the movement. As a consequence, the movement lost its intensity. The Khilafat movement proved that Hindus and Muslims were two different nations as they could not continue the unity and could not live together. It also created political consciousness among the Indian Muslims about their separate identity, which ultimately paved the way for Pakistan movement.

Montague Chelmsford Reforms 1919

Minto-Morley reforms, introduced in 1909, proved unsatisfactory for Indian people. Indians demanded more representation and called for greater self-government. This could not be achieved without a formal rapprochement between Congress and Muslim League. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 asked for self-rule.

Meanwhile, the World War I had started and Indians despite their grievances and discontentment with the British joined the war with over one million soldiers with the hope that after the war British would be obliged to concede to self-rule in recognition of their loyal services. However, as the war dragged on, Indians became disillusioned as the British did not make any promises regarding self-government. Thus, Indians pressed for immediate reforms and it was felt that a civil disobedience movement might be launched jointly by congress and Muslim league to compel the British to accelerate the reforms.

In view of these circumstances the British felt that something must be done to pacify the Indians. At that time, Edwin Montague was the Secretary of State for India. In his famous August Declaration presented before the House of Commons on 20th August 1917, Montague said that in order to satisfy the local demands, his government was interested in giving more representation to the natives in India. Lord Chelmsford was sent to India as the new Governor General. He stayed for six months and held numerous meetings with different government and non-governmental people. Edwin Montague in collaboration with Lord Chelmsford collected data and made a report about constitutional reforms in 1918. The report was discussed in the House of Common and later it was approved by the parliament. The Bill was introduced in India in 1919 and became Act of 1919.

Main Features of 1919 Act

The Council of the Secretary of State was to comprise of eight to twelve people. Three of them should be Indian, and at least half of them should have spent at least ten years in India. The Central Legislature was to consist of two houses, Upper House (Council of the State), and the Lower House (Legislative Assembly). Council of the State was to consist of 60 members, out of those, 35 members would be elected, and the Governor General would nominate rest of them. The Legislative Assembly was to consist of 144 members, out of those

103 were to be elected and 41 to be nominated by the Governor General. The duration of the Upper House was five and of the Lower House was three years. Powers were divided between the center and the provinces. The important subjects were vested with the center, and unimportant remained with provinces. The important central subjects were defense, foreign affairs, custom, and relations with Indian states, currency, and railway. On the contrary, unworthy provincial subjects were local self-government, public health, education, etc.

The salary of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs should be paid from British exchequer; previously, his salary was paid by Indian treasury. The system of 'Diarchy' or a kind of double government in the Provinces was introduced. Provincial subjects were divided into two categories "Transferred and Reserved." Transferred subjects which were public health, education, local self-government, and agriculture were under the control of Minister; likewise, all transferred subjects were unimportant. Reserved subjects included administration, police, land revenue, etc. which were under the control of Governor with the help of his secretaries.

Congress Reaction

The Congress did not participate in the elections of 1920 under the 1919 Act. It was against these reforms. In 1923, it was decided to participate in elections with a view to destroy the 1919 Act from within.

Muslim League Reaction

The Muslim League did not reject the act as Congress did. Though it was not completely satisfied with the reforms, the initial response was favorable. It too did not participate in the election because of understanding with Congress. Thus, some benefits which the Act could yield were reaped by the Hindus alone.

Simon Commission

Simon Commission, a group, appointed in November 1927 by the British government under Stanley Baldwin to report on the working of the Indian constitution established by the Government of India Act of 1919. The commission consisted of seven members under the joint chairmanship of the distinguished Liberal lawyer, Sir John Simon, and Clement Attlee, the future prime minister. Its composition met with a storm of criticism in India because Indians were excluded. The commission was boycotted by the Indian National Congress and most other Indian political parties. It, nevertheless, published a two-volume report, mainly the work of Simon. Regarded as one of the classic state documents, the Simon Commission report proposed provincial autonomy in India but rejected parliamentary responsibility at the center. It accepted the idea of federalism and sought to retain direct contact between the British crown and the Indian states.

Nehru Report

Most of the Indian political parties decided to boycott the Simon Commission on the plea that it lacked Indian representation. The British decided to throw the ball in the court of Indian Politicians. Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for Indian Affairs, challenged the Indians, *“If they have any political capability and competence then they should form a unanimous constitution and present it to us, and we will implement it.”* Indian political parties accepted the challenge and called an All Parties Conference at Delhi in January 1928. The conference was attended by around hundred delegates from all the important parties including Indian National Congress, All India Muslim League, National Liberal Federation, Hindu Mahasabha, Central Sikh League etc. The conference failed to conclude the issue of the rights of minorities. The second round of the All Parties Conference was held in March the same year. Two sub-committees were formed, but the result was not different from the first session. It was during the third session of the All Parties Conference held at Bombay in May 1928 that a seven members committee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru was formed to determine the essential features of the future constitution of India. Despite many hurdles, the Nehru Committee completed its task and its report, commonly known as Nehru Report was presented in the fourth session of the All Parties Conference held in August 1928.

Nehru Report demanded that India should be given Dominion Status with the Parliamentary form of Government. There should be a bicameral legislature consisting of Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate will comprise of two hundred members elected for seven years, while the House of Representatives should consist of five hundred members elected for five years. Governor-General will act on the advice of executive council. It was to be collectively responsible to the parliament. There should be a Federal form of Government in India with Residuary powers to be vested in Centre, Nehru report demanded. There will be no separate electorate for minorities. It claimed, *“Since a separate electorate awakens communal sentiments, therefore, it should be scrapped, and the joint electorate should be introduced.”* The system of weightage should not be adopted for any province. There will be no reserved seats for communities in Punjab and Bengal. However, reservation of Muslim seats could be possible in the provinces where Muslim population should be at least ten percent. Judiciary should be independent of the Executive. There should be 1/4th Muslim Representation at Centre. Sind should be separated from Bombay provided it proves to be financially self-sufficient. Reforms should be introduced in NWFP. The report was not acceptable to Muslims. In the fourth session of the All Parties Conference convened in December to review the Nehru Report, Jinnah representing the Muslim League presented four amendments in the report.

Jinnah's 14 Points

In order to counter the proposals made in the Nehru Report, Jinnah presented his proposal in the form of Fourteen Points, insisting that no scheme for the future constitution of the government of India will be satisfactory to the Muslims until and unless stipulations were made to safe guard their interests. The following points were presented by the Quaid to defend the rights of the Muslims of the sub-continent:

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal, with the residuary powers to be vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by separate electorates: provided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.
6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in anyway affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the NWFP.
7. Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship, and observance, propaganda, association, and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the NWFP and Balochistan on the same footing as in other provinces.
11. Provision should be made in the Constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with the other Indians in all the services of the State and local self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion and personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions and their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by local self-governing bodies.
13. No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

Muslim League made it clear that no constitutional solution will be acceptable to them unless and until it incorporates the fourteen points.

ⁱ<https://historypak.com/khilafat-movement-1919-1922/>



India Act 1935 and Lahore Resolution

The Government of India Act 1935

The Round Table Conferences could not achieve their objective and thus failed. However, on the suggestions of Round Table Conferences white paper was issued in 1933 and efforts were started to make the constitution of India. A committee was set up under the chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow, the viceroy of India, to consider the recommendations of the white paper. The report of the committee was published in 1934 that was contained in a bill of law. The report along with the bill was passed in the British Parliament. After the Royal assent, the Act was enforced in the country as Government of India Act 1935.

The Government of India Act 1935 consisted of two parts. One part was central, and the other part was provincial. The Act proclaimed a bicameral legislature. One house of the Assembly was called the Indian Legislature Assembly, and the other house of the Assembly was The Council of State. The Council of State was the upper house that was a permanent body, i.e., that it could not be dissolved like the lower house of the Parliament. One-third members of the upper house had to retire after every three years. The lower house of the Assembly, the Indian Legislature Assembly, was not an independent body. Governor-General could veto the laws passed by the Assembly. The legislature had no control over the legislation under this Act. As regards the Federal Budget it consisted of two parts. One part consisted of a non-votable portion of the budget that was 80 % of the whole budget. This part of the budget could not be discussed or amended in the legislature. The other part of the budget that consisted of 20% of the whole budget could be discussed or amended in the Federal Assembly. The provinces were given more authority and powers, and for the first time, the provinces were made separate entities. Under the Act, there were three lists of subjects. One was federal, 2nd was provincial, and the 3rd was a concurrent list. The whole country was divided into 11 provinces. The Governor-General in the center and the Governors in the provinces were given special rights and privileges. In case of the emergency situation, both Governor-General and Governors enjoyed unlimited powers, and their authority could not be challenged in any institution. Under the Act, a Federal Court was established. The court consisted of Chief Justice and six other judges. After the age of 65, the judges of the Federal court had to vacate the seat however any judge of the court could leave his seat before the age of 65. The court could interpret the constitution and if Governor-General needed any help regarding the constitution matters the court was bound to give advice but it was totally depended upon him to accept or reject the advice. Under the Act, the Secretary of State for India enjoyed the same powers that the other ministers enjoyed under the Act.

The Act of 1935 failed to win appreciation from various sectors. Both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress expressed their dissatisfaction over the Act. Hindu leader Madan Mohan greatly criticized this Act, and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said on the emergency rights of Governor-General and Governors that this Act was like a machine that had strong brakes and no engine. Muslim leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah termed this scheme thoroughly rotten, fundamentally wrong and unacceptable.

The General Elections 1936

The Government of India Act of 1935 was practically implemented in 1937. The provincial elections were held in the winter of 1936-37. There were two major political parties in the Sub-continent at that time, the Congress, and the Muslim League. Both parties did their best to persuade the masses before these elections and put before them their manifestos. The political manifestos of both parties were almost identical, although there were two significant differences. Congress stood for the joint electorate and the League for separate electorates; Congress wanted Hindi as official language with Devanagari script of writing while the League wanted Urdu with Persian script.

According to the results of the elections, Congress, as the oldest, most vibrant and best-organized political party, emerged as the single largest representative in the Legislative Assemblies. It failed to secure even 40 percent of the total number of seats. The Congress rule was oppressive towards the minorities especially Muslims. They started the 'Muslim Mass Contact' movement to defame the ML in their favor. They were making cultural and educational policies that promoted the Hindu culture and symbols in the name of Indian culture. They introduced Bande-Mataram anthem in the institutions and offices etc. The Hindi language was given first importance in their policies. Wardha Educational Scheme was to convert Muslims into Hindus through primary educational literature Projection of Hindu heroes like Gandhi and distortion of Muslim history became their moral creed. They followed the policy of discrimination in services or new recruitment for jobs. The Congress ministries adopted overall negative and cruel attitude, especially towards the Muslim activists. This unjust treatment compelled the Muslims to be disciplined in every sphere of life.

The Muslims were well aware of the theocratic inclination of the Hindu people. They arranged close monitoring of the government. They publicized their policies and raised the issues. The mobilization of Muslims on these matters required a keen probe to collect the original facts of the Hindu atrocities. The Muslim League highlighted the problems and mobilized the Muslims to counter them adequately. It reorganized the Muslim community to cope with the situation. The Muslim leaders shed a sharp criticism on the Congress policies. They protested against the reduction of the status of Urdu and other Muslim related issues. They created realization, amongst the Muslims, of what can happen under the Congress rule and urged for serious thinking about the future political and constitutional arrangements. They unearthed the real objectives of the Congress and urged the need for unity among the Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League.

The Congress rule was oppressive towards the minorities especially Muslims. Congress resigned in October and November 1939, in protest against Viceroy Lord Linlithgow's action of declaring India to be a belligerent in the Second World War without consulting the Indian people.

The Lahore Resolution

With the clarity of mind and backing of the Muslim community behind him, Quaid-i-Azam called for the 27th annual session of All India Muslim League to be held from March 22 to 24, 1940 at Lahore. The Lahore Resolution of 1940 is a significant document. It's a document of primary importance in the history of Pakistan. The resolution signified a change of direction of the Muslim Movement. It identified a new destination; it was a change of strategy. Previously, the talks were for Federalism, provincial autonomy, constitutional safeguards, and guarantees. In Lahore Resolution Muslim League officially talked about separatism, a separate state or the partition of India. This was something which they thought was needed for achieving the primary goal and that was the protection and promotion of Muslim identity and Muslim interests in the Indo-Pak Sub Continent.

Hindu Reaction towards Lahore Resolution

The Hindu reaction was, of course, quick, bitter and malicious. They called the "Pakistan" demand "anti-national." They characterized it as "vivisection; above all, they denounced it as imperialist – inspired to obstruct India's march to freedom." In denouncing the demand outright, they, however, missed the central fact of the Indian political situation; the astonishingly tremendous response of the Pakistan demand had elicited from the Muslim masses.

The British Reaction towards Lahore Resolution

The British were equally hostile to the Muslim demands for at least two critical reasons. First, they had long considered themselves as the architects of the unity of India and an Indian nation. Second, they had long regarded the super-imposed unity under Pax Britannica as their most significant achievement and lasting contribution in history. The Pakistan demand threatened to undo these presumed achievements on which the British had long prided.



Historical Events 1940-1947

Cripps Mission

Causes of Cripps Mission: Japan Attack

Japan had already attacked Pearl Harbour on 7th December 1941 and the American Naval Base and destroyed it. It had taken over Philippines, Malaysia and come to the borders of Assam. Japan could easily attack India. To check the situation, Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the war cabinet, was sent to India in March 1942 to get India's cooperation to fight the war.

Cripps Proposal

The main proposals of the mission were

- Give India dominion status after war like that enjoyed by Canada and Australia.
- Promise of the formation of a constituent assembly to finalize the constitution.
- Princely states to be free to join India or remain independent.
- Provinces could decide to be separate from India and frame their own constitution.
- Till further notice, the defense would be handled by the British government.

Rejection Cripps Proposal

The Cripps proposal failed to satisfy the parties. The main objections were

➤ Division of the nation

- The proposal put up the point of division of India into several independent states which was against its unity.

➤ No time limit for the dominion status

- British did not declare when the dominion status would be given. The declaration was vague.

➤ Representatives of princely states nominated

- The people of the Princely States were denied the right to elect a representative of their own. They would be nominated by the rulers of those states.
- Gandhiji criticized Cripps Proposal as 'postdated cheque on a failing bank'. The Muslim League reject the Cripps Proposal as it did not clearly state the decision of partition and the formation of a Muslim State.

Causes of the Quit India Movement 1942

➤ **Failure of Cripps mission**

The dominion status promised by Cripps was rejected by both Congress and Muslim League. Now there was no other option left but to go for something stronger.

➤ **Communal flare up in India**

Muslim League's declaration of Pakistan in 1940 had spread communal disharmony between the Muslims and Hindus. The British were deliberately playing up the Muslim community which was smoldering as the Muslims disliked the idea of a Hindu majority party headed by the Congress. Their minority disliked being ruled over by a Hindu majority party.

➤ **Japanese threat**

The Japanese had come up to Burma. They would attack India anytime till the time it was under British occupation. It would be better if India was independent before the Japanese decided to attack India. British would not be able to stop the Japanese from attacking India. This would be the best time to strike for total independence.

Quit India Movement 1942

Impact of the Quit India Movement 1942

➤ **Mass movement**

With large number of people participating in it coming from all sections and backgrounds made it the biggest mass movement after 1930. The people's reaction demanding British withdrawal from India was astounding.

➤ **British made to feel unwelcome**

British felt unwelcome and unwanted due to this mass uprising. The participation was breath taking with even some the princely states joining on board the movement.

➤ **British repression**

British used severe repression measures by lathi charging, jailing and shooting down people to no avail. The rising tide of people protesting could not be checked despite brutal repression.

➤ **Second rung leadership**

With the arrest of the leaders like Gandhi and Nehru, there appeared a second rung leadership in the underground with leaders, who led from the front, like Ram Manohar Lohia, Aruna Asaf Ali, Jaiprakash Narayan, Achyutrao Patwardhan and Nana Patil. They kept on the fight alive against the British setting up parallel government in the states like UP, Maharashtra, West Bengal.

Muslim League Response to Quit India

- Muslim did not blindly plunge into the “**Quit India**”
- Jinnah asked for “**Divide and Quit India**”

Simla Conference

The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, to have a dialogue with the major political parties in 1945, called Simla Conference. The following politicians were invited to participate in the Conference at Simla, a summer resort, and capital of the Federal government in the summer season.

Congress:	Pandit Nehru, Baldev Singh and Azad
Muslim League:	Quaid-e-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan and Abdu Rub Nishter
Chief Ministers:	All provinces
Unionist and other parties' representatives	

Wavell Plan

- In May 1945, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, went to London and discussed his ideas about the future of India with the British administration.
- To discuss these proposals with the leadership of major Indian parties, Wavell called for a conference at Simla on June 25, 1945.
- In May 1945, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, went to London and discussed his ideas about the future of India with the British administration.
- To discuss these proposals with the leadership of major Indian parties, Wavell called for a conference at Simla on June 25, 1945.
- If all the Indian political parties would help the British in the war then the British Government would introduce Constitutional Reforms in India after the war.
- Viceroy's Executive Council would be immediately reconstituted, and the number of its members would be increased.
- In that Council there would be equal representation of high class Hindus and the Muslims.
- Other minorities including low-caste Hindus, Shudders and Sikhs would be given representation in the Council.
- All the members of the Council, except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would be Indians.
- An Indian would be appointed as the member of Foreign Affairs in the Council. However, a British Commissioner would be appointed to look after the matters relating to the trade.
- Defense of India was to be in the hands of a British authority till Power was transferred to the Indian hands
- Viceroy would convene a meeting of the Indian politician including the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League so that they could nominate the names of the members of the new Council.

- If this plan is approved for the Central Government, then same type of popular ministries comprising of the political leaders would be formed in all the provinces.
- None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent Constitution of India
- Leaders of both the Congress and the Muslim League attended the conference, which is known as the Simla Conference.
- Differences between the leadership of the two parties on the issue of representation of the Muslim community. The Muslim League claimed that it was the only representative party of the Muslims in India.
- Congress, which had sent Maulana Azad as the leader of their delegation, tried to prove that it represented all the communities living in India.

Failure of the Conference

The conference had to decide the political infrastructure, the formation of assemblies and governments at central as well as provincial level. The move was encouraging for Congress. What so ever was the situation, the Congress was going to form the government by its majority. Congress joined the conference proceedings with high hopes. It had also declared before holding a conference that it would not accept partition in any case.

The meeting started to discuss the first point on the agenda. The point related to the nomination of five Muslim ministers of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Quaid-e-Azam vehemently argued that all the five would be nominated on the recommendations of All India Muslim League. No other party had a right to send even a single member. The Viceroy and Indian National Congress wished to nominate Maulana Azad as, Muslim minister. The Quaid did not agree to this proposal. Now Wavell asked the Quaid to accept Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana, the leader of Unionist party. The Quaid-e-Azam rejected this name as well and insisted that all the five ministries should be given to All India Muslim League. The very first point created a fuss and further discussion was futile, therefore, the Simla Conference failed in getting any objective.

General Election 1945-46

- The deadlock made Wavell to announce the failure of his efforts on July 14.
- No hopes to proceed further.
- Provincial and General Elections [1945-46].
- With the failure of the Simla Conference, Lord Wavell announced that the Central and Provincial Legislature elections would be held in the winter of 1945, after which a constitution-making body would be set up.
- He also announced that after the elections, the Viceroy would set up an Executive Council that would have the support of the main Indian political parties. Both the Muslim League and the Congress opposed the proposal.

- Quaid-i-Azam declared that Muslims were not ready to accept any settlement less than a separate homeland.
- The elections were held in two stages. In December 1945, the central legislative assembly was elected, and provincial elections were held in early 1946.
- Congress won a total of 930 seats, gaining an absolute majority in eight provinces.
- The Muslim League captured 428 out of the possible 492 Muslim seats.
- The elections of 1945-1946 proved that Muslim League (ML) alone represented the Muslims of India. The sweeping majority of ML increased Congress hostility towards the ML.

Cabinet Mission Plan 1946

The results of the general elections held in 1945-46 served to underline the urgency to find a solution to the political deadlock which was the result of non-cooperation between the two major parties. To end this, the British government sent a special mission of cabinet ministers to India. Members of the mission were Lord Pethic Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty.

The purpose of the mission was:

- It was to devise a machinery to draw up the constitution of independent India.
- Setting up of a constitution body.
- Thus, the mission was like a declaration of the independence of India.
- The cabinet plan proposed that there shall be a Union of India which was to be empowered to deal with the defense, foreign affairs and communication.
- It recommended an undivided India and turned down the ML's demand for a separate state.
- It restricted the Communal representation and provided that all the members of the Interim cabinet would be Indians and there would be minimum interference by the Viceroy.
- It also provided for formation of constituent assembly on democratic principle of population.
- It recognized Indian right to cede from the Commonwealth.
- The Union government and its legislatures were to have limited powers, dealing with Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Communications. The Union would have powers necessary to raise finances to manage subjects. Thus, the mission proposed a weak center.

- All the subjects other than the Union subjects and all the residuary powers would be vested in the provinces.
- The princely states would retain all the subjects and all residuary powers
- A constituent assembly would consist of 389 members to draft the constitution out of whom 292 would be from provinces. Out of these 292, 93 members would be from Princely States.
- India would be divided into three groups.
- Group “A” was to consist of Bihar, Bombay, U.P. Madras, Orissa and C.P.
- Group “B” comprised of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and British Baluchistan.
- While group “C” included Asam and Bengal. These groups were given the authority to frame their constitution jointly with the other provinces of their respective groups
- Meanwhile Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a press conference on July 10, said that the Congress had agreed to join the constituent assembly, but saying it would be free to make changes in the Cabinet Mission Plan.
- Under these circumstances, the Muslim League disassociated itself from the Cabinet Plan and resorted to “Direct Action” to achieve Pakistan. As a result, Viceroy Wavell invited the Congress to join the interim government, although it had practically rejected the plan.
- However, the Viceroy soon realized the ineffectiveness of the scheme without the participation of the League. Therefore, on October 14, 1946, he extended an invitation to them as well.
- On March 22, 1947, Lord Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy. It was announced that power would be transferred from British to Indian hands by June 1948.

Towards Partition

- Lord Mountbatten entered into a series of talks with the Congress and the Muslim League leaders.
- Quaid-e-Azam made it clear that the demand for Pakistan had the support of all the Muslims of India and that he could not withdraw from it.

3rd June 1947 Plan

- When all of Mountbatten's efforts to keep India united failed, he asked to chalk out a plan for the transfer of power and the division of the country. It was decided that none of the Indian parties would view it before the plan was finalized.
- The plan was finalized in the Governor's Conference in April 1947, and was then sent to Britain in May where the British Government approved it.
- The plan was made public on June 3 and is thus known as the June 3rd Plan.
- It was comprised of the following points on the basis of which Britain, after dividing it, was to quit India:
 - Two separate states will be established in India.
 - The present constitution assembly will act but its constitution will not be applicable on the areas which will not accept it.
 - The power will be transferred the same year (1947) to the representatives of India.
 - The Muslim majority areas and the Hindu majority districts of Bengal and Punjab will decide in separate meeting to accept or not to accept the division of the provinces. If anyone of the two groups will opt division, the province will be divided.
 - The Muslim majority areas which will not opt to join present constituent assembly, will create their separate constituent assembly.

Radcliffe Award/ Boundary Commissions

- It was provided in the June 3 plan that as soon as the legislatures of Punjab and Bengal decided in favor of partition, a boundary commission should be set up to demarcate the boundaries.
- The legislatures of Bengal and Punjab voted in favor of partition. Boundary commissions were set up for Punjab and Bengal under the chairmanship of Sir Radcliffe. Each commission was to consist of an equal number of representatives of India and Pakistan and one or more impartial members.
- The final award was announced on 17th August 1947. The Radcliffe Award was unfair to Pakistan because it awarded many Muslim majority areas in Punjab and Bengal to India. Calcutta was given to India.
- Muslim majority tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batalawere given to India along with Pathankot tehsil. The Muslim majority tehsil Ajnala in Amritsar district was also handed over to India.
- In Jullundur district the Muslim majority areas in Ferozpur district were also given to India. All of these areas were attached to western Punjab.
- This unfair award resulted in India's occupation of Kashmir and snatching from Pakistan important head works and giving them to India.



Land and People of Pakistan

The Muslim World¹

The Muslim world is vast and immense mass of land. It spreads from West Africa to Southern Philippines to Pacific. Its northern limit touches the Volga in Russia while southern frontiers touch Mozambique in southeast Africa on the Indian Ocean. In China, in addition to Sinkiang, Muslims are in substantial numbers, in the provinces bordering Burma and in districts around Peking. The total population of the Muslim world is around one billion.

Geography

Geography is the study of man's natural environment and how it influences his social and cultural development. Geography concerning the territorial boundary of a state covers the study of the region, mountain, desert, sea, plain and rivers.

The Geography of Pakistan is a profound blend of landscapes varying from plains to deserts, forests, hills, and plateaus ranging from the coastal areas of the Arabian Sea in the south to the mountains of the Karakoram Range in the north. There are green mountains and dry mountains, land rich for cultivating, and waterfalls.

Regions²

Pakistan is comprised of four provinces, i.e. Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK, Former N.W.F.P), and Baluchistan. Moreover, Kashmir (Disputed territory) Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Gilgit-Baltistan are also part of Pakistan.

Pakistan is the 36th largest nation by total area. It is bordered by Afghanistan, Iran, India, and China. Pakistan is also very close to Tajikistan, separated by the Wakhan Corridor. Pakistan is strategically located between the regions of South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East. This prime location – combined with varied natural resources, diverse geography, and exciting environment – makes Pakistan a unique country.

Also, Pakistan is one of the few countries in the world to have every kind of geological structure. The geography of Pakistan is a blend of landscapes such as plains, deserts, forests, hills, and plateaus. There are coastal areas along the Arabian Sea and mountains of the Karakoram Range in the northern part of Pakistan. Moreover, there are green as well as dry

¹ www.pakhistory.com

² www.insider.pk

mountains in Pakistan. It has also got a vast tract of land rich for cultivating, and abundant waterfalls.

Mountains³

There are four mountain ranges in Pakistan namely, Himalaya, Karakorum, Hindukush and Sul-e-man Range. Due to their very high altitudes and sub-zero temperatures, these mountainous regions are also one of the most heavily glaciated parts of the world outside the Polar Regions. It consists of numerous ice glaciers including the world second and third longest glaciers, i.e., the Siachen Glacier (70 km) and the Biafo Glacier (63 km).

Himalayan Range:⁴

The Western Himalayan Range is situated in Kashmir valley and Northern Pakistan to the south and east of Indus river and is Dominated by Nanga Parbat, Pakistan's 2nd and world's 9th highest, is considered as one of the most difficult and dangerous to climb, nick named as Killer Mountain. In local language it is called "deo mir". It is situated in Gilgit-Baltistan.

Karakoram Range:

Karakoram means black stone. It is believed to be the north western extension of the greater Himalayan range, covering the borders between Pakistan, India and China, in the regions of Gilgit-Baltistan (Pakistan), Ladakh (India), and Xinjiang region, (China). The range is about 500 km (311 mile) in length.

Hindu Kush:

The Hindu Kush is an 800 km long mountain range that stretches between central Afghanistan and northern Pakistan. The highest point in the Hindu Kush is Tirich Mir (7,708 m or 25,289 ft.) in Chitral district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The mountain range separates Central Asia from South Asia. Numerous high passes ("kotal") transect the mountains, forming a strategically important network for the transit of caravans. The most important mountain pass is the Salang Pass, Tangi Gharu and Khyber Pass Chitral is considered to be the pinnacle of the Hindu Kush region. High peaks, as well as countless passes and massive glaciers, are located in this region.

Suleiman Range:

Pakistan's forth major mountain range is the Suleiman range. It emerges in the south western region of the country, mostly covering Baluchistan Province. However, the mountain range is quite different in character from the northern mountains as it is less precipitous, extremely steep, and with medium elevations. The highest peak is Takht-i-Suleiman rising 3,487 meters above sea level.

³ www.pakistantoursguide.pk

⁴ <https://www.slideshare.net/AyeshaShoukat99/mountains-in-pakistan>



Topography of Pakistan

Land and People of Pakistan

Topography is the study and description of the natural and man-made physical features of an area, for example its mountain ranges, deserts, rivers and dams; or it is the representation of these features on maps. The topography of Pakistan is discussed below.

Mountain Ranges

There are four mountain ranges in Pakistan.

Karakoram Range

The Karakoram range covers the borders between Pakistan, India and China in the region of Gilgit-Baltistan (Pakistan), Ladakh (India) and Xinjiang region (China). The range is about 500 KM (311 miles) in length.

Himalayan Range

The Western Himalayan range is situated in Kashmir valley dominated by Nanga Parbat, Pakistan 2nd and world's 9th highest mountain range. It is considered as one of the most dangerous mountains to climb, nick name as "Killer Mountain", in local language it's called "Des Mir". It is situated in Gilgit-Baltistan.

Hindu Kush Range

The height of Hindu Kush Mountain is an 800 km long mountain range that stretches between central Afghanistan and northern part of Pakistan. It comes to Pakistan and connects with rest of the two ranges: Himalaya and Karakoram. The highest point in the Hindu Kush is Tirch Mir and its height is 7,708 meters or 25,289 ft high which is located at Chitral district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This mountain range separates Central Asia from South Asia.

There are numerous high passes in Hindu Kush and normally these passes are known as Kotal, forming a strategically important network for the transit of caravans. The most important mountain pass is the Salang Pass. Some of other passes are Tangi Ghoru and Khyber Pass. Whereas Chitral is considered to be the pinnacle of Hindu Kush region. High peaks as well as countless passes and massive glaciers are in this region.

Sulaiman Range

Pakistan's fourth major mountain range is the Sulaiman range which is situated in Balochistan. It emerges in the south western region of the country mostly covering Balochistan province. However, the mountain range is quite different from the Northern Mountains as it is less precipitous, extremely steep and with medium elevations. The highest peak is Takht-i-Sulaiman rising 3,487 meters above sea level. The topography of Sulaiman range is quite different from rest of the mountains situated in Pakistan as they are quite dry and cold at sometimes.

Deserts

There are four major deserts situated in Pakistan.

Thal Desert

Thal desert is situated in Punjab, Pakistan. It is a vast area mainly between the Jhelum and Sindh rivers. Its total length from north to south is 190 miles, and its maximum breadth is 70 miles (110 km) while minimum breadth is 20 miles. This region is divided into the districts of Bhakkar, Khushab, Mianwali, Jhang, Layyah, and Muzaffargarh.

Thar Desert

The Thar Desert is the largest among all and mostly falls under the territory of Sindh province, extending eastwards from irrigated plains on the left bank of River Indus towards the Indian states of Rajasthan and Gujrat, constituting the largest desert in South Asia, also known as the Great Indian Desert. The approximate area of Greater Thar Desert in total is around 200,000 square km, of which around 50,000 square km falls in the Pakistani territories, covering the districts of Tharparker, Mirpur Khas, Umerkot, Khairpur, Sukkar and Ghotki in Sindh Province.

Cholistan Desert

The Cholistan desert is locally known as Rohi, with an estimated area of 26,000 square km covering the districts of Bahawalpur, Rahimyar Khan and Bahawalnagar.

Towards the eastern flanks, Cholistan extends into the Indian states of Rajasthan and Punjab which joins the greatest Thar Desert while on North Western front it is bordered by the irrigated plains of Indus and Sutlaj rivers. The total estimated population living in these desert districts is around 7.5 million (1998 census).

Kharan Desert

The Kharan desert is situated in the western region of Balochistan province of Pakistan. Overall, all of Balochistan plateau is characterized by extreme weather conditions and are also very barren terrain. However, Kharan desert can be separated from the rest of the arid landscape due

to its sandy nature and more even terrain. It mostly falls in the Kharan District covering an estimate area of more than 20,000 square km with a population of only 0.23 million.

Sea

The coastal area of Pakistan is in the province of Sindh and Balochistan. The coastline of Pakistan is Balochistan coastline which is 771 Km and rest of the 250 km coastline is in Sindh. These coastlines of Pakistani areas are on the shore of Arabian Sea and they connect Pakistan with other countries like Middle East of the world through a sea route.

Gawadar and Karachi are two prominent ports on these coastal areas of Pakistan. Famous ports of Pakistan are Gawadar, Pasani, Ormaro, Jiwani which serve as an engine of economic growth of Pakistan.

Plains

Plain areas are also known as flat or lowlands. In Pakistan, plains are found in Sindh and Punjab. Plains are fertile lands which favour agriculture. Most of the cultivation is carried out in the plains of Sindh and Punjab. If Pakistan wants to ensure its food security in the future, it should work for the betterment of these plain areas. Pakistan is an agrarian country, and for productive agriculture, water is of utmost importance.

Rivers

The principal rivers of Pakistan are

- ❖ Chenab River
- ❖ Indus River
- ❖ Jhelum River
- ❖ Ravi River
- ❖ Kabul River
- ❖ Sutlej River

Chenab River

The Chenab River is one of the major rivers of Pakistan. It originates in the Himachal Pradesh-India and flows through the Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir into the plains of the Punjab, Pakistan.

Indus River

Indus River is one of the longest rivers in the world. Originates from the glacial Tibetan mountains, the Indus gushes into Pakistan with all its might and fright from the northern areas. It then runs through Jammu and Kashmir, enters the Gilgit-Baltistan (formerly Northern Areas of Pakistan) region and flows through the entire length of the country and merges with the Arabian Sea.

Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej

Besides Indus, four other rivers also enter Pakistan from the neighboring India, namely the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej and all empty into the Indus to add to its might and power. The place where all these four rivers meet the Indus is known as PanjNadh.

In KPK it is called as Abaseen; Aba means father and seen means river. Thus, Abaseen means the father of rivers.

Jhelum River, originates from India, enters Pakistan Jhelum district. The Jhelum was crossed in 326 B.C. by Alexander the Great, who defeated the Indian king Porous. The river's ancient name was Hydaspes. This river is a tributary of the Indus River, and its hydrology is basically handled by snowmelt in the spring and the Indian monsoon. Strategically very important, any construction of dam by India can affect Pakistan.

The Ravi is a trans-boundary river flowing through Northwestern India and eastern Pakistan. It is one of the six rivers of the Indus System in Punjab region.

Sutlej, originates from India, enters Punjab, tributary of Indus River. The hydrology of the Sutlej is controlled by spring and summer snowmelt in the Himalayas and by the South Asian monsoon.

Dams

Dams are built by people to store water. Dams are built where there is a lake which has mountains on two sides and then spillways are constructed in the area where there is no natural barrier. The glaciers (smaller moving mass of snow) melt and the water is collected in the dams. When there is a need the spillways are opened, and the water is supplied to the rivers. Pakistan has two most massive dams, i.e. Mangla dam built in 1967 and Tarbela dam built in 1976.

Attahbad lake which was created naturally by the earthquake of 2010, it can be called the natural dam, just spillways need to be constructed on one side, so the stored water can be used.

Other than dams, we have barrages constructed in lowlands to guide the water for irrigation. Kotri Barrage (1955, Hyderabad) and Taunsa Barrage (1958, Dera Ghazi Khan) can be stated as examples.

Kalabagh Dam

Kalabagh dam has been proposed to be built on the Indus River in Mianwali, an area bordering KPK. This dam could not materialise till date because national consensus is missing. KP government says that the lake of the dam will reach till Noshwera and this will destroy the agricultural land. On the other hand, the Sindh government says that if this dam is built, the chances are that Sindh will not get an adequate share of water from it. Unfortunately, the Federal Government has failed to develop a consensus on the construction of this dam.

Diamer Bhasha dam also has issues of Royalty. KPK will get that Royalty and Northern areas will get affected by it and government is unable to resolve these issues.



Current Environmental Issues, Agriculture Sector and Industrial Sector

Land and People of Pakistan

Climate and Weather of Pakistan

There is a difference between climate and weather. Climate is the record of the weather of an area over the period of 30 years while the weather is the day-to-day changes in the temperature, rainfall, humidity and sunshine hours. Climate influences the lifestyle, economic activities and temperament of people to great extent. Pakistan has a diversity of climate due to difference in physical landscapes. Following is the climate division of Pakistan.

➤ **Highlands**

There are northern mountains, which have the extremely cold climate, and there are other lower mountains found in KPK and Balochistan, which do not experience extreme cold climate. It has severely cold winters and to warm summers characterized the climate in northern and northwestern areas of highland zone. During winters, the temperature reaches to freezing point. Like now in winters northern and western areas of Pakistan are experiencing severe coldness. It has temperature ranging between -2 to -10 and in summers temperature ranges between 15-20 Celsius.¹

➤ **Lowlands**

It consists of upper Indus plain and Lower Indus plain. The land usually is low lying and near to the river. It is divided in Punjab and Sindh. It has long summers and mild to cool winters and in summer temperature ranges between 30-40 Celsius.

➤ **Coastal Areas**

Coastal zone is divided in two parts; the Makran coast and Karachi coast. Karachi coast climate is very moderate because of the influence of sea. Trade takes place throughout the year because sea does not freeze. Makran coast climate is dry and hot.

➤ **Arid**

The deserts of Pakistan, which have hot summers with minimum rainfall and mild winter are included in arid zone. This zone occurs in two parts: the southeastern deserts and Kharan desert. There is Karez system (underground water canals) commonly practiced irrigating the agriculture field.

Current Environmental Issues

Pakistan is facing many environmental challenges, which pose serious threats to human health and life. First, climate change is a non-traditional threat for Pakistan. Pakistan has been declared among top ten countries most affected by climate change. Climate change is

negatively affecting health, agriculture and overall economy of the country. The main reasons are carbon emission, deforestation, population explosion and lack of finances to mitigate and adapt to climate change effects.²

➤ **Water Scarcity**

Water scarcity and clean drinking water is the talk of the town these days. Pakistan is a water scarce country. The main causes are climate change, lack of enough reservoirs to store water, water issues with India, and old irrigation system and water wastages in domestic consumption and lack of awareness. Air pollution, poor waste management and population bomb are major hurdles behind the availability of clean drinking water for everyone in Pakistan.

➤ **Deforestation**

Similarly, one of the biggest issues is the increasing deforestation in the country. Pakistan could not achieve the UN's set target of 25 percent of forest cover on its total area, besides two plantations drives annually. The reason behind deforestation is energy crises, commercial benefits and domestic use. Though certain plans have been launched to increase forest cover, which includes Green Pakistan Program, Billion Tree Tsunami and REDD Plus, but it will take some years for these plants to grow and replace already cut big trees.

➤ **Air Pollution**

Another important issue that is devastating for our environment is air pollution. The release of toxic gases from factories, brick kilns and carbon emission from transport vehicles are main reasons for day-by-day air pollution. Pakistan has all the environmental laws, but the government and citizens lack the will to implement and follow those laws completely. This also undermines the superiority of laws. The Pakistani nation needs to adopt trend of using public transport in daily life. Another reason for air pollution is increasing deforestation in the country. The air pollution causes respiratory diseases and skin and eye infections as well.

➤ **Water Pollution**

Water pollution is another dangerous factor that is causing of environmental problems not only for Pakistan but also for other countries. Water is need of every living thing on the earth in other words it is not possible to live without water. Most of Pakistani people are compelled to drink the polluted water and this water is causing deaths of people and causes seriously dangerous diseases. The sewerage system in Pakistan is substandard due to this the sewerage water is mixed with drinking water and people drink this water.³

➤ **Population Explosion**

The population of Pakistan is increasing rapidly with the passage of time. If the population of Pakistan was one million at the time of independence most probably it would be around 300 million at the end of 21 century, which will be more than American population. Floods will be common that would be harmful for Pakistan moreover the first surface of earth would be flown with flood and land will be barren and water under the earth will be polluted. Pakistan

has limited sources but still it has to resolve the pollution or environmental problems at priority bases.

➤ **Solutions of Environmental Problems in Pakistan**

The people and as well as the government of Pakistan will has to take some serious interests to control the environmental problems in Pakistan for living better and healthy lives. The government should take responsibility of making environment good for its people by making such laws that prohibited the environmental problems and pollutions. Print media and as well as electronic media of Pakistan should create awareness among the people about harms of environmental problems.

➤ **Natural Hazards**

Natural hazards also fall into the environmental problems of Pakistan. These mainly include the following.

- **Frequent Earthquakes**

Active faults and their resultant earthquakes in northern Pakistan and adjacent parts of India and Afghanistan are the direct result of convergence between the South Asian and Eurasia plates. This collision causes an uplift that produces the highest mountain peaks in the world like the Himalayas, the Karakoram, the Pamir and the Hindu Kush ranges. The May 30, 1935, 7.6 magnitude Quetta earthquake, which occurred in the Suleiman Range in Pakistan, killed between 30,000 and 60,000 people. The country is still rocked by the rather disastrous earthquake. The last calamitous earthquake in the same region was on October 8, 2005. About 80,000 people died and 3.5 million people were rendered homeless.

- **Flooding**

Pakistan raised serious concerns over the increased frequency of massive floods and urged the government to reduce the impacts of environmental hazards through better management of floodplains. Encroachments on floodplains for agricultural purposes and housing settlements are regarded as the main reasons for the increasing devastation caused by heavy rains and floods.

Agriculture Sector of Pakistan

The agriculture sector is the backbone of our economy. However, the growth of agriculture in Pakistan is facing many problems. Due to various causes, per acre yield is very low in Pakistan as compare to other developed countries.

➤ **Problems of Agriculture Sector**

Problems of the agriculture sector are categorized into techno-economic problems, natural problems, socio-economic problems and financial problems. Each one is discussed in detail below.

➤ **Techno-Economic Problems**

• **Limited Cultivable Area**

The total area of Pakistan is about 79.6 million hectares, out of which only 23.7 million hectares (28%) area is used for agricultural purposes. About 8 million hectares area is idle and un-utilized. There are vast sub-division and fragmentation of land holdings, as a result, modern technology cannot be applied in the agriculture sector.

• **Water Logging and Salinity**

Water logging and salinity are twin problems of the agriculture sector. Due to salinity, deposits of salt have appeared on the surface of land and they have adversely affected the performance of the agriculture sector. Water logging and salinity affect about 0.10 million acres of land every year. It is not only a waste of land but also a reduction in productivity.

• **Slow Growth of Allied Products**

Allied products refer to those productions, which are not agricultural but indirectly, help the farmer to improve his living standard. Pakistan is insufficient in the production of fruits, milk, poultry, fisheries, livestock, and forestry. As a result, not only our food quality is poor but also industries such as furniture, textiles, and dairy cannot be developed.

• **Low per Hectare Yield**

The most important problem of agriculture is its low yield per hectare for almost every major crop. 45.0% of the labor force is engaged in this sector in Pakistan while it is less than 5% in developed countries. However, other countries of the world are getting a higher yield per hectare due to the use of modern technology and trained labor.

• **Inadequate Infrastructure**

Rural infrastructure like roads, storage facilities, transport, electricity, education, sanitation, and health facilities etc. is inadequate to meet the requirement of growth of agriculture. The total length of farm-to-market road is not only shorter but their condition is also poor. Many villages have no metal-led road at all. Electricity is available to only 3/4 rural populations.

• **Uneconomic Land Holdings**

Due to increasing population and division of land under the law of inheritance, landholdings are subdivided repeatedly. The result is that a very large number of farmers have less than 2 hectares of area. Moreover, holdings are scattered. It is difficult to use modern machinery on small pieces of land.

• **Old Methods of Production**

No doubt, mechanization of agriculture is increasing in Pakistan, but in most of the areas, the old implements are still being used for agricultural production. Old and orthodox techniques of production cannot increase the production according to international levels.

- **Inadequate Supply of Agricultural Inputs**

The supply of modern inputs like high yielding variety (HYV) seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, mechanized machinery etc. is not only costly but also inadequate and irregular in Pakistan. Numbers of fertilizer producing units are just 10 in Pakistan.

- **Lack of Irrigation Facilities**

Shortage of irrigation facilities causes a serious limitation in the expansion of crop area in Pakistan. The lower water supplies lose from watercourse in the fields is the serious problems of the farm sector. Actual surface water availability is 91.8 million acre-feet.

- **Inadequate Agricultural Research**

The average crop yield in Pakistan is very low as compared to the production levels of the advanced countries of the world. In order to raise the potential of agricultural production, there should be continuous improvement in the research for agricultural growth. Total agricultural universities and colleges are only 16 in Pakistan.

- **The Problem of Land Reforms**

Land reforms have been implemented against the will of people. There is an urgent need to conduct a proper land reform for improving agricultural growth. Due to this problem, agricultural production cannot increase to the desired level.

- **Defective Land Tenure System**

Defective land tenure system is also responsible for low yield per acre in the agriculture sector. Property owners and feudal-lords live in posh urban areas while tenants and peasants have no or less incentive for their hard work. So, the productivity in the agriculture sector remains low.

- **Subsistence Farming**

Our farmer is attached with subsistence farming; a huge portion of production is consumed at a farmer's own house to support a large family. Hence, less portion of the production is available for market supply. It causes low income of the farmers. Farming is not conducted at the commercial level in Pakistan.

- **Low Cropping Intensity**

Cropping intensity means the number of crops grown on a piece of land in one year. At the present stage of our development, there is a low level of cropping intensity as compared to advanced countries. The cultivable area under double or multiple cropping is inadequate in Pakistan.

- **Improper Crop Rotation**

Proper turning round of crops is essential to re-establish the fertility of the land. The constant cultivation of one crop or two; exhausts the fertility of the soil. Proper rotation of crops is necessary in order to restore the fertility.

➤ **Natural Problems**

- **Various Plant Diseases**

Various agricultural crops like cotton, sugarcane, tobacco, wheat, and rice often come under attack of pests and insects. Pests and plant diseases reduce the annual productivity of agriculture.

- **Natural Calamities**

Labor is in the hand of human-kind, but its result is in the hands of ALLAH in the agriculture sector. Therefore, the growth of agriculture is dominated by nature. In case if there is too much rain, reduction in the productivity. There is a 20% reduction in productivity due to unnecessary rain and unfavorable climatic situations in Pakistan.

- **The Scarcity of HYV Seeds**

Our poor farmers have to use lower quality seeds due to non-availability of High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds. On the other hand, if the seed is available they cannot be purchased due to low income. Agricultural production is badly affected because of the inferior quality of seeds.

- **Under Utilization of Land**

Most of the poor population is attached to the agriculture sector in Pakistan. They are using orthodox and traditional means of cultivation. Our farmer is not interested to use the advanced and modern means of farming, as a result, the area under cultivation remains under-utilized, un-utilized or mis-utilized.

➤ **Socio-Economic Problems**

- **Consumption Oriented**

Our farmers have no proper records of their incomes and expenses. Mostly, they spend more when they have more due to illiteracy. A huge part of the farmer's income is consumed on occasions of marriage, birth, death and several other rural ceremonies and festivals in Pakistan.

- **Farmer's Litigation**

There are frequent and continuous litigations among the farmers directly or indirectly. They are often seen in courts, police stations, irrigation offices, revenue boards, and other official problems. Due to the mentioned problems, our farmer cannot devote his time, energy, efficiency and labor to agricultural productions.

- **Joint Family System**

Joint family system is also a big problem in the agriculture sector. Our farmer is poor; on the other hand, he has to support his big family. It creates a deficiency in saving and investment. A huge part of farmer's productivity is consumed at his own house.

- **Illiteracy and Ill health**

Most of the farmers and tenants in our country are illiterate. They are untrained and inefficient to boost up the agricultural productivity. On the other side, the health of our farmers is improper due to rural backwardness. The literacy rate is only 57.7 % in Pakistan. Economic Survey of Pakistan shows that literacy remains higher in urban areas (73.2 percent) than in rural areas (49.2 percent).

- **Political Instability**

Political instability has affected development in all economic and social sectors. Unfortunately, the political situations in Pakistan are not stable. It creates unrest among the farmers to sell the productions to various industries as raw material. On the other hand, people hesitate to invest in the agriculture sector due to political unrest.

➤ **Financial Problems**

- **Lack of Credit**

Basically, our farmer is poor and he has low level of income. Agricultural credit facilities are not common in Pakistan. Credit that can facilitate agriculture is not available easily. Moreover, non-institutional sources are available but these are not reliable due to high rate of interest. About 50.8% poor borrow from landlords in Pakistan.

- **Poor Financial Position of Farmers**

It is a common saying about our farmer that he born in debts, grows in debts and dies in debts. It means that the financial position of Pakistani farmer is weak and poor. According to "Pakistan Human Development Report 2003" about 57.4% poor are working for feudal-lords without wages.

- **Instability in Market Prices**

The price market of agricultural goods generally remains unstable in the country. Cobweb theorem is very popular in case of market prices; it means that a price of one commodity is much high in this year and many lows in the next year and vice versa. The farmers do not get a due reward from the sale of their productions. Therefore, they remain unsatisfied.

- **Shortage of Agricultural Finance**

Agricultural credit facilities are not sufficient in Pakistan. The rate of interest on agricultural credit is high and the loan is not provided in time. According to "Pakistan Human Development Report 2003" in Pakistan, about 50.8% poor borrow from property owners at a very high rate of interest.

➤ **Measures to Remove These Problems**

The following measures are suggested to improve the agriculture.

- **Supply of Agriculture Credit**

Poor farmers cannot afford the expensive technology from their own resources in Pakistan. So, the supply of agriculture credit at easy terms and conditions is very necessary. An amount of Rs. 85,177 million is disbursed by commercial banks in 2009 and Rs. 49 billion was distributed by ZTBL. ZTBL issued credit of Rs. 37.4 billion during 2010-11.

- **Water Logging and Salinity Control**

Water logging and salinity destroys about one million acres of land every year in Punjab and Sindh. It reduces our cultivable area. For this purpose, installation of tube wells, repair of canal banks and drainage of water etc. are needed. The Ministry of Agriculture proposed to invest Rs. 18.5 billion with the objective of converting 2,00,000 acres of irrigated land to drip and shower irrigation system.

- **Construction of Dams**

Sometimes, due to heavy unwanted rains and floods agricultural productivities are destroyed. To tackle this problem, it is necessary to construct dams and bands on rivers.

- **Provision of HYV Seed**

High yielding variety seed is not available at a suitable price in Pakistan. So, farmers have to depend upon the low quality of seeds that causes a 20% reduction in total production. The government should provide HYV seed at a minimum price in this case.

- **Mechanization**

Farm mechanization is necessary to remove the problems of the agriculture sector. Sowing, cultivation, and harvesting of crops through agricultural machines increase the product quality and quantity.

- **Agricultural Research**

Agricultural research is compulsory to remove the backwardness of the agriculture sector. Major agricultural colleges and universities are only about 16 in Pakistan. The government should increase the research work in the field of agriculture.

- **Agro-Based Industries**

Agro-based industries like poultry, fisheries, dairy, and livestock should be established. These industries indirectly lead to improving the agriculture sector.

- **Tax Concessions**

Mechanization is necessary to remove the problems of the agriculture sector. The government should give tax concession on imports of agricultural technologies to enhance the process of farm mechanization.

- **Training of Farmers**

Our farmers are illiterate and ill trained so, their efficiencies are poor. The government should start a special education programme for farmers and give them training about farming.

- **Prices of Agricultural Productivities**

Sometimes, our farmers receive low prices of their crops. There is no proper effective price policy of the government. The government should set reasonable prices of agricultural productions to develop the living standard of farmers.

➤ **Conclusion**

Being an agrarian country, the agriculture sector of Pakistan's economy is still backward. Use of modern techniques, provision of credit facilities, basic infrastructure, and agriculture research facilities are needed to remove all the problems of the agriculture sector.

Industrial Sector of Pakistan

➤ **Causes and Removal of Industrial Backwardness in Pakistan**

The backward industrial sector is the second major sector of the economy of Pakistan. Industrial sector plays an important role in the development process of any country. Since the latter part of the 18th century manufacturing as a human, occupation got much importance. The modern concept of industry-manufacturing goods began in Great Britain in the late 18th century.

➤ **Problems or Causes of Industrial Backwardness**

Causes of industrial backwardness may be divided into the following four major categories: historical causes, economic causes, social causes and political causes. Each one is discussed below.

➤ **Historical Causes**

- **The Policy of British Rulers**

There were no favors for the Muslims due to the British government, before independence in the sub-continent. British exported the raw material at a cheaper rate to Britain so that the industrialization process in the sub-continent is to be stopped.

- **Lack of Technical Knowledge**

Modern technology was introduced at the beginning of the 20th century. British used the modern methods of production in Britain. However, in sub-continent, they used the old method of production in all the manufacturing units. Therefore, quality and quantity of production were very low it creates a bad view of our industry at world level.

- **Industrial Share**

Before partition, there were 921 total industrial units in sub-continent. However, out of 921 industrial units, Pakistan got only 34 industrial units that are just 3.69 % of total industrial share. Accordingly, we started our economy without the industrial sector.

➤ **Economic Causes**

- **Disputable Industrial Strategy**

It is a huge barrier in the way of industrial advancement. In the history of Pakistan, there was a policy of import substitution, in the early 1950s. There was a trend of industrialization in the 1960s. The policy of Nationalization was adopted in Z. A. Bhutto's period and Zia-ul-Haq adopted the policy of Privatization. The investors are always hesitant to make an investment in such situations.

- **Lack of Mineral Resources**

There is an acute shortage of mineral resources like oil, coal etc. These resources are necessary for industrial development. Due to the lack of mineral resources, the rate of industrial development in Pakistan is very low. The contribution of natural resources to GDP is 0.8 % in Pakistan.

- **Low Investment and Low Savings**

Deficiency of capital is one major problem in the way of industrial development. Pakistan is fundamentally underdeveloped and there is a shortage of capital in the country. Industrial development is impossible without capital. Sufficient capital is a major condition for industrial development. Total investment and domestic saving are 6.13.4% and 9.5% of GDP respectively.

- **Lack of Technical Know-how**

There is a lack of technical and skilled workers in the country due to the high rate of illiteracy. The efficiency of labor is very low due to the use of backward and orthodox technology. It is also the main cause of industrial backwardness.

- **Lack of Infrastructure**

The infrastructure for industrial development is necessary. There is a shortage of infrastructure in Pakistan. For example, gas, electricity, transport, roads, railways network and communication are not available up to the requirement of industrial development.

- **Inflationary Pressures**

Rate of inflation is very high in Pakistan. The prices of imported machinery, oils, chemicals and spare-parts are rising very sharply. These factors contribute to industrial backwardness. The very high rate of inflation is 14.1 % in Pakistan.

- **Inadequate Industrial Credit**

There is a shortage of active financial institutions in Pakistan, which may provide credit services to industrialists according to their needs. Terms and conditions for the provision of credit are very tight.

- **Unfavorable Industrial Structure**

There are inequalities in industrial growth in Pakistan. Manufacturing of consumer goods is preferred over capital goods. No doubt return on consumer goods is more but capital goods are necessary for economic development.

- **Limited Market for Capital Goods**

The narrowness of domestic and foreign markets for the industrial goods is also a major hurdle in the way of industrial development. The small size of the market is due to low purchasing power, low standard of goods and the high cost of production etc.

- **Lack of Industrial Consultancy Firms**

The investment in modern industries is not only costly but also risky. The capitalists are regularly withdrawn and hesitant in investing their capital in new industrial ventures. No doubt, deficiency of capital is a problem in Pakistan, but the major problem is that existing capital is not properly utilizing due to lack of consultancy firms.

- **Lack of Industrial Research**

Research work for the industrial sector is not satisfactory due to lack of technical education and in addition to that, there is a shortage of technological universities in the country. Improvement in production and reduction in the cost of production is impossible due to lack of research. A number of technical and vocational institutions in Pakistan is more than 1522 out of which 1140 are in the public sector. These are providing training to 3,00,000 persons.

- **Frequent Breakdown of Electricity**

Like other power resources, electricity is also insufficient in Pakistan to meet the domestic needs. There is irregular supply and frequent breakdown of electricity in Pakistan. It is affecting the industrial production in the country. The growth rate of electricity and gas sector, in Pakistan, is -21.1%.

- **Economic Sanctions**

Advanced countries are not willing in the improvement of backward countries. They have created various trade zones among themselves. As a result, they import and export among themselves. Therefore, the export volume of developing countries remains very low. On the other hand, developed nations have imposed various sanctions on import and export with poor nations.

- **Global Recession**

The global economic recession in the last years adversely affected the growth of the manufacturing sector. The donor countries usually interfere in our internal affairs and economic activities in the time of recession.

- **Adverse Balance of Payment**

Adverse balance of payment is a new cause of industrial backwardness. To make industrial development, we have to import modern machinery and advanced technology from other countries. However, due to a shortage of foreign exchange, we cannot import such items to make rapid economic development. Pakistan is facing the deficit of \$ 8.3 billion in its balance of payment during 2010-11.

➤ **Social Causes**

- **Lack of Education**

People have no idea how to set up the industry due to a high degree of illiteracy. They have no sufficient resources to start heavy projects. The efficiency of unskilled, untrained and illiterate labor is very low that causes industrial backwardness. The literacy rate is just 57.7 % and expenditures on education sector are only 1.8 % of GDP, which is the lowest in Asia.

- **Faith & Fate**

Man should work hard first and then put the result in the hands of ALLAH. Mostly, our people are irrational, they believe on faith and fate. They do not want to take the risks. They are working just to meet their basic needs. There is absence of commercial mind in Pakistan.

- **Corruption**

Corruption is a great evil, which is still increasing at very high rate in Pakistan. It is found in government as well as private sector also. Due to corruption, illiterate and dishonest workers come forward and cause industrial backwardness. Pakistan is at number 34th at the table of the most corrupt nations and at number 1st in South Asia.

- **Climate and Weather**

Climate and weather conditions are also a big cause of backwardness in various industries. There is inter-relationship between industrial and agriculture sector. If the weather is not well, it causes agricultural backwardness and it results in industrial backwardness.

- **Cultural Disturbance**

The cultural disturbances in the country have slowed down the production in the manufacturing sector. In addition to this, a shortage of raw material has an adverse effect on production. There are various caste systems in the country.

➤ **Political Causes**

• **Political Instability**

An additional cause of industrial backwardness is political instability. Since partition, the political situation of Pakistan is not satisfactory. There are regular changes in the governments and government policies. Domestic as well as foreign investors feel the risk of making investment due to political unrest. All these results in industrial backwardness.

• **Kashmir and Water Issues**

Since freedom, the Kashmir problem has been disturbing our economy. People in Pakistan remain worried about the danger of war with India due to Kashmir and water issues. Therefore, Pakistani and especially foreign people hesitate to invest.

• **Burden of Refugees**

At the time of partition, Pakistan had to face a serious problem of refugees coming from India and there was a shortage of resources in Pakistan. Now Pakistan is also facing this problem in the form of Afghan refugees.

• **Wars with India**

The two big wars fought in opposition to India in 1965 and 1971. It creates many economic problems. Now the situation is that both Pakistan and India has to keep up a huge part of their budget for defense.

➤ **Measures or Suggestions to Improve Industrial Sector**

The following measures are suggested to improve the industrial sector of Pakistan.

- More allocation of funds for industrial research is required, which is necessary, for the industrial development.
- Industrial sector can be promoted by increasing capital.
- Saving and investment should be increased to develop the industrial sector.
- To promote the industrial sector, there should be technical knowledge.
- Tax concession is also needed to increase the investment in new industries.
- In time, the supply of raw material is necessary for the improvement of the industrial sector.
- Advanced infrastructure is necessary for the industrial development of Pakistan.
- Financial institutions should provide credit facilities to the industrial sector at flexible terms and conditions.
- There should be an expansion of markets, at the domestic and foreign level, of industrial goods.
- Foreign investment should be encouraged; more incentives should be given to investors.
- Political stability is compulsory for the development of industrial sector.
- High degree of technical education is required to produce skilled, technical and efficient workforce.

- The problem of load-shedding and irregular supply of electricity should be removed.
- Commercial policy and self- reliance policy should be adopted to remove industrial backwardness.
- Foreign exchange reserves and the balance of payment position should be favorable to develop the industrial sector.

➤ **Conclusion**

All the above factors are causing industrial backwardness. Backwardness is not bad but remaining backward is so bad. So, the Pakistan needs to make industrial development through the following.

- Use of advanced technology
- Development in infrastructure
- Provision of credit facilities
- Increase in industrial consultancy firms Recommended

¹<https://infoaboutclimate.wordpress.com/>

²<https://dailytimes.com.pk/247550/pakistans-environmental-challenges/>

³<https://ihelpf9.com/environmental-problems-in-pakistan-and-its-effect-on-human-life/>



Natural Resources and Culture of Pakistan

Land and People of Pakistan

More about Pakistan

The constitutional name of Pakistan is the “Islamic Republic of Pakistan”. It is a federation which means that different units (provinces) have given up part of their sovereignty to the central government to form a federation.

Pakistan has the following administrative setup:

1. There are five provinces.
2. Islamabad, the capital territory
3. Federally administered tribal areas
4. Gilgit Baltistan
5. Azad Jammu and Kashmir

The Pillars of the Government

The following are the pillars of the Government of Pakistan.

Legislature - the law-making body; Parliament (upper house Senate, lower house the National Assembly)

Administration - also called the executive; those who execute the laws (prime minister and his cabinet). They are at the top of administration of a country.

Judiciary - that is the judicial set up which decides legal matters and interprets the law. Interpretation of policies and procedures is made by judiciary

Defence - We can include defense in the pillars of state. We can also bring defense in the administration.

Media - as it plays a vital role in shaping public opinion and can also be taken as ingredient of government because it keeps a cheque on the government. We also have a ministry of communication and PEMRA (Pakistan electronic media and regulatory authority) which comes under the ministry of communication.

Political Pressure Groups - these are the groups which exert pressure on the government when their interests are not served. It includes **military, Ulema, landowners**, and people in the business. When pressure groups feel that their interest are not protected or not served then they use some tactics to influence legislation in the country and the administration of the country just to make them to take some steps that they want to take or to safeguard their

interest. How military can be a pressure group in a country? When martial law is enforced in a country then it becomes a government Martial law dictator is himself will be a legislator, executive and at time he himself serve as a judiciary.

More Details about Pakistan

- The official code of Pakistan's currency is PKR.
- The internet code is .pk
- There are 31 AM radio broadcasting stations and 68 FM radio broadcasting station
- There are 90 television channels
- There are eight international airports and 42 smaller airports countrywide
- There five seaports (2 in Balochistan and 3 in Sindh)
- There are 11 dry ports, 34 railway stations

Fishery

Pakistan has 800 miles long coastline, and the fishery industry is essential for the country. It is a source of income for the local coastal population and fish are also exported.

Forests

Pakistan has only 4% of land covered with forests which is no way good news. Forests are significant because of the following reasons:

- It can reverse the effects of global warming by absorbing the carbon dioxide gas.
- It is home to the wildlife.
- It is a source of food (vegetable, fruit and herbal medicines).
- Trees are used to make paper, and its wood is also used as fuel and for furniture
- Forests are also sites of tourist attraction.

Mining in Pakistan

There are approximately 05 trillion minerals in Pakistan which are known to be explored. Mining is an essential economic activity. Pakistan has different minerals, but they are of little economic value. Pakistan has the following minerals:

- Salt range in Potohar plateau has large deposits of rock salt.
- Other minerals includes gypsum, limestone, chromite, iron, silver, gold, precious metals, gems, marble, tin, sulphur, fire clay and silica sand.

International Agreements

Pakistan is a signatory to different international agreements. Some of them are as follows:

1. Specific regions and seas, law of the seas, ship pollution.
2. Atmosphere and climate, climate change, ozone layer protection.
3. Biodiversity, environment and forest, desertification, endangered species, marine life conservation, and environmental modification.
4. Waste; dangerous wastes.
5. Rivers Indus water treaty.

These agreements enable Pakistan to seek technical support and help wherever it needs, e.g. it can ask for help in reducing carbon dioxide emissions under the climate change agreement.

The Culture of Pakistan

Culture is the way of life which includes customs, value system, norms and traditions. Pakistan has many cultures like Punjabi culture, Balochi culture, Sindhi culture and Pushtun culture.

The variety of music available in Pakistan such as folk songs, qwali and ghazal, are also a part its culture. The unique dances of the different cultures of Pakistan are attan, khattak, ludi, hojamalo and bhangra.

Literature of Pakistan

Literature is available in Urdu and English. Other than this Pakistan has literature available in all the languages.

Pakistan as a Multicultural and Socially Diversified Country

Our country is multicultural. The culture is different in every region. The people who speak a different language they have their own culture. Culture also varies across different castes, tribes, rural and urban areas. The elites and the religious sects have different cultures.

It is the strength of a country and we should be socially diversified to accept the cultures of other social groups. Our country is socially diversified as there are wealthy, poor, managers, workers, officers, subordinates, teachers, students, doctors and engineers.

If we accept the diverse cultures of our country, it will become our strength.

Conclusion

We have now come to understand that Pakistan is a pluralistic cultural society, combined with multi-culturalism and social diversities which have been playing a constructive role in political development of the country.



Initial Problems of Pakistan

Initial Problems

Pakistan had to face problems right after its independence. It was because Pakistan was carved out of the peripheral areas of the subcontinent where infrastructure was not well developed. So, Pakistan had to build everything from scratch. Following are the initial problems of Pakistan.

1. Political Problems
2. New Administration
3. Division of Assets
4. Integration of the Princely States
5. Communal Riots and Arrival of Refugees
6. Canal Water Dispute and Trade Issues
7. Economic Problems
8. Social Problems

1. Political Problems

There was a lack of experienced lawmakers in new Pakistan. There were mostly feudal lords. The constituent assembly failed to frame a constitution even in eight years. Lack of a permanent constitution created chances of unscrupulous interference in democratic progress of Pakistan.

2. New Administration

In the new country, there was a shortage of human power especially senior officers. The senior officers did not want to come to Pakistan as it was underdeveloped. There was a lack of building for the administrative workers, lack of furniture and equipment. Offices were operating in tents, and it was less efficient.

3. Division of Assets

At the time of division of assets, the actual share of Pakistan was 750 million, but only 200 million was given. British rulers were not willing to give the rest of the share to India and Pakistan. Gandhi went on a hunger strike to put pressure on the government. It worked, and they gave the rest of the amount.

Military assets were also divided.

- Six armoured divisions were given to Pakistan while India got 14
- Eight artillery divisions were given to Pakistan while India got 40
- Eight infantry divisions were given to Pakistan while India got 21

4. Integration of the Princely States

There were 560 princely states in the subcontinent before independence. Almost 500 joined India before 15th August 1947. The princes were inclined to honor every gesture of the British representative, so they conceded to what the member of the Royal family (Mountbatten) wished. There were some particular cases of the states.

i. Junagadh

It was a small state with access to sea having about 7 lakh population and 3377-mile area. The ruler was Muslim while the majority of its population was Hindu. The ruler decided to accede to Pakistan and Pakistan also accepted the accession. It was a princely state. There was a Muslim ruler, and the majority of the population was Hindu. In November 1947, the Indian troops entered the state and took its control. The referendum favored India. Indian forces entered and annexed it with India.

ii. Hyderabad

It was geographically big and financially a rich state. Its ruler was Muslim named Nizam and majority population was Hindu. It was surrounded by India from all sides. The Nizam wanted to stay independent. Mountbatten discouraged him and signed Standstill Agreement. But India built pressure on the Nizam by sending its troops in September 1948 claiming that serious law and order situation had developed. The state was integrated in India. He wanted to keep Hyderabad independent from India and Pakistan. However, India again annexed it with India,

iii. Kashmir

The most important state was Kashmir naturally connected with Pakistan. Its ruler was Hindu Maharaja while population was Muslim. It was the most crucial state. The population inclined towards Pakistan, but the Hindu ruler declared to join India. The Kashmiri people revolted against the ruler in Poonch area and soon it became widespread. The ruler sought Indian support. India demanded accession. On October 27, 1947 Indian troops landed in Srinagar. The people continued their struggle for independence and India promised to finally settle the matter with reference to the people under the UN Resolutions. After the war in 1948, India has half of the Kashmir which is called Indian occupied Kashmir and the other half is under Pakistan was known as Azad Jammu Kashmir.

5. Communal Riots and Refugee Crises

The Communal riots occurred earlier in August 1946. The killing of Muslims in Indian areas forced them to leave India. The military was asked to help cope with the refugee problem. After the independence, when the Muslims were migrating towards Pakistan, they were attacked by Extremist Hindus and Sikhs, and thousands of Muslims were massacred. There were organized gangs to kill the Muslims. The refugee problem created critical condition in the border areas. The massive migration proved serious economic and humanitarian problems for the new state. The people who reached Pakistan alive were the refugees. It was quite challenging for the new country to cater to the several needs of the refugees.

6. Water dispute

In 1948, there was a water dispute between India and Pakistan as India stopped the water from Ravi and Sutlej. It was a threat to the already fragile economy of Pakistan. This matter was taken to the World Bank. In 1960 the Indus water treaty was signed according to which three eastern rivers Ravi, Sutlej and Beas came under India and it can build dams on it, while three western rivers came under Pakistan namely Chenab, Jhelum and Indus.

7. Economic problems

Pakistan had a very weak economy at the time of independence. There were few industries. The war in Kashmir, the issue of refugees and the water dispute created problems for Pakistan. The industrial enterprise was 10%, industrial workers were 0.5%, electrical capacity was 5%, and mineral deposits were 10%.

8. Social Problems

Many sects imposed social pressures at the time of formation of Pakistan. The Pakhtuns were not in favor of Pakistan at the time of partition and were threat to the integration of the country. The Balochs do not want to join Pakistan, as they want independent status. The Sindhis wanted to stay with India. The Punjabis were majority in number and wanted a separate nation. The Bengalis were equal or greater than the people in the West Pakistan and were not in favor of Pakistan.



Dilemma of Constitution Making in Pakistan

Background

One of the uphill tasks for the newly created Pakistan was the framing of its comprehensive Constitution. Quaid-e-Azam with his vast and strong background of handling legal matters took up this problem with urgency, however; the gravity of other issues compelled him to pay his attention to other matters, which delayed this important process of constitution making. We have a parliamentary form of government in our country. The executive (lawmaker) should be more powerful than the head of the state. Governor should be the head of the state and prime minister was the head of the country. We borrowed our parliamentary system from the British parliament system. The Indian act of 1935 was adopted as an interim constitution with little amendments right from the independence of both countries (India and Pakistan) and it was adopted by both India and Pakistan at that time. In the original act, the governor general (The Viceroy) used to report to the queen of Great Britain. Now what were the shortcomings, India established its constitution very quickly, but Pakistan could not able to establish it. The shortcoming was creeping on from 1947. All India Muslim league was demanding for a separate homeland but at the same time, they did not perform their homework about the constitution of the country. The lawmakers who constituted the constitution assembly of Pakistan, they did not know much about the law-making process because most of the policymakers were living in East and West Pakistan. They were mainly involved in a kind of just getting out of clashes.

Definition of Constitution

The constitution is a basic document, which sets out the framework for governance and exercise of power. It defines the powers of the institutions and sets out the relationship that exists between different state institutions. It describes the powers within which these institutions have to work and what would be the nature of the relationship of the individual with the state. A constitution is a set of fundamental principles or established patterns according to which a state or other organization is ruled. The term constitution comes through French from the Latin word *constitutio*, used for regulations and orders. Culture, society, civilization, history, religion, traditions and political system are the sources of constitution making.

Constitution of Pakistan

Constitution of Pakistan is the supreme law of Pakistan. There have been several documents known as the Constitution of Pakistan. The Constitution of 1973 is the existing constitution, which provides for a parliamentary system with a President as head of state and popularly elected Prime Minister as head of government. Pakistan has a bicameral legislature that consists of the Senate (upper house) and the National Assembly(lower house). It was drafted by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and, following additions by the opposition parties, was approved by the legislative assembly on April 10, 1973. It was Pakistan's first ever constitution by consensus unlike two earlier constitutions, the constitution of 1956 and the constitution of 1962.

Reasons for Delay

It took almost nine years for the two constituent assemblies to make a constitution for the country. Following are the main reasons for the delay.

- a) Two wings of Pakistan – East Pakistan and West Pakistan
- b) Inexperienced Politicians
- c) Clash of Interests between two Wings
- d) Debate on 'State' and 'Islam'
- e) Federal State System
- f) Cultural and linguistic differences
- g) Lack of Homogeneity between two Wings
- h) Language Issue
- i) Administrative Problems
- j) Influx of refugees
- k) Politicians personal clashes and differences
- l) Lack of quality leadership
- m) Illiteracy
- n) Lack of mutual Understanding & Tolerance

History of Constitution Making

Pakistan became independent from British India in 1947, following its partition. The first document that served as a constitution for Pakistan was the Government of India Act, 1935 and 1945 with amendments.

1. Measures Taken by Jinnah

Mohammad Ali Jinnah appointed the first constituent assembly of Pakistan in August 1947. Total 69 members elected in the 1945-46 election and 10 members were included from princely states. Dual responsibility of acting as the federal legislature and constituent assembly. The members, however, lacked the essential requirements of high competence,

commitment, and political experience. Even though Jinnah wanted to improve this situation but his early demise in 1948 struck another shock to inexperienced Pakistan.

2. The Objectives Resolution (1949)

The first big step in the framing of a constitution for Pakistan was taken by the Constituent Assembly on 12 March 1949, when it passed a resolution on the 'Aims and Objectives of the Constitution', popularly known as the Objectives Resolution. It laid the foundation of the constitution and indicated the broad outline of its structure. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, moved the resolution.

▪ Main Features of Objective Resolution

Following were the main features of objective Resolution.

- Sovereignty belongs to Almighty Allah alone
- Authority delegated by Him through the People to be exercised within the limits permitted
- Constitution is to be framed for Sovereign Independent Pakistan
- Power will be exercised through elected Representatives of People.
- Democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and Social justice will be as dictated by Islam.
- Enabling Muslims to live in accordance with the teachings of Islam.
- Minorities will have total freedom to profess and practice their religion and develop their culture
- Safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities, backward and depressed classes.
- Pakistan shall be a Federation with autonomous units. State's sovereignty and territorial integrity will be protected.
- People of Pakistan should prosper and attain their rightful place in the comity of nations and make contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity

▪ Importance of Objective Resolution

- ✚ Sovereignty of Allah was declared as distinctive political philosophy
- ✚ Unlike Western democracy where sovereignty lies with people
- ✚ The limits were provided to exercise powers are to be the ones given by God
- ✚ Minorities were given their due rights and respect in the benign society of Pakistan.
- ✚ Provided a framework for future constitutions of Pakistan
- ✚ It embraced the centrality of Islam in the constitutional framework
- ✚ It remained the preamble of all constitutions of Pakistan.

▪ **Objections Raised by Non-Muslims**

Following were the objections raised by non-Muslims at that time on objective resolution.

1. Government trying to mix religion with politics and was against the spirit of democracy
2. Sovereignty of Allah will promote inequality in the society
3. They viewed Sharia was not in conformity with modern time
4. Will encourage the establishment of a theocratic state

3. Constitutional Issues

Following were the main issues faced by Constitution Assembly at that time.

1. Federalism
2. Representation
3. Separate or Joint Electorate
4. National Language Issue
5. Parliamentary or Presidential system
6. Islamic or Secular State



Constitution of 1956

➤ Constitutional Issues

Constitutional issues are as follows

1. Federalism
2. Representation
3. Separate or Joint Electorate
4. National Language Issue
5. Parliamentary or Presidential system
6. Islamic or Secular State

1. Federalism

There was consensus on federalism but there were many issues to be settled. Pakistan consisted of two parts. Division of power was the most difficult part between two wings and among the provinces. Provinces were demanding more Autonomy and Provincial Rights. Strong Centre tradition continued in 1956 as well.

2. Representation

East Pakistan and West Pakistan were different in population and size and thus appropriate representation was an issue. Not only wings but also the provinces were differently, diversely filled. Everyone was sensitive to their representation and provincial autonomy. To have a standard formula Basic Principle Committee was formed on March 12, 1949.

3. Separate or Joint Electorate

The minorities did not favor separate electorate after independence. Religious elements supported this as a part of heritage. East Pakistan decided for Joint Electorate. West Pakistan decided for Separate Electorate.

4. The National Language Issue

Before independence, the Muslim elite all over India adopted Urdu. In 1948 Jinnah declared that Urdu would be the national language. Opposition against Urdu was in East Pakistan. It was more prominent after Jinnah's Death. Language Movement started in East Pakistan from February 1952. Two-language formula was adopted in 1954.

5. Parliamentary or Presidential System

There was a consensus for parliamentary system. There was limited demand for presidential system. Debates were continued on this issue. These debates delayed the process of constitution making in Pakistan.

6. The Islamic or Secular State

From the very beginning, there was an agreement that the state will have close relationship with Islam. Muslims defined their national identity with reference to Islam and its heritage. Some opposition came from the Congress members of the Constituent Assembly, and a few secularists. The Constituent Assembly took time to define the precise relationship between the state and Islam. Objectives Resolution rejected theocracy in Pakistan and provided the basic objectives for the future constitution of Pakistan.

➤ Issues to be Addressed

What would be the scope of legislation for an elected Assembly? Who will decide about the Islamic nature of laws? Should a Board of Ulema be given this power? Position of women, vote and work? What about religious minorities? Discussion in the Constituent Assembly and outside continued. An active demand by religious elements for Islamic political system. Leading Ulema of various sects presented famous *22 points* to provide a religious base to the future constitution.

1. Basic Principle Committee Reports¹

After the Objectives Resolution was passed in 1949, the Constitution Assembly set up a number of committees to draw the future constitution on the basis of the principles given in the Objectives Resolution. The most important among those committees was the Basic Principles Committee set up on March 12, 1949, by Khawaja Nazimuddin on the advice of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan.

The primary function of this committee was to determine the basic principles of the future Constitution of Pakistan. The committee comprised 24 members. Maulvi Tamiz-ud-din Khan headed it, and Liaquat Ali Khan was its Vice President. The committee presented its interim report to the Legislative Assembly in 1950. This was a short document presenting the guidelines and principles of the future Constitution of Pakistan.

• Criticism

Representatives of East Pakistan raised objections against the report. The main criticism was against the quantum representation in the Central Legislature. East Pakistan, with a majority of the population, was given an equal number of seats in the Upper House as West Pakistan,

¹<http://storyofpakistan.com/basic-principles-committee>

thus reducing the representation of the majority of the population in Pakistan by one-fifth. East Pakistan representatives also did not like Urdu being declared as the only national language of Pakistan.

- **Second BPC Report**

Liaquat Ali Khan agreed to consider the objections with an open mind. He, therefore, postponed the deliberation of the Constituent Assembly in order to enable the Basic Principles Committee to examine and consider suggestions that might be made by the people regarding the principles of the Constitution. In order to include public opinion, Liaquat Ali Khan called forth general comments and suggestions by the public on the report. A large number of proposals and suggestions were sent by the public, which was examined by a special subcommittee headed by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. The setting up of the committee was a right and commendable step, but its working was immensely affected by the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan. The subcommittee, however, gave its report to the Basic Principles Committee in July 1952, which was presented by Khawaja Nazimuddin in the National Assembly on December 22, 1952.

According to the Basic Principles Committee Report, the head of the state was to be a Muslim, elected by a joint session with the majority vote of the Central Legislature for five years. The Prime Minister was to be appointed by the head of the state. The Central Legislature was to consist of two houses: the House of Units with 120 members and the House of People with 400 members. There were to be three lists of subjects for the division of power between the Federation and the Units. Adult franchise was introduced. The judiciary was to be headed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan consisting of a Chief Justice and two to six other judges. The Chief Justice was to be appointed by the head of state. There was to be a High Court for each of the units of East Pakistan, Punjab, Sindh Baluchistan and the N. W. F. P. A Board of Ulema was to be set up by the head of state and provincial governors. The Board of Ulema was to examine the lawmaking process to ensure that no law was passed that went against the principles of the Quran and Sunnah. The Objectives Resolution was adopted as a preamble to the proposed Constitution.

- **Criticism**

The Basic Principles Committee's report was severely criticized and raised much bitterness between East and West Pakistan. The Prime Minister, Khawaja Nazimuddin, however, welcomed the report and commended it as a valuable document according to the aspirations of the people of Pakistan. However, the fact was that the nation was not satisfied with the report, and hence there was a severe deadlock in the making of the constitution.

2. Muhammad Ali Bogra Formula²

While taking charge as Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali Bogra declared that formulation of the Constitution was his primary target. He worked hard on this project and within six months of assuming power, came out with a constitutional formula. His constitutional proposal, known as the Bogra Formula, was presented before the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on October 7, 1953. The plan proposed for a Bicameral Legislature with equal representation for all the five provinces of the country in the Upper House. A total of 50 seats were reserved for the Upper House. The 300 seats for the Lower House were to be allocated to the provinces based on proportionate representation. One hundred and sixty-five seats were reserved for East Pakistan, 75 for Punjab, 19 for Sindh and Khairpur, 24 for N. W. F. P., tribal areas and the states located in N. W. F. P., and 17 for Baluchistan, Baluchistan States Union, Bahawalpur and Karachi.

In this way, East Pakistan was given more seats in the Lower House than the combined number of seats reserved for the federal capital, the four provinces and the princely states of the Western Wing. So, in all, both the wings were to have 175 seats each in the two houses of the Legislative Assembly. Both the houses were given equal power, and in case of a conflict between the two houses, the issue was to be presented before a joint session.

In order to prevent permanent domination by any wing, a provision was made that if the head of the state was from West Pakistan, the Prime Minister was to be from East Pakistan, and vice versa. The two houses of the Legislative Assembly formed the Electoral College for the presidential elections, and the President was to be elected for a term of 5 years. In place of the Board of Ulema, the Supreme Court was given the power to decide if a law was in accordance with the basic teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah or not.

- **Reaction to Bogra Formula**

Unlike the two reports of the Basic Principles Committee, the Bogra Formula was appreciated by different sections of the society. There was great enthusiasm amongst the masses as they considered it as a plan that could bridge the gulf between the two wings of Pakistan and would act as a source of unity for the country. The proposal was discussed in the Constituent Assembly for 13 days, and a committee was set to draft the constitution on November 14, 1953. However, before the constitution could be finalized, the Assembly was dissolved by Ghulam Muhammad, the then Governor General of Pakistan.

²<http://storyofpakistan.com/bogra-formula>

- **Dissolution of First Constitutional Assembly**

October 1954, GG (Governor General) dissolved the CA (Constitutional Assembly) that was challenged in the Sindh court by Maulvi Tamizuddin. The court declared the dissolution illegal but the Federal Court upheld the GG action but asked for setting up an elected CA

- **2nd Constitutional Assembly**

Ghulam Muhammad called a Convention on May 10, 1955. All its members were to be elected indirectly (by the provincial assemblies). In this way, the 2nd CA came into existence.

3. One Unit Scheme, Oct 1955³

The One Unit was a geopolitical program launched by the government of Pakistan led by then-Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra on 22 November 1954. The program was believed to be enacted after the government faced difficulty of administering the two unequal polities of Pakistan separated from each other by more than a thousand miles to diminish the differences between the two regions, the program merged the Four Provinces of West Pakistan into a single province as was the case with East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

4. The 1956 Constitution⁴

After the approval of Objective Resolution in 1949, the “Constituent Assembly formed many committees including the Basic Principles Committee headed by the Prime Minister. The Committee, under the chairmanship of Liaquat Ali Khan, presented the interim report on September 28, 1950, which was criticized due to its incompleteness, and was asked to be revised. The second report of basic principle committee presented to Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din in 1952, but this report was also rejected. Later on Ch. Muhammad Ali started the constitutional process in Pakistan when he became Prime Minister.

³https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One_Unit

⁴www.bookhut.net

Constitution of 1956

After taking charge, Ch. Muhammad Ali started the working on constitution-making. The Constituent Assembly passed the draft of a federal parliamentary Constitution in 1956 which was enforced on March 23, 1956 in the country. This constitution contained of 234 articles.

➤ The Islamic Provisions of the Constitution (1956)

Islamic provisions of the constitution of 1956 are as under:

1. Parliamentary System

Executive Authority vested in the President who exercised it on the advice of the Prime Minister except in the matters he had discretion. President had ceremonial functions and exercised limited powers. The President would be of 45 years of age, Muslim and qualified to be a member of National Assembly. He was to be elected by National Assembly (NA) and Provincial Assemblies.

2. Prime Minister (PM)

President would appoint PM. President could not remove him unless he was sure that PM did not enjoy the support of majority in the National Assembly (NA). The President would be its sole judge. He could ask PM to show his support. Cabinet was collectively responsible to NA. PM was the head of government assisted by cabinet.

3. Unicameral Legislature

National Assembly was the only house of the parliament having a membership of 300 plus 10 women seats. Method of direct elections was adopted for general seats. All legislative powers were rested with NA. President could return, reject or sign the bills. Regarding monetary bills of ordinary expenditure NA had all powers but they could not vote on Consolidated Fund List. Salaries of President, judges, federal service commission, etc. were to be paid through Consolidated Fund. NA could control the Executive.

4. Federal System

The constitution provided three lists: Federal, Provincial and Concurrent. There were two Provinces in the federation of Pakistan.

5. Provincial Structure

At the provincial level there was elected Assembly. The Parliamentary System under the nominal headship of Governor. The real powers were given to Chief Ministers and his cabinet. Centre had some overriding powers and some Emergency powers too.

6. Independent Judiciary

At center, the highest court was Supreme Court, then High Courts in provinces and subordinate courts were established. Higher Courts had the power of Interpretation of the constitution. They could hear the disputes between governments. They were guardians of the Legal rights of the citizens.

7. Fundamental Rights

Civil and Political Rights were given to the people of Pakistan but they could be suspended in case of emergency.

8. Directive Principles of State Policy

These principles provided guidelines for policy making. Principles of Objectives Resolution were included as preamble. The other principles included surety about Islamic practices, Welfare of people, non-discrimination, and fulfillment of basic needs, etc.

9. Islamic Character

The name of the country was the Islamic Republic. Objectives Resolution was the Preamble. Other Islamic clauses were part of Directive Principles. No law can be made to violate Islamic principles and teachings. Existing laws would be brought in conformity with Islamic teachings. A Commission was to be appointed to examine the laws for bringing them in conformity. Whether a Law is Islamic or not, NA had to decide. The matter could be taken up with the Judiciary. Islam was not declared state religion. Riba (Interest) will be eliminated from the country as soon as possible.

10. Sovereignty of Allah

In the constitution of 1956, Objective Resolution was included in the preamble of the Constitution, and Sovereignty over the whole world belongs to Allah Almighty.

11. Organization of Islamic Research

According to the Constitution of 1956, it was declared the organization of Islamic Research would be established, which will research the legislation and enforcement of Islamic principles.

12. Protection to Minorities

Rights of Minorities will be protected in the country. They can spend their lives according to their own religion and culture.

13. Relation with Muslim Countries

Pakistan will establish good relations with other Islamic countries for the Unit of Muslim World.

14. Welfare State

Pakistan will be a welfare state, and the government will try its best to eliminate the poverty & illiteracy from the country. Moreover, basic facilities like food, shelter & cloth shall be provided to the people.

15. End of Racial & Provincial Discriminations

The government will try to eliminate Racial, Provincial, Communal and other discriminations from the country.

16. End of Illiteracy

The Government will take specific steps to eliminate the illiteracy from the country & education will be declared free & compulsory in Pakistan. The government will also take suitable steps for the adult education in the country.

17. Compulsory Teachings of the Holy Quran

In the constitution of 1956, it was declared that the government should take steps for the compulsory education of the Holy Quran in Pakistan.

18. Free Judiciary

Judiciary shall be independent and will work without any political and economic pressure.

19. Separate Electorate

It was declared in the constitution of 1956 that separate electorate would be provided to the minorities.

20. National language

Urdu will be the national languages of the country.

➤ Cancellation of the Constitution of 1956

Constitution of 1956 was constituted after the hard struggle of the nine years from 1947 to 1956, but Chief of Army Staff General Ayub Khan dismissed the constitution of 1956 on 7th October 1958. Constitution of 1956 was implemented in Pakistan only for two years & 7 months. General Ayub Khan dismissed the government and later on the President of Pakistan Sikandar Mirza. He imposed First Martial Law in Country on 7th October 1958.



Constitution of 1962

According to the Constitution of 1956, the first Prime Minister was Mr. Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi. He was a Pro-American and did not know much about the East Pakistan. He was in favor of having alliance with America and there was a quite strong opposition in the country against this stance. He faced opposition from different sections of society in spite of that he was a very strong person and a very strong politician but unfortunately, he was very much detached from the realities of East Pakistan. Mr. I.I. Chundrigur took the charge as Prime Minister but resigned after 2 Month at that time. Mr. Sikandar Mirza was the President of the country, but he was not clear about the situation of the Pakistan. He invited General Ayub Khan to implement Martial law and control the country situation.

Constitution Making

The government introduced Basic Democracies in October 1959. Under this system, Forty Thousand basic democrats (local councilors) were to be elected in each province. They had to perform functions as local government and their role in developmental work. They also acted as an electoral college for the election of president and the national assembly. Elections for the Basic Democracies (BD) were held in December 1959 and January 1960. Then the elected BD members held Presidential referendum on February 17, 1960. A Constitutional Commission was established in February 1960 under the leadership of Justice Shahabuddin, former Chief Justice.

The tasks assigned to the Commission were

- ✓ To examine the causes of failure of Parliamentary system.
- ✓ Recommend a new system keeping in view the
- ✓ Genius of people
- ✓ Standard of education
- ✓ Internal conditions of the country
- ✓ Need of development

Commission presented its report in May 1961 which was reviewed by two committees. Under the report of these committees, the new Constitution was drafted. Ayub announced the Constitution on March 1, 1962. Elections to the National Assembly (NA) and Provincial Assemblies (PAs) were held in April and May 1962 respectively. The new Constitution was enforced on June 8, 1962. Martial Law was withdrawn. The new Constitution was consisted of 250 articles, 5 schedules.

Constitution of 1962

Military took over on 7 October 1958 and consequently Ayub Khan became Chief Martial Law Administrator. One major task was to frame a new Constitution. The new administration was critical of Parliamentary system because it caused in-stability in the past. They sought stability of the state in the gradual development of democracy

President Ayub Khan constituted a commission for constituting the constitution in February 1960. This commission was headed by Justice Shahb-ud-Din. The Commission prepared a draft and presented to Mr. President on 6th May 1961 in which all powers were given to President. After certain amendments from the President Ayub Khan, the new Constitution was enforced on June 8, 1962 in the country. This constitution contained 250 clauses and Federal Presidential in nature. This constitution commission was assigned two major tasks. First was to check the causes of the failure of parliamentary system. Second was to make a system of standard education, focus on development and work on the internal conditions of the country.

Salient Features of Constitution of 1962

Islamic Provisions of the constitution of 1962 are as under.

- **Country's name**

The name of the country was proposed as "Republic of Pakistan," which was later on amended as "Islamic Republic of Pakistan."

- **Muslim President**

It was declared in the constitution of 1962 that the president of Pakistan would be Muslim.

- **Presidential System**

A Powerful President who was responsible for administration and affairs of the state. He would be a Muslim, at least 40 years of age, should be qualified to be a member of NA. He would be elected through indirect elections for a period of five years. If he has held office for more than 8 years, he could seek reelection with the approval of the NA and the PAs. National Assembly was given the power to impeach the president, however it was difficult to achieve. President could dissolve the NA but, in that case, he must seek re-election.

- **Powers of the President**

President was the focal point of all the Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers. Cabinet was accountable to him. All key appointments were to be made by President. He could issue Ordinances. He could also declare State of Emergency in the country.

- **National Assembly (NA)**

The National Assembly was consisted of one house based on principle of parity between two wings of the country. There were 150 seats, and 6 seats were reserved for women. All members were elected indirectly. Minimum age limit for membership was 25 years.

- **Legislative Powers**

The National Assembly had all the powers of law making but law was to be finally ratified by the president. President could sign, reject or return the bill.

- **Financial Powers**

Financial Powers of NA were limited. Only new expenditure could be voted. NA could not reject consolidated fund list and recurring expenditure.

- **Federalism**

There were two provinces of the federation; East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Only one list of subjects, i.e. the Central list was given in the constitution.

- **Provincial Governments**

Governors were the heads of the provinces and governed the provinces with their cabinets. Provincial governments were directly under the control of President. There was a strong center with a powerful President. He had enough powers to manage provincial affairs. In case of emergency powers, central government could take direct control of the province.

- **Principles of Policy**

National solidarity would be observed. Interests of remote areas would be looked after. Opportunities for participation in national life, education and wellbeing of people will be provided. Islamic principles would be implemented in day-to-day life.

- **Fundamental Rights**

Fundamental Rights were provided in the constitution.

- **Political Parties**

Political parties were banned according to the constitution of 1962.

- **Islamic Provisions**

Objectives Resolution was the preamble of the Constitution. Other Islamic provisions were the part of principles of policy and not the constitution.

- **Advisory Council for Islamic Ideology**

An Advisory Council for Islamic Ideology was made in the constitution having 5-12 members. This body could only make recommendations.

- **Islamic Research Institute**

It was designed for the research and instructions in Islam for assisting the reconstruction of Muslim society on truly Islamic lines.

Working of the Constitution

The constitution was enforced from June 8, 1962 to March 25, 1969. In early 1965, Mr. Bhutto and General Musa started Operation Gibraltar and won the territories of India. However, after this General Ayub felt that if they could not give their territories back it will shed the blood of our army. At that time, Russia negotiated and signed a peace treaty between two countries in Moscow and gave them back all the territories. Mr. Bhutto started campaign against Mr. Ayub Khan, he resigned in 1969, and Mr. Yahya took over the charge.

Cancellation and Abrogation of 1962 Constitution

First constitution was promulgated in 1956. Mr. Ayyub Khan was not in favor of western democracy in Pakistan. He was against the system of governance, which was in the west, and Ayub Khan was the person who had deep understanding of looking into the things in a very detached manner. He developed the idea under which politicians are to be ruled, they were only taking care of their narrower interest, and they need to discard them. This was the reason, he put a ban on political parties. The political parties were not doing so good for the country. In the meanwhile, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became blue-eyed person for Ayub Khan.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was quite young and was quite intelligent and got solutions for many problems, which Ayub Khan was facing at that time. Whenever there would have been a meeting of cabinet, people were criticizing Ayub Khan, vocals in those meetings. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto tried to remain calm without saying a single word and when the meetings went over, he used to go silently to Ayub Khan to consult the matter.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had capitalized the opportunities to have a favor of president of country. Initially Ayub Khan implemented land reforms in the country though they were not that much effective at that time. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had dual nationality and he was busy in the administration of country in 1960. He was very influential as the foreign minister of the country and Army was virtually run by General Musa at that time. Therefore, Ayub Khan did not have the time to look into the matters of the country.

Strategies were built by Pakistan to take back the Kashmir from India, but it was a miscalculation of Pakistan Army. In 1965 war, Pakistan retaliated fiercely and penetrated deep into India but it was a temporary kind of thing because Pakistan was running out of arms and it was in the interest of Pakistan to ceasefire with India.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Ayub Khan went to Moscow, a treaty was signed between two countries, and situation was resolved between two countries as the result of 1965 war.

When he came back, Zulfiqar Ali launched a campaign against Ayub Khan and he just gave away everything on the table which Pakistan had acquired into the battle field.. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto launched his party with the name of Pakistan people's party (PPP) and he went to East Pakistan to make an alliance with Mujeeb-ur-Rehman. But Mujeeb-ur-Rehman had his own desires and was not happy with the behavior of bureaucracy with East Pakistan.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was also playing the role of diplomat with China, Russia and with other countries and was highly visible in print media and electronic media. General Yahya Khan was very disappointed. Military was against him due to his role played in the war of 1965. Ayub Khan was left with no any other option else to resign. General Yahya Khan came into power, another martial law was implemented in the country, and constitution of 1962 was abrogated. When the constitution of 1962 was abrogated elections were held and Sheikh Mujeeb Rehman clean swept from East Pakistan under Awami League Party (AMP) and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto secured seats in Sindh and South Punjab. Consequently, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto did not accept the results of elections.