Course Codes: 9374/8220/9806

PAKISTAN STUDIES

(Compulsory)



Department of Pakistan Studies
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

PAKISTAN STUDIES

(Compulsory)

For BS

Course Code: 9374/8220/9806 **Units: 1–9**

Department of Pakistan Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
ALLAMA IQBAL OPEN UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

(ALL RIGHTS RESERVED WITH THE PUBLISHER)

1st Edition 2019

Quantity .....

Price .....

Publishing Supervisor .....

Printer ..... Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad.

Publisher ..... Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad.

Course Development Coordinator: ..... Dr. Khalid Mahmood

Editor: ..... Ms. Humera Ejaz

COURSE TEAM

Chairman: Prof. Dr. Samina Awan

Course Coordinator: Dr. Khalid Mahmood

Writers:
1. Prof. Dr. Muhammad Reza Kazimi
2. Dr. Khalid Mahmood
3. Mudassir Jattala
4. Sayed Akmal Shah

Reviewers:
1. Prof. Dr. Samina Awan
2. Prof. Dr. Sayed Jaffar Ahmed
3. Prof. Dr. Fazal-i-Rahim Marwat
4. Prof. Dr. Anwar Shaheen
5. Dr. Sajid Mahmood Awan
6. Dr. Umar Hayat
7. Dr. Kishwar Sultana
8. Dr. Kausar Parveen

Editor: Ms. Humera Ejaz

Layout & Design: Malik Mateen Ishfaq

FOREWORD

Allama Iqbal Open University has the honour to present BS Programs in various faculties for those who are deprived from regular education due to their compulsions. It is obviously your own institution that provides you the education facility at your door step.

Pakistan, our beloved country had been facing numerous issues since its creation. The initial days were very tough for the newly state but with the blessings of Allah Almighty, it made progress day by day. However, due to conspiracy of external powers and some weaknesses of our leaders, the internal situation of East Pakistan rapidly changed and the end was painful as we lost not only the land but also our Bengali brothers. After the war of 1971, the people and leaders of Pakistan were forced to rethink the future of the remaining country. Another issue was that the democratic system of government could not be developed due to various reasons. However, Pakistan also carried on its economic and social development to some extent under the Martial Law period.

Today, we need the study of various aspects of Pakistani society. Pakistan Studies is the collection of many subjects including history, culture, economy, languages, international relations, politics and geography etc. As a compulsory subject this course would fulfill the requirement of students at BS level.

I am pleased that a new course book of Pakistan Studies (compulsory), for the students of BS of various faculties of Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, is now available. The book in your hands in the latest course of Pakistan Studies developed for you. Its units have been written by the experts of the subject and I am hopeful after studying the book you will acquire the authentic information and facts about the history, ideology, society and culture, economy and foreign policy of Pakistan.

July 2019

Prof. Dr. Zia Ul-Qayyum
(Vice Chancellor)

INTRODUCTION

Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad has started BS Programme in its various faculties. The Department Pakistan Studies has the honour of developing many courses for the university students from metric to M Phil. This course is developed according to the requirements of Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. The course fulfills the needs of the students regarding their queries about Pakistan.

This course comprises nine units consisting of three credit hours. The chapters of the course have been written and reviewed by the experts of the subject. Unit one describes the ideology of Pakistan and the old civilizations including the Indus Valley and Gandhara. The role of Muslim traders in sub-continent and Hindu-Muslims relations has also been discussed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah cannot be separated from the Ideology of Pakistan; therefore, the author also discussed the ideas of these leaders. At the end of the unit the objectives of creation of Pakistan have been discussed.

Origin of Sufism and role of Sufis within South Asia is discussed in the second unit. The contributions of Hazrat Ali Hajveri (Data Ganj Bakhsh) Hazrat Khawja Moinuddin Chishti, Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai and Rahman Baba are discussed in this context. Moreover, the services of Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi, Shah Wali Ullah and Sayed Ahmed Shaheed are also discussed in this unit.

Unit three has been written regarding the educational movements of the Muslims of South Asia after the War of Independence (1857). The services of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan are recognized in the organization of Aligarh Movement. Some other contemporary educational movements including the Darul Uloom Deoband, Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulema, the Jamia Millia Islamia and the services of Islamia College Peshawar are also highlighted in this chapter.

Unit four of this book focused on the British Rule and Separate Muslim Identity in the subcontinent. The causes, events and effects of the war of independence of 1857 are also described in this unit. The chapter also provides detailed knowledge about the struggle of Muslim leaders on South Asia under the banner of All India Muslim League. Unit five is the continuity of the previous unit while the writer has discussed the Nehru Report, the Fourteen Points of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore Resolution, the August Offer, the Cripps mission and the cabinet Mission Plan. The third June Plan, the Indian Independence Act 1947 and the Radcliffe Award have also been elaborated by the author.

The next unit evaluates the constitutional and political development in Pakistan from 1947 to 1971. The initial part of this unit includes the initial problems faced by Pakistan. The role of the first governor general of Pakistan has been discussed

which he played after the creation of the country. The author also discussed the approval of Objectives Resolution by the constituent assembly.

The Constitution of 1956 and 1962 and imposition of martial laws are also elaborated by the author. The unit further throws light on the war of 1965. The next unit covers the political and constitutional development since the dismemberment of Pakistan. The author tried to cover the important events of constitutional and political development including the Islamic Provisions of the Constitution of 1973, the fundamental rights of the citizens, and the amendments in the Constitution of 1973 until 2019 are elaborated.

The rules of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, General Zia-ul-Haq, Benazir Bhutto, Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and General Pervaiz Musharraf have also been discussed in the unit. The unit also covered the general elections of 2013 and the government of Pakistan Muslim League (N) till 2018. The general elections of 2018 and initial days of the rule of PTI government are also briefly discussed at the end of this chapter.

The eighth Unit informs the students of Pakistan studies about the physical features of Pakistan. Mountains, Plains, Plateaus, rivers, coastal areas and deserts as well as the human resources of Pakistan are of great importance. The national issues including overpopulation, unemployment, shortage of housing, poverty, and uneven development level of the urban and rural areas are also discussed in the unit. Moreover, culture and social lifestyles, the major industries of Pakistan, agricultural issues and new development policies and programs started by the government are included. According to the author the CPEC is expected to bring a major positive change in the level of prosperity for the people of Pakistan.

In the ninth and last unit of the course, the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy, the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations and Pakistan's relations with OIC, ECO (RCD), and SAARC have been discussed in detail. At the end of this unit Pakistan's relation with other countries including China, India, Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, America and USSR/ Russia have been elaborated.

Dear students, I am hopeful that the course will be highly fruitful for those who wish to gain more information about Pakistan ideology, society, culture, politics, economy and foreign policy. I have tried my best to provide you authentic knowledge and vast information as you have to learn as non-formal students of Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad.

Course development Coordinator
Department of Pakistan Studies
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad
Khalid.mahmood@aiou.edu.pk
051-9057831

OBJECTIVES

This course is developed for the BS Programme in different subjects / faculties offered by Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad. The course comprises 9 units of 3 Credit-Hours as per H.E.C approved criteria. The aim is to provide brief introduction to the students regarding the history of Pakistan and its ideological foundations. Specifically, the course will touch on the challenges of the country with special reference to its constitutional development, history, culture, economy and politics, and other contemporary issues of the country i.e. natural resources and foreign policy of Pakistan.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD ..... **iv**
INTRODUCTION ..... **v**
OBJECTIVE ..... **vii**

Unit–1: Ideology of Pakistan: Origin and Background **1**
Introduction 3
Objectives 3
1.1 Ideology of Pakistan 4
1.2 The Indus Valley Civilization 6
1.3 The Gandhara Civilization 9
1.4 Muslim traders in the Sub-continent 11
1.5 Muslims and non-Muslims' relations in subcontinent 12
1.6 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal, Quaid-i-Azam and the Ideology of Pakistan 14
1.7 Aims & Objectives of the Creation of Pakistan 20
Bibliography 24

Unit–2: Sufi and Ulemas in Sub-Continent **25**
Introduction 27
Objectives 27
2.1 Origin of Sufism 28
2.2 The role of Sufis towards Tolerance 29
2.3 Hazrat Ali Hajveri 33
2.4 Khawja Moinuddin Chishti 37
2.5 Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai 40
2.6 Rahman Baba 44
2.7 Sheikh Ahmed Sarhindi 47
2.8 Shah Wali Ullah 51
2.9 Syed Ahmad Shaheed Barelvi 54
Bibliography 58

Unit–3: Educational Movements in Sub-Continent **59**
Introduction 61
Objectives 61
3.1. Aligarh Movement 62
3.2. Darul Uloom Deoband 67
3.3. Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulema 70
3.4. Jamia Millia Islamia 72
3.5. Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam 75
3.6. Sindh Madrassatul Islam 76
3.7. Islamia College Peshawar 77
Bibliography 80

Unit–4: British Rule and Separate Muslim Identity-I 81
Introduction 83
Objectives 83
4.1. War of Independence 84
4.2. Hindi-Urdu Controversy 91
4.3. Simla delegation 95
4.4. Establishment of Muslim League 98
4.5. Minto-Morley Reforms 101
4.6. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's joining of Indian Politics. 104
4.7. Lucknow Pact 107
4.8. Khilafat Movement 110
4.9. Delhi Muslim Proposals 114
Bibliography 118

Unit–5: British Rule and Separate Muslim Identity-II 119
Introduction 121
Objectives 121
5.1 The Nehru report and importance of the Fourteen Points 122
5.2 The Round Table Conferences and 1935 Act 127
5.3 The Lahore Resolution 132
5.4 The August Offer and the Cripps Mission 138
5.5 The Cabinet Mission Plan and 3rd June Plan 144
5.6 Indian Independence Act of 1947 158
5.7 The Radcliffe Award 164
Bibliography 171

Unit–6: Constitutional and Political Development in Pakistan-I (1947 To 1971).. 177
Introduction 179
Objectives 179
6.1. Initial problems Faced by Pakistan and Important Events 180
6.2. Role of Quaid-i-Azam as Governor General 184
6.3. Objective Resolution 188
6.4. Constitution Making Efforts (1950-56) 192
6.5. Constitution of Pakistan 1956 201
6.6. Martial Law of 1958 204
6.7. Constitution of 1962 208
6.8. Presidential election of 1962 212
6.9. War of 1965 218
6.10. Downfall of Ayub Khan 228
Bibliography 246

Unit–7: Constitutional and Political Development in Pakistan- II (1971 To Onwards) 255
Introduction 257
Objectives 257

7.1. Dismemberment of Pakistan 1971 258
7.2. Constitution of 1973 262
7.3. Islamic Provisions of the Constitution 265
7.4. Fundamental Rights in the Constitution 266
7.5. Amendments in the Constitution of 1973 268
7.6. Politics of Bhutto 272
7.7. Pakistan National Alliance and Downfall of Bhutto 274
7.8. Period of Zia-ul-Haq 277
7.9. Journey of Democracy from 1988 to 1999 280
7.10. Musharraf as President 285
7.11. Zafar-ul-Ullah Khan Jamali and Shokat Aziz as Prime Ministers 288
7.12. Election of 2013 and Pakistan Muslim League (N) 290
Bibliography 294

Unit–8: Natural Resources and Economic Development 295
Introduction 297
Objectives 297
8.1. Physical features of Pakistan 298
8.2. Natural Resources 302
8.3. Human Resources 305
8.4. Urban and Rural Issues 308
8.5. Populations, Employment and Settlements 311
8.6. Society and Culture 314
8.7. Ethnicity 318
8.8. Important Industries 321
8.9. Five year plans 327
8.10. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) 334
Bibliography 338

Unit–9: Foreign Policy of Pakistan 339
Introduction 341
Objectives 341
9.1 Objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy 342
9.2 The United Nations and its subsidiary organizations 346
9.3 Pakistan's Relations with the OIC, ECO (RCD), SAARC and Pakistan 350
9.4 Pakistan's relations with other countries 352
9.4.1 Pakistan China Relations 352
9.4.2 Pakistan India Relations 355
9.4.3 Pakistan Afghanistan Relations 357
9.4.4 Pakistan Iran Relations 358
9.4.5 Pakistan Saudi Arabia Relations 360
9.4.6 Pakistan America Relations 361
9.4.7 Pakistan USSR / Russia Relations 363
Bibliography 366

Unit - 01

IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN: ORIGIN AND BACKGROUND

Written By:
Mudassir Jattala
Sayed Akmal Shah

Reviewed By:
Dr. Kishwar Sultana

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 3
Objectives 3
1.1 Ideology of Pakistan..... 4
1.2 The Indus Valley Civilization 6
1.3 The Gandhara Civilization 9
1.4 Muslim traders in the Sub-continent 11
1.5 Muslims and non-Muslims' relations in subcontinent 12
1.6 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal, Quaid-i-Azam and the Ideology of Pakistan 14
1.7 Aims & Objectives of the Creation of Pakistan 20
Bibliography 24

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is a politically young country in the world but the people of this land is a custodian of ancient civilizations of Indus valley and Gandhara. These civilizations developed and flourished on this land which is now a day's Pakistan. So, the history of this region is old and rich. The population of subcontinent was largely Hindu and Buddhist before arriving the Muslim traders, missionaries, and armies. The Muslim traders and armies came in subcontinent in seventh and early eighth centuries. The local people attracted toward due to their fair trading, honesty, equality and social justice. These principles of Islam got the huge conversion from other religion to Islam. It was a starting point of Pakistan ideology or Two Nation theory in Indian subcontinent.

The subcontinent was a very vast area with diverse background of population. The diverse background of population never made the Indian subcontinent in single nation. It was impossiblefor a single ruler to rule over the whole subcontinent. Even the Mughal Empire was very strong but only dominated the northern India. Therefore, the British disbanded the Mughal Empire after the war of independence. At that time Muslims were one quarter of India's Population. The Muslims ruled over Sub-Continent for centuries. Their defeat in the war of independence, in 1857 was a major setback. But it raised the consciousness in the Muslims of subcontinent about their identity. Personalities began to emerge who influenced the Muslim community as scholars, thinkers and leaders. There were some progressive Muslims like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal, and Quid-e-Azam. These leaders contributed the awakening of Muslims through their ideas, and giving back to them their sense of pride and purpose.

The present unit will profoundly describe the Ideology of Pakistan and Two Nation theory. It will present the synopsis of historical background of ideology of Pakistan in Subcontinent and also cover the evolution of Two Nation theory. The advent of Islam, Muslim Traders and Muslim dynasties cannot be ignore while discussing historical background of Pakistan ideology. The role and contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal and Quid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah are significantly discussed in this unit. The aims and objectives of creation of Pakistan and application of Pakistan ideology is also discussed at the end of the unit.

OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter you will be able:

1. To develop understanding of the ideology of Pakistan.
2. To learn about the evolution of Two Nation theory and background of Ideology of Pakistan.
3. To know the contribution of the leaders like Sir Syed, Allama Iqbal and Quid-i-Azam.
4. To comprehend the multiple aims and objectives of creation of Pakistan

1.1 IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

The term ideology consists of two Greek words “ideo” and “logos”, which means ‘’the science or study of ideas." The term ideology is a complex discourse in a realm of social sciences due to controversial approaches among scholars and theorists on its definition and meaning. Historically, the word “idealogie" was first time used by French thinker ‘Antoine Destutt’ de Tracy during the French revolution. He defined this word as the Science of Ideas concerning with social and political life. According to the Karl Marx, the ideology is about ideas of ruling class, who want to maintain their privileged position and order through the capitalism. Martin Seliger defined the term ideology a set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify the ends and means of organized social action, irrespective of whether such action aims to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given social order." George Brass describes the term ideology "any plan or program of common life based upon thinking and philosophy is called ideology."

Despite the controversial approaches to the concept of ideology, the basic features of concept remain the same. However, the term Ideology can be defined as a set of socially shared beliefs, norms, values, ideals, convictions, institutions, goals and a body of knowledge which people believe significant and practicable. All these features bind the nation together and depict a true reflection and product of ideology. These certain common traits in almost every ideology throughout the world are same. It proposes a step forward, for example, a manifesto or line of action to be followed in order to achieve the desired goal in the future. The socially shared ideas, speculation and beliefs are associated with ideologies to justify the existing or desired social or political order.

> *“A political ideology is a set of shared beliefs, values, norms and principles that explain and justifies a preferred political order or proposed a new order and program to nation or civilization.*

As mentioned before, the notion of ideology was originated during the French Revolution which mean, science of ideas. But the concept of political ideology emerged in early 19th century.

Importance of Ideology: Ideology is a motivational and very significant force behind the development of a nation. Ideology gives a right direction and a sense of purpose to a nation. It provides a platform to scattered social groups in society and brings them together. It also plays vital role in nation building. Furthermore, ideology gives the direction to its followers toward evolution and revolution. New norms, values and cultures are shaped by ideologies and these traits work like a binding force in a society. The function of ideology is like a backbone in the structure of a nation, and without it, there is no concept of a nation.

Ideology of Pakistan: The creation of Pakistan is unique in a sense that it is based on the philosophy of Islam and not on the western concept of nation state. The concept of nation

states emerged in Europe in the early nineteenth century. According to it, the secularism is a central belief of nation state, in which sovereignty belongs to people. Conversely, the foundation of Pakistan is based upon the religion of Islam, where all sovereignty of state and people belongs to Almighty Allah. The ideology of Pakistan passed through different phases and evolutionary process. The popular slogan, "Pakistan Ka Matlab Kia, La Illa ha illa Allah" was the central theme of freedom movement which provided basis to Pakistan. Historical experiences raised the consciousness in Muslims of subcontinent that they are quite different from the Hindus in every aspect of life. However, Nineteenth Century was a period of great trial and crises for Muslims in British India. At that time, few people realized the problems of Muslims. Allama Iqbal provided the philosophical explanation by presenting the idea of separate homeland for Muslims of subcontinent. Subsequently, M.A Jinnah translated the abstract ideas of Iqbal into a reality in the form of sovereign Islamic state.

Two Nation Theory: The communal concept of “Two Nation Theory" was root cause for the foundation of Pakistan as a sovereign state. The dissimilarities and differentiations between the two major communities, Muslims and Hindus of the Subcontinent in the form of cultural, political, lingual, philosophical, religious, economic and social means were the basis of two nation theory. The Two-Nation theory simply defines that the Hinduism and the Islam are not only two different religions, but they are two distinct social orders and entirely different ways of life. The Hindus and the Muslims are two different nations on the basis of two-nation theory. In spite of living together with Hindus for more than one thousand years, Muslims of Subcontinent have their own norms, values, culture, eating habits, music, architecture, literature and religion. So, Muslims cannot be merged in any other nation due to different worldview, as their ideology is based on principles of Islam. Consequently, these dissimilarities pushed the Muslims towards demand of separate homeland, wherein they can practice their religion freely.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 1

1. The concept of political ideology emerged in early _____ century.
2. These certain common traits in almost every _____ throughout the world are same.
3. The function of ideology is like a _____in the structure of a nation.
4. Ideology is a motivational and very significant _____ behind the development of a nation.
5. The ideology of Pakistan passed through different phases and _____ process.
6. The Hindus and the Muslims are two different nations on the basis of two-nation_____.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the origin of ideology and significance of ideology.
2. Explain the ideology of Pakistan with referee to Two Nation Theory.
3. Give a comprehensive account on importance of Ideology and Pakistan ideology.

1.2 THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

In term of the ancient, Indus civilization is as old as Sumerian and the Indus region is similar to Mesopotamia and Nile Valley. It was located is now Pakistan and northwest India today. The Archaeological studies show that it covered larger area than modern Pakistan and stretching to Balochistan, Gulf of Khambat to the south and to the Himalayas. The Indus Valley was a land of great fertility irrigated by five rivers. Indus Civilization flourished on the banks of the great rivers, possibly the Indus and Sarasvati. In the third millennium, the settlements started in Indus basin and other areas of the subcontinent were the home of small farming communities, pastoral tribes, and hunter-gatherers. The Indus civilization was expanded over the large area far larger than of its contemporary civilizations. In the same period, other civilizations were flourishing in Mesopotamia and Egypt. While the other ancient civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and China left own expression in the form of architect, monuments and historical records. Egyptian and Near Eastern civilizations were remembered and recorded in histories but the Indus Valley civilization was forgotten. During the1920, British were ruling over India, they started investigation the historical sites of South Asia. They discovered the two important cities of Indus civilization, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro.

The archaeological remains show that the Indus civilization did not develop suddenly but gradually. Before the appearance of mature Indus civilization the people lived in small villages and rural communities. On the later period, there was a proliferation of small towns and cities. As the time passed these small towns and cities ultimately became large and transformed into the full-fledged cities Like Harappa. It was a metropolitan city and trading center in region. The whole period of Indus valley civilization can be divided into three phases. First, the early phase of Indus Civilization started from 3500 BC–2600 BC. This period experienced the initial and small scale town-planning in the form of architect, mud structures, industry, trade and commerce, arts and crafts etc. The second mature period (from 2600 BC to 1900 BC) was marked by the well developed and organized cities and towns with burnt brick structures and marvelous buildings, internal and foreign trade, diversity in crafts types etc. The late Indus valley phase (from 1900 BC to 1400 BC) was the period of demise. Various towns and cities were started shrinking and disappeared. Trade, commerce and business collapsed leading to the gradual fall of the significant urban features and traits of Indus civilization.

The remains show that the Indus culture was not spread over only modern day Pakistan. Even it spread over vast areas of subcontinent such as Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, and some parts of Afghanistan. The Harappa, Kalibangan, Mohenjo-Daro were major cities and the heartland of Indus civilization. Most of the settlements, small towns and villages were located in this region. Because, this area was shared some important features in terms of the topography, plain land, soil type, weather, drainage, climate and subsistence pattern. The flat land of Indus valley was

much fertile which received heavy monsoons and supply of water from Himalaya Rivers. Thus, agriculture based economy was developed in this region because of its flat land and distinct geographical features.

Agriculture began in civilization around 4000 BCE and main crops were wheat, barley, with rice and cotton grew by Indus farmers. Wheat, rice and barley were the staple crops in Indus, which cultivated in the rabbi season. Several other crops including lentil, pea and chickpea were cultivated in the rabbi season. Cotton was cultivated as a kharif crop and planted in June and harvested from November onward. However, it is thought that this was the method of cultivation in Harappan times as now a day.

Town Paining: Urban settlements and cities developed during the 3000 BCE. The cities and towns were much larger than Egyptian cities. The Harrapa and Mohenjo-Daro were two important cities of Indus civilization with almost 50,000 inhabitants. The town planning was the most significant feature of Indus valley civilization. All the urban settlements marked by great uniformity in the form of design and pattern of towns, streets, structures, size of bricks, drainage system etc. The major cities like Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Kalibangan and other towns were divided into two major parts. The citadel was built on higher mound on the western side and a lower town developed for residence area and market on the eastern side of the town.

The citadel in Indus cities had great importance with large structures. It used for administrative functions and as a ritual centers. The lower town was divided into several residential blocks. The streets were straight and interconnected with each other in criss-cross pattern. The main streets were connected with narrow lanes. The doors of the buildings and houses were opened in these narrow lanes not in the main streets. The sizes of the houses were different and varied in the cities of Indus civilization. Mostly the houses of ordinary people were consisted of a single room structure. On the other hand, the larger houses had one story with many rooms surrounded by a lawn.All the houses and building built by baked bricks with high quality material. However, the houses contain a private well, kitchen, and bathroom. The variation in the size of the houses shows the class structure of society. Therefore**,** the richer and elite class resided in the bigger houses whereas ordinary people or poorer section of the society lived in one-room buildings. The urban settlements had a complex and sophisticated sewer system. Every house had a bathroom and wastewater was collected into small drains in street, which flowed into the main drainage system. The drains were covered with stone slabs and constructed at regular distance for cleaning. All the evidence stated that Indus cities and town were well planned with brick houses, baths, excellent drains and sewers, granaries for storing cereals, workshops, and fortified citadels.

Industries and Crafts: In Indus civilization, there were many craftsmen who produced much headwork and ornaments made of precious stones and shells. The Indus people were aware about the use of metals except iron. They made different objects of gold and silver including beads, armlets, needles and other ornaments. But the silver was

commonly used to made objects than gold. The common tools like axe, saws, chisels, knives, spearheads and arrowheads have been discovered, which used by Indus People. The weapons produced by the Indus people were small and defensive in nature, since they were not aware the usage of sword etc. They obtained the copper mainly from Rajasthan and gold from the Himalayan river-beds, and silver from Mesopotamia. It is important to note that they use the bronze though in limited manner.

Several evidences had been found that bead making was common. It was an important craft of that time and many bead makers shops have been discovered at Harappa and Lothal. Some precious and semiprecious stones were used for making bead, even gold and silver beads have been discovered. Beside of this, a variety of terracotta figurines of males and females, models of birds, monkeys, dogs, sheep, and cattle have been found from different sites of Indus Civilization. The evidence shows that Indus People were excellent in a variety of arts and crafts. They were brilliant to make different type of pottery and decorated the pottery with attractive colors and animal pictures. Seal manufacturing was also important industry in Indus cities. They manufactured different kind and size of seals usually square in shape and made from steatite. These seals depict a number of animals and some signs of script which has not been interpreted yet.

Trade: Many evidence have been found that they have a commercial and trading network within the region and with external civilizations like Sumerian. Overall, Business, trade, commerce, and industry was an important and attractive attribute of the urban economy of the Harappans. Because the urban areas of Indus were depended on the surrounding rural areas for food supply and other raw material. Likewise countryside population needed a market for other products, while urban industry and craftsmen sell their goods to rural people. This contact developed the urban-rural relationship. Moreover, the Indus traders also developed the business relations with foreign lands and other contemporary civilization especially Mesopotamia. Because, various kind of metal and raw material was not available locally, so they had to be brought from other regions. They imported precious stones from southern India and silver and tin from Afghanistan and Persia. Lothal was one of the busy and popular ports. Because overall it was a trading civilization and through this port they exchanged several goods and products with other regions. Moreover, the inhabitants of Indus Civilization had enjoyed a better economic life as compare to the other contemporary Babylonians and Egyptians.

Social Stratification: It is argue that the Indus civilization was matriarchal society in nature. This argument on the popularity of the mother goddess, which have been found in Punjab and Sind region. The people of Indus were adopted diverse professions as a priest, the warrior, peasant, trader, artisan, masons, weavers, goldsmith and potter etc. Class structure was also existed in Indus society particularly in urban settlements. The remains of different types of buildings and houses that were used by different classes have been discovered at Harappa and Lothal. The class of laborers lived barracks like small quarters. The people lived in big houses belonged from richer or upper class. The use of ornaments like necklace, armlet, earring, beads, bangles, was common in both gender.

Script: The most interesting aspect of this civilization that the people were literate and they could write. But, archeologist still cannot interpret and understand the writing. Examples of this writing system have been found on pottery, amulets, carved stamp seals, and even in weights and copper tablets which have been found in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Historians are not sure about their language which they spoke. However, they assume that Indus people spoke Brahui, a dialect used by Baluchi people in Pakistan today.

Decline of the Indus Valley Civilization: The collapse or decline of any civilization cannot be measure exactly. But different historians narrate that the period of 1000 BC is considered to be the decline of Indus Civilization. The great and large cities had turned into piles of unpopulated mud. Contrary, the civilization was flourishing and cities were doing well during the period of 2500 and 1750 BC. In this period, all the key features and traits such as town planning, writing system, standardized weights and measures, homogeneity in art, crafts and pottery designs, etc started to disappear. For instance, Mohenjo-Daro was a major city, which consisted of large area and large population. But it reduced to a small town of three hectares at end of this phase. Different scholars propose the different theories on the decline of Indus civilization. Some believes that well armed Aryan people suddenly invaded the Indus civilization. Aryan basically was a large group of nomadic people migrated from central Asia and crossed the Hindu Kush Mountains and came in contact with the Indus Valley Civilization. This migration of Aryan People into region is considered the reason for the decline of the Indus Civilization. Some other historians argue that the decay of Indus civilization was gradual not sudden. The cities emptied slowly because of environmental changes, flood, earthquake and other natural disasters. Thus, there is no single reason behind the collapse of the Indus civilization.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 2

1. The Indus Valley was a land of great fertility irrigated by _____ Rivers.
2. Urban settlements and cities developed during the _____ BCE.
3. The _____planning was the most significant feature of Indus valley civilization.
4. The streets were straight and interconnected with each other in ____pattern. (criss-cross)
5. The Indus people were aware about the use of _____except iron.
6. _____was one of the busy and popular port.
7. The class of _____ lived barracks like small quarters.

1.3 THE GANDHARA CIVILIZATION

Gandhara Civilization was one of ancient civilization and it is known as Gandhara due to its land. It was flourished in what is now north of Pakistan and some parts of Afghanistan from the mid first millennium BC to the start of the second millennium CE. The Gandhara Civilization was consisted of different dynasties. Most of these dynasties were following the Buddhism as their religion.

The Extent of Gandhara: Historically, Gandhara Civilization has a immense importance. Geographically, Gandhara was a triangular piece of land. It was situated 100 kilometers east to west and 70 km north to south and stretching to the west of the Indus River till the north by the Hindukush Mountains. The hills of Swat, Dir, Buner, Peshawar valley, and Bajaur were the areas covered by Gandhara Civilization, which are presently located in the boundaries of Pakistan.

In the 20th century, the detail and interesting record of Gandhara civilization have been found in the different sites of Taxila, Swat and some parts of KPK. Many significant Buddhist establishments were resided in Taxila now modern day in Pakistan. Taxila was the one of the main centre of Gandhara and it is over three thousand years old. In 326 BC, Alexander the great conquered the region of Taxila and introduced the Greek culture that became an important part of Gandhara art. On the later stages, the Mauryans dynasty took the control of Taxila. Under the great Ashok, Gandhara Civilization reached a remarkable matured level of development.

In the year of 2 BC, the Mauryans dynasty adopted the Buddhism as the religion of state. Than Buddhism was flourished and prevailed for over 1000 years. Taxila, Swat and Charsadda were three important centers for Gandhara arts, learning, culture, spirituality, business and trade during this time. Usually, monastic houses and stupas were center of Buddhist learning, art, and culture. Hundreds of monasteries and stupas were built by the Ashok the great. Swat is very popular as a land of romance and beauty. Swat was also a holy land of Buddhist learning and piety and it is celebrated throughout the world due to Gandhara culture. Swat is well renewed place because of Buddhist pilgrimage. According to Buddhist historian, the Buddha himself came to Swat and preached to the people here. During this time,the Gandhara civilization became the centre of learning, education and spiritual influence but the world famous Gandhara culture, and art also flourished. Due to these learning centers, a unique and different art of sculpture emerged, which is known as Gandhara art all over the world. The Gandhara art developed and spread all over the world. The styles developed and matured here were imitated in neighboring countries. For example, the Buddhist art and style was imitated in images made of bronze by Chinese.

It is to remember that Gandhara civilization is always been connected with Buddhism. The people, who belonged to Buddhism, had keen interest in making sculptures. After the death of *Gotam Buddha*, the spiritual guide of the Buddhists; his teachings were spread by Ashok the Great. Ashok spread the teachings of Gotam through three ways. First, he developed the culture of writing his teachings of Gotam on the mountains. Second, he promoted the culture of the pillars of stones, on which the teachings of Buddha engraved. Third, Ashok took highly interest in constructing stupas. Moreover, the public took interest in making status of Buddha and his disciples while in this way the culture of Gandhara included various type of art. The monumental and rich legacy of Buddhist art, culture and architecture can be seen in Pakistan. A lot of the Gandhara heritage in craft and art is preserved in the region of Taxila. Gandhara is the civilization spread from Rawalpindi to Peshawar. However, the Gandhara art and sculptures can be seen in the

museums of Pakistan, European countries like Germany, England, France and China, Japan, Korea, India and Afghanistan.

Gandhara Civilization witnessed the rule of multiple dynasties of antiquity as mentioned below:

- Achaemenids (from 600 to 400 BC)
- Greeks (from 326 to 324 BC)
- Mauryans (from 324 to185 BC)
- Indo-Greeks (from 250 to190 BC)
- Scythians (from 2nd century to 1st century BC)
- Parthian (from 1st century BC to 1st century CE)
- Kushans (from 1st to 5th century CE)
- White Huns (from 5th century CE)
- Hindu Shahi (from 9th to 10th century CE)

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 3

1. Geographically, Gandhara was a _____piece of land.
2. Hundreds of monasteries and stupas were built by the _____ the great.
3. The styles developed and matured here were _____ in neighboring countries.
4. Gandhara _____is always been connected with Buddhism.
5. _____ took highly interest in constructing stupas.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the origin and decline of the Indus civilization.
2. Describe the main features of urban culture in Indus valley civilization.
3. Discuss the Trade and Industry of Indus people.
4. Write a note on Gandhara Civilization.

1.4 MUSLIM TRADERS IN THE SUB-CONTINENT

The Concept of nationhood in Muslims of subcontinent was developed before the making of Pakistan. Pakistan is a result of this concept of nationhood rather than Pakistan is creating a concept of nationhood. A deep study of the history proves that the Muslim nationalism emerged with the advent of Islam. Islam, in subcontinent, introduced new principles significant to every sphere of life. The Muslim nationalism started in the Sub-Continent when first Indian embraced Islam. It was the first step towards the Two Nation theory. Initially, Islam spread in the Indian coastal areas through the Arab traders, because they used to visit southern Indian coastal areas for purpose of trade. They came in close contact with the local population and got an opportunity to preach Islam. Arabs impressed the local people by their simplicity, fair business dealing, equality and honesty. After that, Muhammad Bin Qasim was the first ever Muslim General of Arab army conquered some parts of India during the reign of Umayyad Dynasty. Subsequently, the

second phase of Muslim expansion started by Mahmud of Ghazna, who launched a series of invasions and opened the gate to preach Islam in subcontinent.
On the later stages, the spread of Islam in subcontinent was carried on by the Muslim Sufis (saints) and mystics like Moinuddin Chishti, Ali Hejveri, Bah-ud-Zikriya, Miran Hussain Zanjani, etc. These dedicated, selfless Sufis and mystics rejected the vices, discouraged the caste system and inequality in the Indian society. Before advent of Islam, People of sub-continent were divided into different social factions through rigid caste system. When these Saints and Mystics presented and preached the true image of the Islamic principles. These principles attracted many followers and got huge conversions because of its principals and simple way of life.

1.5 MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS' RELATIONS IN SUBCONTINENT

Qutub-ud-Din Aibuk was the first Muslim ruler in Subcontinent, who permanently established Muslim dynasty in subcontinent that followed by Sultanate dehli, slave dynasty and Mughal rulers. These Muslim dynasties paved the way and open the door for Muslim missionaries. Arab traders and Muslim Sufis introduced Islamic teachings to the people of the subcontinent. Therefore, with the spread of Islam it entirely changed the pattern and character of Indian society. A new understanding of relationship and human interaction between different social groups emerged which shaped the new culture of tolerance, and acceptance for each other. However, Islam was a blessing for the lower classes of India. The people of lower occupational groups who were suppressed under the existing social order willingly embraced the Islam.

A strong Muslim community came into existence on the soil of India, who had its own understanding of life, culture, norms, values, customs and heroes. The Muslims established their national identity through the unmatched popularity of Islam in Subcontinent. On the other hand, Hinduism made many efforts to stop the expansion of Islam. Several Hindu movements emerged with the slogan to reforms the Indian society actually to halt expansion of Islam. The magnetic force of Islam and its attractive principles of equality, brotherhood, social justice and respect defeated the all effort of Hinduism. Deen-e-Ilahi and Bakhti movements etc created a strong reaction and anger among the Muslim religious scholars. So, they made efforts to protect and preserve the true image of Islam. Role of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi and others was significant to oppose such kind of movement as they made great efforts to restore pure teachings of Islam. Sheikh Ahmad opposed un-Islamic trends. Furthermore, he advocated the separate identity and image of Muslim nationalism. He was believer of Two-Nation theory and favor of maintaining the separate identity between Muslims and Hindus. The principles of equality and social justice acted like magnetic forces for the Hindus to be inspired from; and lead them to follow Islam.

The Muslims ruled over Sub-Continent for centuries. Therefore, Muslim rulers were dethroned by British. In 1857, the War of Independence was a turning point of their fortune. It was major setback to the Muslims of Indian, who were blamed by the British for the rebellion and uprisings. The British with the help of Hindus pushed the Muslims into the backwardness in every walk of life. This social conditions and crisis paved the way and forced the Muslims to search their separate identity of nationalism—the Muslim nationalism. On that time of despair and distress, some Muslim scholars sought to reform the teachings of Islamic laws and to promote its application in a Muslim society. One of the influential and prominent people among these figures was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who came forward and awakened Muslims of India well in time. His literary contribution and educational services especially the Aligarh movement was one of the best device of social mobility for the Indian Muslim under British colonial rule. In 1885, the Indian National Congress was established by Sir Hume as an Indian nationalist party under the British government. The Congress worked and supported the British government in India and acted like king party. Muslim gentry opposed the creation of Congress. Sir Syed advised the Muslims not to participate in Congress as he realized that the Muslims should not take part in anti-government activities. Secondly, congress would safeguard the interests of only Hindus.

Sir Syed used the word two nation for the Muslims and Hindus. His fear of Hindu domination sowed the seeds for the Two Nations Theory. After some years, All-India Muslim League was established in All India Muslim Conference in 1906 at Dhaka. Most of the leaders of All India Muslim League were graduated by Aligarh University. They wanted to protect the social and political rights of Indian Muslims on the Western political lines. The aims and objectives of All India Muslim League were to remove the misconception between British government and Muslims and to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. The Muslim nationalism started in the _____when first Indian embraced Islam.
2. A deep study of the history proves that the Muslim _____ emerged with the advent of Islam.
3. Before advent of Islam, People of sub-continent were _____ into different social factions through rigid caste system.
4. Arab traders and Muslim Sufis _____ Islamic teachings to the people of the subcontinent.
5. Deen-e-Ilahi and Bakhti movements etc created a strong _____ and anger among the Muslim religious scholars.
6. In 1857, the War of Independence was a _____ point of their fortune.
7. Muslim gentry opposed the creation of _____.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the evolutionary process of ideology of Pakistan.
2. How Islam spread in subcontinent.

3. Write a note on advent of Islam and relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim in subcontinent.

1.6 SIR SYED AHMAD, ALLAMA IQBAL, QUID-I-AZAM AND IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

1.6.1 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Two-Nation Theory

When great Mughal Empire was collapsing and declining in subcontinent. In this critical time, Muslims of subcontinent produced a courageous and eminent leader Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born in very noble family at Delhi in 1817.He got his early education from his maternal grandfather, who was a distinguished scholar and only mathematician of this time. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was trained in various subjects like, Arabic, Persian literature, history, Mathematics and medicine. After completing his education, he joined the government service as head clerk in 1839.Soon, he passed examination and appointed as a Sub-Judge. After serving in different areas in different capacities, he was promoted to the post of Chief Judge in 1846. At the eve of war of independence in 1857, Sir Syed was performing his duties as a judge, however war changed him entirely. The battle of 1857 created a huge gulf and mistrust between British and Muslims. He took responsibility of Indian Muslim and he convinced the Muslim community to acquire the modern education.

In the beginning, Sir Syed Ahmed khan believed in Indian Nationalism. But later on his faith about Indian Nationalism was shaken due to Hindi-Urdu controversy. Hindi-Urdu controversy started in the year1867 when Benarsi Hindus started campaign to replace Urdu by Hindi as an official language. This conflict changed the mindset of Sir Syed so he became extremely disappointed to see the behavior and prejudice of Hindus towards Muslims. Finally, he was convinced that Hindus could never be friends of Muslim. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan expressed his views to Mr. Shakespeare, the Governor of Banaras *"I am convinced now that Hindus and Muslims could never become one nation as their religion and way of life was quite different from each other"*. In the political sphere, Sir Syed attained several successes. He removed the misunderstandings between British government and Indian Muslim. At that time Indian National congress was grew to be very powerful political party in India. Sir Syed observed that Congress projected the Hindus demands. He advised the Muslims not to join the political activities of Congress but to concentrate on modern education. He realized that practical politics would divert the concentration from education. The word 'Nation' for Indian Muslim was first used by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He supported the separate electorate for Muslims in British India. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was a pioneer and architect of Two Nation Theory in Sub-continent.

Literary and Educational Contributions of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: The first effort made by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the writing of a booklet with title as, "Risala-i-

Asbab-i-Baghawat-I-Hind" in 1858.This writing was a factual analysis of the reasons of the mutiny of 1857. The pamphlet was translated into English with the main objective that British could read it. In this booklet Sir Syed discussed the miseries and problems of the Muslims of India as well as he analysed the policies of British for the India in detail. In addition to this, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan also wrote a number of other books to remove misconception and distrust between the Muslims and the British government. "*Loyal Muhammadans Of India"* was one of the popular book written by Sir Syed. At that juncture, British used the term Mohamedans for the Muslims of sub-continent and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had used the same term THE MUHAMMADANS to communicate with them.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan produced many books, articles, and pamphlets to remove misperceptions between Islam and Christianity. *A Commentary on Bible* written by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He tried to indicate and explore the commonalities and the shared points, ideas, beliefs between Islam and the Christianity in this commentary. Tehqiq-I-Lafz-I-Nasara was another popular writing by Sir Syed. Nasara is a term which use for Christians, he argued in his writing that the usage of the word Nasara does not show something derogatory and prejudicial toward Christians. But the Muslims use this word to express their positive sentiment and respect for Christians.

Sir Syed established a "SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY" to promote modern knowledge and English. This society used to hold meetings from time to time. It translated the excellent English articles into Urdu. Another key venture undertaken by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the writing of Aligarh Institute Gazette. This Gazette was published in two languages i.e. English and Urdu. The gazette played a vital role in spreading and promoting the modern knowledge, scientific ideas and modern education among the Muslims of India. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan published a magazine with title *Tehzib-Ul-Akhlaq* in Urdu. The main focus of the magazine was on social and cultural issues of the Muslim of the sub-continent.

In 1872, he established Muslim school system to promote the modern education along with Islamic education in the Muslims community of India. In June 1875,Sir Syed Ahmad Khan led the foundation of a college at Aligarh. The British government was a supporter of this effort because they thought that in this way Muslims would access to modern education.

1.6.2 Allama Iqbal and Vision of a Separate Muslim State

Legends like Allama Iqbal are born once in centuries. He was great poet, Philosopher and politician who gained the country-wide fame. He received his education from Government College Lahore and then went to Europe for the higher studies. He obtained his PhD in Philosophy from Germany. However, he entered in Indian politics to protect the interests of Muslims. His entry in politics was warmly welcomed by All India Muslim League and he proved himself to be a good leader.

Iqbal's ideas were transformed and renewed about politics, nationalism and western culture during the stay in Europe. He was completely changed man with new perception and ideology after returning from Europe. He admits that certainly Europe changed my old beliefs and ideas regarding State and Indian nationalism. He said, "I was a enthusiastic Indian Nationalist during my college days. The change happened due to exposure to the western world, it gives me a new thought so I am not a Nationalist now". Allama Iqbal studied Islam deeply and believed that it is a complete code of life. After returning from Europe, Dr Iqbal compared Islam with the western culture, ideology. He reached at the conclusion that Islam is the only way of life which can solve all the problems of mankind. He comprehended the philosophy of Islam and so became the proponent of principals of Quran.

Iqbal rejected the prevalent concept of Territorial Nationalism in his poem. He refuted the concept on the basis of its contradiction with Islam and it is modern form idolatry. Dr Iqbal explains that the concept of territorial nationalism divide the nations of world. The concept of territorial nationalism has changed the course of politics and economy. The objective and aims of Politics and economy to take-over the other nation's land and resources and destruction of houses of poor. Iqbal's main argument was against the western concept of linguistic and racial nationalism. Therefore, he supported the Muslim nationalism which is based on spiritual homogeneity**.**

He wrote on territorial nationalism in the year 1910:
Islam as complete code of life appeared in a world as antithesis of idolatry. In a modern world, what is patriotism, nothing else than a new form of idolatry. The purpose of Islam is to protest against idolatry in any form. This is our duty and mission to protest against all form of new idolatry.

While exploring the solidarity of Muslims, he asserted his views in same notebook

The solidarity of Muslims as a community in subcontinent stands on Islamic princip**le.** Nevertheless, our educationists and intellectuals are searching in the dark. They are perhaps much confuse and unable to realize the difference between Islamism and westernism. The western culture and norms constructs nationality on the basis of racial and linguistics difference. But the Islamic laws do not recognize the racial, linguistics and historical differences of human. Because the concept of territorial nationality in Islam is not ultimate goal and highest limit but the spiritual homogeneity.

Dr Iqbal openly negated the idea of western type of nation state in India and stressed on the separate image of Muslims. In the 18thcentury new concept of nation state introduced in Europe. This concept further provided the strong foundation to secularism, a Philosophy which declared the separation of religion and state system. Allama Iqbal did not believe the concept of separation of religion and State system rather he emphasized that religion and politics are not separated in Islam. Further he comes up with the idea of separate State which rests on principles of Islam.

Iqbal created the awareness amongst Muslims and showed them of their lost glory through his poetry. He used the poetry as a tool for revitalization of Muslims. His message does not contradict the Islamic ideology. Iqbal's approach was a so pragmatic. He motivated the Muslims to have courage like their ancestors that the institution of Caliphate could again be restored in Muslim Ummah. In his Persian poetry with the title of Secrets of the Self and Mysteries of Selflessness published in 1915. Iqbal asserted: "Our Prophet (PBUH) migrated from his birth land and settled in Medina permanently. Our Prophet (PBUH) founded Muslim nationhood in Medina. The Indian Muslims must follow the precedence of life of Prophet (PBUH)."

On these grounds, separate identity of the Muslims as a Nation was supported by Allama Iqbal. He said that there would be no possibility of peace in the country until and unless the Muslims are recognized as a separate nation because of their distinctive cultural values, religion and history. Iqbal advocate the idea of Muslim nationalism and refuted the concept of territorial nationalism.

Allama Iqbal delivered his famous presidential address in the annual meeting of All India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930. The Allahabad address of Iqbal was hallmark and had a great significance in freedom struggle of Indian Muslims. This presidential address defined the fate and destination of Muslims of British India and put their struggle in right direction. Allama Iqbal gave philosophical explanation of Two-Nation Theory and proposed the separate homeland for the Muslims. He declared in his address:

"India is a continent of a vast population and different human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. To base a constitution on conception of United India is to prepare for civil war. I therefore, would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire. The formation of a single consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India."

He wrote a letter to Jinnah and convinced him to organize the Muslim League and to leads the Muslim of subcontinent. Iqbal knew that, darkness and desperation is prevailing in the Muslim of India but he was much optimistic.

When Muhammad Ali Jinnah came back to India from London, he started the reorganization of the All-India Muslim League. Iqbal extended his complete support to Jinnah and worked hard to organize the party in Punjab as a loyal soldier. This was the political cooperation between these two greatest leaders of Muslim India which turned the Muslim League into mass political party of India. All India Muslim league invoked the Iqbal's concept of Muslim homeland for mass mobilization. The Muslims of India effectively and forcefully started their struggle around the flag of Muslim League with an aim to establish an independent State. Eventually, both the Hindus and British realized that the partition of India into two independent States is inevitable.

1.6.3 Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Two-Nation Theory

M.A Jinnah is known as the Quid-i-Azam in Pakistan. He was a Charismatic Leader in the real sense. He was a history-making leader who changed the course of history. Jinnah entered in politics in 1906 when he joined Indian National Congress. During this time, Indian Muslims became conscious about their separate identity and rights. All India Muslim League was established to protect the interests of Muslims but Jinnah Kept away from league's politics and agenda. Later on, Quaid-e Azam joined All India Muslim League in 1913 and played significant role to promote Hindu-Muslim Unity. In 1920, he resigned from the Congress due to disagreement with Gandhi on the issue of self-rule (Swaraj). After resigning from Congress, he actively participated in Muslim League affairs to articulate the Muslims demands with zeal and zest. Quid-i-Azam played a decisive role to peruse the Muslims interests by facing strong opposition from Hindus and British. It was the charismatic personality of Quid-i-Azam who influenced Muslim leaders and masses and convinced them to show disassociation with Indian nationalism. Quid-i-Azam rejected the Nehru report on the basis of Hindu bigotry and prejudice.

On this occasion Quid sharply responded to Congress and British Government:
No, there is another party Muslims and the Muslim League has the right to represent the interests of Muslim In British India.
In 1935, Mr. Jinnah used the word nation for the Muslims of India. He explained the separate identity of Muslims with reference to Islamic principles and way of life and established that Muslims are quite different from the Hindus in every aspect of life. On March 1936, Quid-i-Azam said that the Muslims could arrive at a settlement with Hindus as Two Nations.

Quid-i-Azam stated in his speech at Lucknow in the year 1937:
The Hindus constitute the majority community and majority community shows his version that Hindustan is only for the Hindus.

The congress established its government through the 1935 Act. Congress rule was a great eye opener and shock for the Muslims. The Congress rule proved that they only want to establish Hindu Raj in India. Due to the congress government, Muslim of all over India experienced countless pains and miseries. Eventually, the Muslims started to mobilize themselves under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam around Muslim League flag.

Dr Iqbal wrote a letter to Muhammad Ali Jinnah and put some suggestions in the letter:
we should consider the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal (Muslim majority provinces) as a nation and start struggle for self-determination within India or outside India.
Muhammad Ali Jinnah was convinced that the future of Muslim of India is not secure as congress rule had already confirmed this.

Sir Jinnah wrote an article Published in Time and Tide in1940, he expressed his views:

"Now the western world considers the religion as private matter between man and God which separate it from State. The British people perhaps forget the religious wars of their own history. In the case of Hinduism and Islam, both religions have distinctive norms, values and definite social codes."

In an interview to London News Chronicle, Quid-i-Azam said:
"The division of India into two sovereign states is only pragmatic solution of the Hindu Muslim Conflict. But the fact is this; Hindus will not accept our complete independence as a majority community in India."

However, It is important to mention here that the speeches and statements of Quaid-i-Azam from 1940 to 1947 clearly emphasized that the new state would be an Islamic State.

In 1939, he stated that the Muslims and Hindus are two nations:
"We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral code, custom and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all cannons of international law, we are a nation."

On 23 March, 1940 at Lahore, Quid-i-Azam delivered the historic speech which highlighted the idea of separate homeland for Muslims, he said:
"*Islam and Hinduism are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions."*

We can easily find out through the speeches of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah that which type of state he wanted; as he said:
"In British India, under the parliamentary democratic system a paramount and perennial Hindus majority defiantly would dominate over a minority. The British type of parliamentary government would only establish rule of complete Hindu domination over the society in India. Certainly, the Muslim community and other minorities in India would be absolutely powerless."

In his July 1942 interview to the American press representatives, Jinnah said:
Many efforts were made by the Hindu Congress during last 27 months to undermine and suppress Culture identity, language and customs of the Muslims. Even the Muslim students were pushed in educational institutions to read the books, prescribed by the Hindu Congress. we have seen that congress government had emphasized on the Hindu culture and traditions".

Quaid-i-Azam in his address to the Students Union of Muslim University in 1942 stated that:

History of subcontinent reveals that it is a fact that Hindus have not ruled over any part of India from last one thousand years. But our proposal to grant to them the Hindu majority zone, where they can control the government as it is three fourth of India territory. Further, I would suggest to Hindu leaders not to be greedy, because Hindus assume that they would grab the remaining one-fourth and would establish the Hindu Raj over the whole India. I recommend to them don't be greedy for my one-fourth and let me live my life according to my culture, tradition, language, history and according to the principals of Islam.

Jinnah acknowledged Islam and its significant role in nation building while delivering speech to all India Muslim League:

"What is the most important thing that keeps the Muslims united? It is the only Islam which unites the Muslim. Holy Quran is a great Book, which is the source of guidance and covers all aspect of life. I am hopeful and confident that we will go on and on, there will be more unity and more oneness because of one God, one Book, one Prophet and one Nation."

October 1947, he had underscored the State's Islamic character inthe following words:

By the grace of God Pakistan is an established fact today. It is country, for which, we have been struggling for the last ten years. It was just idea that we should have an independent state. An Independent State where we can spend our lives according to our religion. Where we can practice our culture and Islamic principles of social justice could practice freely. Almost all the speeches and statement made by Quid-i-Azam refer to the establishment of an Islamic welfare state. All the speeches are clear and without ambiguity which kind of state Quid had envisioned be.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 5

1. The battle of ____created a huge gulf and mistrust between British and Muslims.
2. In the political sphere, Sir Syed observed that _____ projected the Hindus demands.
3. Sir Syed established a _____to promote modern knowledge and English.
4. Iqbal _____ the prevalent concept of Territorial Nationalism in his poem.)
5. Islam as complete code of life appeared in a world as antithesis of _____.
6. Jinnah entered in politics in _____ when he joined Indian National Congress.
7. Quid-i-Azam rejected the _____on the basis of Hindu bigotry and prejudice.
8. The congress established its government through the _____ Act.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and its contribution in Two Nation Theory.
2. Discuss the Sir Syed Ahmad Khan services for the progress and development of Muslims in India.
3. How ideas of Sir Syed, Allama Iqbal and Quid-i-Azam contributed in evolution of Two Nation Theory.

4. Give a detail account of Allama Iqbal's life and efforts for reawaking Muslims.
5. In what respect the Iqbal's poetry, ideas and Allahabad address carries importance in the history of freedom movement.
6. Describe the ideology of Pakistan in the light of pronouncement of Quid-e-Azam.

1.7 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF CREATION OF PAKISTAN

Two Nation Theory and Pakistan Ideology: The Two-Nation Theory provided logic to demand for Pakistan. Entire freedom struggle revolve around the Two-Nation Theory. Pakistan ideology is erected on the Two-Nation theory. The emergence of Pakistan as a sovereign state was unique in the sense that it was based on ideology of Islam. The ideology of Pakistan basically means that Pakistan should be a state where the Muslims can have an opportunity to spend their lives according to Islamic principles.

Establishment of the Sovereignty of Almighty Allah: The main objective of the demand of separate homeland for Muslims was to institutionalize the Islamic principles and State would ensure the supremacy of Almighty Allah. The Quid-i-Azam Stated that, we are not demanding only piece of land, however we want a country where we can practice and introduce Islamic principles.

Establishment of Islamic Democracy: Islam proposes the unique concept of democracy which is different from western concept of democracy. According to Islamic governance system, all sovereignty belongs to Almighty Allah rather than people. All people would be treated equally in Islamic system despite of their caste, race, and social status in society. The Government of Islamic country is accountable in front of Allah, conversely answerable to people on earth. The principles of Islamic democracy ensure the rights of minorities in Pakistan.

Justice and Equality: It is main directive of Islam that all human beings are to be given equal status without any discrimination of caste, colour, creed, language and culture. The establishment of rule of law and honest judiciary system for all living in the state is intended. Independent judiciary and the supremacy of law are the basic conditions for the establishment of equality and justice.

Rights and Duties: The significance of the rights of the citizens was acknowledged in the Objectives Resolution passed in March 1949. At the time much emphasis was laid on the rights and duties of the citizens. In an Islamic State rights and duties are closely connected and both go hand in hand. Essence to provide security to the minorities was also included in the demand for Pakistan.

Preservation of Islamic Culture: One of the prime objectives to demand Pakistan was the protection and preservation of Islamic cultural traits from Hindu domination. Muslims were living in sub-continent with their distinctive identity. They were not willing to accept Hindu cultural hegemony over them. Several efforts were made by Hindus to

eliminate the Muslim cultural traits. Hindi-Urdu controversy, Shuddi and Sanghtan movements are the precedents of Hindu prejudice.

Protection of Muslim Image and Identity: The protection of Muslims rights and national image from Hindu subjugation was one of the reasons to establish Pakistan. In British India, Hindu were dominant in every walk of life especially in politics, jobs and business .by acquired the modern education. The backwardness of the Muslims in every field created huge identity crises. On the contrary, the Hindus were the right hand of British so they adopted the derogatory behavior toward Muslim. They blocked all the doors to progress and prosperity for Muslims.

Establishment of the Balanced Economic System: The aim of creation of Pakistan was to establish the balanced economic system based on Islamic economic principals of equality, equity and welfare. Pakistan Government provides economic opportunities and social equality to all people. it was acknowledged Pakistan would be a welfare state and Government would be responsible to provide, education, health, employment and good quality of life to citizens of Pakistan. Zakat, Usher, and taxes would be collected by the government and be distribute to the poorest, needy and marginalize sections of society. The Economic system of Islam opposes the concentration of wealth and resources in few hands.

Conclusion: Pakistan is an ideological State. The ideology of Pakistan was based on Two Nation theory which stems from the consciousness of the Muslims of subcontinent. This consciousness was grown in the Muslims of sub-continent that they were a separate nation on the basis of Islamic Ideology. Islamic Ideology contains its own principle and philosophy of life. These Islamic principles cover social, political, economic, cultural and all other aspects of human life. These Islamic principles have been in practice for centuries in Muslims of subcontinent. Ultimately, Islamic ideology provided the foundation to the Two Nation theory.

In the perspective of Sub-continent, the Two Nation theory means that two major nations, the Muslims and Hindus were living in Subcontinent. But the two nations were entirely different from each other in their ideas, collective thinking, and way of life. This separate identity formed the basis of Two Nation theory. So, the Indian Muslims fought the war of freedom on the basis of Two Nation theory. Two Nation theory was the main driving force behind the freedom movement. After accepting this theory as a historical fact, two separate States, Pakistan and India came into existence.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 6

1. The Two-Nation Theory provided _____ to demand for Pakistan.
2. Pakistan ideology is erected on the base of two _____ theory.
3. The principles of Islamic democracy ensure the rights of _____ in Pakistan.
4. In an Islamic State rights and duties are closely _____and both go hand in hand.
5. Muslims were living in _____ with their distinctive identity.

6. The backwardness of the Muslims in every field created a huge identity _____.
7. Pakistan _____provides economic opportunities and social equality to all people.

QUESTIONS

1. Evaluate the Islamic values of ideology of Pakistan.
2. Discuss the main objectives of ideology of Pakistan.

ANSWERS OF SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 1

1.	19^{th}	2.	Ideology	3.	Backbone
4.	Force	5.	Evolutionary	6.	Theory

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 2

1.	Five	2.	3000	3.	Town
4.	Force	5.	Metals	6.	Lothal
7.	Laborers				

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 3

1.	Triangular	2.	Ashok	3.	Imitated
4.	Civilization	5.	Ashok		

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 4

1.	Sub-Continent	2.	Nationalism	3.	Divided
4.	Introduced	5.	Reaction	6.	Turning
7.	Creation				

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 5

1.	1857	2.	Congress	3.	Scientific Society
4.	Rejected	5.	Ideology	6.	1906
7.	Nehru Report	8.	1935		

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 6

1.	Logic	2.	Nation	3.	Minorities
4.	Connected	5.	Sub-Continent	6.	Crisis
7.	Government				

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Albinia, Alice, *Empires of the Indus: The Story of a River*, (1st edition), W. W. Norton & Company; 2010.

2. *Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark, Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization, (1st edition),Oxford University Press: 1998.*

3. *Constitution of Pakistan, The Federation of Pakistan: Chapter 1; The President. Retrieved 22 January 2013.*

4. Possehl, Gregory L.,*The Indus Civilization: A Contemporary Perspective*, AltaMira Press, October 28, 2002.

5. William Metz, *The Political Career of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, ed., Roger D. Long (Karachi, 2010.

6. Rizwan Ahmed, *Sayings of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah,* Karachi: Quaid Foundation 1993.

7. Tarik Jan (ed.), *Pakistan between Secularism and Islam — Ideology, Issues and Conflict*, Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1998.

8. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *Struggle for Pakistan*, Karachi: University of Karachi, 1979.

9. F.K. Durrani, *The Meaning of Pakistan*, Lahore: Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, 1943.

Unit - 02

SUFIS AND ULEMAS IN SUB-CONTINENT

Written By:
Dr. Khalid Mahmood

Reviewed By:
Prof. Dr. Samina Awan

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 27
Objectives 27
2.1 Origin of Sufism 28
2.2 The role of Sufis towards Tolerance 29
2.3 Hazrat Ali Hajveri 33
2.4 Khawja Moinuddin Chishti 37
2.5 Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai 40
2.6 Rahman Baba 44
2.7 Sheikh Ahmed Sarhindi 47
2.8 Shah Wali Ullah 51
2.9 Syed Ahmad Shaheed Barelvi 54
Bibliography 58

INTRODUCTION

Origin of Sufism and role of Sufis within South Asia is discussed in this unit. Indo-Pakistan subcontinent remained the land of mystics, Sufis and Ulema. Hazrat Ali Hajveri was the first well known Sufi who came in India and stayed in Lahore. He devoted his life for the services of humanity and was awarded the title of Data Ganj Bakhsh by the people. He did not bless only the Muslims but he also provided affection for the Hindus. *Hazrat Khawja Moinuddin Chishti* also performed a vital role for the sake of Islam and founded Chishtia order in subcontinent. Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh and Khawja Moinuddin both were the Sufis as well as great scholars of Islam. On the other hand, Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai of Sindh was a Sufi poet. He was a mystic poet and he extended the message of love for others through his poetry. He gave the lesson of love and humanity. He also promoted the love and honour for women. His poetry had been translated in other languages. Like this, Rahman Baba is the well-known Sufi poet of Pashtu language who promoted the message of Almighty Allah through his poetry.

In the list of reformers the name of Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi is highly regarded. He taught the lesson of oneness of Allah Almighty. He practically refused to bow his head before the emperor Jahangir. He entered thousands of people in Islam by his kind attitude. The unit elaborates the services of Shah Wali Ullah who served for Islam and the Muslims. The role of the Mujahidin Movement and Sayed Ahmed Shaheed also is being discussed in this unit. The unit would be beneficial both for students and the general readers.

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able:

1. To deliver knowledge about the origin of Sufis and Sufism and South Asia and their impact on the lives of Indian Muslims.
2. To enable students to understand the historical contributions of the Sufia of various Sufis Orders.
3. To appreciate the Muslim religious scholars and reformers of subcontinent.
4. To apprise scholars of South Asia and historical facts of the role of Ulema and their contributions to spread Islam in South Asia.

2.1 ORIGIN OF SUFISM

What is Sufism: Sufi is a word derived from Persian language; its plural word *Sofia* is commonly used in Urdu and other regional languages of Pakistan. According to sources Sufi is an Arabic word derived from *Safa* which means wool and it refers to the woolen garment worn by some pious people. It refers to the purity of heart and soul of human. However, the most similar term 'Tasawwuf' is also derived from the word *Sauf*.

Most of the people from us have the opinion that Sufis are those people who follow the Islamic rules in their lives. However, it is not the exact idea. The Sufis can be seen before the advent of Islam; even, during the Islamic period the Sufis were also present in non-Islamic culture including sub-continent.

If we look at the pre-Islamic roots of Sufism, we have many examples of *Sufis* and its models are early Christian mystics of Syria and Egypt; the Essenes who belonged to Palestine, and was the member of ancient Jewish ascetic sect of the second century B.C. The ascetic sect was a group of Jews who suggested the common people to practice of their self-discipline. Moreover, mystery schools of the Egyptians and Zoroastrians who worshipped fire also had some of their religious scholars.

According to Islamic scholars the word Tasawwuf is referred for such persons who wear a wool dress; since the early 19th century, the same concept has been called Sufism in Western languages. Another group of scholars is of the opinion that the word *Sufism* derived from the Greek word *Soph*, which means the wisdom or knowledge. In the light of views of Muslim scholars, the traditional view has also been widely accepted that *Sufism* is the spiritual school of Islam. The institution of Sufism started with during the initial centuries after the era of Prophet Hazrat Muhammad and his companions or *Sahaba*.

Now a day, most of the Sufis in the world are related to one of the sect of Islamic religion. A number of Islamic scholars consider that Sufism is impossible to a non-Islamic personality and Islam is its base. According to another view, some authors sketched Sufism during early Christian mystics of Syria and Egypt which was very early period before Islam. Some other said that Sufis were also belonged to the mystery schools of the Egyptians and Zoroastrians. Moreover, an additional idea is that the origin of Sufism is related to the formation of the human creation.

Origin of Sufism: A large number of authors are not agreeing on the point from where and when the *Sufism* originated. In other words, the exact derivation of *Sufism* is undecided and disputed. In the light of some sources it comes to know that the term *Sufism* is the internal dimensions of the teachings of Last Prophet of Islam. Some authors are of the opinion that that *Sufism* developed during the golden age of Islamic period which was 9th to 10th centuries. However, some of the Islamic scholars told that the Sufism was promoted earlier to the golden era as various Sufis were present like *Hassan* of *Basra*. The prominent Muslim thinker, *Allama Ibn-i- Khaldun* said that Sufism was previously experienced by the Sahaba, however, the Sahaba were those *Sufis* who

believed upon the spread of material tendencies. But later on, some people reserved the term of *Sufi* for those who gave up material practices and they only emphasized on the spiritual practice of Islam.

In subcontinent, there was large number of Sufis (Sufiaa`) who worked for the better of human beings. Hazrat Ali Hajveri who was famous as Data Sahib came to Lahore from Afghanistan; Data has written a notable book *Kashf al-Mahjub*. Abu-ul-Qushayri has written the famous book Al-Risala al-Qushayriyya fi, ilm al Tasawwuf. Khawja Moinuddin Ajmeri had played a great role for the correction of public. He was considered the great Sufi of his time.

Chains of Sufis: Generally, the Muslim *Sufis* are belonged to several chains. *Sufi* chains are sketched back to the Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (SAW). Most of the chains of Sufis such as the Qadaria, Chishtia and Suhrawardia orders belonged to the fourth caliph of Muslims Hazrat Ali, the beloved cousin and son-in-law of Hazrat Muhammad. However, other chains of Sufis attached themselves to other caliphs; such as the Naqshbandia Order connects itself with the First Caliph Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique.

Before the centuries, during the early age of Islam; there was no concept of getting education in commercial educational institutes like modern world. Therefore, the scholars used to go to trainers in remote areas and learned for years. After completing their studies, the pupils received permission to return their home towns. In this way, the spiritual learners from Muslim Sufis shaped the Order of Sufis.

2. 2 THE ROLE OF SUFIA` IN PROMOTION OF ISLAM IN THE SOUTH ASIA:

The role of Sufia for the promotion of teachings of Islam cannot be neglected. They have performed their services almost in all the world and largely in Central Asian and South Asian states and regions. No doubt, Sufism had played significant role in the construction of Muslim society and culture. They did it through mentoring the spiritual concerns of the Muslims. Dr. Sabir Ayub described that the Muslim saints or Sufis accomplished an imperative role regarding the promotion of Islam in the Indian sub-continent; but the main credit for Sufis is that they did it without using any force and authority. The extension of Islam in Sub-continent, of course; was the result of the un-tired activities and personal efforts of the Muslim saints or Sufis. These Sufis presented their efforts not as a part time activity but they made it life-time to introduce the Islamic teachings before the humans of all social or cultural groups.

According to Dr. Qasim Ghani, Abu Hashim al-Kufi was the first known person for whom the word *Sufi* was used. Abu Hashim lived in the eighth Century. He was the first person who formed a house for worship where the public gathered at the place of Ramlah, in Palestine. The date of his death is unknown for everyone, however, his teacher Suffyan al-Thawri died in 777 (A.D). In India, the Sufism started with the arrival of Muslim scholars in the early 10^{th} century. Umar-al-Jallabi-al-Hajveri a Muslim native of Ghazni from Afghanistan came in India and settled at Lahore. Before it, Ali Hajveri

had spent his time in travelling; he went to Damascus, Baghdad and Nishapur. During his learning life, he lived along with numerous of the foremost *Sufis* of that time. After settlement in Lahore, he spent most of his time in preaching the teaching of *Islam*. He is famous as Data Ganj Bakhsh; hundreds of people visit his shrine daily. *Kashf-al-Mahjub* is the famous book of Data Ali Hajveri. He spread the fundamental teachings of Islam in the mostly areas of Punjab. He died in 1072 A.D. and buried at Lahore. Lahore was a small city at that time but after his death; his simple tomb soon had got the status of Shrine (also called *Darbar* in local language). His shrine was not reserved for the Muslims but the Hindus and believers of other religion also visit *Data Darbar* to meet their needs here.

Sufism in Modern Age: Sufi Inayat Khan had played a significant role in the modern age of Sufism. He was born in a noble Muslim family at Vadodara in the Indian state of Gujrat. His full name was Inayat Khan Rehmat Khan Pathan. His paternal ancestors were Afghani Pashtun and initially settled at Sialkot. However, his maternal grandfather was Ustad Maula Bakhsh who founded Gayanshala, academy of Indian music. Actually, it was the first academy of music in subcontinent.

Primarily Inayat Khan appeared for the Chishti Order of Sufism. He also was related to Sheikh Mohammed Abu Hashim Madani Nizamiyya; Nizamiyya was the sub-branch of that Chishti Order. However, he was also connected to the Suhrawardia, Qadaria and Naqshbandia. His mystical family (Silsila) belonged to Hazrat Ali ibn-i-Abi Talib, through Abu Ishaq Shami. Sheikh Abu Hashim motivated him; therefore, he left India and settled in West in 1910. He traveled as a musician but he proved to be a teacher of Sufism as well. Sufi Inayat visited three continents and got married to Ora Ray Baker (Pirani Ameena Begum), a second-cousin of Christian Science founder Mary Baker Eddy. He became the father of four children including two sons Vilayat and Hidayat while two daughters Noor-un-Nisa and Khair-un-Nisa. They settled in France near Paris.

Sufi Inayat Khan came home to India at late 1926; he settled in Delhi, selected the right position for his tomb, the Dargah of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Here the originator of the Nizami Chishtia Order is buried. After passing few weeks, Sufi Inayat Khan passed away on 5th of February 1927. During his stay in west, in the South Dunes in Katwijk (a town in the province of South Holland) during a summer school in year 1922, Sufi Inayat Khan faced a mystical practice. He proclaimed that the place was holy and he told his students timely to think deeply. At that place, the Universal Sufi Temple was constructed in 1969.

Sufi Inayat Khan's was the pioneer in teachings of the sound; he presented his dream of the harmony which includes every aspect of our lives. He discovered the science of breath, the law of rhythm, the original process, and both the psychological influence and healing power of musical sounds.

Sufi Inayat Khan adopted the multi-religious roots of Sufism. His teachings were not reserved for someone but contemporary applicable for people of all faiths and sects. When he was trained by his teacher in 1907 to convey Sufism to the West, he expressed a

"message of spiritual liberty" which reflected the universal and comprehensive nature of Sufism.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 1

1. Generally, the Muslim _____ are belonged to several Chains or Orders.
2. The term *Sofia* is a _____word and its singular is *Sufi*.
3. The ascetic sect was a group of _____who suggested the common people to practice of their self-discipline.
4. Naqshbandia Order connects itself with the _____Caliph Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique.
5. Sufi _____had played a significant role in the modern age Sufism.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by term Sufi and order of Sufis? Describe the origin of Sufism.
2. Sufis had played a great role in promotion of Islam in the South Asia. Give your arguments.
3. Had Sufis contributed any role towards the promotion of Tolerance?

2.2.1 The Role of Sufis Towards Tolerance

The term *Sufism* or *Tasawwuf* mentions the mystical aspect of human life and the best world religion for human being is Islam; instituted by Hazrat Muhammad the beloved prophet of Allah Almighty. Islam had taught the various lessons of spending life in the world. Islam called this world temporary for the human being and told that the permanent life shall be started after the death and *Qiamat* (the Day of Judgment). The most important tradition accomplished by Muslim *Sufis* was the message of devotion.

One of the most important qualities of Sufi-people is the acceptance of others' in respect to believes, concepts and religions. The *Sufis* in the history had shown their open-mindedness. They accepted the rule of equality and love for common class and respect for all. *Sufis* had played the role of mutual interactions; they never adopted the practice of keeping non-Muslims away from them. The people of different believe came in their gatherings. They participated along with the daily activities with the *Sufis* and other Muslims in routine. The other remarkable virtue of *Sufis* was that they encouraged non-Muslims and paid more attention towards them instead of hate. The fact is that all the shrines, *Dargahs* and *Khanqahs* of the *Sufis* had been converted into center for social welfare. The common people such as visitors and deprived waiters including Muslims and non-Muslims had been provided the food at these shrines by the administrators. This was the great example of the efforts performed by Sufis to promote the faith of tolerance and accepting others.

The manuscripts of the spiritual trainers contained a prescriptive utilization of the term Sufi which implies an ideal of moral and mystical excellence. The Sufis spread the message of moral values kindness, pleasant behavoiur towards others, expression of liberalness, desire for freedom and tolerance. In response to these teachings, some people

consider a Sufi as a Muslim humanist. This title is accurate; however, the spectrum of Sufism is so difficult as a number of Sufis (Muslims Sufis) had rejected the circle of religion. In the history of India, many Hindus had been visited regularly to the Muslim Sufis at large scale, most of Hindus had gone to the Dargahs or shrines of the Muslim Sufia while many Muslims also visit the Hindu Pandits or Sufis. They also visit famous temples and take participation with Hindus in their adoration. It means that Sufis had no barriers of sect or religion but they delivered the message of humanity. They focused on cultural absorption and interfaith collaboration and harmony.

Most of the Muslims spread their messages through their poetry especially in local languages. There are a lot of examples in this context. In Pakistan, the Sufi poet of various languages can be found in pre-modern as well as in classical times. Their poetry proved useful to spread the important believes of spiritual Islam and the importance of love to human beings. They promoted the idea that Allah Almighty created the world for promotion of love and welfare of others. Some people have the opinion about these Sufis that they were simple folk-poets and very common people. But the fact is different as most of Sufis were well trained, well learned through un-formal education system and they were connected with the Islamic traditions. They performed the responsibility of promotion of Islam through their poetry. They positioned the folk-culture of their regions in their verses. The Sufis have also reflected the romantic legends which formed a core part of local imagination of love. Of course, the same stories initiated in diverse portion of the region. They were *Sufis* who abolished the boundaries of language and culture through the poetic tradition.

Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi was popularly known as Maulana Rumi. He was a 13th century Persian poet, writer, expert of theology and spiritual person. Rumi is an explanatory name which means “the Roman”. He had spent most of his life in the area called Rum. Maulana Rumi promoted not only the use of poetry and music but also he permitted dance to his followers; according to Rumi it was the one of ways to reach God. It was Rumi who founded an order of Darvishes recognized as Mevlevi order of Sufism and he sanctioned music and dance to Darvishes. His disciple was well organized by his son Sultan Walad but it was originated by Maulana Rumi. He was the Sufi who encouraged Sama in which the public perform sacred or holy dance during the listening of Music or *Sufiana Kalam*. This was the tradition which was opposed by many Ulema of the time; however the tradition of Sama continued a spiritual journey and became the source of love and peace for human beings. In other words, the Mevlevi order of Sufism served the humans without any discrimination of caste, race, language, nation and religious believes.

Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai was the great Sindhi Sufi poet. His famous work of poetry is Shah-Jo-Risalo; through which he gave the message of love and devotion. Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai spread the message of love; the love of two types. First the love to God and second the love to human beings. He also accepted the freedom of women regarding the selection of their beloved. He placed the lover women in his poetry. Seven heroines of Sindhi folklore are discussed in his poetry; as he gave them the status of royalty. Lilah,

Sorath, Noori, Momal, Sassi, Marvi and Sohni are included in Seven Queens in his poetry. These are the beloved women who had also being discussed in the poetry of other Sufi poets.

Hazrat Sachal Sarmast was the poet of seven languages including Sindhi, Persian Arabic and other regional languages. He described the praise of God in poetry and taught the lesson of love to the creation of God. Like Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, he also kept women in his poetry. Sassi, Noori, Marvi and Momal are the most famous women in the poetry of Sachal Sarmast. He promoted the ideology of doctrine of Wahdat-al-Wajud which was founded by *Ibn-i-Arabi*. He spread the message of Islam as well as the message of love.

Kabir Das, who is famous as Kabir, was born in an untouchable Indian family but brought up in a Muslim one. Kabir was a spiritual poet and a well known musician of 15th century. The important theme is that he belonged to Hinduism and included in the important saints of Hindus. However, Muslims also consider him the Sufi poet. He is the popular Sufi poet among Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs and was respected by followers of all religions. In other words, all the Sufis had belonged to same universal religion; the religion of tolerance and love for humanity. On the other hand, Baba Fareed-Ud-Din Shakar Ganj of Pak-Pattan, Baba Bulhe Shah, Hazrat Sultan Bahoo, Madho Lal Hussain Shah and other Sufis were the best poets of their period. These *Sufi* poets belonged to diverse areas and regions but their message was similar. Most of the *Sufis* belonged to rural areas and they inspired the poor and deprived group of people. Common people belonged to various religions used to visit these *Sufis*; it was because of the humble attitude of Sufis as all of them delivered the lesson of love and they performed the role of bridges to promote tolerance among the humans through their love, poetry, good behavoiur and Islamic teachings. Today, the shrines of the Sufis are also playing the role of tolerance and blessings for public.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. The best world religion for human being is_____ .
2. The permanent life shall be started after the _____and *Qiamat*.
3. The Sufis accepted the rule of equality and _____ for common class and respect for all.
4. Maulana Rumi was a 13th century _____poet, writer, expert of theology and spiritual person.
5. *Hazrat Sachal Sarmast* was the poet of _____languages including Sindhi, Persian Arabic and other regional languages.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the teachings of Sufis towards tolerance? Discuss.
2. Elaborate the teachings of Sufis towards love and tolerance.

2.3 HAZRAT ALI HAJVERI

The real name of Data Ganj Bakhsh is Ali but he is known as Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh. He is also famous as Hazrat Ali Hajveri. His complete name was Sayed Abul Hassan Ali Ibn Usman bin Ali Aljalabi Sam-ul Hajveri. Ali Hajveri was son of Usman ibn-i-Ali. His valid birth date could not be found through any authentic source. The eldest son of Shah Jahan and brother of Aurangzeb Alamgir, Dara Shikoh, had written the birth and death dates of the religious scholars in his famous book Safinat-ul-Aulia; but he remained silent about the birth date of Hazrat Ali Hajveri. However, many authors of modern period declared that he was born in 1009 A.D. at Hajver, a twon near Ghazni in Afghanistan. He was a great mystic Muslim of the 11th Century in the Indian subcontinent. He belonged to the Sayed family and descendant of Hazrat Ali. After the death of his wife he married again but the second wife was also died soon. He had only one male child whose name was Hassan.

Ghazni was a town 145 kilo meters away from Kabul. Ghazni became famous as *Aroos-ul-Bilad* (country of bride) and *Madina-tul-Hikmah* (city of wisdom) in the sovereignty of Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi. Jalab and Hajver were the two towns of Afghanistan. Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi built a Madrasa at Ghazni. However, in the same time; Islam and Muslims were being destroyed here in Baghdad and Egypt. Most of the circumstances of Data Ganj Bakhsh can be found through his book *Kashf ul Mahjub*. He was the most influential Sufi, Religion Scholar, poet and great Persian writer of 11th century. Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh was the author of various Islamic books. He was the master of Quran, Hadith and Tafseer. He was also a great poet and had written a collection of poetry but his hand-written book was stolen by someone. He had memorized the holy Quran in his childhood when he was in Ghazni. After completing Hifz, he learned Persian, Arabic, Fiqah, Hadith and Philosophy. According to *Hazrat Khawja Mastan Shah Kabli*, in his book *Sultan ul Aashiqeen*; *Sayed Ali Hajveri* spent most of his time in the *Madrasa* of *Mahmood Ghaznavi*. At the age of 12 to 13, he never went to drink water outside the *Madrasa*. Once Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi passed from here and visited *Madrasa*. It was the only Ali who did not take notice of his arrival. The very old teacher of *Ali Hajveri*, *Rizwan* called him to look at *Mahmood*. When *Ali Hajveri* looked at him, *Mahmood* could not face his sight; he looked down and said to the teacher, this boy is on the way of Allah. This was *Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi*, the world was afraid of him but he was fearful of a boy. Although *Ali Hajveri* got worldly education but he soon concentrated to the spiritual schooling. It is a matter of concern that we don't have genuine resources through which we can find his conditions of life. However, it is fact that he spent a large part of his life in travel and tourism. He continued his study as well as teaching during the traveling. He described in his book *Kashf ul Mahjub* that he had travelled to many areas and countries of the world including Iran, Iraq, Syria, Khurasan and Turkistan for the achievement of mystic education, like other Muslim scholars. He widely travelled to obtain religious knowledge from well-known scholars and saints. A large number of historians are agreed that he spent about forty years of his life in travelling for the sake of knowledge.

During the life of travelling, *Hazrat Ali Hajveri* took advantage from almost 300 religious Scholars, Ulema and Saints. In Syria he got a chance to meet *Sheikh Abul Fazal Khuttali* who was the great religious scholar. Ali Hajveri was extremely impressed by him and adopted his disciple. After passing a long time, one night Hazrat Ali Hajveri through a dream met his religious guide *Sheikh Abul Fazal Khuttali*. He said Ali "O, my son! We have appointed you as the Qutb of Lahore. Data Ganj Bakhsh said: "*Hazrat Sayed Meeran Hussain Zanjani* is already there for this purpose, so then why should I go to there? *Hazrat Abul Fazal* said: "It's none of your business, just go to Lahore."

It was the order of his *Murshid* (Spiritual Guide) who asked him to go to Lahore where *Hazrat Shah Hussain Zanjani* was already busy in promoting Islam. Therefore, he left Syria and came back to Ghazni. After a short stay in *Ghazni*, *Hazrat Ali Hajveri* went to Peshawar first and then came to Lahore in 1041 A.D. After completing a long journey, *Hajveri* reached near Lahore while it was already dark. In this situation, he decided to spend the night where he was outside the city. He entered the city in early morning and he saw a funeral. Ali Hajveri asked about it then people told him that *Shah Hussain Zanjani* had died. After listening that he came to realize why his *Murshid Hazrat Abul Fazal* sent him to Lahore. After his settlement in Lahore, he began the preaching of Islam. After spending his consecutive twenty one years in Lahore; he left for Syria to see his spiritual guide *Hazrat Abul Fazal* on whose order he came to Lahore. Soon his *Murshid* died and he returned Lahore after the death of *Hazrat Abul Fazal*.

After the death of *Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi*, great disorder and confusion spread in *Ghazni* and other nearby regions. Of Course, *Mahmood* had conquered the territories but according to *Al-Biruni* due to policies of Mahmood there was a great abomination in the hearts of Hindus against the Muslims. The hearts of the Hindus could not be conquered unless the feelings of hatred were removed. The task of victory over hearts has been done by this *dervish* (mystic) who came to Lahore with the wealth of a shawl, a prayer mat, a *Lota* and a stick. This great *Sufi* was our Data who performed this deed without any official support.

How much hate this poor *Sufi* had to the riches and kings; it is mentioned in various texts in *Kashf ul Mahjub*. The reason of this hate was that the riches and kings used to plunder the poor and in this way their earnings became forbidden. He strictly prohibited to his disciples to keep contact with the riches.

Due to his keen interest, Data Ganj Bakhsh had collected a variety of books including his own and of other writers. He had discussed his nine books in Kashf ul Mahjub; however, a literary thief has stolen two of them and he assigned to his own name. Unfortunately, his books left in Ghazni and destroyed all of them due to bad situation of law and order. Now we have only a single book Kashf ul Mahjub which is famous in all over the world. Some quotes of Hazrat Data Ali Hajveri are as under.

a. Every good and evil that occurs to man is decided by Allah Almighty.
b. The person who keeps avoid his soul from lust, he will stay in Paradise certainly.

c. The sacred corridor is tough to travel apart from those who were produced for the purpose.
d. The soul of animal is the supreme of all veils between Allah and man.
e. Knowledge of Allah is the knowledge of spiritual mysteries; knowledge from Allah is the knowledge of the sacred Law; and knowledge with Allah is the knowledge of the Sufi path.
f. The spirit of Sufism involves the total destruction of human qualities.
g. This world is the house of trouble.
h. The Knowledge and deed can't be separated in any way as the light of sun can't be separated from the sun itself.
i. A person's dignity and rise in status is not judged by miracles but by chastity and purity in his dealings.
j. The rescuer of a person is his loyalty to religion while his objections in religion are the cause of destruction.
k. The outstanding form of worship is to oppose your desires.
l. Marriage is proper for those who prefer to associate with mankind, and the refusal from marriage is a pattern for those who seek exit from mankind.
m. Dancing has no foundation either in the religious law or in the mystic path.

We know that *Hazrat Ali Hajveri* came to Lahore for the sake of his *Murshid*. He spread here the light of Islam, he conveyed people that there is only one Allah who is the most powerful and most merciful. When he came to Lahore, he was famous for his surprising behavior, personality and religious knowledge. That was why he did not take much time to overcome the hearts of people. Not only the poor class of people was seeking his blessings but the elite class was also impressed at large scale by him. Lahore was the part of *Ghazni* Kingdom at that time. *Rai Raju* was the Governor of Lahore who was a Hindu but he had various spiritual abilities also.

Raju was impressed by his personality and he accepted Islam. *Data Ganj Bakhsh* awarded him the name *Sheikh Hindi*; it was the same *Sheikh Hindi* who is now taking rest nearer to *Data Ganj Bakhsh*. Data Ganj Bakhsh was the Sufi who changed the lives of thousands Muslims and Hindus. He had done everything whatever he preached others. Therefore, the ruling class and the inferior seeked out the blessings and they had always paid him tribute. The Sufis of Islamic history including *Baba Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar*, *Khawja Baqi Billah*, *Hazrat Sheikh Ahmed Sarhindi*, *Hazrat Mian Mir Qadri*, *Hazrat Madhu Lal Hussain* and several others wanted his blessings. *Khawja Moinuddin Chishti*, the initiator of the Chishtia Order in the sub-continent had spent 40 days at his grave to seek his direction before taking his seat at Ajmer.

Data Ganj Bakhsh started to preach Islam and a large number of Hindus accepted his faith. After his permanent settlement in Lahore, a mosque was erected by him here in Lahore. In addition to it, he constructed a room neighboring to the mosque; the purpose of the construction of this room was to establish a Spiritual school or *Khanqah*. A large number of people gathered around him due to his loyalty towards human beings. He

spread Islam through his love and tolerance. However, his teachings than the teachings of other Sufis were different to some extent as he never permit the dancing during religious or worldly ceremonies. Here he was awarded the title of Ganj Bakhsh. Ganj is a Persian word which means treasure and Bakhsh means to give. Historians are not confirmed the exact date of his death like his birth and there is controversy; however, most of them are agreed that he met to Allah Almighty at the age of almost 65 years in 1072 A.D. Shrine of Ali Hajveri had been decorated with lights. Thousands of Muslims as well as non-Muslims travel from all over the country to celebrate his death anniversary at the shrine. During the festival or *Ursof Data Ganj Bakhsh*, the shrine is illuminated with lights and candles; the food is donated for the people here.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Safinat-ul-Aulia is the most famous book written by a religious scholar ____Shikoh.
2. Hazrat Ali Hajveri had only one male child whose name was_____.
3. After the death of _____ Mahmood Ghaznavi, great disorder and confusion spread in Ghazni.
4. We have only a single book of Hazrat Ali Hajveri named_____.
5. Khawja Moinuddin Chishti, the initiator of the Chishtia Order in the South Asia had spent _____ days at the grave of Hazrat Ali Hajveri.

QUESTIONS

1. Who was Data Ganj Bakhsh and what were his contributions for Islam?
2. Describe the contributions of Hazrat Ali Hajveri for the promotion of Islam in South Asia.

2.4 HAZRAT KHAWJA MOINUDDIN CHISHTI

Moinuddin Chishti is famous as Hazrat Khawja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri. He was born at Sanjar, a town in the Seistan Province of Iran in 1141 A.D. Although his birth date and birth place both are controversial; however, he belonged to a well respected family. He was the son of Khawja Ghayasuddin who was descendant of Hazrat Ali. Khawja Ghayasuddin was the fearful, pious and noble personality. He was wealthy man and mostly used to travel to Isphahan, Nishapur and Baghdad; but the purpose of his travelling is also unknown; he may used to travel for preaching, trading or government job. However, his tomb is located in Baghdad. His son Moinuddin was a religious man since his childhood. Moinuddin was admitted in the Madrasa Nishapur, from where the most famous Muslim scholars have got education like Imam Ghazali. His father died when he was 15 years old and the very next year his mother also left this world. However, he received a millstone and an orchard in heredity. He worked here for almost three year in the situation of internal disturbances. He spent most of his time in restlessness and worries. One day, Moinuddin got the opportunity to meet a spiritual man; Ebrahim Qandoozi, while he was performing his responsibilities in his orchard. A Sufi or *majzoob* Ebrahim Qandoozi came here in the orchard; Moinuddin presented him

some fruits from his garden to eat. After eating fruits he pleased to his host; and in response to it he took out something from his bag and chewed it; then he kept it into the mouth of Moinuddin. Moinuddin got it and eat it without any hesitancy. As he did it, he felt sleeping in a sudden. After a while he opened his eyes but the guest had left his garden. On the other hand, his nervousness and anxiety had gone away. It was all of a sudden that his light of wisdom was shining now; his mind and heart brighten with knowledge. He was too much inspired by the guest; he gave up worldly pleasures and distributed his all wealth among the poor people. He wished to get religious education and for this purpose he travelled for Bukhara; the city of present day Uzbekistan.

At Bukhara he achieved religious and spiritual education from Sheikh Hassamuddin, the great scholar of that time. Then he went to Samarkand and memorised the Holy Quran here. He spent minimum five years of his life in Bukhara and Samarkand. After that he travelled to many regions in search of knowledge including Isphahan, Karman, Hamadan, Tabriz, Kharqan, Chisht and other areas. When he went to Makkah, on the Roza-i-Rasool; he was ordered by the Holy Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (SAW) to be settled in Ajmer and preach the teachings of Islam. Moinuddin started his journey for Baghdad with his forty companions. He told everything to his Mentor Khawja Usman R.A., who was too happy to express his feelings. Khawja Usman allowed him to left Baghdad and he started his journey towards India along with his convoy. Khawja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki and Khawja Usman Herooni were also included in the caravan. They entered in India through Multan and visited the shrines of Muslim Sufia here in this city. After a short stay the caravan of Moinuddin went to Lahore. Here in Lahore, he stayed at the shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh for 40 days. At the time of leaving Lahore, he was worried and said that now he intends to go to Ajmer where his tomb will be constructed. He started journey and after two months, via Delhi, he reached Ajmer at the age of fifty four along with his forty companions in 1192 A.D. During this journey towards India, he entered a huge number of people in Islam and consecrated his spiritual power to thousands of humans. When he reached Delhi along with his followers; he converted seven hundred Hindus in Islam here in Delhi. It was due to his love for humanity.

Khawja Moinuddin Chishti settled in Ajmer and performed his religious duties; therefore, he is famous in history as Khawja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri. It was the matter of fortune not only for the public of Ajmer but all the Indians. Here he succeeded to conquer the hearts of people with his love and the teachings of Islam. At Ajmer he converted thousands of Hindus in Islam. He was a kind hearted Sufi and spiritual guide who always delivered in poor; that is why, the title of Ghareeb Nawaz was given to him. The Indian were involved in superstitious believes and fallacy at that time while he saved them from idol worship. He was the great *scholar*, *Sufi* and *wali* of his time. One of his miracles was that when Jae Paal Jogi expressed his power flying in the air then Khawja Moinuddin Chishti blow up his shoe in the air and it hit his head, in response to it Jogi had to fall down. He was ashamed and accepted Islam, his Islamic name was suggested Abdullah.

After conquest of Delhi, Shahabuddin Mohammad Ghauri appeared at the door of Khawja Ghareeb Nawaz Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri to pay him respect. He recognised at a moment that it was the same personality who appeared in his dream and gave him the

good news of his conquest. He fell down in the steps of Moinuddin unconsciously; began to rub his head and pledged of allegiance.

Khawja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri was a very pious and generous man. He was habitual to distribute sustenance among poor people; on the other hand, he dipped the pieces of dry bread in water and ate them. He only had a single dress to wear. Once, a man came to Moinuddin having a target to kill him as he had a hideous knife. Moinuddin invited him to sit close to him. Then Moinuddin asked him to don't miss the opportunity and perform his task. He was surprised and discovered his knife outside; accepted his crime and asked Moinuddin to kill him. Moinuddin prayed for him and said that vengeance is not our attitude. He became his disciple and served him all the remaining life. This was due to attitude of Khawja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri that the luck of people of Ajmer totally changed.

Khawja Moinuddin Chishti got married twice in his life at Ajmer. He was married first in 1193-1194 A.D. at the age of almost fifty six year while he repeated this practice in 1220 A.D when he was about more than eighty years.

After his settlement in Ajmer and this town became the centre of knowledge at that time. He spent his life for achievement of two objectives; first for learning the religious and spiritual education and second for the services of humanity. He never showed alienation towards others and conquered the hearts of people through his ethics and morality. He carried on his compassionate not for a specific group but for the followers of all religion. Everyone got satisfaction from his companionship, his devotees and unbelievers, both were treated well by him. Indian caste system was very different from all over the world as Indian people were distributed in four main classes. Their beliefs were also different; therefore, Khawja Moinuddin illustrated the straight path to the people. He abolished the caste system and connected them in brotherhood. He spent almost forty five years of his life at Ajmer. Three contemporary kings including Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri, Qutbuddin Aibak and Shamsuddin Iltutmish belonged to his disciple. He had the pride of hospitality of great religious scholars including Sheikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi, Sheikh Saadi Sheerazi and Khawja Usman Herooni.

Although Chishtia Order was founded by Hazrat Khawja Ishaq Shami; however, in India it was founded by Hazrat Khawja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri in Lahore and Ajmer. He appointed Khawja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki in Delhi while Sufi Hameeduddin Nagori at Nagore. As time passed by, Delhi and Nagore became the centres of wisdom and knowledge and the both disciples of Moinuddin illustrated the name of Ajmer in all over the India. Hazrat Baba Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, Amir Khusro and Hazrat Khawja Nasiruddin Mahmood Chiragh Dehlavi are the popular Sufis of Chishtia order who made their efforts to promote Islamic teachings through their superior character. The Chishtia order ended with the end of Hazrat Khawja Nasiruddin Mahmood Chiragh Dehlavi because he did not appoint any successor due to political involvement in the reign of Tughlaq Dynasty.

Khawja Moinuddin Chishti trained to his followers to spend their time in worshiping Allah Almighty and he advised them to give up the idol worship. He kept them away from the involvement in additional activities of world prestige. He left this mortal world on 6th of Rajab 633 A.H. (15th March 1236 A.D.). His devotees celebrate his death anniversary every year at his tomb in Ajmer; thousands of his believers attend to offer admiration to this great *Sufi*.

After completion of the task given to him by the Holy Prophet (SAW), Khawja Moinuddin Chishti prepared himself for the life after death and he called his disciple Khawja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. Khawja Bakhtiyar Kaki, in his famous book Daleel-ul-Arifeen has described the last days of Hazrat Moinuddin Chishti that Moinuddin called me to appoint me as his caliph. For this purpose a ceremony was arranged. Someone asked him about his death, and then he said there is nothing between the temporary world and the permanent world except a bridge; that is the bridge of death. I came here at Ajmer to stay forever after death. The answer of the question was completed; however, he continued the sayings. "The friend should remember with a strong heart because it is sincerity that attracts the friends". He added saying, "A friend of God must have affection like the Sun. When the sun rises, it is beneficial to all and everything".

After passing five or six days of appointment of Khawja Qutbuddin as his spiritual successor; at the end of Mehfil Sama at night, Moinuddin wanted to sleep, therefore, he entered in his room and ordered his disciples to not enter in his room. All the night his believers had been standing outside and they heard a mystic sound coming from his room. However, the sound was blocked unusual at the last part of night. He did not come out from his room at early morning. It was happened that the door remained closed at the time of morning prayers. His devotees thought that there was something unusual. The door of his room was broken by his believers and his body was found dead. The devotees saw that the words were written on his forehead: "He was a beloved of God, and he died in the love of God." The very night some of the Sufis saw in dream the Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad as saying: "Moinuddin is a friend of God, Today I have come to welcome him."

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Moinuddin was born at Sanjar, a town in the Seistan Province of _____ in 1141 A.D.
2. At Bukhara, Moinuddin achieved religious and spiritual education from Sheikh_____ .
3. Moinuddin was ordered by the Holy Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (SAW) to be settled in _____.
4. The title of _____Nawaz was given to Hazrat Moinuddin Chishti.
5. The famous Islamic book Daleel-ul-_____ was written by Khawja Bakhtiyar Kaki.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the role of Hazrat Moinuddin Chishti for the sake of Islam?
2. Do you know the contributions of Hazrat Khawja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri for the spread of Islam?

2.6 SHAH ABDUL LATIF BHITTAI

Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai is a famous mystic poet of Sindhi Language. Shah Latif belonged to late 17th and early 18th century A.D. He was born in Sindh in a noble Sayed family at a village named Hala Haveli, District Hyderabad. Shah Latif spent his early days of life in his village where his father Sayed Habibulah Shah lived. The historians are not concurring to an exact date of his birth and death. Therefore, his birth and death dates are controversial; however, various scholars agreed his birthday was 18th November 1689. His died at the age of 63 on 1st January 1752 in the Islamic month of *Safar*.

After the birth of Shah Latif, his family migrated from Hala and settled at Kotri, near Hyderabad. When he was a young man he fell in love with the daughter of Mirza Mughal. He could not get out of this love and left the home. He wandered and wasted his time for almost three years. After traveling, he reached Thatta where he was convened by Makhdoom Mohammad Moen. Makhdoom Moen was a noble man and Shah Abdul Latif remained under his influence; as a result he became a Sufi or mystic. After that he returned at his home. Once again he fell in love with another girl deeply and got married with her, it was Bibi Sayada. In his childhood, he learnt Sindhi, Arabic and Persian as well as Punjabi and Sariaki. He continued his poetry till the end of his life. He got formal education to some extent but mostly he was self educated.

His lot of poetry was collected after his death. He remained a nominal and simple person during his life and most of the information about him was composed from oral traditions by the researchers. Mirza Kalich Beg was one of those who gathered information about the early life of Shah Abdul Latif. The reason is that he never wrote his poems during his life. Today, his verses are recited by the people of all walks of life. The most important collection of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai's poetry is Shah-Jo-Risalo and it was also composed after his death by his devotees. This collection of his poetry exists in various versions including the translations of English, Urdu and other languages. Each chapter of his Risala is called a *Sur*. He was influenced by Maulana Rumi, Sheikh Saadi, Kabir and Shah Hussain. Due to it the poetry of Shah Latif is compared to that of Maulana Rumi. The main aspects of his poetry included the oneness of Allah Almighty, love for the Holy Prophet (S.A.W), human values and religious tolerance. He never targeted to any one in his life. Various scholars including Sheikh Ayaz, Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman and Hazrat Sachal Sarmast were impressed by the ideas of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai. Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai was a poet of Sindhi Language but his teachings were not reserved for specific region or culture. He gave the lesson of humanity and love for all. Most of his poetry is full of mystic thoughts and Sufism. His poetry has always given a strong logic of hope and confidence. He gave a great stress on the concept of self-knowledge in his poems. Some scholars had declared it as the "spiritual elevation and consciousness" from the point of view of mysticism. As he said that "your beloved (God) is an integral part of

yourself, and it is a futile exercise to search it beyond yourself". He had a unique vision of beloved and says to Sassi, one of his Queens;
'Sassi, why do you trace the paths of jungles in the search of Punnu. Your beloved is not hiding himself from you, so try to reach your beloved here. You will have to take courage to prove faithful to Punnu. If you try to look into your soul you will not find it difficult to see him there'.

One side of his poetry is the bright side of life for the poor people. He spent all of his life with full of tragedies and disasters. In spite of it, he never delivered the darker side of the picture in his poetry. Shah Abdul Latif presented women in his poetry as Queens. There are Seven Queens or heroines of Sindhi folklore. Determining the empowerment of women, he described the positive qualities of his queens including their honesty, bravery and loyalty. In one of his Sur Umar Marvi, Marvi was separated from her people by force; however, she did not lose her hope even for a minute. Of course, she remained in the shackles of Umar but showed her bravery. It is said that Shah Abdul Latif was the poet of hope and expectation. In his poetry, he kept women in right place and his heroines never gave up her love and wishes. As Shah Latif described her condition:
Weep not, cry not, shed no tears,
You have been set free; burn all your chains,
O herdswoman, you will reach your kinsman very soon.

Shah Latif Bhittai interact her and says not to weep and cry; he wishes to look his heroin with smile on her face instead of tears having in her eyes. He is against the women's oppression; therefore, he gives hope that Marvi will get free and all her chains will break soon. Shah Latif is the supporter of love and he believed that a woman can be tied to a chain physically. He believed that her love cannot be removed from her heart whatever she had for her beloved. In Shah's poetry we find the concept of selfless love as well as the concept of fantastic love. He had the opinion in his poetry that a lover and her beloved are not two divided beings but one. The lovers of each other remained a perfect communion all over the life.

Shah Abdul Latif was a mystic, scholar, Sufi and poet. He was famous as loving poet of the poor people. He did not focus only the people of Sindh but the people of the South Asia and Central Asia also. The well known scholar of Sindh Sheikh Ayaz explains that in the era of Shah Latif, Sindhi society was based on agriculture like other regions of the South Asia. The majority of its inhabitants belonged to village life. They were connected with a variety of professions including farming, fishing and livestock breeding etc. The Sindhi people were obviously belonged to poorer class. This was Shah Abdul Latif of Sindh who discussed these people in his poetry and presented them as the heroes. He presented his views in the form of poetry in wide range. His poetry had been distributed in chapters and each chapter is called a Sur. One section of his poems names as Sur Sarang that contains destinations of Sindh. In this Sur, it seems that Bhittai was completely equipped with geographical information of Sindh and abroad. In Sindhi language, Sarang means the season of rain. The Sur Sarang indicates how much believed on Allah Shah Latif had;
Sarang Saar lahej Allah lag unjian ji,

Paanri pooj patan mei arzan an karaij,
Watan wasaij ta sangharan sukh thiye.

In the above lines, Shah Abdul Latif praised Allah Almighty and requested for raining of blessings. He asked rain for the barren lands that would be comfort for all the creatures. His style for praying is:
O the rain bringer, do pay a visit to the thirsty ones,
Shower your blessings upon the barren lands to make them fruitful,
Shower your blessings so everyone may live in comfort.

Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai was 18 years old and was a young man when the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb Alamgeer died in 1707. It was the start of decline of the Mughal Dynasty in subcontinent. As time passed by, the East India Company came in power in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Shah Latif is included in those poets who praised the Allah Almighty instead of their rulers or kings. One remarkable virtue of Shah Abdul Latif was that he gave the place to the under-privileged class of people in his poetry. That was why; the oppressed people had a great attachment with him. He gave the lesson of love to all classes of the society without any difference of colour, caste, creed and religion or sect. some of the scholars elaborated Shah Latif as a loyal, devoted, autonomist, patriotic and nationalist poet. He showed his message of love for his territory Sindh and his people. If we observe the political situation during the era of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, it is clear like crystal that Kalhoras were the ruling family at that time and they consider Shah Latif Bhittai's revolutionary feelings as danger for themselves.

It is said that Bhittai traveled almost all over the rural areas of Sindh to see the people from all walks of life. As Shah Latif had the best sense of observation; therefore, he observed the way of lives of the common people. Shah Latif then discussed the culture of Sindh in his poetry to illustrate a true picture of the socio conditions of the public. He says at one place:
Their ego the ascetics have killed,
They wish their unity with God to be fulfilled,
Those who have adopted nihilism,
Without their company I cannot live.

In last years of his life, he selected Bhitt to spend his remaining life there. In 1752 A.D., Shah Latif called his disciples and invited them to sing Raga Sohni; he used a white cloth to wrap himself and went to his Hujra where he performed worship and after three days he was found dead. He was buried at Bhitt Shah and the sepulcher over his grave was built by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. Shah Latif's death anniversary is celebrated every year as Urs. His Urs is a majestic celebration in Sindh where the people of all walks come from various parts of the country. The death anniversary commences every year from 14th to 16th Safar.

There is a remarkable festival where food items are sold. Ajraks, Sindh caps, sports and entertainment goods are also sold in open air markets. During the Urs, a literary festival is arranged where the scholars gather and share their research work whatever they done on the life and poetry of shah Abdul Latif Bhittai. His disciples, singers and artists also

gather to sing poetry from Shah-Jo-Risalo. Abida Perveen and other prominent singers came here to tribute him.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. After the birth of Shah Latif, his family migrated from Hala and settled at _____, near Hyderabad.
2. His lot of poetry was collected after his _____.
3. _____ was separated from her people by force; however, she did not lose her hope even for a minute.
4. The oppressed people had a great attachment with_____.
5. There are _____Queens or heroines of Sindhi folklore.

QUESTIONS

1. Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai was the mystic poet of Sindh. Do you agree or not?
2. What was the output of love of Shah Abdul Latif for the humans of Sindh and South Asia?
3. Evaluate the poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai regarding the message of love and courage.

2.7 RAHMAN BABA

The real name of Rahman Baba was Abdur Rahman. He was born at a village Bahadur Kallay near Peshawar. He belonged to a famous Pathan family of Mohamand tribe. The authors never agreed to the exact date of his birth and the death. However, it is confirmed that Rahman Baba was the contemporary of the Mughal King Aurangzeb Alamgeer. *Pata Khazana* is the well recognized book of the history of Pashto which reveals that 1632 A.D. and 1708 A.D. were the birth and death years of Rahman Baba respectively.

There is a little information about the early life of Rahman Baba. The opinion about his family background is also divided. Some authors are influenced that he belonged to a family of Maliks or chieftains in the village. The name of his father was Abul Sattar. Rahman had one brother and his name was Aziz Khan. However, some others claimed that Rahman was a poor Mullah of his village. In this regard, Rahman illustrated himself as a poor man in his poetry and used the title of Faqir for himself; he expressed the days of his life:

"May no one be without life and livelihood, as I am lifeless and penniless.
Though the wealthy drink water from a golden cup, I like this clay bowl of mine".

Rahman Baba acquired his early education from Bahadur Kallay. He obtained the Islamic education of "Fiqah and Tasawwuf" from Mullah Muhammad Yousaf Yousafzai. He then went to Haji Bahadur to gain further education. Haji Bahadur was the well known Mystic and religious scholar of the Sub-Continent at that time.

Rahman Baba was the great mystic poet with the skill of various languages. His Diwan shows that he was expert of several languages including Pashto, Arabic and Persian.

Rahman also had the extensive awareness of philosophy, history and also theology. He was highly impressed by the poetry of Hafiz Shirazi and he completely discarded the worldly materialistic desires; he provided himself to the mercy of God saying that:
"There is no damage if someone were to abolish interest;
There is no tax or liability from a Malang".

The folklore represent that Rahman Baba was an isolated poet. He scratched his many poems in the dust near the bank of Bara River with strumming a Rabab or a musical instrument like guitar. Rahman Baba has been seeing in the companionship of a young boy whose name was Majnoon. It is famous that the boy; Majnoon was the single one who was attentive of the distinction of Rahman Baba. Therefore, Rahman Baba used to give him company. This was the matter that Majnoon, the boy was very poor and on the other hand the brother of Rahman Baba, Aziz Khan was the chief of the village and proudly man. He strongly disliked the company of Majnoon with Rahman Baba.

Here is another tenacious myth is narrated about Rahman Baba's meeting with the Holy Prophet of Islam. It is impossible in fact but these are the oral or verbal traditions that are openly accepted as facts in Pakhtoons' society.
Due to your grief, tears flow like stream on my cheek;
Ask me why it is so?
If I were to hide from his grief;
I have no place to hide.

Abdul Rahman is usually recognized as the Sufi or saint among the Pashto Poets. Due to it, he is famous as Rahman Baba. Baba is used in the means of father; Baba is the general title of high regard for aged and wise man. There is also another opinion that Rahman was so much popular poet of Pashto language that because of this, the Afghans had given him an honourable name 'Baba' which means the father of nation.

What was the real meaning of life in his eyes? Some of the religious intellectuals found the meaning of life in his poetry. His poetry is used for independent movements by the National as well as political leaders. The top class musicians also used his poems in their songs. His work has become a role model for new poets of Pashto and other languages. In response to it, the result is that many people influenced by his way and direction of Sufism.
Rahman Baba proved himself one of the greatest historical Sufi poets of the Pashto literature. He was obviously a man of character. He is considered as a great personality. During his childhood, he involved himself in study. Rahman Baba loved study as he always engaged himself in receiving education. He made his efforts to teach himself and spent much time for this purpose. He was fond of poetry by his nature. Along with the passage of time he fell in doubts and seriously thought what he had been doing. He felt that why and for whom he had been writing poetry He realized the real aim in the last years of his life. Rahman Baba had the distinction in Pashtun culture that he spent his peaceful life in his childhood and puberty. He never implicated in the violent inter tribal

conflicts that was common of his days. There is also confirmation that Rahman Baba never remained active during the continuing revolt against Mughal rule. However, it is confirmed that he used to write against the Mughal rulers in his poems.

"By the grace of cruel rulers; grave, fire and Peshawar are one and the same"

Professor Preshan Khattak a well known Pashto Scholar writes that 'there are many excellent poets of Pashto language those of the past and of the present. They are appreciated, loved, but none of them has reached the universal popularity of Rahman Baba and probably no one will'. The fact is that Rahman was a great spiritual poet of Pashto language; who delivered the message of Allah Almighty through his poetry. He promoted the idea of 'Wahdat-al-Wajud' in the light of teachings of Holy Quran. He always remained the great cause of motivation and inspiration for those who attached with poetry and writings. It is said that twentieth century had given a new breeze of thoughts to Pakhtun's generation.

Rahman Baba was an attractive personality who was familiar with the widespread stock of information and folk lore of a distinctive Pakhtun society and its culture. He was an exact spokesperson of his society. He proved himself the real representative. It is considered that his poems are the mirror to the virtues and evils of his era. It was due to his truth that a large number of his verses have become well-known in Pashto language. His poetry had achieved the exemplary status. Rahman Baba had the opinion that the sin lies contained by man.; but if someone has the bravery to deport it and get rid of it, he would be victorious. A man should do himself purify from his or her inside. Everyone must bring him closer to his real master the Allah Almighty. Rahman Baba was not a simple poet of Pashto language but was a reformer of the society. His all of life and his teachings were for the guidance of the people in an accurate track. His poetry provided a number of dimensions; one of them is that the social justice is the protector of unity, peace and prosperity of the people. In this regard Rahman Baba wrote;

"The habits of beasts are also in mankind,
Only call them man when they become human,
Only when there are no animal ways in him,
Will humanness overcome him".

The major focus of Rahman Baba's teachings is on self-refining and this is the purity of heart that brings *Taqwa* in human lives. The spotlight of his poetry was to bring the public towards Allah. According to him, Allah is extremely kind and most merciful towards human. Rahman Baba said that he had no words to express the beauty of Allah. According to him, he had unlimited love for Allah. Moreover, Rahman said that in response to his love, the Allah Almighty loves him many times extra than he loved. This mystic poet said that Allah is too kind and Allah wants to protect humans from the hell. That is why the human should avoid sins and perform good deeds to enter in heaven.

Two of his poems are well-liked in which he had articulated that the Essence, Attributes, and Deeds of God are very beautifully. In these poems he lays stress on the oneness of

Allah and Allah is the only who is the ultimate reality. Rahman Baba derived his poetry from the Holy book of Allah, the Quran. He delivered his ideas through his poetry that Allah is faultless perfect beauty. Allah is the supreme object of love. Allah has shaped the whole world through His will, maintained it through His will, and at last the world shall pass away by His will. Therefore, the Muslims are of the faith that Allah is their Originator. Our every achievement and regret is due to will of Allah.

Like other Sufis and mystics, Rahman Baba also brought the message of love. According to him it is the love which is necessary for the survival of human beings. Love is the force that transports humbleness to people while humbleness is the symbol of superior morality. It is the beauty that is used to bring everything of right place. Beauty also proved helpful to locate everything to the original places. In this regard he says,
"The pious enjoy looking at the world;
Through the world they see the Creator".

The teachings of Rahman Baba provide us the accurate scheme of love and beauty; this is the beauty and love that helps us to reduce tensions from our hearts. Love is useful to maintain close association amongst the humans. Today, our main issue is that human have lose the humanity. Individuals don't care of humans and don't show the respect for others. We can make our society more peaceful and ideal by promoting the teachings of Rahman Baba whatever he has deliberated in his poetry.

He wanted to organize the people not only for the challenges of this temporary world but for the eternal world also. He said
"The habits of beasts are also in mankind;
Only call them man when they became human".

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. _____was born at a village Bahadur Kallay near Peshawar.
2. Rahman Baba had one _____ and his name was Aziz Khan.
3. A man should do himself purify from his or her _____.
4. According to _____ *"fire and Peshawar are one and the same".*
5. Like other Sufis and mystics, Rahman Baba also brought the _____of love.

QUESTIONS

1. Who was the most famous poet of Pashtu language and well known in Pakistan?
2. Evaluate the status of Rahman Baba in the Pashtu language and literature of Pakistan.

2.8 SHEIKH AHMED SIRHINDI

Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was the great religious scholars of Muslim world. He was born at Sirhind, in present day Indian Punjab. His exact date of birth is Friday, 26th May 1564

A.D or 4th Shawal 971 A.H. He belonged to a family of long scholarly traditions; his father Sheikh Abdul Ahad was a religious man. His ancestors originally belonged to Medina. His ancestors migrated from Medina to Kabul and then in India. He memorized the Holy Quran from his father. He then went to Sialkot where he achieved the educating of logic, philosophy and theology from a well known teacher Mullah Kamal Kashmiri. He further achieved his education of Hadith from a Sufi scholar Yaqub Sarfi. He returned home from Sialkot at the age of seventeen after completion education. At the age of twenty, he left for Agra for further education. Agra was the capital of Mughal Emperor, Akbar the great, at that time. Here Sirhindi met to various scholars including Faizi and his younger brother Abul Fazal. Abul Fazal had believed on Allah but he denied the other fundamental elements of Islam as he rejected the necessity of Shariah. Mughal's Royal court was full of other people who had been following the non-Islamic ideas at that time. Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi described this situation in his letter:

'The people of our times question the very idea of prophecy; deny the possibility of establishing the claim of a particular prophet, and refuse to follow the prophetic Shariah. This trend is spreading in the people, and some who have established themselves in power are persecuting the "Ulema" and torturing them in various ways which I would not like to mention, simply because they follow the laws of the prophets and believe in them'.

Sirhindi was a Sufi scholar of his time. He had studied Sufis texts and learned the knowledge of Sufism from his father. After the death of his father Sheikh Abdul Ahad, Sirhindi went to perform Hajj. During the travelling when he reached Delhi, he met to Hazrat Khawja Abdul Baqi, the first Saint of Naqshbandia order who came to India for the sake of promotion of Islam. This was the same Hazrat Khawja Abdul Baqi who was latterly known as Hazrat Baqi Billah. He convinced Sirhindi to stay some days in Delhi with him. Sirhindi was so impressed by Khawja Abdul Baqi within some days that he became the disciple of Baqi Billah. Now Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was the follower of Naqshbandi order. On the other hand, Hazrat Baqi Billah was also very impressed by Sirhindi as he wrote a letter to his friend and discuses his disciple;
"A man from Sirhind named Sheikh Ahmed has recently comes. He is very learned and has great spiritual powers. He has lived with me for some days; on his basis of what I have seen of him in this period, I hope that he will be in future a lamp which will illuminate the world".

After that it proved true as Sirhindi carried on to serve Islam. One of his famous written works was his Persian book 'Radd-I-Rawafid'. It was so important that after passing a century Shah Wali Ullah (R.A) a great Muslim Scholar was also impressed through it. The Muslims of sub-continent were fallen in Polytheistic or *Shirk* at that time. There were many reasons of their involving in Shirk. One reason was that the Muslims had contact with Hindus who worshipped idols. Muslims of India often participated in the festivals and religious rites of the Hindus due to their ignorance of Islamic faiths. The Muslims also worshipped and prayed to their gods for their purposes. Particularly, the

practice of lighting lamps, cooking rice and its distribution among relatives and Friends was common among Muslim women. In fact, they were influenced well by the Hindu neighbours. The Muslims were under the influence of non-Muslims at high scale.

Another reason of downfall of Muslims faith was due to ignorant and misguided Sufis. The Muslims provided donations to the saints and also offered sacrifices on their graves. The Muslim women fasted for the sake of Sufis and also celebrated other practices in this context. Moreover, the men and women celebrated the various days as special. They celebrated the days of the 10th day of Islamic month of Muharram, 15th night of Shaban, first night and 27th day of Rajab by offering the prayers in assembly. Various Sufis of the time held the Mehfils of *Sama* (musical sessions) with the spiritual dances called *raqs*. The above mentioned practices were rejected by Sirhindi and he referred this type of practices as un-Islamic. He called these stages *bid'at, shirk, kufr*. He reformed the Sufism and presented the theory of *fana* and *baqa* which meant that everyone has to die but the life after death shall be permanent. Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was not a Sufi but really he was a renovator (*mujaddid*) of Islam.

Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi said that the Ulema of the time are guardians of Islam and this is their responsibility to protect the Muslims from the un-Islamic activities. He said that the Ulema were the muggers of religion as they did not perform their responsibility to defend the Islam. He appealed the Ulema to realize their duties and to denounce the evils. Sheikh Ahmed was absolutely right as later on, a Muslim scholar Mullah Mubarak and his son Abul Fazal, drafted a new faith '*Din-i-Ilahi'*, and it was launched by Akbar the Great. The scholars of royal court presented the idea that Islam had completed its 1000 years and going to expire after completing its natural age. Therefore, there should be formulated a new Divine that will fulfill the requirements of new age. This Divine was the combination of various religions including Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism. Akbar died in 1605 A.D. and his son prince Salim, seated on the throne with the name of Jahangir. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi wrote he letters to those officials who were closed to Jahangir and advised them to serve the Islam. He wrote to the tutor of Jahangir, Sadr-I-Jahan who had the higher authority in the court:
"Now that things have changed and the hostility of the people has subsided, it is the duty of leaders of Islam, the Sadr-I-Islam and the Ulema of Islam that they work for the implementation of the Shariah. The institutions of Islam which have been demolished must be quickly restored; delay is not at all good, it makes us very uneasy… if the king is not enthusiastic to implement the rules of the Prophet (PBUH), and if his confidants also excuse themselves, and like to pass their days in peace, life will become difficult and miserable for Muslims who have no means".

Jahangir married Nur Jahan after six years of getting the throne; Nur Jahan was famous due to her beauty, culture and talents. She succeeded to acquire precedence over her husband and she appointed her father and brother on important posts in the courts. They made an impression on Jahangir that Sirhindi was a danger for the state. On the other hand, some Sufis also unhappy with Sirhindi, whose thoughts and religious ideas had

already been condemned by Sirhindi. In 1619 A.D. Jahangir called Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi for explanation. When Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi came to court, Jahangir ordered to his imprisonment. There are two opinions about his imprisonment; the first is that Jahangir was not satisfied with the answer and he ordered to put him in jail. The other opinion in this regard is referred that Jahangir was convinced by his reply. In spite of it, Jahangir punished him as he refused to prostrate in front of Jahangir; that was why Jahangir punished him. Jamil Ahmed described that that Durbar of the Jahangir was crowded with ministers while the emperor Jahangir was on his golden throne. All the ministers and courtiers were looking at the entrance point. Everyone had been waiting for Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi who was declared as a perilous religious reformer. An ungracefully thin and tall man, wearing the dervish attire entered in the court. He forwarded the steps towards the throne and reached in the company of Jahangir. He did not kiss the floor in front of emperor; a minister of Jahangir cried, ordered him to homage the emperor and asked him to kiss the floor. Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi replied firmly: *"This head which bows before Almighty God can never bow before any mortal".* After asking some cross QUESTIONS Jahangir delivered his decision to throw him into the Gwalior prison. Sirhindi did not regret his action and believed on Allah Almighty. He never made any effort for relieving from jail and tolerated the sufferings with patience.

Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi continued his work in the prison and succeeded to reform the prisoners. He remained in prison of Gwalior for a period of almost one year. Due to his kind attitude towards prisoners and his trust on Allah he proved lucky and mercy for the prisoners. Hundreds of non-Muslims astonished in response to his exemplary character. The prisoners of the same jail embraced Islam. Jahangir realized his mistake soon; he called Sirhindi in his court and honoured him with a lot of wealth. Jahangir set him free and he offered Sirhindi to stay with him in the camp. Sirhindi accepted the offer and preached the people who remained around the king. Sirhindi also preached Islamic teachings to Jahangir.

Jahangir proved a great asset for the Muslims and Islam. He eliminated *Din-I-Ilahi* of his father. He reinstated the Islamic laws throughout in his kingdom. In Kashmir, he declared prohibition marriage of Muslim girls with non-Muslims. Jahangir rebuilt the demolished mosques and he also proliferated the Hijri Calendar. Sheikh Ahmed was appointed as the religious adviser of the state by the emperor. He was now free to preach the teachings of Islam among all groups of people including the royal forces of the state. Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi remained with the imperial army of the state on the request of Jahangir. He promoted the true Islamic teachings to the troops and organized them to perform their duties well.

Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was against the theology of Wahdat-al-Wajud. It was the doctrine offered by *Ibn-I-Arabi* and it was famous among the *Sufis*. However, the doctrine of Wahdat-al-Wajud was not recognized by the orthodox Ulema due to deviation with the Islamic Shariah. Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi obtained highest spiritual experience from his *Murshid, Hazrat Baqi Billah*, the famous saint of Naqshbandi order. Sheikh Ahmed rejected the doctrine of Wahdat-al-Wajud and presented an ideology of Wahdat-us-Shuhud.

After spending three years in the camp, Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi suffered in illness and returned Sirhind. Here, he spent most of his time in *Zikr* and passed away on 10th December 1624 or 28th Safar 1034. A. H. He continued his impression long after his death. His disciples carried on his mission after his death. He founded the sub order of Mujaddidiya and the disciples of this order contributed the implementation of Shariah. His *Urs* or death anniversary is celebrated every year in Sirhind. Thousands of people come here to pay him homage. Allama Muhammad Iqbal presented him tributes in the following words in his poetry:

"Hazir howa main sheikh-i-Mujaddid ki lahed pr,
Wo khak ke hay zer-i-falak matla-i-anwar,
Is khak ke zarron se hain sharminda sitaray,
Is khak me posheeda hy wo sahib-i-Israr,
Gardan na jhuki jis ki Jahangir ke age,
Jis ke nafas-i-garm se hai garmi–i-Ahrar,
Who Hind men sarmaya-i-millat ka nighahban,
Allah ne bar waqt kia jis ko Khabardar".

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was born at Sirhind, on Friday, 26th May _____ A.D.
2. Abul Fazal was the younger _____ of Faizi.
3. After the death of his father Sheikh Abdul _____, Sirhindi went to perform Hajj.
4. Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi replied firmly: *"This _____ which bows before Almighty God can never bow before any mortal".*
5. Jahangir delivered his decision to throw Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi into the _____prison.

QUESTIONS

1. Who was Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi? Describe his contributions to purify the lives of people.
2. Highlight the contributions of Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi that he performed during his life.

2.8 SHAH WALI ULLAH

The anti Islamic forces in subcontinent were on the peak in the reign of Akbar, the Mughal emperor and his son Jahangir; Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was the sole Muslim scholar who find in wrong. He faced the deviant emperor Jahangir through strength of his faith. Jahangir came on the right path and he made himself a religious man. However, he could not maintain his political vigor like Akbar. After his death (1627 A.D) Shah Jahan seated on the throne while Aurangzeb Alamgeer was the successor of Shah Jahan after killing his three brothers including Shuja, Murad and Dara Shikoh. Aurangzeb Alamgeer proved the last emperor of the Mughal Dynasty who had run the kingdom's affairs in

better way. After his death in 1707 A.D. the Mughal dynasty came towards downfall too rapidly. After a half century of his death in 1757 A.D.; the battle of Plassy brought a great victory for the British and East India Company. The same battled also proved the real downfall for the Muslims of subcontinent. Some of the religious scholars had the opinion that this downfall of the Muslims was the result due to the deviation of Muslims from the way the last Prophet of Allah. The future of Indian Muslims was looking dark at that time. The political collapse of the Muslims was the outcome of spiritual confusion in socio-economic sphere of the Indian Muslims.

In the meanwhile, four years before the death of Aurangzeb Alamgeer; Shah Wali Ullah was born in Delhi on 21 February 1703. His grandfather Sheikh Wajihuddin was in influential officer in the military force of Shah Jahan. Sheikh Wajihuddin supported Aurangzeb Alamgeer during the war of succession. Real name of Shah Wali Ullah was Sayed Qutb-ad-Din Aḥmed but he was famous as Wali Ullah due to his goodness. His father Shah Abdul Rahim was a great Sufi and well known scholar of Islam. He had supported to the Muslim scholars in the compilation of fatwa-I-Alamgiri; the Islamic Shariah Law. He established a great Madrasa name Madrasa-i-Rahimia where he taught the Holy Quran. The Madrasa became the institute of learning for the teachings of Quran and Sunnah. The Madrasa converted into theological College where the reformers and Mujahidin were created. Shah Wali Ullah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Maulvi Abdul Haiy, Sayed Ahmed Shaheed of Raa-I-Bareli and Shah Ismail Shaheed were the stars of this institution.

Shah Wali Ullah achieved his initial education from his father Shah Abdul Rahim. His father was teacher and also mystic guide. Shah Wali Ullah memorized the Holy Quran at the age of only seven. His father died when he was almost seventeen years old. After the death of Shah Abdul Rahim in 1718 A.D., Shah Wali Ullah started to teach here in this Madrasa. Shah Wali Ullah went to Arabia for acquire the higher education after twelve years serving in the Madrasa. After spending one year and two months in Makkah and Medina; he was familiar to the great scholars of Hejaz. He was highly inspired by his teacher Sheikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim. Shah achieved not only the degree of Hadith but also got highly independence in judgment and scholastic talent from him. The Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) guided him through a dream to organize and liberate the Muslims of subcontinent while Shah Wali Ullah stayed at Makkah. Then he came back to Delhi on 9 July 1732 A.D. to fulfil the order of the Holy Prophet. The Muslims of India were in difficulties due to religious, political, economic and spiritual catastrophes. He started here the preaching of teachings Islam to his scholars. He also trained them in research and focused to work in the light of Quran and Sunnah as well as in Islamic history. He had completed the Islamic work before his death at large scale. Due to his dedicated efforts for Islamic work he proved himself as a great scholar and mystic. In the words of Shah Abdul Aziz, his son: "He was rarely ill and once he sat down to work after '*Ishraq*' he would not change his posture, till mid day".

It shows that Shah Wali Ullah performed his best due to his hark working, well wishes and his talent. He made his sincere efforts for the revival of Islam in the subcontinent. He educated the true spirit of Islam to the misguided masses of Indian Muslims. His efforts were not limited to the religious and spiritual reforms. As he opened his eyes in this world on the time of troubled and he had seen many kings on the throne of Delhi. Shah Wali Ullah invited Nizam-ul-Mulk, Ahmed Shah Abdali and Najib-ud-Daula through his letter to help the Muslims of India. Ahmed Shah Abdali came India and defeated the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D. and in its response, the dream of Marathas to rule over subcontinent ended. Moreover, Shah Wali Ullah had written almost fifty books in Persian and Arabic in thirty years of his serving life. This was a major contribution in the history of Islamic world. His works had a remarkable value in indo Pakistan subcontinent. The scholars had classified his work into six different categories.

Related to Holy Quran: The first important category of his work is related to Holy Quran. Shah Wali Ullah was the scholar who translated the Holy Quran in Persian language. It was the first translation of the Book of Allah in any language. At that time many misguided Ulema Declared this action as un-Islamic. The purpose of translation of Holy Quran was to guide the Muslims in respect of understanding the message of Allah. Shah Wali Ullah believed that no one can understand the message of Allah without understanding Quran. In this way, he reformed the believes of the Muslims. Later on, his son Shah Abdul Aziz translated the Holy Quran in Urdu language.

Related to the Hadith: The second category of the work of Shah Wali Ullah was connected to the Hadith. One of his famous works in his regard was the Arabic and Persian commentaries on the authentic book of Hadith '*Muwatta*', originally compiled by Imam Malik. Shah Wali Ullah was the great *Muhaddis* of the subcontinent.

Related to the Fiqah: Shah Wali Ullah also worked on Fiqah or Islamic Jurisprudence; the law of Shariah. His famous book on history of Islamic law '*Insaf-fi-Bayan-i-Sahab-al-Ikhtilaf*' deals the five hundred years old history of Islamic Jurisprudence.

Related to Mysticism: Shah Wali Ullah was a real Sufi in itself. He worked for the guidance of those Sufis who were misguided and had been making false to the innocent Muslims in subcontinent.

Related to Ilm-al-Kalam: The fifth category of his work belonged to Muslim Philosophy and Ilm-al-Kalam. He worked for '*Ijtihad*' and described the principled of Ijtihad. He advised the Ummah to follow one of the Imams out of four as it is compulsory for them. He described the common aspects of Muslims of all over the world in his book '*Hujjat- Ullah-il-Balighah*'; this is considered a great contribution in the Islamic world.

Related to Shia-Sunni Conflict: This section of Shah Wali Ullah's contribution is related to Shia and Sunni Muslims conflicts. He tried to simplify this issue through his writings and succeeded in it. Due to his insight, he focused on the unity of Muslims and eliminated the dissension and controversies among the Muslims.

In Short, we see that Shah Wali Ullah worked on many fronts. He eliminated the differences between the orthodox and heterodox Sufis and Ulemas. The Mughal emperor Akbar had worked for the strength of heterodox Islam and later on the Dara Shikoh promoted it well. However, orthodox Islam was renewed by Mujaddid-Alf-Sani with the support of Aurangzeb Alamgeer. The both Islamic groups were on their extreme and now Shah Wali Ullah worked for the removal of strain and hassle among the Muslims. He wanted to bring the revolution in society through socio-political changes but not a bloody revolution. According to him as collection of material goods was the root of social evil in his views. He stressed to continue the economic stability in the society; as equality, social justice, sharing of interest and brotherhood was the basic needs of Islamic society. He wanted to see an ideal and peaceful society for which he emphasized on the real Islamic values. He succeeded to bring Islamic Renaissance in the dark age of Mughal Rulers from the centre of Madrasa Rahimia. He died on 20 August 1762 at Delhi but still alive in the hearts of Muslims. His son Shah Abdul Aziz carried on his mission as the resonance of third battle of Panipat was heard in the battle of Balakot. Sayed Ahmed Shaheed of Ray Bareli was one of those Mujahids who was impressed by the Shah Wali Ullah's School of thought.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. The anti Islamic forces in subcontinent were on the peak in the reign of _____.
2. The battle of Plassy brought a great victory for the _____ and East India Company.
3. Real name of Shah Wali Ullah was Sayed Qutb-ad-Din Aḥmed but he was famous as Wali Ullah due to his_____.
4. Shah Wali Ullah had written almost _____ books in Persian and Arabic in thirty years of his serving life.
5. Shah _____died on 20 August 1762 at Delhi.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the religious contribution of Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah. his contributions to purify the lives of people.
2. Highlight the efforts of Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah that he done for Muslims of South Asia.

2.10 SAYED AHMAD SHAHEED

Sayed Ahmad was born at the small town of Rai Bareli near Lucknow on 24 October 1786 A.D. or 1st Muharram 1201 A.H. He belonged to the well known Sayed family. He was the grandson of Maulvi Ilm Ullah who was highly appreciated due to his Purity, Taqwa and devotion to Allah Almighty. Maulvi Ilm Ullah refused all the gifts offered by Aurangzeb Alamgeer as he proffered to spend his life in poverty. He was the true follower of the Sunnah of the holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad.

His father died while he was still a young boy. Sayed Ahmad registered in the Madrasa Rahimia of Shah Wali Ullah in Delhi in 1806 A.D. Here, under the sons of Shah Wali Ullah, he learned the Quran and the Hadith for two years. Dissimilar to other Sufis and

Ulema of Islam, Sayed Ahmed had not keen interest in education. That is why he proved himself a Mujahid instead of Mujahid or scholar. During his childhood, he had a slight tendency regarding education. Sayed Ahmed had inclination towards Jihad since his childhood. He was fond of physical exercises and often used his time in practicing the use of his arms. By nature, Sayed Ahmad was more a man of battle than a scholar. After spending two years in Delhi, at 1808 A.D. he returned his home station Rai Barely. After two years at the age of 24, he joined the forces of a Pathan military leader Ameer Khan in 1810 A.D. the soldiers of Ameer Khan highly impressed by his strong character. Now he got chance to learn the use of European guns. Sayed Ahmed illustrated himself to his appointment as the commander of the soldiers. However, on the other hand; he was the responsible person for leading the army in prayer. In 1817 A.D., Ameer Khan became subservient of British and accepted the State of Tonk. However, it was not suitable for Sayed Ahmed Shaheed to server under a ruler who itself was under the British. Now Sayed Ahmed Shaheed left the army of Ameer Khan and returned to Delhi where he started his efforts to restore Islam to its original purity.

It was the time that Sayed Ahmed was the skillful man having a lot of spiritual power. Two stars from the family of Shah Abdul Aziz choose him their spiritual guide for themselves. One of them was Shah Ismail Shaheed and second was Maulana Abdul Haiy; the nephew and the son in law of Shah Abdul Aziz respectively. It was a great honour for Sayed Ahmed Shaheed and looking at the luminaries of the family of Shah Wali Ullah, thousands of other people gathered around him. The restoration of Islam in its purity was the main objective of Sayed Ahmed Shaheed. He performed the real services for Islam obviously. He eliminated the un-Islamic actions from the lives of Muslims with the help of Shah Ismail Shaheed and Maulana Abdul Haiy. Marriage with a widow was considered a nasty action not only in Muslims and Hindus but also in the family of Sayed Ahmed Shaheed. However, Sayed Ahmed Shaheed married with a widow as it was according to the Shariah.

OnJanuary16, 1826, he left Rai Bareli and he went out for Jihad. Now he launched his own movement for Jihad. Therefore, from Rai Bareli, he first went to Hyderabad, Sindh and then to Shikarpur, Bahawalpur, Baluchistan and Afghanistan. From Afghanistan he entered the subcontinent via Khyber Pass and arrived in Nowshera where he established his headquarter for Mujahidin. A number of Afghan *Mujahidin* also joined him. They were in the opposition of Sikhs now; on the other hand, Ranjit Singh got the clue and sent Sardar Budh Singh to crush the *Mujahidin*. First battle between *Mujahidin* and Sikh forces was fought on December 21, 1826, at the place of Akora. In this battle, *Mujahidin* inflicted defeat upon the Sikh forces. This victory, on the part of the *Mujahidin*, resulted in great popularity of the *Mujahidin* movement. More and more people, prominent amongst them were tribal elders and Sardars, started joining the movement. As a result, *Mujahidin*'s strength swelled to almost 80,000.

On January 11, 1827, a number of rich people, commanders and two prominent Sardars of Peshawar, Yar Mohammad and Sultan Mohammad, took an oath of allegiance at the

hand of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed. Sayed Ahmad Shaheed moved forward to Saidu Sharif and started preparing for a war against the Sikhs. There, Sayed Ahmad Shaheed was poisoned by the servants of Yar Muhammad but he escaped death. This battle was continued four days and the Mujahidin were in the position of command and their conquest was in sight. However, at end, Yar Muhammad the chief of Peshawar along with his allies left the Muslim ranks. Therefore, the victory of Mujahidin converted into defeat. This incident shows the managerial fault among the *Mujahidins*. However, the Mujahidin reorganized for another battle. In spite of facing treacheries of some of the tribal leaders, Mujahidin succeeded to kill Yar Muhammad (the chief of Peshawar) and Khadi Khan (the chief of Hund) in 1830.

Sayed Ahmed did another blunder once again. He trusted on Sultan Khan, the brother of Yar Muhammad and maintained him the Governor of Peshawar. Sultan Khan planned to reprisal of the murder of his brother. Sultan Khan hired his killers; the slayers attacked on Mujahidin during their prayer at night and killed the large number of Mujahidin. Sayed Ahmed had enormous sorrow due to antagonism of the Muslims of Peshawar and decided to left for Balakot. He made it as his headquarter and planned to fight against Sikhs. Here, the Muslim masses also played the role of spy for the Sikhs. Although, *Mujahidin* kept their arrival secret but the spies delivered the reports of the combat preparations of the *Mujahidin*. In initial days of May in 1831, Sayed Ahmed Shaheed fought the decisive war against Sikhs. The Sikhs were many times greater in number and had superior weapons than the Muslims. Alost six thousands of Mujahidin lost their lives in the battle of Balakot. Sayed Ismail Shaheed, the real devotee of Sayed Ahmed Shaheed fought along with his mentor against the Sikhs and both gained martyred in this battle.

Sayed Ahmed Shaheed is considered the man of action who believed that Muslims should struggle against the British and the rule must be in the hands of Muslims. The Indian Muslims were oppressed due to non-Muslim forces including British and Sikhs. The Indian Muslims had the only way of armed struggle against the non-Muslim powers. He wanted to eliminate the evils due to which Islamic society had dishonored. When he served as militant in army, his companions were also of great piety; they had rejected the worldly wealth and pleasure at all. The armed persons associated with him wanted to improve the moral as well as intellectual lives of the Indian Muslims. Due to this, Sayed Ahmad Shaheed founded the jihad movement. The purpose of jihad movement was armed struggle to remove non-Muslims from and to restore the Muslim power. Sayed Ahmed had believed that after defeating non-Muslims they would be able to protect the Muslim's Power.

The major objectives of the Jihad Movements included the establishment of Islamic State, to get rid of Sikhs, to reduce the British influence, to control the spread of Christianity, to defeat the un-Islamic powers and establishing the peace in society on permanent basis. Sayed Ahmed Shaheed and his companions also made their efforts to eliminate the social evils e.g. worshipping graves by Muslims, drinking alcohol, gambling and other social evils.

The causes of failure of Sayed Ahmed Shaheed and his followers included tough training of Sikh army by the British, poor training of the *Mujahidin*, less management in Mujahidin, less financial and military support of *Mujahidin* by the Muslim countries and lack of other resources. One of the causes of the failure of Mujahidin was that the Mujahidin forced Muslim parents to marry their daughters in early age acting upon the rules of Shariah; however, the mujahidin presented themselves as the candidates for marriage to the Muslim girls of Pathan tribes. A large number of mujahidin get married on force with the young girls of the Pathan families. This action was highly disliked by the tribes and the people turned against the *Mujahidin.*

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. Sayed Ahmad Shaheed was born at Rai Bareli near _____ on 24 October 1786.
2. Syed Ahmed joined the forces of a Pathan military leader _____ Khan in 1810.
3. First battle between *Mujahidin* and _____ forces was fought on December 21, 1826, at the place of Akora.
4. Sayed Ahmad Shaheed was poisoned by the servants of _____Muhammad.
5. The Mujahidin forced Muslim parents to _____their daughters in early age acting upon the rules of Shariah.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the religious efforts of Syed Ahmed Shaheed and his disciples.
2. Discuss the efforts of Mujahidin under Syed Ahmed Shaheed and elaborate the reasons of failure of this movement.

ANSWERS OF SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. Sufis	2. Plural	3. Jews
4. First	5. Inayat Khan	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Islam	2. Death	3. Love
4. Persian	5. Seven	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Dara	2. Hassan	3. Sultan
4. Kashf ul Mahjub	5. 40	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Iran	2. Hassamuddin	3. Ajmir
4. Ghareeb	5. Arifeen	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. Kotri
2. Death
3. Marvi
4. Shah Abdul Latif
5. Seven

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Rahman Baba
2. Brother
3. Inside
4. Rehman Baba
5. Message

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. 1564
2. Brother
3. Ahad
4. Head
5. Gwalior

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. Akbar
2. British
3. Goodness
4. Fifty
5. Wali Ullah

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. Lucknow
2. Ameer
3. Sikh
4. Yar
5. Marry

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Waheed Ahmed Masood (Ed.), *Seerat: Khawja Moinuddin Chishti* (Urdu), Lahore: Ziaulquran publications. January 1987.

2. Khalid Mahmood, *Data Ganj Bakhsh Aur Unka Ahed* (Urdu). Lahore: Maqbool Academy. N.D.

3. Hazrat Al-Sheikh Hakeem Mian Abdul Ghafoor Arshi, *Mazhar-i-Noor-i-Khuda* (Urdu), Lahore: Dar-ul-Hidayat publications. April 2012.

4. Dr. Fahmida Hussain (Ed.), Munawar Arbab (Compiled & Translated), *Spiritualism in the Poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai*, Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai Chair University of Karachi, 2006.

5. Maria. M. Abro and Dr. Kiran Sami, *Concept of Love in the Poetry of Bhitai and Browning*, in Mystic Thoughts: Research Journal of Sufism and Peace Vol. I. No. 1, 2015.

6. Robert Sampson & Momin Khan, *The Poetry of Rahman Baba*, Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2005.

7. G.M. Syed, *Shah Latif and his message*, Sehwan Sharif: Sain Publishers, 1996.

8. Muhammad Abdul Haq Ansari, *Sufism and Shariah*, U.K: The Islamic Foundation, 1986.

9. Kh. Jamil Ahmad, Hundred Great Muslims, Lahore: Feroz son's, 1984.

10. G.N. Jalbani, Life of Shah Waliyullah, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1978.

11. A.D. Muztar, Shah Wali Allah, Islamabad: NIHCR, 1979.

Unit - 03

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN SUB-CONTINENT

Written By:
Dr. Khalid Mahmood

Reviewed By:
Dr. Sajid Mahmood Awan

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 61
Objectives 61
3.1 Aligarh Movement 62
3.2 Darul Uloom Deoband 67
3.3 Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulema 70
3.4 Jamia Millia Islamia 72
3.5 Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam 75
3.6 Sindh Madrassatul Islam 76
3.7 Islamia College Peshawar 77
Bibliography 80

INTRODUCTION

The educational movements of the Muslims of South Asia had played a vital role to serve the Muslims. After the War of Independence 1857, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan devoted himself to change the socio-political and economic conditions of the Indian Muslims. His services are recognized in the organization of Aligarh Movement. The Muslims were awarded western and scientific education through various efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan achieved the status of pioneer in taking steps for the development of Muslims. Many other leaders followed him and very soon, other educational movements were initiated including the Darul Uloom Deoband. This was an anti Aligarh Institute but it contributed well for the education of those who were scared of the policies of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The educational services for Indian Muslims provided by the Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulema and the Jamia Millia Islamia can't be neglected either. Moreover, the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, the Sindh Madrassatul Islam and the Islamia College Peshawar became the voice of Indian Muslims. All of these movements provided not only the educational services but also worked for the social uplift of Muslims.

OBJECTIVES

After reading the unit, you will be enabled to know:

1. The efforts made by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as well as the role of Aligarh Movement in the renaissance of the South Asian Muslims;
2. The effective role of Darul Uloom Deoband for the protection of Islamic believes and its educational contributions;
3. The efforts of Muslim scholars performed through the Nadwatul Ulema and the Jamia Millia Islamia;
4. Educational services of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, the Sindh Madrassatul Islam and the Islamia College Peshawar.

3.1 ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Background: After the War of Independence in 1857, the Indian Muslims had to pass through an extremely difficult experience. This was the period of degeneration and decomposition but the roots of this breakdown can be seen in the earlier period. In fact, the fall of Indian Muslims happened with the collapse of Mughal Empire. In this context the Europeans succeeded to get control of India. First, the British East India Company achieved the economic control and finally, the British controlled most area of of India. The first British ship led by Captain Hawkins landed on the western beach of India in 1608; at that time this area was called Surat.

Domination of East India Company: We will discuss in the next unit in detail, how the East India Company came in India and made its dominance over other companies. Its main objective was to initiate trading. The British East India Company came here with the legal permission of the Mughal rulers. The opening group of the British traders reached here as the ambassador of East India Company. The traders had to compete with other Europeans who were there in this region especially the French. In 1613, Captain Hawkins and his friends succeeded to get a formal permission. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir permitted them to initiate their trading. They started trading with paying taxes to the Mughal emperor. They kept on trading on regular basis but due to the weaknesses of Muslim rulers the British ultimately were able to set up their rule here. The East India Company governed India until 1857 and after the failure of War of Independence, India became under the direct rule of the British Crown.

In the War of Independence in 1857, the Muslims and Hindus were defeated by the British. Although, the war was fought by the Hindus and Muslims together but the Muslims were considered as sole responsible of the mutiny. The Hindus came under the umbrella of British Government and the Muslims were declared guilty for the rebellion. After the war, the Mughal rule came to an end. Now, the Muslims found themselves downward and their decline arrived at the lowest ebb. Of course, these days were of the desperation and darkness for Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmed khan wanted to improve the socio-economic condition of Indian Muslims. He came ahead at that time when the Muslims were in critical condition. He decided to serve the Muslims and provided them right direction. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan used a realistic approach. He analysed the veracity of that time and recommended the Muslims to be loyal to the British. He also advised them to devote themselves for the achievement of modern education.

Policies of the British: The strategies of East India Company were unfair and biased towards the Muslims. However, this discriminate attitude also continued by the British Crown after replacing the East India Company. Actually, there was enmity between the British and the Muslims. The British had the opinion that the Muslims were guilty for the rebellion against the British colonial authority in 1857. After this War of Independence, the British implemented an intentional policy of discrimination towards the Indian Muslims. The Muslims were crushed through a mutual understanding between the

Hindus and the British. The Muslims were removed from their government services, deprived from education and humiliated in the society. No one was there for the guidance of Muslims except Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Sir Syed took the responsibility for the welfare of the Muslims.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was born on October 17, 1817 at Delhi. He belonged to a noble Syed family who had served for the Mughals and for the East India Company both. He was one of the well educated among the Muslims of his time. He had joined the East India Company before the War of Independence and was well aware of the company and its policies. He also had a better understanding of the issues faced by the Indian Muslims.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan served for the Muslims in various ways and he chose the place of Aligarh as a centre of his activities. Therefore, his services for Muslims are known as Aligarh Movement. In fact, Aligarh was a town from where Sir Syed started his movement and efforts to change the circumstances of the Indian Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had a fundamental argument that the Muslims should think about the reality of present time instead of thinking about their past glory. They should also accept the altered situations and circumstances. The reality of time was that the Muslims had been converted from a commanding to dependent position.

Focusing the Education: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had an opinion that the Muslims should get modern education; he focussed on the scientific education. English was a basic prerequisite for this purpose. He thought that the Muslims must learn English language to acquire the modern awareness. Sir Syed visited various educational institutions of England and wanted to implement the English system of education in India. This was a hard work in practice but he tried his best to make it possible. For the achievement of this intention he took several steps and continued his services till the last day of his life. Few services of the great Muslim reformer are being discussed here.

Role of Bridge: Sir Syed Ahmed khan played the role of Bridge between the Hindus and the Muslims. Both the nations were against each other. The Muslims considered that the British had confiscated their rule from the Mughals. On the other hand, the British were in fright that the Muslims would try to take up arms any time as British had snatched the power from Muslims. Sir Syed tried to remove the abhorrence from both the sides. As Sir Syed Ahmed Khan belonged to a Syed family, the Muslims looked upon him with reverence. He had been serving in the East India Company and had saved the lives of some British officers during the War of Independence. Therefore, the British used to see him well. It is said that he had played a role to bridge up the gap between the two nations to bring them closer to each other. He also tried to bring Hindus and Muslims at one platform but failed. He expressed his thoughts that both nations are just like the two eyes of a bride. However, due to Hindus' biased attitude he later on declared that the Indian Muslims are a distinct nation separate from Hindus.

Risala-i-Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind: After one year of the War of Independence, he made his first effort and wrote a book entitled *Risala-i-Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* (The Causes of the Indian Revolt). Its objective was to promote an understanding between the British and the Muslims. It was published in 1858 and was distributed among the members of the British Parliament. He presented the factual analysis of the rebellion and assured the British that the Muslims were not the sole responsible of the mutiny. The Hindus were also equalled responsible for this war. He identified a number of reasons and explained that the British tried to convert the Muslims towards Christianity; therefore, the Muslims got annoyed towards them.

He was also of the opinion that several laws were implemented that was neither suitable nor acceptable for the Muslims. Moreover, there was a gap between the ruler and the ruled as the British were not familiar with the culture of Muslims.

Loyal Muhammadans of India: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was a Muslim Scholar and he wrote a number of books. The purpose of his writing was to remove the distrust between and the British and the Indian Muslims. He also tried to clarify that the Muslims of India may trust upon the British if they remove the biases against Muslims. The British had introduced the term Muhammadan for the Muslims; Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in his book 'Loyal Muhammadans of India' had also used the same term. This was the series of books published by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Through it, Sir Syed enabled to identify the services of the Muslims made by them to help the British for saving them during the revolt of 1857. Sir Syed also highlighted his views about the war of 1857 and claimed that it was revolt not the jihad.

A Commentary on Bible: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also performed many services in the form of publication. He produced various publications to overcome the differences or clash between the Islam and Christianity. He presented an argument that most of beliefs and habits of the Muslims and Christians are same. Sir Syed struggled to recognize the commonalities between Muslims and Christians. He explained that both religions are different in the social system but also have definite familiar things. His contemporary Ulema of Islam became offensive towards him due to these ideas. Even some of them declared that Sir Syed was the agent of British and therefore, was out of the fold of Islam. However, Sir Syed continued his mission calmly. In spite of this critical situation, some Muslim scholars appreciated the efforts of Sir Syed. As Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali said:
"*Ye Bhala baat kis ki maanay hain,*
Bhai Syed to kuch deewanay hain".

Tehqiq-i-Lafz-i-Nasara: One of the publications of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was *Tehqiq-i-Lafz-i-Nasara.* At that time the word Nasara was used for Christians. But Sir Syed argued that the word Nasara is used for Christians in the positive meanings. It never meant that the Muslims were viewing Christians in terrible way. It was an effective attempt to eliminate the confusion developed between the Christians and the Muslims. As the British had been making their efforts for the extension of Christianity; therefore, the

Muslims were against them. However, Sir Syed worked hard to bring them closer to the Muslims.

Ahkam-e-Taam-e-Ahl-e-Kitab: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also wrote a book entitled "*Ahkam-e-Taam-e-Ahl-e-Kitab*". This was published in 1868. In this book he explained that the Christians are called Ahl-e-Kitab and the Muslims are allowed to eat along with them. He wrote that the Muslim can eat the food cooked by Christians sitting with them as well as exclusive of session with them. He copied various verses of the Holy Quran and the Hadith of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) of Islam and proved that Muslims were not prohibited to eat with Ahl-e-Kitab. He told that the Holy Prophet used to eat the food prepared by the Jews. The food items those are decaled as *Hala*l by Allah cannot be measured as *Haram*. In this regard, he also referred the *fatwas* of Shah Abdul Aziz in which he permitted Muslims to eat with the Ahl-e-Kitab.

Scientific Society: He wished to deliver latest knowledge to the Muslims. For this purpose, he founded an institution in Ghazi Pur named Scientific Society. The society performed its functions well in holding meetings from time to time and provided the opportunities to the well educated people for discussions. The highly qualified people came here to discuss various issues. The Scientific Society of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also arranged the translation of articles from English to Urdu. These articles proved very useful for those who did not know English. The Muslims were very little in number who were able to read English; therefore, this work of conversion from English to Urdu became dual beneficial as it promoted the western knowledge into Urdu also. That is why, the Scientific Society of the Aligarh Movement is considered valuable for the development of Urdu after the services of Fort William College of Calcutta.

Aligarh Institute Gazette: The *Aligarh Institute Gazette* was a part of services of the Aligarh Movement and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. This Gazette was started in 1866 and it was published in Urdu and English Languages. It was the collection of articles written by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his contemporary scholars. The *Aligarh Institute Gazette* played a remarkable role in delivering the advanced knowledge and new ideas to the Muslims of subcontinent.

Khutbat-e-Ahmdia and Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq: In 1869, Sir Syed went to England with his son Syed Mahmood and stayed there for 17 months. He studies the famous book "Life of Muhammad" written by Sir William Muir. In its response, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wrote his articles that published as *Khutbat-e-Ahmdia*. He returned to India at the end of 1870 and focussed on the development of Muslims in the field of education. Commencing a sequence of activities to reform the Muslims, he issued a journal entitled "*Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq*". Sir Syed Ahmed Khan tried to develop the ethics of Muslims through his writings. Sir Syed carried on its publication in Urdu and it continued for a long time. This publication focussed on the social and cultural concerns faced by the Indian Muslims. It was beneficial for the Muslims to improve their ethical situation and soon the same

periodical became well-liked among the people. He comprehensively denounced the social evils like polygamy, slavery, and other such practices.

Modern and Islamic Education: In 1872, Sir Syed founded Muhammadan College Fund Committee. He decided to set up a Muslim school system to deliver both the Islamic teachings and modern education. The Muslims were so far from the Western and English education as it was introduced in India by the British. The Indian Muslims were biased towards British due to religion as they were frightened that modern education will devoid of them from Islam. The Muslim students were not interested in getting admission into the universities originated by the British. Therefore, their number in the higher educational institutions was too less. Due to this, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had the wish to establish such an institution where the Muslims would be awarded scientific and Islamic subjects.

Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was founded on October 24, 1875. Initially, it was a primary school but Sir Syed had the intention of taking it to a college level institution. After passing the period of two years on January 8, 1877, the M.A.O. College was inaugurated by Viceroy Lord Lytton. The English and Islamic education was declared compulsory for the students. At the time of death of Sir Syed in 1898, the number of students was almost 350 and out of them 250 had been living in college hostel.

Muslim University Aligarh: As time passed by, the M.A.O. College got elevation and became a superior institute of education for the Muslims. This was the sole college of Muslims at that time that was running with the financial support of the Muslims and of the British. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had the desire to convert it into a Muslim University. This dream of Sir Syed could not fulfil during his life. However, his colleagues carried on their efforts and the same college transformed into the first Muslim University of Aligarh in 1920. Sir Syed Ahmed Kahn died on March 27, 1898 at the age of 81. He devoted his life for the services of Muslims.

Some friends of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also helped him sincerely. Maulana Shibli Nomani, Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali, Maulana Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Maulvi Abdul Haq are considered the colleagues of Sir Syed who brought the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College on its peak. They proved the real friends of Sir Syed and the Muslim. The MAO College shaped a fresh value system among the Muslim students of India. Obviously, Sir Syed organised the movement with the help of his friendly team members. However, the role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in Aligarh Movement was like the work of heart in human body. Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali wrote the famous book of poetry entitled "*Madd-o-Jazr-e-Isla*m" famous as *Musaddas Hali* on the request of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. In the War of Independence in 1857, the Muslims and Hindus were ____ by the British.
2. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan took the responsibility for the _____of the Muslims.

3. Sir Syed argued that the word Nasara is used for Christians in the _____meanings.
4. Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was founded on October 24,_____.
5. Sir Syed Ahmed Kahn died on _____ 27, 1898 at the age of 81.

QUESTIONS

1. How Sir Syed Ahmed Khan made efforts for the uplift of Indian Muslims?
2. Highlight the role of Aligarh Movement for the revival of Muslims in South Asia.

3.2 DARUL ULOOM DEOBAND

Background: The British came in India for the purpose of trading; however, when they judged the weaknesses of the Mughals; they started taking interests in local politics. The decline of Mughals started and the East India Company appeared as the new political power in India. The company established many trading centres in India. After the arrival of East India Company in subcontinent, the British also appointed a large number of officers in India. Their religious guides also came along with them. The main purpose of missionaries was the spiritual guidance of the British officers. But it was the matter of concern that the Christian missionaries started the regular campaign to convert the religion of the Indians. It was the direct threat for the Hindus as well as the Muslims.

These missionaries tried their best to spread Christianity amongst the Indians. Although, they initiated various projects for social services but the soul behind it was to preach Christianity. The Muslims were very pensive regarding their religion. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had already started his movement after the War of Independence. Most of the Muslim Ulema had their concern that Sir Syed is a modern reformer who had been working on the pattern of West but their offspring need to educate pure Islamic teachings.

On May 30, 1886 in the Islamic month of Muharram, the great Muslim Scholars founded an Islamic institution. It was established in a small mosque of Saharanpur named 'Chatta'. Saharanpur was a small town in UP. This Darul Uloom was established by Maulvi Fazal-ur-Rehman the father of Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani; and Maulana Zulfqar Ali the father of Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan. Moreover, Rasheed Ahmed Gangohi, Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanotvi and Haji Muhammad Hussain Abid were also the pioneers of this Islamic institute. Initially, the idea was generated by the well known religious scholar Haji Muhammad Hussain Abid.

Maulana Qasim Nanotvi prepared the following rules to run the Madrassa:

1. Unless there is no source of income for the Madrassa, it will be running without it, with the willing of Allah Almighty;
2. Contribution of the Government and of the affluent people would be harmful for the Madrassa;
3. The funding from those would be graceful who will offer their contribution without the wish of their publicity;

4. The teachers should be of the same thinking and may not be selfish.

At the beginning it was called a Madrassa but due to untired efforts of the Maulana Qasim Nanotvi it changed into popular Darul Uloom Deoband. After the death of Maulana Qasim Nanotvi in 1880, Maulana Rasheed Ahmed Gangohi was appointed the caretaker and after that Maulana Muhammad Yaqoob Nanotvi took over the charge. Sheikh Mahmood-ul-Hassan remained its *Sadr-e-Mudarris* from 1888 to 1920. After that Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi worked as its administrator.

In initial days, the teachers started teaching under the shadow of pomegranate tree. Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan was the first child who got enrolled there. However, at the end of first year the number of student's grew up to 78 and out of them 58 belonged to areas other than Deoband. Due to large number of students, the Madrassa was shifted in a newly constructed mosque. The number of scholars and teachers increased day by day, the foundation of independent building was laid in 1876. The system of education prepared by Shah Wali Ullah was implemented there. In its one hundred years of services, Darul Uloom Deoband had produced more than seventeen thousands world wise recognised scholars.

The quality of the academy was that it was totally dependent on the public contributions. The Muslims provided the funds to this Darul Uloom with open hearts. The Darul Uloom Deoband prepared a large number of scholars who played a remarkable role not only in the field of Islamic education but in the politics also. The well known religious- political party founded by its Ulema was the Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind. Later on, the same was distributed into two separate parties. The first was Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind and the second was Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam. The first was led by Sheikh-ul-Hadees of Deoband Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani. The leader of this party Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani and some of his friends were in the opposition of the establishment of Pakistan.

Maulana Muhammad Yaqoob Nanotvi was appointed as the first Sadr-e-Mudarris (chief administrator) of this institution. However, Maulana Qasim Nanotvi also worked hard and succeeded to grow a small Madrassa of Deoband into a world recognised Darul Uloom. The other quality of this Darul Uloom was that the great scholars of each subject were available here to teach the students. At the time of its inauguration, this was Urdu medium Madrassa along with the subjects of Arabic and Persian. The administrators of the Madrassa understood the needs of students in their practical life. Therefore, they arranged technical education for the pupils including shoe-making, book binding, and tailoring.

One of the brilliant students of Darul Uloom was Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan. After the completion of his education he got attached with the Madrassa as a teacher first and then became the principal of this Darul Uloom. Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan served here in this institute for almost 23 years and presented his contribution for its advancement. He made the Darul Uloom so enormous that the foreigners also joined

Darul Uloom for their studies. The disciples of this Darul Uloom founded the Deobandi school of thought.

The Darul Iftah was also founded here in 1893, under the command of Mufti Aziz-ur-Rehman. The objective of Darul Iftah was to provide guidance to the Muslims in the field of religion and economy. Its most important effort was the translation of *Holy Quran* completed by Mahmud ul Hassan. The curriculum of this Islamic Madrassa was called Dars-e-Nizami and based on *Shariah* (Islamic law), *Fiqah* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *Tasawwuf* (traditional Islamic spirituality). The syllabus consisted of four different stages followed by many Madaris affiliated with it.

If we look at its objectives, we find that its great aim was to give comprehensive knowledge to the Muslim students about Islam. It was necessity of time to teach them *Quran*, *Tafseer* and *Hadees*. The Madrassa of Deoband fulfilled the objective of raising the real spirit of Islam among the Muslim students. The qualified students were enabled to spread and coach Islam to other people. This was a sole institute of India during the British era that protected the liberty of Muslims in their judgments, thoughts and facts. It was also a reality that the Darul Uloom was founded in the opposition of Aligarh Movement of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Ulema of this school of thought were against the British while, Sir Syed provided his services with the cooperation of British.

A large number of Ulema of other sects targeted the services of this Islamic centre. The disciples of this institute were awarded the title of 'wahabi' but in reality this institute was not linked with the movement of Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab of Arabia. However, the movement of Abdul Wahab was an Islamic movement which developed during the Eighteenth Century for the revival of Islam in Arabia. On the other hand, the objective of Deoband was the training of Muslim students in the field of Islamic education. Later on, the disciples of Deoband also played an outstanding role for the purification of beliefs of the Muslims.

Today, a large number of Islamic schools in all over the world including Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, South Africa and United Kingdom are theologically associated to Darul Uloom Deoband. Various graduates of Deoband established a number of theological colleges around the world including the Darul Uloom Sabeel-us-Salam in Hyderabad, India, the Madrassa Inaamia Camperdown near Durban in South Africa and many others in different cities of Pakistan.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. The decline of Mughals started and the East India Company appeared as the new political _____ in India.
2. The main purpose of missionaries was the _____guidance of the British officers.
3. Darul Uloom Deoband was established in a small mosque of _____named 'Chatta'.

4. Maulana Qasim Nanotvi died in the year _____.
5. The movement of Abdul _____was an Islamic movement which developed in Arabia.

QUESTIONS

1. Highlight the services of Darul Uloom Deoband for the promotion of Islam in real meanings.
2. Elaborate the role of Muslim Scholars for the revival of Muslims in South Asia under the organization of Darul Uloom Deoband.

3.3 DARUL ULOOM NADWATUL ULEMA

Due to the miserable conditions of the Indian Muslims in the field of education; two foremost institutions established by the Muslim scholars had been plying their role. Both of them were poles apart in their objectives. The Movement of Sir Syed was focusing on the promotion of modern education while the Darul Uloom Deoband was working in the opposition of Aligarh Movement with focus on Arabic. The two institutions, in reality, were the two schools of thought and both of them declared itself the sole source of Muslim's upliftment. The Aligarh Movement had totally focussed on materialism and worldly progress while the Darul Uloom Deoband was insisting that the Muslims would get their success only by acting upon the religious teachings. The graduates of Aligarh were having keen interest in receiving superior jobs with higher honorarium. However, they were far from the Islamic teachings in their practical lives. Contrary to it, the scholars of Darul Uloom Deoband proved themselves as '*Khateeb* 'and Ulema but deprived from the modern requirements. There was a dire need of establishment of an institution that perform a moderate role to educate the Muslims. The circumstances bounded the Indian Muslim Scholars to set up such an institute through which the education of two types would be delivered at the same time. Many people targeted the services of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan saying that Aligarh was the factory of producing clerks acting upon the Lord Macaulay's education policies. On the other hand, the criticism on Darul Uloom was that it was only inculcating the Islamic education.

Maulana Muhammad Ali Mongeri decided in the convocation of Madrassa Faiz-e-Aam Kanpur in 1892 to establish an organization to remove the faults from the Muslims. The name for this organisation was decided 'Nadwatul Ulema' and the following objectives were decided by its members:

1. Development of the knowledge and ethics amongst the Muslims through rectification of curriculum;
2. To originate the department of 'Afta';
3. To remove the differences amongst the Ulema and elimination of the controversial discussion;
4. To take measurement for the welfare of the Muslims without taking participation in the politics;
5. To establish an enormous Darul Uloom for the promotion of academic education as well as technical education.

During the session of Muhammadan educational conference in 1894 at Kanpur, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk presented a resolution to establish an institution which was supported by Syed Mahmood. Muhammad Ali Mongeri, Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Mahmood-ul-Hassan and Shibli Nomani were the great scholars who presented the idea of its foundation to counter the challenges of western education. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also agreed with it. Maulana Muhammad Ali Kanpuri was appointed as its first administrator. In December 1898, the office of same institution was transferred from Kanpur to Lucknow. The initial classes of Darul Uloom started here. In the last week of November 1906, Sir John Prescott Hewitt, the then Lieutenant Governor of India laid down its foundation stone. Later on, the Nadwatul Ulema became the second well known educational institution in subcontinent after the Darul Uloom Deoband in India. The preference of the name Nadwa was conceived from a hall in Mecca, the assembling place of the upper class. The foundation session was attended by various well known Muslims scholars belonging to all sects of the Ummah including Maulana Shibli Nomani and Maulana Abdullah Ansari. Maulana Shibli Nomani proposed Maulana Mufti Lutf Ullah to chair the session.

The Nadwa observed the peak of its reputation when Maulana Shibli Nomani got attached with it in 1904. He set the rules along with Maulvi Abdul Haq. The Nadwatul Ulema enhanced its status at higher ranks due to its regulations. Shibli was a Professor at the Aligarh college of Sir Syed, he demonstrated himself as immense intellectual and scholar. Maulana Shibli Nomani had been providing his services to the Aligarh for almost sixteen years. Due to extreme ideological disparity, he separated himself from the Aligarh in 1898. He joined the Nadwa in 1904 after resigning from the government job.

Maulana Shibli was appointed as in charge of the *Nadwa*. He made a lot of alterations in the curriculum and made it according to the needs of society. He devoted his all the time for the services of *Darul Uloom*. He worked as the editor of the magazine of *Nadwa* also. Maulana's great work for the *Nadwa* was establishment of the *Darul-Musanifin* at Azamgarh. In 1913, he also resigned from the position of secretary of the Nadwa due to inconsistencies between him and other member of the *Darul Uloom*. Then, he constituted the *Anjuman Isalh-e-Nadwa* for the betterment of this institute. After the relieving of Shibli, the *Nadwatul Uloom* lost its attractiveness. Although, many other scholars worked for the *Nadwa* as its administrators; however, its reputation could not recover that was found at the time of Shibli.

The *Nadwatul Ulema* shaped a number of famous scholars including Syed Sulaiman Nadwi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Some of the graduates of Nadwatul Ulema proved freedom fighters of the Pakistan Movement including Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, Masood Alam Nadwi and Abdul Salam Nadwi. Maulana Shibli Nomani served as writer here and wrote remarkable books. One of the most memorable book was '*Seerat-un-Nabi*' in seven volumes; which he could not complete in his life. The same was completed by his disciple Syed Sulaiman Nadwi after the death of Maulana Shibli Nomani.

The *Nadwatul Ulema* is an institute of Islamic education situated at Lucknow but fruitful for all over the India. Thousands of Muslims from all over the world came to learn here. The *Nadwatul Ulema* promoted a diverse series of both scholars and students including *Hanafis*, *Shafais* and *Ahl-e-Hadith*. Moreover, its main achievement was the promotion of Islamic and moderate education amongst its scholars.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. The _____of Sir Syed was focusing on the promotion of modern education.
2. The graduates of _____were having keen interest in receiving superior jobs.
3. Many people targeted the services of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan saying that Aligarh was the _____of producing clerks.
4. The preference of the name _____was conceived from a hall in Mecca, the assembling place of the upper class.
5. The Nadwa observed the _____of its reputation when Maulana Shibli Nomani got attached with it in 1904.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the services of Darul Uloom *Nadwatul Ulema*for the sake of Muslims.
2. Nadwatul Ulema gave the Modern and Islamic way of education to the Indian Muslim learners. Discuss.

3.4 JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA

On the demands and needs of time, a new institution was formed named "*Jamia Millia Islamia*". The *Jamia* means 'University' or 'House of wisdom' while *Millia* means 'National'. In this way, it was the national university of India. It was initially originated at Aligarh in November 1920. This was established by a group of 18 Muslims intellectual members. It was founded by Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud Hassan when he returned from *Malta* after releasing by the British. First chancellor of the Jamia Millia was Hakeem Ajmal Khan; he was elected on November 22, 1920. Allama Muhammad Iqbal was also offered the Vice Chancellor-ship of this Jamia through Gandhi but he rejected this offer. Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar was its founder Vice-Chancellor. The prominent members of its Founding Committee were Abdul Majeed Khawja and Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari who worked for its growth.

According to its foundation, the Jamia Millia was established as an anti colonial movement. It aimed to provide the religious education to the Muslims in an independent environment. The movement was against the British; therefore, it was run exclusive of assistance of the government. One of its purposes was to provide Islamic education but according to the ambitions of the Indian Muslims.

Its pioneers wanted to educate the nation free from the control of government. That is why; its curriculum included the teachings of religion, morality, and cultural background. The Muslims were afraid of the British education system and wanted to educate their

offspring in their own hands. We know that many other movements for education had been initiated by the Indian Muslims. Although, the Aligarh Movement, the Darul Uloom Deoband and the Nadwatul Ulema had their separate systems of provision of education but it is confirmed that their sole aim was to bring out the Muslims from the darkness of hopelessness and ignorance. All of them carried on their struggle in their own way.

The *Jamia Millia Islamia* was administrated by those people who had devoted themselves for the sack of Muslims and were strongly dedicated to fulfil their commitment. Its mission was to promote the faith and ideology of independence and struggle for freedom. It also worked for the sack of Hindu Muslim unity to some extent. The Jamia tried to provide an atmosphere of self driven education. The teachers of this Jamia were highly impressive and they devoted themselves for the services of this institute.

The Jamia proved itself as a progressive educational movement of South Asia. Most of its administrators were also involved in the Khilafat Movement; therefore, the students and teachers of Jamia Millia played an active role in non-cooperative actions against the British. In response to the annihilation of *Jalianwala Bagh*, the non-cooperation movement was launched by Gandhi on January 1, 1921. The students and teachers of Jamia Millia Islamia took part in it along with Hindus. Most of its teachers as well as the students were imprisoned by the British Government due to the Khilafat Movement. The movement went towards agitation and the insensitive incident of Chauri Chaura occurred in 1922. The government took action strictly and then Mr. Gandhi called off his Non-cooperation Movement. When the students and teachers of Jamia Millia were being released meanwhile the institution of Khilafat was eliminated by Mustafa Kamal Ataturk in 1924.

The leaders of Jamia Millia Islamia including, A. M. Khawja, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan decided to shift the Jamia in 1925 from Aligarh to Karol Bagh near Delhi. It is like to remember that Mahatma Gandhi was the supporter of this Jamia. He increased the self-esteem of Jamia and said: *'The Jamia has to run. If you are worried about its finances, I will go about with a begging bowl'*. The Muslim leaders of Jamia were agreed to follow the productive agenda of Gandhi and it took to Charkha and Takli as favoured vocations.

At the time of crises, the Jamia also get advantage from the contacts of Gandhi to receive financial advantages. Due to lofty attachment with Gandhi, many Muslim scholars, thinkers and politicians thought it as the sign of destruction for the Muslims. However, the Jamia never remained totally dependent on Gandhi as throughout the hard days as Hakim Ajmal Khan provided a large part of its expenses from his own pouch. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari and Abdul Majeed Khawja travelled all around India and out of the subcontinent also; where they explained the mission and significance of the Jamia Millia. They collected funds for this enormous institute. Due to these efforts, the Jamia could maintain its existence; otherwise, it was certainly near to its fragmentation.

PAKISTAN STUDIES

(Compulsory)

For BS

Course Codes: (9374/8220) **Units: 1–9**

Department of Pakistan Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
ALLAMA IQBAL OPEN UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

The fortune of Jamia Millia Islamia awakened when in 1925, after lengthy consideration; three Muslim moderate scholars including Dr. Mohammad Mujeeb, Dr. Zakir Husain and Dr. Abid Husain decided to offer their services to the Jamia. All of them were settled in Germany. They left Germany and joined the Jamil Millia Islamia on very nominal salaries. Dr. Zakir Hussain was an economist; PhD from the University of Berlin, having his charismatic personality. Dr. Abid Husain was an educationist and European degree holder while Dr. Mohammad Mujeeb was a reformer and the scholar of history. The very next year in the month of February in 1926, all of them left Germany and they joined the Jamia Millia Islamia.

As we have discussed the financial issues of Jamia, it was very difficult for it to pay the highly qualified scholars. Dr. Zakir Husain was appointed on the monthly salary of Rs. 100 but realizing the financial conditions of the Jamia, he voluntarily reduced his salary to Rs. 80 per month. Dr. Mohammad Mujeeb and Dr. Abid Husain were appointed on the monthly payment of Rs. 300 each. However, looking towards the limited resources of Jamia, they also reduced their salaries to Rs. 100 each. Each of them were highly committed; their first step was the provision of education to Adults. For this purpose, they arranged classes in evening and this effort was highly appreciated by the public. When the Civil Disobedient Movement started against the British; it took contribution in the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928. The Jamia Millia Islamia dispatched the volunteers all over the country to encourage natives to struggle against the British for the liberty of the country.

After the death of Hakim Ajmal Khan in 1928, once again the financial crises emerged. In the same year Dr. Zakir Hussain became its Vice Chancellor and now the management of Jamia moved into his hands. Dr. Zakir Hussain along with other teachers decided to carry on his services with nominal charges for next twenty years. Dr. M. A. Ansari passed away in 1936. After three years of his death, the Jamia Millia Islamia was registered as a society on June 4, 1939. Despite of financial difficulties, the efforts of teachers of the Jamia were remarkable. It was converted into a massive movement and various notables from oversees came to India to visit the Jamia. Some foreigners were too impressed and they remained here to serve the Jamia. The German woman Ms. Gerda Philipsborn, an educationist and social reformer stayed here to serve the Jamia. She was popularly known as *Aapa Jaan* and after her death she was buried inside the Jamia.

The first reason of its fame was the sacrifices of its teachers. The scholars of highest ranks were ready to work on the lowest salaries. Its second feature was the simple life style of its faculty and students. Promotion of simplicity remained the aim of this institution. The third quality of Jamia was that it provided the education of techniques and skills; book binding, locks making and dairy farming enabled its students not to search for the jobs. Another superiority of the Jamia was establishment of its Urdu Academy.

A famous Muslim scholar and well known freedom fighter, disciple of Shah Wali Ullah, Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi joined this institution in 1939. He joined it on the request of Dr. Zakir Husain. In this Jamia, Maulana initiated 'Baitul Hikmah' a school of Islamic Studies. This was the same Zakir Husain who later on, became the third Vice President of India from 1962 to 1967. Dr. Zakir Hussain died on May 3, 1969; his tomb is also inside the Jamia Millia Islamia. The Jamia Millia Islamia was awarded the status of central university in 1988.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Khilafat was eliminated by _____Ataturk in 1924.
2. Jamia Millia Islamia was established by a group of 18 _____intellectual members.
3. The scholars of _____ranks were ready to work on the lowest salaries in Jamia Millia Islamia.
4. Maulana _____Sindhi joined Jamia Millia Islamia in 1939.
5. Dr. Zakir Hussain died on May 3, _____.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the role of Jamia Millia Islamia for the uplifting of Muslims of South Asia.
2. Jamia Millia Islamia contributed well in the development of the Indian Muslims. Discuss.

3.5 ANJUMAN-E-HIMAYAT-E-ISLAM

When the British occupied the province of Punjab in 1849; they started their struggle for the promotion of western education. They did it for the uplift of Indians apparently but the mission at the back of it was the promotion of Christianity, not acceptable for the Muslims. In South Asia, a large number of missionary schools were established by the British. In 1864, the Government College Lahore was initiated but the Muslims kept them away from the western educational set up. Moreover, the Hindu students were very in number who succeeded to get enrolment in it. The education was only for the Hindus while the Muslims remained deprive from its benefits. Therefore, the Muslims wanted to originate their own institutions, some of the Muslim leaders decided to create the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam to serve the Muslims.

The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was an association of Muslims founded at Lahore on September 24, 1884. This association was established in a mosque named '*Masjid Bakan*' of Lahore; near famous Mochi Gate by Qazi Hameed-ud-Din. Its first president and the general secretary were Qazi Hameed-ud-Din and Ghulam Ullah Qasuri respectively. Munshi Abdul Rahim, Munshi Chiragh-ud-Din, Dr. Deen Muhammad, Najm-ud-Din and Haji Shams Khan provided their services for this association. The Anjuman acquired a single room on rent and started its activities. The following objectives of the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam were decided:

1. Religious teachings along with worldly education to the Muslim students;
2. Protecting and publishing the Islamic values;
3. Carry on the struggle for Muslims' social and cultural development;
4. Answering the activities of Christian and Hindu preachers.

The Anjuman started its activities having limited financial resources. Its income remained Rs. 754 only in its opening year while the spending amount was Rs. 344 for the entire year. However, its income was generated rapidly due to the efforts of its members. The Muslim authors reserved the income of their books for the Anjuman. Some Muslim proprietors including Mehr Ali of *Hushiar Pur* and Sultan Shah Jahan Begum of *Bhopal* delivered the funds for the Anjuman.

The Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam stared its activities with opening of two girls' schools of primary level. However, many schools and colleges for male and female were established as the time passed by. This association also installed its own Printing press in1886 where the books are printed. The same year the Anjuman also launched a magazine in which the social-political, religious and economic issues were discussed. It was first time published in 1885, entitled *Risala-e-Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam*. The Islamia College Lahore was founded by this association in 1892. It established various institutions for educational and social services including the Dar-ul-Shafqat, one for male and other for female students, One Dar-ul-Aman for women, the Himayat-e-Islam Boys High School, the Himayat-e-Islam Pasha Girls High School, the Himayat-e-Islam Younani Shifa Khana, the Himayat-e-Islam Girls Degree College and the Himayat-e-Islam Library. The Anjuman also established an orphanage entitled the Yateem Khana in 1884. It is obviously a matter of honour for the Anjuman as Allama Iqbal served it as its president for 1934-37. Today, the association is known in Pakistan as a leading institute for orphans. The association has been working also in India as well as in Pakistan. The offices of the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam in both countries have their separate websites.

The political services of this association are undeniable as along with its educational efforts. It had played a great role in the Muslims' struggle for freedom. Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal were the leaders of top quality who remained in touch with this association. They attended its annual meetings and promoted their message of struggle under its banner. The students of its colleges stood with Quaid-i-Azam for the demand of Muslims' rights and later on for Pakistan. The famous political party of students 'Muslims' Students Federation' was also an effort of the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. The British occupied the province of _____in 1849.
2. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was an association of Muslims founded in _____ 1884.
3. The Islamia College Lahore was founded by Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in_____.
4. _____served Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam as its president for 1934-37.
5. The Anjuman also established an orphanage entitled the _____in 1884.

3.6 SINDH MADRASSATUL ISLAM

In 1843, Sindh became the part of Bombay Presidency and then the social condition of the Sindhi Muslims began to fall down. The Muslims were neglected in educational institutions by the Hindus' majority. The Aligarh Movement of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was already doing efforts for the betterment of Indian Muslims. Syed Amir Ali, one the companions of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan; came to visit Sindh and got worried for the Muslims of Sindh due to their educational deterioration. Meanwhile, Hassanally Effendi was also pensive for the future of Muslims in Sindh. He was the president of the Central Muhammadan Association, Karachi Branch which was founded by Syed Amir Ali. Hassanally wanted to originate a Madrassa in Karachi on the pattern of Aligarh and at last, the Sindh Madrassatul Islam was founded by Khan Bahadur Hassanally Effendi on September 1, 1885. Hassan Ali invited some of his friends in its opening ceremony. At the time of its opening, Hassanally delivered his speech for almost two hours. He described the socio-economic situation of Sindhi Muslims who were in bad condition. He expressed his wish to bring positive changes in the lives of Muslims of Sindh. The Madrassa was established in a rental building near famous Boltan Market in the heart of Karachi. The building was shifted to Frere Road in the very next year and new building was laid down by Lord Dufferin in 1886. By 1895, he and his associates had promoted the institution of Sindh Madrassatul Islam into a Centre of Excellence. At that time, it had a high school, having its three primary branches of Urdu, Sindhi, and Gujrati. The administration of the Madrassa arranged the teachings of *Quran* as compulsory. The first batch of this institution passed the exam in 1892 held by the University of Bombay.

In 1896, Hassanally Effendi died and then his son Wali Muhammad looked after the institution. Wali Muhammad carried on his services for Madrassa till his death in 1938. The Madrassa is included in the oldest educational institutes of South Asia. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan also studied in the Sindh Madrassatul Islam. He remained its student for a long time from 1887 to 1892. Mr. Jinnah granted one third of his personal property to this Madrassa. In 1943, the Madrassa was awarded the status of College. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah came here and inaugurated it as the Sindh Madrassatul Islam College. He was very emotional at that time while he was addressing the audience saying that:"He knew every inch of the splendid grounds of the institution where he had studied and played as a schoolboy fifty five years earlier, "Every inch of these splendid grounds where I took part in various games". The Sindh Madrassatul Islam not only continued to spread knowledge but the students of this great institute took active part in struggle of freedom. The Madrassa completed its responsibilities well in the spiritual training of its students. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah (the first Governor of Sindh), Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Rasul Bux Palejo were the most famous personalities of Sindh and graduates of this institution. In 2002, the same has achieved the status of a Public Sector University by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. In 1843, _____became the part of Bombay Presidency.

2. Hassanally Effendi was also pensive for the future of Muslims in_____.
3. Sindh Madrassatul Islam was established in a rental building near famous Boltan Market in the heart of_____.
4. The administration of the Sindh Madrassatul Islam arranged the teachings of *Quran* as_____.
5. Mr. Muhammad Ali_____, the founder of Pakistan also studied in the Sindh Madrassatul Islam.

3.7 ISLAMIA COLLEGE PESHAWAR

The Islamia College Peshawar is a historical educational institute of Peshawar. Like other educational movements, it is also considered as a movement. The Pakhtuns had concern due to education cum religious activities of missionaries. The British Government took a keen interest to establish a number of missionary institutions all over the South Asia. The modern education in present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa started with the establishment of missionary schools. The Mission school Peshawar was founded in 1868 which was later on upgraded into a college and was named as the Edward College. This name refers to a British colonial administrator, Sir Herbert Edward. Due to number of concerns, the Muslims established their own institutions in opposition to the British. The Muslims wanted to establish their educational institutes where their offspring may also attain Islamic education. For this purpose, the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam launched an Islamic educational institution in Peshawar. The Anjuman established the Islamia High School in 1902 to educate the Muslim children. The Anjuman tried its best to promote the education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa like other areas.

Besides it, Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan established the Darul Uloom Islamia in 1913 and the next year it was upgraded to college. Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan placed some British in this college and achieved the financial grant from the British. The acknowledgment of the success is to Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan who is usually identified as Sir Syed of the Frontier. He made everything remarkable due to having sincere friends and colleagues with him.

The Islamia College Peshawar became a symbol of academic excellence in Peshawar. Its building is considered as the best picture of the Muslim civilization in Indo Pakistan. Its green lawns remained a source of attraction for visitors from all over the country and overseas. The Islamia College accomplished its objectives being a mixture of the Aligarh and the Deoband school of thought. The students of Islamia College Peshawar played an enormous role in the Pakistan Movement. In 1936, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Quaid-i-Azam) came to visit it when the Muslim League was a nominal party. He again visited it to raise the feelings of youth for the achievement of Pakistan in 1945. Quaid-i-Azam also paid a huge contribution from his wealth to this college. As the Governor General of Pakistan, Jinnah once again came here on April 12, 1948 to pay thanks to the students even in his illness. This proved his third and the last visit. Here he said in his speech:

“One thing more I would like to say that there is some impression that the public is kept away from me. This you may call the Government’s management or the State visit of

mine. I want this impression to be removed. I want to make it clear that the public is absolutely free to do what they like, provided they maintain discipline; whereas the public get so excited that they break every rule and every arrangement in their enthusiasm and regard for me. But that does no good to anybody and it is dangerous. Therefore, I wish that everyone will impress upon the people especially my young friends to line up if they want to see me. You can by all means come and see me with full freedom, but line up properly, keep order and maintain discipline so that I can comfortably pass as the object is that I should see you and should see me.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour you have done me today'.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. The Islamia College Peshawar is a historical _____institute of Peshawar.
2. The _____school Peshawar was founded in 1868.
3. _____ Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan established the Darul Uloom Islamia in 1913.
4. Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan is usually identified as _____of the Frontier.
5. As the _____General of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah once again came in Islamia College Peshawar on April 12, 1948.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the social services of Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam.
2. Describe the educational services of Sindh Madrassatul Islam for the Muslims of Sindh.
3. Keeping in view the visits of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, highlight the role of Islamia College Peshawar for the uplifting of the people.

ANSWERS OF THE SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. defeated	2. Welfare	3. Positive
4. 1875	5. March	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Power	2. Spiritual	3. Saharanpur
4. 1880	5. Wahab	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Movement	2. Aligarh	3. Factory
4. Nadwa	5. peak	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Mustafa Kamal	2. Muslims	3. Highest

4. Ubaid Ullah 5. 1969

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. Punjab 2. September 3. 1892
4. Allama Iqbal 5. Yateem Khana

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Sindh 2. Sindh 3. Karachi
4. Compulsory 5. Jinnah

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Eeducational 2. Mission 3. Sahibzada
4. Sir Syed 5. Governor

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. S.M. Ikram, *Mauj-e-Kusar*, Lahore: Idara -e-Saqafat-e-Islamia, 1986.

2. K. K. Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*: London, 1963.

3. Ziya-ul-Hassan Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, India, Asia Publishing House, 1963.

4. Websites of the Jamia Millia Islamia, the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam and the Islamia College Peshawar.

5. Muhammad Moj, *The Deoband Madrassah Movement*, Anthem Press, 2015. Accessed on www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1gxpdpv

Unit - 04

BRITISH RULE AND SEPARATE MUSLIM IDENTITY-I

Written By:
Prof. Dr. Samina Awan
Dr. Khalid Mahmood

Reviewed By:
Prof. Dr. Fazal-i-Rahim Marwat

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 83
Objectives 83
4.1 War of Independence 84
4.2 Hindi-Urdu Controversy 91
4.3 Simla delegation 95
4.4 Establishment of Muslim League 98
4.5 Minto-Morley Reforms 101
4.6 Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's joining of Indian Politics 104
4.7 Lucknow Pact 107
4.8 Khilafat Movement 110
4.9 Delhi Muslim Proposals 114
Bibliography 118

INTRODUCTION

The educational movements of Indian Muslims have been discussed in the previous unit. The current unit focused on the British Rule and Separate Muslim Identity in the subcontinent. The opening lines of the unit explain the arrival of East India Company (E.I.C) and its monopoly in India. The roots of the War of Independence were planted by the E.I.C. In this unit, not only the rule of East India Company has been discussed but the causes, events and effects of the war of independence of 1857 are also been described. After the war, Hindi-Urdu controversy was one of the reasons for the Muslims who thought for their separate identity. The chapter provides detailed knowledge about the Simla Delegation through which they demanded the separate electorate for them. Establishment of All India Muslim League was not a minor but extraordinary effort for them at that time. Their demands were accepted in a short time through the constitutional way when Minto-Morley Reforms were announced. The chapter explains very well about the role of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Indian Politics. One of the causes of reputation of Mr. Jinnah was the Lucknow Pact of 1916.

At the end of the unit, the very famous effort of the Indian Muslims; Khilafat Movement has been discussed while the unit ends with the introduction of Delhi Muslim Proposals.

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

1. Know not only about the rule of East India Company but the causes, events and effects of the war of independence of 1857 also.
2. Understand the need of Separate Electorate for the Indian Muslims and the requirements of establishment their own political party.
3. Know Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah conquered the Indian politics and succeeded in efforts for the unity of Indians through Lucknow Pact.

4.1 WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In this section we are going to discuss the British rule and separate Muslim identity in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The Muslims' struggle for independence did not start with the war of independence of 1857 but much before it. Immediately, after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir, the Muslim Mughal emperor; the downfall of Indian Muslims started and many of the Indian Princely States and its rulers (Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims) had been occupied by the British East India Company (B.E.I.C). However, the Muslims had their nominal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar till 1857; whose control was limited to Delhi but the Muslims were proud of him. However, after the failure of the war of 1857, their emotional attachment was destroyed and they were deprived from the nominal prestige. Before discussing the war of independence and British rule, it would be pertinent to briefly mention the background of the B. E.I.C rule.

East India Company in United India: Mirza Muhammad Siraj ud-Daulah, more commonly known as *Nawab Siraj ud-Daulah* was the son of Zain Uddin Ahmed Khan and Amina Begum. He was born in 1733 and after a short time his maternal grandfather was appointed as deputy governor of the Bihar Province. Therefore, Siraj was titled as fortune child in his family. It is said that his grandfather Alivardi khan loved him so that right from the way of his birth, he never kept his grandson separate from himself. In 1752, Siraj was at the age of 19 and he was nominated the successor by his grandfather, Alivardi khan. Alivardi Khan died in the month of April in the year 1756. His grandson Siraj sat on the throne and became the Nawab of Bengal after the death of his grandfather. He was only 23 years old at that time.

After being Nawab, Siraj ordered the British as well as the French not to spread their influence in Bengal as they have been making encroachment to build their fortifications without his permissions. The aim of this order was to stop the extension of colonial influence in Bengal. The British refused to accept his order. Nawab took some actions against British and its logical end was the battle of Plassey. The British made a conspiracy against Nawab of Bengal (Siraj) and they engaged Mir Jaffar in this context; Mir Jaffar was the effective commander of Siraj's army.

The battle was fought at the ground of Plassey between the British and the Nawab of Bengal on 23rd June 1757. It was the not the first war of Muslims with the British of course, but the most important war of Anglo-Muslims. Nawab of Bengal lost the war because of the sudden fall of his commander Mir Mardan. Siraj took advice from Mir Jaffar in this regard; on the other hand, Mir Jaffar already had handed his loyalty over to the British. Mir Jaffar and his army remained inactive in the battle as they had made agreement with the British. Mir Jaffar recommended Siraj to retreat for that day. The war was stopped by the both side but suddenly Mr. Robert Clive attacked when the soldiers of Siraj were going back to the campus. The result was that Nawab of Bengal fled the battle field on a camel due to treason of Mir Jaffar. However, he was soon arrested by the staff of Mr. Jaffar.

The British succeeded to defeat Siraj with the help of Mir Jaffar at the battle of Plassey in 1757. Mir Meerun, the son of Mir Jaffar ordered Siraj's execution as Mir Jaffar had decided a contract with the British. Siraj-ud-Daulah was executed by Mohammad Ali Beg on the second day of July 1757.He was buried at Khushbagh an area of Murshidabad.The. The end of Siraj's life was the start of the victories of British east India company in subcontinent. The new Nawab of Bengal was Mir Jaffar, appointed by the British as the reward of his treachery with the Muslims. It was considered the first political victory of the Company and thence, the East India Company started her rule on one of the largest provinces of the subcontinent.

Although, the British East India Company had won some other wars before the battle of Plassy. Among them, her first succession was the Battle of Swally against Portuguese in last week of November 1612. This was the start of fall of Portugal's commercial monopoly over India. British East India Company in the combat leadership of Robert Clive won another war in 1751 commonly known as the Siege of Arcot. The Battle of Golden Rock was also succession of British East India Company against French troops assisted by *Hyder Ali of Mysore.*

This was the first remarkable victory of British against Indian Muslim rulers. The successful end of war for British was the beginning of series of wars between the imperialist power and the locals. British occupied other states of India one by one and they got succeeded in defeating Indians' war of independence one hundred years after the Battle of Plassy.

Rule of the East India Company: The East India Company was established on 31 December 1600 A.D (Head office London) after receiving the Royal Charter from the Queen Elizabeth, in its origin it was chartered as the "Governor and Company of London trading into the East Indies". The company was neither aimed to build an empire in India nor it was interested to occupy sub-continent but it had focused on the trading of commodities like silk, cotton, tea, saltpeter, salt and opium etc. The government had no share or direct control but the wealthy merchants and noblemen were the shareholders of the company. It was established due to the industrial revolution in England. The British had to sell their products and they were in search of markets where they could sell their industrial products.

East India Company expressed the wish to establish a trade centre in Bengal in the year 1609 when Mughal emperor Jahangir was the ruler but Jahangir did not accept it at that time. However, in 1613, after four years he accepted it and the East India Company was succeeded to establish a trade centre at the place of Surat in Bengal. The company entered in India, constructed fort for the establishment of their trade centres. Jahangir was not easily convinced and had some doubts and observations. Therefore, the emperor banned the company for few years but was again allowed to continue the trade activities.

The company increased its military interest, influence and activities in India day by day. In 1627, Jahangir died and his son Shah Jahan succeeded to get throne as he was the most

competent of the four sons of Jahangir. In the year 1639, at Madras, another trading centre was established by the company. At the same time, one of the daughters of Shah Jahan fell seriously ill and the local doctors declared her incurable. However, an English doctor came to see her; after his treatment she sustained forward to get health. Shah Jahan, the emperor of that time was astonished as well as was happy. The emperor presented a lot of gifts to the doctor but the doctor requested that the company should be granted more trading rights; the request was accepted by shah Jahan. The facts were neglected by Mughals that the company was showing her interest in military intentions and company established Calcutta city in 1690.

In eighteenth century, the British East India Company was in the struggle with her counterpart the "French Company of the East Indies" (founded in 1664 and its headquarter was in Paris). However, on the other hand the Mughal Empire was rapidly moving in the direction of decline. Meanwhile, the Indian Empire was proved highly attractive for British East India Company; beside this, the traders continued with the FCEI were soon connected directly with the French factories and at last in year 1769; the French Company of East Indies formally ended and British East India Company established her monopoly as it was the single company in subcontinent.

After the battle of Plassey (1757) and battle of Buxar, in the province of Bihar (1764) under the leadership of Robert Clive, the British had a great power to control the Indian sub-continent. British had keen interests in the Bengal due to its commercial viability as British gained their 60 percent of Asian imports from Bengal. After the battle of Buxar the British won the political and revenue collection powers in Bengal and Bihar as well as in Orissa.

The second Anglo-Mysore war was started in 1780 and ended in 1784. Haider Ali died in 1782 due to cancer. After the death of Haider Ali, his eldest son Fateh Ali Sahab Tipu (famous as Tipu Sultan: *Tiger of Mysore*) carried on the battle against British. At 11 March 1784, the war was ended and the Treaty of Mangalore was signed. According to the agreement, both groups agreed to the point to restore the status quo ante bellum. This peace treaty is considered a very important document in the history of sub-continent as it was the last occasion when the Company accepted the terms as dictated by an Indian power.

Third war of Mysore was fought during 1790 A.D. to 1792 A.D. between the British and Tipu Sultan. At the end of the war an agreement was signed on 18 March 1792; the peace agreement in the history is called as Treaty of Srirangapatinam (also called as Seringapatam). Tipu provided half of his kingdom to the British Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The fourth and Decisive battle was fought between the British and Tipu Sultan, Tipu fought bravely in the battle and as a result he lost his life during the war on 4 May, his young heir, Fateh Ali and other family members were arrested and then sent into exile to Calcutta. British got indirect control on Mysore.

The East India Company had the private army of about 2, 60,000 by 1803 and that was two times of the British army of that time; the company had the planning to gain the administrative control on the vast areas of Indian sub-continent through the private armies; the E.I.C. kept her control around a century from 1757 to 1857 in this way. The third battle of Delhi was fought in the year 1803, between the British East India Company and the Marathas and the result came in the victory of Company. Delhi remained under the control of the Company till the war of independence and after the war of 1857; it was under the direct control of British. Sindh was conquered by Sir Charles James Napier (General) and fall under the control of the East India Company in the year 1843. Ranjit Singh died in 1839; after his death, the Punjab Empire commenced to fall. His son Maharaja Sher Singh was killed in the month of September at 1843 by his cousin Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia who was an army officer.

During the Mughal period, the Sikhs had been ruling in Punjab. When the Company came to occupy Punjab, the Battle was fought between the Sikhs and East India Company at Gujrat (Indian Gujrat now). The company defeated Sikhs armed forces decisively on 21 February 1849. Punjab was included within British India on second day of April in the same year. The states of Berar and Oudh were conquered by the British forces in 1854 and 1856 respectively.

Historically, The Rule of British can be divided into three stages. The British came to India for the sake of trading with the permission of Mughals and other local rulers of that time.1stperiod was spread during 1612 to 1757, in this period the British East India Company established her trading posts in different location but especially near coastal areas of India; these trading posts are also called factories. At the end of this period or by the mid of 18th century, British East India Company had established three Presidency towns in India including Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

The second period was called the golden period of the company spread on one hundred years from 1757 to 1857. During the same period, company came in power; she was able to snatch various princely states from the local rulers. Within few years, a wide area of the sub-continent came under the rule of East India Company gradually. During this phase (second period), the Presidency Towns were called Presidencies of British India. However, the company was unable to maintain its real mercantile status and sovereignty till the end of the period.

The third period was started at 1857 when war of independence was fought; as a result of the war, the East India Company lost its status; Consequently, India came under the British Crown. The sovereignty of the British was extended in many other areas of the Indian sub-continent and the Presidencies were distributed into provinces. The period ended at 1947 as the result of transfer of power to the Indians.

4.1.1 Causes of Revolt

Some causes of revolt for the war of independence (1857) are in the following.

Dissatisfaction of Indian: The Indian were not satisfied with the British policies towards them. There were a lot of reasons for their dissatisfaction and as a result, the incident of the revolt happened in 1857 in India. The administration of the British was not suitable for the local citizens and the troopers. The British succeeded to control major parts of the India after the death of Tipu Sultan. Beside this, they tried to destroy Muslims from all the fields of life. They concentrated on two things; first, the extensions of their territories and second, crushing the Muslims. The Mughals were squeezed and the Indians were exploited by the company. As a result, Muslims who have been ruling India; now were converted into helpless minority.

Political cause: There can be seen a variety of reasons or causes of the Revolt of 1857. The policies of Lord Dalhousie were against the local rulers and he extended his territories. He introduced the "Doctrine of Lapse" in 1852.This was the British policy in which Dalhousie abolished the rule of successor in case of unavailability of real son of a ruler in India. In the year 1847, the Raja of Satara Partap Singh Bhosle died. He had an adopted son instead of real but in his life, Dalhousie rejected the succession of adopted son as a ruler. The ruler of Awadh always remained loyal to the British but this state was also occupied by the British. They British implemented higher taxes on the lands and the land holders had to pay them. Eighty Thousands military servants from Awadh were terminated by the British and they became unemployed in response of this action. Due to this invasion and charges on farmers, the soldiers of the Company had an extreme anger towards the company and the British because their families had the lands in Awadh. Moreover, they government had issued an order that the Mughal successor would have to leave their royal palace forever. It was considered an Intervention into the Hindu Religion when Lord Dalhousie approved the bill of second marriage of the Hindu widows in 1856. This was unacceptable for the Hindus.

Religious cause: The British were highly interested in Christianity and this was the dangerous alarm not only for Muslims and Hindus but for the other natives also. The Christian missionaries came to India with the British officers for their spiritual training but they started interruption within the religious matters of the Indians. The natives smell fear that their young generation would be destroyed by the Christians because the missionaries were performing their activities in the educational institutions. The missionaries were preaching their teachings not only the churches and school but in prisons, hospitals and working places also. This was the matter of concern for all of the Indian people. Sindh was conquered by General Charles James Napier in 1843. After the conquest of Sindh, the Indian Muslim sepoys were in enraged as they had to attack on their Muslim brothers of Sindh.

Military Cause: There were also military causes of the mutiny on 1857. The British followed a variety of discriminatory rules in the army as the Indian soldiers got very less pay than the others. The highest or maximum remuneration obtained by a senior foot-soldier was less than the lowest pay of a European yardbird. There were rare chances of

self-regard and promotion for the Indian soldiers as they were not trusted by the British. In other words, all the higher posts were reserved for the Europeans. Indian soldiers were awarded higher punishment and serious insult in response of their minor disciplinary violation in the army but, there was a rare or minimal punishment for a European, even in case of higher disciplinary violation. This attitude promoted the abhorrence in the hearts of Indian Risaldars (infantry men) against the Foreigner officers. In the military units, sometimes the sepoys were forced to convert into Christianity.

The government introduced a new type of Enfield rifle which was too effective during the battles. The soldiers had to nibble or open the greased cartridge of the riffle within their teeth before loading it into the gun to fire; some grease was certain to stick the teeth and tongue. This grease was made out of fat of cow and pigs. This was against the religious dogma of the Hindus and Muslim Soldiers as well. In April 1857, the sepoys disobeyed the order of their commanding officer, Colonel Symth; who asked them to use the cartridge on 3rd April. Some of them including the Muslims and Hindus were court martialed after an official inquiry.

There was also a prediction among the Indian that the rule of company will be at the end after passing100 Years, as the company settled herself in 1857 after the war of Plassey.

4.1.2 Events of War

The first order to use these cartridges occurred in March 1857 at Dum Dum and Barrack-pur near Calcutta. The sepoys were suspended by their British officers; the suspended sepoys were furious but it was considered that the situation has been controlled. On the other hand, 85 sepoys of Meerut were put into prison because they refused to use these cartridges. The sepoys of other areas also rebelled against the punishment of their Indian sepoys; they started killing their British officers. The British officers and soldiers from Ambala and Meerut prepared the fresh troops including Sikh sepoys to crush the mutiny.

The mutiny was spread in Delhi between the freedom fighters and the British army. The members of royal family were arrested; Hudson, the commander of British army fired on two sons and one grandson of Bahadur Shah Zafar and then separated their heads from their bodies. These heads were kept before the Muslim King Bahadur Shah Zafar who has already been arrested by the British. Lakshmi Bai the Rani of Jhansi fought with bravery but was killed at last. Hindus and Muslims fought against the British while the Sikhs were loyal and faithful to the British during the war. The sepoys were suspended or sentenced to death who participated in this rebellious.

4.1.3 Reasons of Failure

The Indian sepoys fought bravely and with enthusiasm in the war of independence against their masters; the British, but they failed to get success in this regard. There were a number of reasons of their failure; some of them are discussed in the following.

1. The war of independence started due to some immediate reasons and without a proper planning. The sudden start of the war was itself confused as a large number of sepoys were not prepared for this action.
2. There was a lack of communication, the freedom fighters were spread all over the India and they have no more connection among them. They were unable to know the situation of each other at the right time. The English troops were fully equipped with the communication tools at that time.
3. The war was fought within different period of times in different places. The freedom fighters fought and were crushed by the British armed forces as the sepoys were not united.
4. The sepoys fought with patriotism but they neither had more arms nor modern rifles as compared to the British. The English troops were fully prepared as they had modern arms, great generals and various types of cavalries.
5. The mutiny was started by the soldiers and there was no genuine leader or commander to guide them. The war was not an easy task. The soldiers declared their leader on the base of their hopefulness and faith; however, they had neglected facts and realities. They chose Bahadur Shah Zafar as their leader who was the nominal emperor of their kingdom. Zafar was unable to fight; he could not offer them the arms and weapons but his poetic ideas. They forgot the reality for some time that no one could win the war on the basis of poetic ideas.
6. The Indian soldiers were in the worst economic conditions. Bahadur Shah Zafar, the emperor of the Indians; was on the mercy of the British and looked for the stipend. He looked for the loan from the landlords but they wanted to save money instead of freedom. On the other hand, the British had control over the economy and India was under their control.

4.1.4 Effects of War of Independence

The Indian Muslims had tried their best to push out their enemies, the British; and expressed their wish to restore the position of the Mughals as their rules but badly failed in aims. The war was fought by the Hindus and Muslims against the Imperialism but after the war the Muslims were greatly considered as being responsible for the war. Socio-political and socio-economic life of the Muslims suffered as the result.

a. The British were very angry; they took revenge not only from the freedom fighters but from the Indian Muslims; as well thousands of innocent Muslims were slaughtered by the British.
b. The English writers also expressed in their writings that the retributions and penalties were for the Muslims who became sufferer on every occasion.
c. Those Muslims who played their role as the leaders anywhere during the movement were the main target of revenge after the war, as they were alarm of danger for the British.
d. Without any justification of their involvement in the movement, countless natives were executed by the British especially in Agra, Allahabad, Barely, Delhi, Kanpur, Lucknow and Meerut and many other places.

e. Particularly, the Muslims were disgraced and their educational, cultural and religious institutions were destroyed soon.
f. They were put out from the public sector jobs and were exploited. Their ownerships were eliminated from the properties and lands.
g. W. W. Hunter in his famous book "The Indian Musalmans", described the real situation of Indian Muslims in these words. 'The British Government taxes the Muhammadans, and applies the taxes to the erection of Christian Churches, and the maintenance of a Christian Clergy. It has substituted Englishmen for the Muhammadan governors whom they found in charge of the Districts and Provinces. It has formally abolished the Musalman Judges and Law Officers.152 It allows pork and wine to be openly sold in the market-places. It has introduced English into the Courts. It has superseded the whole Muhammadan procedure and criminal law'.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. The Muslims had their nominal Emperor _____Shah Zafar till 1857.
2. Siraj was titled as _____child in his family.
3. Nawab of _____lost the war because of the sudden fall of his commander Mir Mardan.
4. The second period was called the _____ period of the company spread on one hundred years from 1757 to 1857.
5. Bahadur Shah Zafar, the emperor of the Indians; was on the mercy of the _____ and looked for the stipend.

QUESTIONS

1. How East India Company came in India and why it took interest in politics?
2. Highlight the rule of East India Company in South Asia.
3. What were the causes, events and reasons of failure of the War of Independence?

4.2 HINDI-URDU CONTROVERSY

Most of the linguistics agreed on the point that Urdu language is the product of the Hindu- Muslims' interaction in the South Asia. Actually, Urdu is the combination of various languages like Persian, Hindi, Turkish, Arabic and others. Prof. Dr. Abu-ul-Lais Siddiqi had the judgement that Urdu was actually the product of Hindu-Muslim relations and social communication. On the other hand, K. K. Aziz is of the opinion that Urdu had borrowed more freely from Persian and Arabic. However, some of its sweetest phrases had been derived from Hindi; therefore, it was always perceived as the language of the Indian Muslims. Particularly, since the reign of Mughals because the Persian script was used at that time and that was much related to Arabic scripts. In short, we can say that Urdu was developed in subcontinent with the joint efforts of Hindus and Muslims. However, the Hindus contributed more than the Muslims as the Muslim were their ruler; therefore, the Hindus used various Persian words in Urdu as well as in Hindi to make their masters glad.

The British had also performed golden work for the promotion of Urdu language and literature in the sub-continent. They established Fort William College with the beginning of 19th century (on 10th July 1800) at the place of Calcutta within the Fort William Complex. It was established with the efforts of Lord Wellesley who was the Governor General of British India at that time. The books of local languages were translated into English as well as the new books had been written in Urdu language. The college proved not only a platform for the scholars but also the training centre for British officers to command on local Indian languages. Muslims had a great attachment with Urdu and wanted its progress as they were in minority.

Persian remained the official language in India for many centuries but it was replaced by Urdu in 1837 by the British. However, in North India, (it includes states of Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar; states of Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and the Thar desert) Urdu (in the Urdu script) was implemented as replacement of Persian instead of Hindi in Deva*Nagri* script. As a large number of Persian words had become the part of Urdu; therefore, the Indian Muslims had emotional attachment with it. Consequently, they welcomed this decision taken by the British government. Though, it did not bring pressure from the Hindus but with the passage of time the tension continued to grow. The most immediate reason for the controversy was the conflicting language policy by the British in North India in 1860s. The government motivated both Hindi and Urdu languages as a medium of education in schools; but it enhanced the desperation of Hindi or *Nagri* script for official purposes. It gave rise to disputation between the students educated in Hindi or Urdu for the achievement of government jobs, which ultimately converted into communal form. Some Hindus in 1867, from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh commenced to demand that Hindi should be replaced as an official language by Urdu. As time passed by, the issue became religious and cultural instead of Linguistic. Finally, it was converted into communal riots. Ten years after the war of independence; in 1867, the Hindus started movement against Urdu from Banaras. Babu Shiva Prasad was one of the early advocates of the *Nagri* script. In 1868, through a memorandum on court characters; he charged that the early Muslim rulers forced them to learn Persian

It separated the ways of Hindus and Muslims forever. Why the Hindus wanted the implementation of Hindi in offices? As Persian has become the language of elite class of Muslims and Urdu was the official language therefore, the Muslims had better jobs than the Hindus at that time while it was not acceptable for the Hindus. The Muslims public and their leaders showed the tolerance and patience initially. Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan was one of the well-known Muslim leaders and an advocate of a composite Indian nation. He was in the favour of friendly relations between the both nations. Therefore, he was also in favour of strengthening the cultural bonds of the Hindus and the Muslims as he thought that India would make no progress without it. He wished to see both nations living united in the subcontinent.

He expressed his feelings in the following words:

‘India is the motherland … for both of us (that is the Hindus and the Muslims) who breathe in the same air, drink the water of the holy […] rivers of Ganges and Jumna and consume the product of the same soil. Together we face life and death. After dwelling long in India our blood has changed its original colour. Now the colour of our skins is the same; our features are alike. We, the Muslims and the Hindus, have exchanged many of our social customs. We have merged so much into each other that we have produced a new language – Urdu –which was the language of neither of us’.

Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan also declared Hindus and Muslims like a bride.

He said that
‘I look to both Hindus and Muslims with the same eyes and consider them as two eyes of a bride. By the word nation I only mean Hindus and Muslims and nothing else. We Hindus and Muslims live together under the same soil under the same government. Our interest and problems are common and therefore I consider the two factions as one nation.’

On the other hand, *Nagri* Pracharini *Sabha* was an organization for the promotion of Hindi language including its script called Deva*Nagri* or *Nagri*. It was founded in 1893 at the Queen's College, Varanasi (Banaras).At the time of formation, it had the following aims.

a. To grow and encourage *Nagri*; three steps were decided in this regard. (I) Use of *Nagri* in discussion and letter-writing. (II) Translation of various books into *Nagri* and (III) Development of Hindi language through writing articles in Hindi newspapers.
b. To correlate with other organizations in subcontinent for the promotion of Hindi.
c. To work for the harmony, unity and integrity of the Hindu community. Some of the rules that were formulated in the first congress (here congress means session or meeting) for the functioning of *Sabha* were.

1. There will be three types of sessions of the *Sabha* every year, weekly, quarterly and annual. It was decided that the weekly session will be held every Saturday for discussion of topics other than religion and politics.
2. *Sabha* shall have the following offices for its organization; President, Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Treasurer.
3. Any male can become a member by applying to the secretary.
4. Every member shall have to pay minimum one *aana* (one sixteenth of a rupee) as monthly subscription or 12 aana per year.

At the time of formation of *Sabha*, only 12 members attended its first congress (or gathering). These members were the pioneer associates of the institution. The *Sabha* made progress day by day and by the end of the year its members spread up to 82.

One of the main objectives of the first session of the *Sabha* was to spread the knowledge of Hindi and use of *Nagri* script. To achieve the same objectives *Sabha* commenced a

programme from the very beginning in this context; while at the end of the 19th century there was a move to introduce the roman and *Nagri* scripts in transactions in the government offices.

Although Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was in conflict of life and death in those days; however, he wrote an article in its opposition. The article was published in his Aligarh Institute Gazette; however, after a few days Sir Syed died.

Anthony Patrick McDonald (known as Sir Anthony McDonald) was appointed Lieutenant governor of United Provinces *of Agra and Oudh* in 1895 and continued his office till 1901. As he took charge of his office, he provoked the Hindus and worked as the promoter of Hindi language during his governance. On 2 March 1898, a memorandum with the sixty thousand signatures was presented to *Sir Anthony McDonald;* the Lieutenant-Governor of U.P. by *Sabha* and it was demanded that the *Nagri* script in the offices may be allowed in government offices and in courts. The said memorandum was accompanied with a monograph (written detailed) by entitled *Court Character and Primary Education* by a famous advocate of Allahabad, Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Hindus claimed now that they are in majority in numbers and can understand Hindi easily than Urdu; moreover, adoption of Hindi in Devnagri script would make government work more painless. On the other hand, they opposed Urdu saying that the script of Urdu was of foreign origin and compound of Persian and Arabic words and inaccessible by common people. While advocates of Urdu claimed that writing Urdu language is easier than Hindi.

Hindi-Urdu controversy reached up to the new heights in April 1900. *Sabha* was succeeded in her goal on 18 April 1900; when government of U.P issued notification through which both languages Nagri and Persian were allowed for writing the applications, summons, notices and other official letters.

Urdu defenders took out demonstrations and held protest-meetings throughout subcontinent especially in north India. McDonald allowed the use of Hindi manuscript while Muslims recorded their protest against this action in the leadership of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk communicated during his address in the meeting of Urdu Defence in 1900 that how can British government neglect us; I hope that the government will not let our language die.

Hindi-Urdu controversy was in fact an action of interior feelings of Hindus against the Muslims. Yet, the Muslims were slept politically; however, it was the right time that now the Muslims came to know that the movement started by Hindus against Urdu was the movement also against Muslims. Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan was the sole leader among Muslims who supported the Hindu-Muslim alliance. Sayed considered that Hindus and Muslims should be as a single nation; however, he was inconvenienced due to narrow mindedness of the Hindus. After passing the time, he established an opinion that Hindus

don't consider the Muslims as the part of their nation; his ideas suddenly changed. Therefore, he exchanged his efforts into Muslim-oriented in his educational and reformation policies. Now Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan started his struggle for the growth of Urdu. Once he was sitting with Mr. Shakespeare, the Commissioner of Banaras. They were communicating the Muslims' educational issues. He looked at Sir Sayed amazingly and asked, it is the first time that I am hearing your discussion specifically about the Indian Muslims. Before this, you consistently spoke about the welfare of the common Indians.

In response to the question of Mr. Shakespeare Sir Sayed was forced to speak him that it was an occasion when I believed that both communities will not put their hearts in any project together. It is nothing but just the beginning and in the coming times an ever increasing hatred and bitterness appears on the horizon simply because of those who are considered as educated.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Urdu _____is the product of the Hindu- Muslims' interaction in the South Asia.
2. The Fort William College was established on 10th July 1800 at the place of _____ within the Fort William Complex.
3. Babu Shiva _____ was one of the early advocates of the *Nagri* script.
4. At the time of formation of *Sabha*, only _____ members attended its first session.
5. Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan was the sole leader among _____ who supported the Hindu-Muslim alliance.

QUESTIONS

1. How Hindi Urdu Controversy took two nations of South Asia away from each other?
2. Highlight the Language issue between the Hindu and the Muslims in South Asia.

4.3 SIMLA DELEGATION

The Indian Muslim Leaders arranged themselves in a group of 35 most effective members; they met Lord Minto to present their demands. These demands were the part of the chain of their political struggles. The deputation was planned due to many reasons; some of them are described in the following lines.

Local Bodies System (1883): The system of Local Bodies was introduced in 1883 under the llbert Bill by the viceroy Lord Ripen. The Municipal Committees and District Boards were introduced in this bill. However, only those could vote in the local bodies that were wealthy or highly educated. The Muslims were very short in numbers who can vote even in the areas of Muslim Majority due to their poverty and less education.

The Indian Council's Act 1892: The size of the various legislative councils was increased in British India according to this act. This act did not prove useful or beneficial for the Indian Muslims as they remained deprived from representation. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had already rejected the system of joint electorate in the year 1883.

Change in British Politics: In the year 1905, the Liberal party came into power in Britain; Lord Minto was appointed as Viceroy of India. The Indian Muslims were in search of any better chance, to raise their demands.

Partition of Bengal: Lord Curzon, having a good administration remained the Viceroy of Indian Sub-continent during 1899 to 1905. He partitioned the Province of Bengal in 1905 due to administration purpose. A Lieutenant Governor was appointed for the administration. The population of Bengal was almost 70 million as it included the Bihar and Orissa also. Millions of inhabitants were under privileged in Bengal and surroundings. Economy was dominated or controlled by the capitalists of Calcutta at that time. Lord Curzon divided it and created a new province of East Bengal. The new province included Aasam, Dhaka, Raj Shahi and Chita Gaang Divisions. West Bengal included the Areas of Bihar and Orissa, where the Hindus were in majority. Muslims gained prosperity and happiness on this division as they were in benefit in the East Bengal. Dhaka was the centre of Muslim culture and economy. This step of Curzon ignited furry among the Hindus who never liked the progress of the Muslims. In response to this, they demonstrated violence and launched *Swadeshi Movement*; against the division of Bengal. The British, policemen and magistrates were killed in these bomb blasts and attacks. The British were frightened by these activities of Hindus but the eyes of Muslims were open in its response and they demanded for the Separate Electorate in the very next year after the partition of Bengal.

Meeting with Lord Minto: The Muslim Leaders had already decided to see Lord Minto, they met Lord Minto on 1st October 1906 at the time of 11:00 am; the Muslim leaders welcomed Lord Minto with enthusiasm and stood in his honour when he entered the room. After introduction the delegation leader Sir Agha Khan presented his address in which he praised for British government and accepted that the British have been looking after the interests of all races, religions and communities in India.

He then claimed that the Muslims are a nation. He introduced the Muslims as "Mohamedans community" in his address. Sir Agha Khan reminded in this address that according to the census of 1901, the population of Indian Muslims was more than 62 million and that was 20 to 25 percent of the total figure.

He reminded that the Muslims had a valuable political importance in past. They also played a remarkable role and contributed in the defence of India as they served in the British army. He further explained that the Muslims had been ruling in India with implementation of justice and fair dealings.

Demands by the Muslims: In short, we can say that Simla Deputation is remarkable step for Muslims in the political history of India. In this delegation, they demanded the security of their rights for the first time from the British. Their Demands are as follows.

1. System of electoral institutions in which the Muslims would have the right to choose their representatives in the constituencies. In other words, they demanded the right of Separate Electorate. It means that the seats should be reserved for the Indian Muslims and the representatives must be elected through only Muslim voters. There were two reasons for these demands; first, the relations between the Muslims and Hindus were such a condition that no Hindu can be the real representative of the Muslims at that time. Second reason was that no Muslim was able to be elected through the joint electorate system. There was fright of apprehension and riots between the Hindus and Muslims in this situation.

   In the early 1906, Lord Morley said during the session of British House of Common that it has become necessary to establish legislative council in which the Indian representatives may include through electorate. Therefore, the governor general of India would form a committee soon and it would develop the recommendation in this regard. The Muslims thought that in this case the constituencies would be created on the basis of areas and as a result; the Muslims would be unable to elect their representative. The Hindus will not vote to any Muslim leader but if any Muslim leader will acquire the seat with the cooperation of Hindu voters; he would not be able to be a real representative of the Muslims. On the other hand, the Muslim voters will be very few in numbers as they were unable to qualify the terms and conditions of wealth and education which would be the criteria for voters.
2. Keeping in view the historical importance and political position of the Indian Muslims; the Muslims should be awarded more representation than their population. This was called weightage. This demand has also two reasons behind it; first, the Muslims had ownership of a larger portion of lands in India. Second, a large number of Muslims had been serving in Indian Army.

   The Muslims requested to restore their seats not only on the basis of their population but political value of their past also. It must be kept in mind that what was their political importance, one hundred years ago in India? It means that Muslims are a separate nation; they ruled for centuries in India and they played a vital role in British army also. Therefore, it would be more than nothing a mistake to declare them as a minority; if they have to live like a minority, they would be granted weightage to maintain their individualism.
3. The Muslims also demanded the reservation of gusseted and non-gusseted seats for them in the government institutions.

   With the beginning of 19^{th} century the government changed her policy under which the Muslims were removed from the official jobs. Muslims remained backward in the western education; however, at the last quarter of 19^{th} century, they were succeeded to get higher education but Hindus had occupied all the institutions. In 1906, the Muslims were very less in official posts.
4. They demanded the appointment of Muslim judges in high court and chief court.

There was only one Muslim Subordinate Judge out of 42 and 13 Muslim Deputy Commissioners out of 75 from Bengal. Like this in Bombay; there was only one Subordinate Judge belonged to Muslim community out of 18. That was why, the Muslims demanded for the reservation of their seats.

5. The members of delegation asked for the representation of Muslims in the Viceroy's Executive Council.
   In those days, there was no concept of one man one vote, as the voters were very less in numbers. The Muslims demanded an electoral college through which Muslim leaders, lawyers, traders and other professionals would be elected.
6. They concentrated that the seats should be reserved for Indian Muslims in the universities' senate and syndicates to grant the share in administration.
7. It was demanded that financial assistant or funds should be granted for the establishment of independent Muslim University in India.

Minto's Attitude: Lord Minto showed pleasant attitude to the delegation and supported them emotionally and politically. He assured that he will make his efforts for the protection of Muslim's rights. Minto accepted the demand of separate electorate for Muslims. All the demands made by the Muslims depended on the fact that Muslims were a separate nation. Lord Minto wanted to remove the Muslims' discomforts. In fact, this was the right time for the Indian Muslims to raise their voice. The British had focused on the constitutional reformations due to Hindu-Muslim's conflicts. The Muslims succeeded to prove that they are unable to trust on Hindu majority. Moreover, their demand for the Separate Electorate indicates that the Muslims had decided to prove themselves as a nation on political bases instead of religious; as they were not ready to be absorbed within the Hindu nationalism.

Their demand for separate electorate actually was the political base of the two nation theory. At last, the British government accepted them as a separate nation when they were awarded the right of Separate Electorate in the upcoming reforms.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. A group of 35 most effective Muslim members met _____ to present their demands.
2. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had already _____ the system of joint electorate in the year 1883.
3. According to the census of _____, the population of Indian Muslims was more than 62 million and that was 20 to 25 percent of the total figure.
4. The members of Simla Delegation asked for the representation of Muslims in the Viceroy's _____Council.
5. The Muslims' demand for the _____Electorate indicates that the Muslims had decided to prove themselves as a nation on political bases.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the important reasons of the Simla Delegation?
2. What demands were made by the Muslims when they appeared before Lord Minto?

4.4 ESTABLISHMENT OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

The establishment of Muslim League was not a sudden decision or idea. It was the need of Indian Muslims on the base of previous experiences. Before the formation of Indian National Congress, the Indians were in anger towards British as they had political awareness due to efforts of their native leaders. Surendra Nath Banerjee, an Indian civil officer was terminated from the services due to a minor mistake. He then entered in the politics and established an "Indian Association" in 1876 at Bengal. He (S.N Banerjee) also established an organization called "Indian National Conference" in 1883 for the purpose of solving the political issues. British Indian Association was established by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1886 at Aligarh.

The attitude of the government was different for the European and Indian officers working as civil servants. This discriminatory attitude became the reason to spread political agitation in natives and the agitation converted into a national movement at last.

Allan Octavian Hume was a retired civil servant; he wanted to divert the rebellion of Indians to the constitutional struggle. In this regard, he was working on the wish of Lord Dufferin (Governor General of India at that time). In the last week of December in 1885, the All Indian National Congress came into existence due to struggle of A.O. Hume. The first session of the Congress was held in Bombay from 28th to 31st December 1885. The session was held with the approval of Viceroy Lord Dufferin; Womesh Chandra Banerjee presided over it and there were only two Muslim delegates out of seventy-two. Representation of only two Muslims in the party indicated that congress was Hindu dominant party with its origin. The British had the credit of its formation; and these were of course Hindu leaders who expressed their loyalty towards them. This was the mutual understanding of Hindus and British as the government showed the attitude of kindness towards the Hindus. As long as the British were satisfied with Hindus' sincerity, they showed sympathy but when congress raised her demands for the political development; it was being disliked by her pioneers as Lord Dufferin declared it as "microscopic minority" at the time of his retirement.

Long before the establishment of congress; Sir Syed Ahmad Khan recommended Muslims not to take part in the politics. He advised Muslims to acquire education and emphasized for the modern education. Khan expressed his concerns at the establishment of congress and the Muslims remained far from the congress as well as from the politics till the end of 19th century. However; with the beginning of 20th century the situation began to change. Hindus' attitude towards the partition of Bengal was enough for the Muslims; they decided to take part in politics now. They gathered for the protection of their political rights. They met Minto at Simla in 1906, where they demanded for the right of Separate Electorate. During their stay at Simla; the Muslim leaders discussed the matter and shared their ideas to establish their own political platform.

In 1900, a letter of Maulvi Mehdi Hassan was published in a newspaper in which he expressed that Sir Syed advised Muslims not to take part in politics but actually he wanted to keep Muslims away from Indian National Congress.

Formation of Muslim League: After the session of Simla Deputation, the Muslims thought that they should establish their own party; through which they could raise their voice to the government. Sir Agha Khan, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and other prominent Muslim leaders showed their interest towards the establishment of an institute for this purpose. Syed Ameer Ali stressed to establish their separate political party. Nawab Saleem Ullah Khan was not present in Simla Deputation; however, he presented a scheme of "All India Muslim Confederacy" which aims to control the impacts of Congress on Muslims.

The 20th annual session of Muhammadan Educational Conference was held on 30th December 1906 at Dhaka. Most of the Muslim leaders expressed their wish for the establishment of separate Muslim political party. This was the historical political gathering of the Indian Muslims. It was the very right time for the Indian Muslims to establish their own party. At the end of conference, inthe same evening; a meeting was held under the president-ship of Nawab Wiqar-ul-Mulk.

Aims of League: All India Muslim League had the following three aims at its time of its emergence.

1. To promote the feelings of loyalty among the Indian Muslims towards the British Government and to remove misconception among Muslims regard to British.
2. To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Indian Muslims and present their needs and aspirations to the British with respectful manners.
3. To protect among the Indian Muslims of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other above-mentioned objects of the League.

Some writers have the opinion that Indian National Congress was now demanding the autonomy; and at the same time, the British needed another party who can express complete devotion toward them. Due to the efforts of British "All India Muslim League" was formed. But Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi rejected the idea of this group of writers and expressed his views that of course, Congress was formed by the efforts of A. O. Hume. Oppose to it, the creation of Muslim League was the compulsion of Indian Muslims to protect their political and economic rights. It was not formed on the encouragement of Lord Minto, as many writers claimed but the fact is that Muslims had decided long before. However, League was also welcomed by the government as much as congress.

Jinnah and League: Jinnah Joined All India Muslim League in March 1913 but before it in the year 1912, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League Mr. Wazir Hassan, wrote a letter to Jinnah in which he invited him to attend the upcoming meeting of the AIML Council. Due to his expertise in constitutional and political matters; he was invited to attend the meeting, although he was not the member of League but a well-respected Muslim Leader. Jinnah accepted the offer and attended the annual meeting of All India Muslim League held in December 1912 and addressed. In the following year (1913), he

joined All-India Muslim League but remained the member of Congress. In April 1913, Jinnah left for England with Gokhale (a Hindu leader) where he founded *London Indian Association*. Stanley Wolpert wrote in his famous book *Jinnah of Pakistan* that Gokhale stated that Jinnah *'has true stuff in him, and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu–Muslim Unity'*. In fact, this was Jinnah who guided not only the Muslim League but the Muslim leaders also. He was the only superior leader who raised the spirit in Indian Muslims.

He was succeeded to bring the Muslim and Hindus at one platform and was appreciated by every prominent leader of subcontinent. He was awarded the title of Hindu Muslim Unity by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu; former President of Indian national congress gave Jinnah the title of Hindu Muslim Unity. This is the matter of concern that Jinnah, the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity; was completely disappointed by the attitude of Hindus and their representative party; the Indian National Congress. He had been working for the unity of Indians for more than 30 years; however, in response to Nehru Report, he separated his way from the congress and decided to leave not only Indian politics but also India with a broken heart; he decided to settle down in London, permanently after the First Round Table Conference. But he returned India in 1934 through the efforts of Allama Iqbal. He changed his attitude and now he decided to work for the sake of Indian Muslims instead of Hindu Muslim Unity. He proved himself the sole spokesman of the Indian Muslims and was succeeded to gain the separate Muslim State for the Muslims. His struggle in this regard would be discussed in following chapters.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. The establishment of _____ was not a sudden decision or idea.
2. Surendra Nath _____established an organization called "Indian National Conference" in 1883.
3. Allan Octavian Hume was a retired _____servant; he wanted to divert the rebellion of Indians to the constitutional struggle.
4. The 20th annual session of Muhammadan _____Conference was held on 30th December 1906 at Dhaka.
5. The famous book on the life and services of the founder of Pakistan "*Jinnah of Pakistan"* has been written by _____ Wolpert.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the important reasons of the Establishment of All India Muslim League?
2. What were the aims of League at the time of its establishment? What was the role of Jinnah in serving the All India Muslim League in its initial days?

4.5 MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS(INDIAN COUNCILS ACT 1909)

After the war of independence of 1857, the Prime Minister of United Kingdom (U.K) Lord Palmerston (The Viscount Palmerston) claimed through a bill that the current structure of the government of India was full of faults and defects. Therefore, the power should be transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. After thorough discussion, the bill was approved and the power was transferred from East India Company to the British Crown. The Act was passed on 2 August 1858 by the Parliament of the United Kingdom and it was titled as "Government of India Act 1858". Now an exceptional post of *Secretary of State for India* was created through the cabinet. The *Secretary of State for India* was authorized about the matters of government and revenues of India. On November 1, 1858, Queen Victoria announced the official termination of the sepoy mutiny and proclaimed the formal opening of the British Raj through a Royal Proclamation, addressed by many as 'the Magna Charta of India'.

The first ever constitutional structure for India was formulated under the 'Government of India Act 1861'. The same was also called the 'Indian Councils Act 1861'; through which superior provisions for the Governor-General's Council and for Local Government were introduced. After the war of independence, the British started growing Parliamentary Government on Indian soil.

It was provided that the Governor-General's Executive Council would contain five Ordinary Members; three of them would be those who must have served for ten years in India either under the Company or the Crown; and one of them would be a Barrister or Advocate having five years of experience. The Secretary of State for India reserved the power to appoint Commander-in-Chief as an Extraordinary Member of the Executive Council. For legislative purposes, it was provided that the Governor General could nominate Additional Members to the Council. However, the nominated members would be between six to twelve; and half of these were to be non-officials. Although the Indians were included in Central Legislative Council but in the matters of legislation, effective powers were reserved to the Governor-General.

The birth of Indian National Congress took place in 1885 and the Congress raised her voice for the expansion of Legislative Councils. The 'Indian Councils Act 1861' could not satisfy both the Indians and the Congress as the Indians were failed to influence the government's decisions. The next reforms were brought under the *Indian Councils Act 1892*. The 'Indian Councils Act 1892' was the result of the National Movement. At that time, when the 'Indian Councils Act 1861' was introduced, the people of India thought that the Indian members would influence the decisions of the Government. The Councils were to have the power of discussing the annual statement of revenue and expenditure, i.e., the Budget and of addressing QUESTIONS to the Executive. The 'Indian Councils Act 1892' provided that the Additional Members (non-official) should not be less than ten and more than sixteen in Central Legislative Councils. This number was between six to twelve in the previous Act. On the other hand, the representation of non-official in Provincial Legislative Councils was abolished now. Finally, this Act also proved

disappointing for the Indians as the Council contained of 24 members and out of them only five members were Indian.

The *Indian* Councils *Act 1909*, is known as Minto-Morley Reforms in the history. *Lord Morley* was 'Secretary of State for India' while *Lord Minto* was the 'Viceroy of India' at that time. According to the backgrounds, characters and applied work and experiences, Lord Morley and Lord Minto, obviously were very dissimilar in respect of their nature and background but on the other hand, they had same perspective in developing policies in Indian context. In the summer of 1906, it was suggested to introduce some constitutional reforms; at the second half of same year, Lord Morley remained serious and gave special attention to the formulation of the next installment of constitutional reforms. He remained closer with Lord Minto (the Viceroy), and He on Morley's part, constituted a committee to go into details and prepare a report. The report was ready till early 1907 and was sent to London in the same year on 19 March. It helped as the basis of the reforms which were imposed into law by the 'Indian Councils Act 1909'.

Election's Method: The method of election was partly indirect and partly direct. Some members were to be elect through election system and remaining were nominated.

Additional Members: The Act increased the strength of the Central and Provincial Councils; in centre, besides the Viceroy and his Executive Council, nearly 60 members were added to the Central Legislative Council (it was extension from 16 to 60). These were named as additional members. Moreover, reforms were also brought for Provincial Councils and under this Act these Councils were enlarged up to a maximum of 30 and 50 in the smaller and larger provinces respectively.

Official and non-Official Members: In the Provincial Councils, small non-official majorities were provided; however, at the Centre an official majority was retained like before. In Central Legislative Council (or Imperial Legislative Council), there were 37 official and 32 non-official members. Official Members included 9 ex-officio and 28 additional officio members. Out of 32 non-official members 5 were nominated by the Government.

Secretary of State and Governor General: 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.

Members Power: Members of the Council could raise QUESTIONS relating to administration and policy, but the Government had a permanent statutory majority in the house. The purpose of this majority was to limit the Indians' power. During the discussions, QUESTIONS were allowed but queries could be disallowed without any reason. Resolutions could be moved, but they had no binding force. This was of course, not a power of members but indeed was a step towards powers for the members.

Councils' Powers: The Councils were still regarded as *durbars* rather than as parliaments. Morley told the House of Lords that "if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily to the establishment of parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it".

Muslims Benefits: It was first chance for the Muslims, in the history of British India; the most important change brought about by the Morley-Minto Reforms was the establishment of separate electorates. Their demand through the Simla Deputation was met and a system of separate Muslim representation was introduced in this Act. All Hindus and several British observers of the Indian scene argued that the creation of communal electorate was an infringement of democratic principle.

Hindus' Reaction on Act: The Hindu politicians and the Congress immediately started a movement of disapproval and obstruction. At the 1910 gathering the Congress condemned the provision of separate representation for the Muslims and demanded the removal of such "anomalous restrictions between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of the franchise". From the session of 1910 to the passing of 1935 Act, except of 1916 (Lucknow act) the Congress made her routine to pass a resolution in its sessions in condemnation of separate electorate.

Muslims' Reaction: It was a great pleasure for the Indian Muslims that they were succeeded in their petition. That was their first abundant success after the establishment of All India Muslim League. This brought a new spirit among the Muslims of sub-continent. The Muslims had now come to understand the insight of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; they were going to be a nation in political way.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. Lord Palmerston was the Prime Minister of _____ in 1857.
2. The birth of Indian National _____ took place in 1885.
3. The first ever constitutional structure for India was formulated under the 'Government of India Act 1861'.
4. According to Minto-Morley Reforms, The _____was empowered to nominate one Indian member to his Executive Council.
5. Minto-Morley Reforms proved that the Muslims of _____ were succeeded in their petition.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the need of Indian Councils Act of 1909 in British India?
2. Describe the salient features of the Minto-Morley Reforms.

4.6 QUAID-I-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH'S JOINING OF INDIAN POLITICS

Mr. Jinnah achieved his Law education from London; he became barrister and returned to homeland in 1898. He started his career as a presidency magistrate in Bombay. Before this, during his stay at U.K. the London Office of Graham's Shipping and Trading Company offered him an apprenticeship in 1892. During his study period in United Kingdom; he met the British leaders like John Morley and William Gladstone. He was also able to know the political views of the Indian leaders like Sir Feroz Shah Mehta and Dada Bhoy Naoroji. Mr. Jinnah was impressed and appreciated their moderate visions. In the early 1900s, Jinnah spend much of his time in his practice of law, however, he was also involvement in the Indian politics.

He joined Indian National Congress (INC) in 1906 and surprised every prominent leader of that time through his wisdom. Later on, he was honoured with the membership of the Imperial Legislative Council. In 1913, he joined the All Indian Muslim League (AIML) but also continued working with congress. Mr. Jinnah wished to work together for the Hindus and Muslims and this was only possible due to attachment with INC and AIML. Mr. Jinnah joined the Indian National Congress with the hope of its leaders but soon he was able to understand the reality of the Congress and the Hindus both. He concluded that INC was completely a Hindus-dominant party. He knew that it will never work for the safeguard of the other minorities including Muslims. That was why he left the Congress in 1920. He decided to work with All India Muslim League and accompanied with League till his death. However, his efforts for the unity of Indians were realistic and un-tired.

Jinnah was much impressed by ideas of Dada Bhoy Noroji and Gopal Krishan Gokhlay. He was quite in favour of Indian Nationalism when he returned from England. He wished to be 'Muslim Gokhlay'. After joining AIML in 1913 he desired that Muslims and Hindus should work jointly to get maximum concessions from the British. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was a result of his efforts. Luckow pact was a good gesture of Hindu-Muslim unity. In the pact Congress conceded the biggest demand of the Muslims that was of separate electorate. The Pact brought the two nations closer. Jinnah was the architect of the Pact and was hailed as Ambassador of Unity. But unfortunately INC could not adhere to the agreement. In the face of Congress negative behavior he continued striving for cooperation and consensus. His Delhi Muslim Proposals of 1927, were an out of way effort for the unity. Despite of withdrawing from major demand of separate electorate, Congress did not respond to the formula. Yet in 1927 he once again stood with INC in boycotting the Simon Commission because he was convinced that Hindus and Muslims could perform better if they were united. At this juncture of the history Muslim leaders like Allama Iqbal Sir Muhammad Shafi and Hakim Ajmal Khan opposed him and as a result Muslim league was split into two factions under Jinnah and Iqbal. In 1928, Nehru Committee presented its final report containing constitutional suggestions. Though Sir Shoaib Qureshi and Sir Hussain Imam of AIML had been participating in the Nehru Committee yet in the final draft all major demands of Muslims were set aside by INC.

Jinnah objected the Report and suggested some amendments in to make it acceptable to Muslims but INC showed no flexibility. Behavoiur of INC was quite disappointing for Mr. Jinnah. He named the report a Hindu Report and comprehensively rejected it. In the All Parties Conference, 1928, he declared that 'it's parting of ways'. Nehru Report worked as an eye opener to the Muslims. The Report caused rejoining of two factions of Muslim League that's why some historians named Nehru report as a blessing in disguised for the Muslims. Jinnah put forward his famous Fourteen Points in 1929 and piloted it through various channels very successfully. The Fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah have been named as 'Magna Carta of Indian Muslims'. He also participated in Round Table Conferences (RTC) (1930-32) held in London. After RTCs he decided to stay in England for some time but he returned India in 1934 and was made life time president of AIML. He initiated reorganization process of AIML throughout India especially in Muslim majority areas. As a result of discussions at RTCs, Government of India Act 1935 was promulgated. Elections to the Provincial assemblies were to be held in 1937. AIML performed in weakly in the elections. Congress was able to set up government in eight provinces. Congress rule (1937-39) was a tyrannical period for Muslims of India. Pir Pur and Sharif Reports were published to show atrocities on Muslims. Jinnah was now fully convinced that Hindus and Muslims could not live together. When Congress Ministries resigned, Muslims celebrated 'Day of Deliverance' on direction of Jinnah on December 22, 1939. He thought that there was no room for Muslims in a Hindu India, so AIML demanded a separate country for the Muslims of India on 23rd March 1940. The session was presided over by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. After passing of Lahore Resolution, Muslim League became a mass movement within no time. Jinnah was not ready to accept any constitutional settlement without announcement of a sovereign state for the Muslims. In the same context he rejected the Cripps Mission suggestions as it did not clearly declare a separate country for Muslims. Jinnah also objected the idea, projected by Mr. Gandhi during Gandhi Jinnah talks (1944), of ousting British first and then to decide the partition. He thought that Muslims could not get anything from Hindus once the British had left. Similarly, on Simla Conference (1945) he refused to accept Gandhi's claim to nominate one Muslim member to the proposed Executive Council. He argued that Muslim League had won every by election on Muslim seats during last few years, so AIML had every right to nominate all members to the Executive Council. As a result Conference failed to achieve anything. In the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946), British presented a three tier government in India. Group A: Hindu majority provinces, Group B: Muslim majority provinces, Group C: Bengal and Assam. Though the idea was not, exactly, as per demand of AIML yet Jinnah accepted the idea because Group B of the Plan provided for a sovereign state for Muslims. Whereas, INC rejected the plan for the reason that they could now see a separate state for Muslims, which was not acceptable to Hindus in any case. The British government had announced that who so ever would accept the Cabinet Mission Plan as a whole would be invited in the interim government. On the contrary to the announcement INC was asked to form Interim Government. Jinnah initially refused to be part of the Interim Government but later on after some settlements five Muslim League ministers, including Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdul Rab Nishtar, I.I.Chandrigar, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jugander Nath Mandel, were nominated.

In 1947, Lord Mountbatten arrived in India as new Viceroy with a partition plan. The plan is known as 'June 3rd Plan'. According to the plan India was to be divided into two independent sovereign states on religious lines. AIML approved the plan on June 6, 1947. INC also accepted the partition plan on June 9, 1947. The Plan duly passed by the British parliament on July 18, 1947 and was named 'Indian Independence Act 1947'. According to the Act partition commenced between the night of 14th and 15th of August 1947. Jinnah had been nominated as the first Governor General of Pakistan and he took oath on August 14, 1947.

After independence, despite his ill health, Jinnah worked tirelessly to establish and strengthen the state institutions. He set up Refugee Fund to help in rehabilitation of people migrating to Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, was appointed as chairman of the fund. He was successful in setting up a viable government in the country. Pakistan got membership of United Nations Organization, on September 30, 1947. Ambassadors to various countries were also appointed by Mr. Jinnah. He also inaugurated the State Bank of Pakistan on July 31, 1948 which proved his last official activity. The Father of the Nation departed on September 11, 1948, just after one year of creation of Pakistan. But by his death Pakistan had been established as a viable future state.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Mr. Jinnah achieved his _____ education from London.
2. Quaid-i-Azam _____ the Indian National Congress in 1906.
3. Jinnah was much impressed by ideas of Dada _____Noroji and Gopal Krishan Gokhlay.
4. In the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946), British presented a ____ tier government in India.
5. In 1947, Lord Mountbatten arrived in India as new _____with a partition plan.

QUESTIONS

1 What do you know about Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's joining of Indian Politics?

2 Elaborate the services of Muhammad Ali Jinnah for the politics of South Asia.

4.7 LUCKNOW PACT

Pact is a term which refers to a formal agreement between two (or more than two) countries or states. It also includes an agreement between any two or more groups or persons either to help each other or not to fight each other.

The Lucknow Pact (1916) is the most famous Pact decided between the two majour parties of the subcontinent; the All India Muslim League (AIML) and the Indian National Congress (INC). Muhammad Ali Jinnah joined the League in 1913 and became the part

of Muslim Political Party but he also decided not the leave the Congress. He wished to keep Hindus and the Muslim united in the subcontinent. He viewed that both communities should live together and struggle to get freedom from British. The Muslims were against British Government due to two reasons. First, due to reversal of the partition of Bengal (1911), second, in 1914, the First World War (FWW) had begun; due to war of Balkan, the British were against Turkey (the last one country with caliphate). As the gap between two nations (British and Muslims) was on the top in those days and Jinnah was the political personality who wanted to keep them united.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah then was a participant of the Congress as well as the League. He joined League but not left Congress. AIML added the self-rule for India in 1913 in her objectives as Jinnah wished. This made Jinnah more popular and prominent among the Hindus and Muslims rather than the British.

Jinnah desired the authority of Indians to run their country one side and on the other side; he wanted to protect Muslims' political and social rights. He tried to gain more political power for the masses of subcontinent to run their country. He believed that the objective of self-rule might be achieved in response to an agreement between the two foremost political parties in the British India.

The Congress came to conclusion that AIML was the sole representative political party of the Indian Muslims while the earlier would not claim for all the communities and minorities. Jinnah was able to get the point that INC never presented all the communities of India, especially the Muslim community. He used the platform of AIML to interpret and demonstrate the views of the Muslims.

Both parties had their sessions at Lucknow in 1916, in the last days of December; the All India Muslim League was led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah while the Maratha leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak presided over the congress. Mr. Jinnah got success to manage to convince both parties about the future of British India. Jinnah supported the point that the Hindus and Muslims must live in harmony and should struggle against the British Government to achieve self-government in India. Jinnah became the president of the AIML only after three years of his joining the party. It raised the status of not only Mr. Jinnah as a political leader but League as a party.

In his presidential address, M.A. Jinnah said:
'I may say a word as to the attitude of the Musalmans of India towards the Government. Our clear duty is to be loyal and respectful, without stooping to a cringing policy. We want no favours, and crave for no partial treatment. That is demoralizing to the community and injurious to the State. The Musalmans must learn to have self-respect; what we want is a healthy and fair impetus to be given to our aspirations and ideals as a community, and it is the most sacred duty of Government to respond to that claim. Towards the Hindus our attitude should be of good-will and brotherly feelings. Cooperation in the cause of our Motherland should be our guiding principle. India's real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and harmonious relations

between the two great sister communities. With regard to our own affairs, we can depend upon nobody but ourselves. We should infuse [a] greater spirit of solidarity into our society. We should remove the root causes and the evil effects of the process of disintegration. We should maintain a sustained loyalty to and cooperation with each other. We should sink personal differences and subordinate personal ambitions to the well-being of the community. We must recognise that no useful purpose is served in petty disputes and in forming party combinations. We should not lose the sympathy of our well-wishers in India and in England by creating a wrong impression that we, as a community, are out only for self-interest and self-gain. We must show by our words and deeds that we sincerely and earnestly desire a healthy National unity. For the rest, the seventy million of Musalmans need not fear.'

The committees of AIML and the Congress presented their constitutional schemes. After thorough discussion an agreement was settled between both parties; they accepted major demands of each other to compress the Government.

The most considerable attainments of this pact are as under.

1. It was the first time when Congress recognized that Muslim League was a representative political body of the Indian Muslims.
2. Lucknow Pact is measured as an extraordinary milestone in the history of subcontinent as the Hindus accepted the distinction of Indian Muslims; however, the Muslims had already been granted the right of separate electorate in the Indian Councils Act 1909.
3. It was the first time that Muslims were granted separate electorates in the provincial and Imperial Legislative Council. Hindus agreed on the separate Muslim electorate.
4. Muslims were allowed to elect their own representatives through separate electorates; in this way, they had not been awarded the right to vote in the non-Muslim communities. However, an exception was made in the case of the special interests' constituencies where Muslims had the right to caste the vote.
5. It was decided that a few seats shall be reserved for the Muslims in Hindu majority provinces; on the other hand, the Hindus shall be given safety in the Muslim majority provinces.
6. The Muslims were succeeded to reserve one third (33 percent) of seats in the Imperial Legislative Council, 50% seats in Punjab, 40% of total seats in Bengal, 33% seats in Bombay, 25% seats in the U.P. and 15% each for the Central Provinces and Madras assemblies.
7. It was decided that provincial autonomy would be awarded to the provinces while measures would be taken for the solutions for the communal issues.
8. Both of the parties were agreed to the point that no resolution could be presented and passed in the assembly which harms the interests of the other community.
9. The Muslims who were in dread to lose Islamic and cultural identity were now guaranteed that no bill or a resolution presented by a non-official member would harm affect them.

10. They were guaranteed additional seats than their population ratio in the Center and minority provinces. However, they were deprived some seats in Punjab and Bengal. The Muslim majority remained less effective in the coming days in these two provinces.

Lucknow Pact proved to be an important advancement towards the Hindu-Muslim unity. Both the parties unified together to brouhaha against the British for the sake of the self-government. The reform schemes were accepted by both the parties with open hearts at that time. Jinnah was the actual originator and architect of the Lucknow Pact. This settlement between the Congress and the League was the result of Jinnah's efforts; due to his endeavor, he was awarded the title of "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" by the well-known Indian poetess, Sarojini Naidu (famous as Nightingale of India). This Pact proved the peak of Hindu-Muslim association in the history of British India.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. The Lucknow Pact (1916) is the most famous _____ decided between the two majour parties of the subcontinent.
2. Muhammad Ali Jinnah then was a participant of the _____as well as the League.
3. The partition of _____was reversed in the year 1911.
4. Both parties had their sessions at _____ in 1916, in the last days of December.
5. In the Lucknow Pact Congress recognized that Muslim League was a representative _____ body of the Indian Muslims.

QUESTIONS

1. Lucknow Pact was the success of Muhammad Ali Jinnah or of the Indian National Congress? Discuss.
2. Keeping in view the Lucknow Pact, Describe the efforts of Muhammad Ali Jinnah for the Unity of Indians.

4.8 KHILAFAT MOVEMENT (1919-1924)

Background: Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909) was the Ottoman emperor who embarked his Pan-Islamist program to protect the Ottoman Empire from Western attack. He sent an ambassador, Sayed Jamal Uddin Afghani, to India at the end to 19th century. As a Caliph, the Ottoman king was nominally the supreme religious and political leader of all Muslims around the world. However, he never used this authority actually which he possessed.

During the British rule in subcontinent since 1857, the British-Turkey relation remained very well and both the powers remained allies. World War I started in 1914. The situation changed when the Turkey became the supporter of Germany against the British and its allies in this War. Germany was defeated by the British and its allies. The British decided to abolish the caliphate in Turkey and to distribute its territories. The Indian

Muslims had a strong feeling of identity with the Islamic community and had great emotionally attachment with to the Muslims of Turkey as well as the Khilafat. Turkey was the organizer of Islamic government and the significant supremacy of the Muslim unity at that time. The Turkish emperor was called Khalifa and was considered the political and religious leader of the Muslims of all over the world. The Ottoman Caliphate was the last symbol of Muslim glory in the world. The Muslims desired to maintain the Institution of Caliphate. They were well aware how the European powers conquered the Muslim lands one after the other. The British and French army decided to control Turkey and they occupied Istanbul in 1918. In other words, the Ottoman Empire had collapsed now. Muslim leaders from India started the Movement to protest against this action.

It was an expression of disapproval adjacent to the disgrace sanctions placed on the Caliph and Ottoman Empire after the First World War by the Treaty of Sevres.

In 1920, the terms of the 'Treaty of Serves' were announced (before the sign) and it produced deep bitterness among the Muslims. They took it as it was betrayed with the Muslims. In the month of March, a deputation of Muslim Leaders visited England to place their arguments before the British Government, but David Lloyd George (the Prime Minister) ignored them and the deputation returned with failure.

In the same year, 90 influential Muslims wrote to the Viceroy of India Lord Chelmsford and advised to revise the terms of the agreement. Otherwise, the Indian Muslims will start a non-cooperation movement against the government till the revision of the terms of the treaty.

Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali (famous as Ali Brothers), started a movement for the help of Turkish Muslims. The mass of Muslims in India joined hand and took part in this magnificent movement and commenced the protest in opposition to the British Government. This was called Khilafat Movement.

Objectives: The objectives were as follows:

1. To maintain the Turkish Caliphate.
2. To protect the holy places of the Muslims.

To maintain the unity of the Ottoman Empire.

It was a Pan-Islamist but political protest campaign to influence the Government not to eliminate the Muslim Caliphate. The Khilafat Movement was a foremost Pan-Islamic movement and its major target was to save the Ottoman Empire.

The movement was not only supported by the Muslims of South Asia but also was favored by most of the prominent Hindu leaders of India. The well-known Hindu leader Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi related the issue of Swaraj with the Khilafat issue. This association proved the cause of association of Hindus with the Khilafat Movement. This

movement became the first national popular movement against the British Government after the war of Independence.

All India Khilafat Committee: The Ali brothers were succeeded to unite the prominent Muslim leaders of subcontinent and formed the 'All India Khilafat Committee' on 20 March 1919 at Bombay. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Raees-ul-Muhajreen Barrister Jan Muhammad Junejo, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sayed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari were some of the members of Committee and the committee continued its work with enthusiasm. A large number of Muslim Ulema and Leaders worked to spread the awareness in common people. 'All India Khilafat Conference' was called on 23 November 1919 in Delhi. It was a joint conference of Hindus and Muslims organised by the Khilafat Committee. The Khilafat Committee published Khilafat Manifesto in 1920. The Khilafat Committee in Bengal included Mohammad Akram Khan, Maniruzzaman Islamabadi, Mujib-ur-Rahman Khan and Chittaranjan Das.

Non-cooperation Movement: An alliance between Khilafat leaders and the Indian National Congress was established in 1920 once again after Lucknow Pact. It was the alliance during the popular movement and the biggest political party of subcontinent. Mr. Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi and the Khilafat leaders promised each other to work and fight side by side for the sake of Khilafat and Swaraj. Members of Khilafat Movement were seeking to grow pressure towards the British; therefore, they also joined the membership of the Non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi. Non-cooperation movement was a countrywide civil disobedience movement. The use of British goods was prohibited to the Hindus and Muslims by their leaders. The Indian Muslims supported to Gandhi while the Congress ensure Hindu-Muslim unity during the struggle. The non-cooperation movement remained very successful. Massive protests, strikes, goods' boycott and other acts of civil disobedience by the Hindus and the Muslims spread all over the India in peaceful way.

Muslim's Education: Some leaders of Khilafat Movement including Dr. Ansari, Maulana Azad and Hakim Ajmal Khan also grew personally nearer to Mr. Gandhi. Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud Hassan, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Abdul Majeed Khawja and Dr. Zakir Husain were the leaders who set up the Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi at 1920. At the same time, they wanted to promote autonomous education and social reconstruction for Indian Muslims.

Reasons of Failure: A tragic incident of the Khilafat Movement was the Hijrat Movement proposed by religious leaders belonged to Jamiat-al-Ulema-i-Hind and about 925 well-known Muslim Ulema signed this fatwa. They declared India as Dar-ul-Harb (House of War). They stated that when a land is not safe for Islam or for Muslims, the Muslims have two options in this situation; the first is Jihad and the other is Hijrat. Some

authors are of the opinion that the idea of Hijrat was presented by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

From the province of Sindh and N.W.F.P, hundreds of families sold their properties. They emigrated to Afghanistan. Only in the month of August, 18,000 Indian Muslims were migrated to Afghanistan. Being a poor country, Afghanistan was powerless to engage so large entry of population. The Afghan leaders closed its borders. The Muslims came back from the Khyber Pass; most of them were injured and sick now due to long travelling.

In the month of August in 1921, countryside riots spread in coastal areas of Malabar. The Moplah peasants and farmers started insurgence against the Hindu land holders. The Hindu land-lord's had oppressive policies towards Moplah Muslims with the alliance with the British. During the battle with British the Moplahs killed a number of Europeans. The British Government took action after this battle and killed almost four thousand Moplahs during operation while the injured were more than many thousands. This incident effected the Hindu Muslims relations and the Khilafat Movement.

An incident was occurred on 5 February 1922 in a town "Chauri Chaura" situated at Gorakhpur district. The Non-cooperation movement of Gandhi was on its peak. A huge cluster of protesters clashed with police during the protest. Police opened the fire on demonstrators. The protestors attacked on police as vengeance and set fire to a police station; in response to it three civilians and almost 22 policemen were burnt alive. Mr. Gandhi was severely against the violence, avail from the opportunity; he announced to stop his Non-cooperation Movement in India on 12 February 1922. Gandhi had been using this movement to towards Swaraj; now, he disclaimed his buttress for the Muslims after the incident of Chauri Chaura. He claimed that now the movement is going towards violence and this would be harmful for Indians. The Non-cooperation Movement and Khilafat Movement were connected to each other; therefore, the Khilafat Movement was effected badly due to this sudden decision of Mr. Gandhi.

Sultan Abdul Majeed II was the last Muslim Khalifa from 18 November 1922 to 3 March 1924.The British Government came to action and the leaders of Khilafat Movement were imprisoned including Gandhi. Ali brothers were trialed at Khaliqdeena Hall of Karachi and were imprisoned; therefore, the movement was now leaderless. It gave an acute blow to this Movement.

End of the Movement: The movement was at the ending point till March 1924 because the Turks succeeded to gather under Mustafa Kamal, they established their position in Turkey. Kamal announced an end to the Khilafat. He declared Turkey as a republican state. Soon the enthusiasm of the Indian people died down; the result was that there was nothing in a short time but their name remained. Of course, the Khilafat Movement was unsuccessful to attain its goals; however, it was successful to spread political awareness

among the large masses of Indian Muslims. During this Movement, the Muslims' representatives carried out communication with well-known leaders of the Muslims countries.

No doubt, the Khilafat Movement proved as an asset for the struggle of Pakistan. The Indian Muslims learnt to not trust on British and Hindus both. They looked forward to gain their own state to maintain their protection. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi reviewed the Khilafat Movement in that way:
"Though the Khilafat Movement achieved no ostensible success, yet it was of considerable value as an instrument of creating public consciousness in the Muslim masses. It provided a broad -based leadership and taught the techniques of organizing a mass movement to the Muslims. These proved great assets in the struggle for Pakistan."

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. The First World War started in_____.
2. In World War I, _____was defeated by the British and its allies.
3. The Khilafat Movement was a foremost Pan-Islamic movement and its major target was to save the _____Empire.
4. An alliance between Khilafat leaders and the Indian National Congress was established in 1920 once again after _____Pact.
5. An incident was occurred on 5 February 1922 in a town "Chauri Chaura" situated at _____district.

QUESTIONS

1. Khilafat Movement was the Pan-Islamic Movement for the sake of Ottoman Empire. Discuss.
2. Evaluate the role of Indian Muslims in the Khilafat Movement.

4.9 DELHI MUSLIM PROPOSALS

At the end of Khilafat Movement, the congress was going to lose her influence in the Indian Legislative Assembly. Therefore, the congress president of that time, Srinivasa Iyengar; approached Mr. Jinnah to cooperate for upcoming Indian constitutional suggestions. He was looking for cooperation between two parties, the All India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress like Lucknow Pact. Mr. Jinnah as he remained too positive for Hindu-Muslim relations in his entire entire political career responded well.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah believed that the Indian Muslims could not make progress unless the sectarian atmosphere improved. The autonomous government of India will only be possible when both the Hindus and the Muslims live together. Jinnah, in fact, was the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. In this context, the Lucknow Pact was the

result of Jinnah's real efforts. Although there were disturbances in Hindus-Muslims' relations after 1921-22 but Jinnah had been trying to maintain this unity. In the annual meeting of Muslim League held in 1924 at Lahore, the bitterness of Hindu-Muslim relations was expressed through a resolution and the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity was emphasized.

Jinnah also had his personal opinion that it was necessary to promote unity among the Indians; his view was that without unity, the political rights of Indian people could not be secured and the freedom of India was impossible. The Hindus had accepted the right of separate electorate for the Muslims in 1916 during Lucknow Pact; however, most of the Hindus considered that the separate electorate would be obstacles in the national unity and solidarity. Jinnah also had the opinion that the Muslims can't be neglected by the Hindu majority as in this case the system of democracy in India will fail. He thought that Muslims may withdraw from the claim of separate electorate if congress accepts the other demands of Muslims. The same statements were repeated in the annual session of League in 1925 at Aligarh. On 20 March 1927 Jinnah called a conference of Muslims leaders in Delhi. Thirty prominent Muslim leaders gathered in the meeting in Delhi, Jinnah presided over the meeting.

Maulana Muhammad Ail Jauhar, Sir Ali Imam, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Mufti Shafi and other prominent leaders joined the session. The Muslim leaders had the judgement that the superior constitutional conflict between the Congress and League was the matter of electorate. Due to insecurity within Hindu Majority, the Muslim League was demanding for separate electorate to protect the Muslim's rights while congress had the slogan of Joint Electorate; with the claim that joint electorate would guarantee the Indian nationalism. The Muslim Leaders and Jinnah realized the fact that the common agenda with congress would be only possible when the League eliminate her demand of the Separate Electorate.

After a lengthy debate and arguments of almost seven hours the Muslim Leaders and Jinnah gathered on the point that they should assemble an agreement with the Congress on the basis of certain proposals; the concluded document came to be known as Delhi Proposals. At the end of the session, the Muslim Leaders and Jinnah confirmed that they were ready to withdraw the demand of Separate Electorates if the Congress would be ready to accept the following proposals or demands. These demands are known in the history as Delhi Proposals or Delhi Muslim Proposals. The proposals were:

a. Sindh should be separated from Bombay Presidency and awarded the status of a separate or independent province.
b. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India.
c. The proportion of reservation of seats would be according to the population for different communities in the Punjab and Bengal

d. Muslims should be given 1/3rd (33 %) representation in the Central Legislature.
e. Weightage for Hindu minorities in Muslim majority provinces should be equal to the weightage given to Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces.

According to the decision of the session, the Muslims decided to withdraw from the demand of separate electorate if the Hindus and the Congress accept the above mentioned five proposals. The Muslims had already been shown the flexibility in the Lucknow Pact and once again they were ready to repeat it. It was perhaps the first chance that the Muslims agreed to accept joint electorate for themselves. It was also made clear that Hindus would be awarded facilities by the Muslims in Sindh, NWFP and Bengal as same as the Muslims of minority provinces by the Hindus.

After three days, the Hindu members of central legislative assembly gathered in Delhi on 23 March 1927. They presented the following proposals in the response to Delhi Muslim Proposals.

1. The system of joint electorate should be adopted for all legislative /constitutional bodies in all over India.
2. Seats should be distributed according to population.
3. The safeguard of religious and semi-religious customs should be arranged through introducing special clauses in the constitution.
4. The separation of Sindh from Bombay should be delayed at this stage.

The Congress proposals were presented with the gap of three days; it showed that there was a visible disagreement between Muslim League and Congress. Though Muslim League had sacrificed its biggest demand of Separate Electorate yet congress showed no regard or flexibility. Another sincere effort by Jinnah was discouraged by Congress which increased communal rift between Hindus and Muslims.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. At the end of Khilafat Movement, the congress was going to lose her influence in the Indian Legislative_____.
2. Jinnah, in fact, was the _____ of Hindu-Muslim unity.
3. On 20 March 1927 Jinnah called a conference of Muslims leaders' in_____.
4. In Delhi Muslim Proposals, Jinnah confirmed that they were ready to withdraw the demand of _____Electorates.
5. Delhi Muslim Proposals was the sincere effort by _____ but was discouraged by Congress.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the role of Delhi Muslim Proposals bringing the Muslims and Hindus on the same platform?

2. Keeping in view the Delhi Muslim Proposals, describe the important decisions settled between the Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League.

ANSWERS OF THE SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. Bahadur
2. Fortune
3. Bengal
4. Golden
5. British

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Language
2. Calcutta
3. Prasad
4. 12
5. Muslims

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Lord Minto
2. Rejected
3. 1901
4. Executive
5. Separate

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Muslim League
2. Banerjee
3. Civil
4. Educational
5. Stanley

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. United Kingdom
2. Congress
3. Civil
4. Governor General
5. South Asia

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Law
2. Joined
3. Bhoy
4. Three
5. Viceroy

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Pact
2. Congress
3. Bengal
4. Lucknow
5. Political

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. 1914
2. Germany
3. Ottoman
4. Lucknow
5. Gorakhpur

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. Assembly
2. Ambassador
3. Delhi
4. Separate
5. Jinnah

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dr. M.A Aziz, *A History of Pakistan*, Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1979.

2. Dr. P.S. Mukharya, *The Revolt of 1857: Saugor and Narbudda Territories*, Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 2001.

3. Dr. Sachin Sen, *Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore: Siddiq Printers.

4. Muhammad Ali Charagh, *Tareekh-i- Pakistan*: (Urdu), Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.

5. History of Indo Pakistan, K.K. Aziz

6. The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: "The First Congress of Hindi" by Raja Ram Mehrotra, Joshua A. Fishman (Ed.) Mouton de Gruyter. Berlian, New York 1993.

7. Madhu Limaye, Indian National Movement: Its Ideological and Socio-economic Dimensions, London, Sangam Books, 1989.

8. Sh. Ashraf, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore ed.: March 1960, Vo1.I

Unit - 05

BRITISH RULE AND SEPARATE MUSLIM IDENTITY-II

Written By:
Prof. Dr. Muhammad Reza Kazimi

Reviewed By:
Prof. Dr. Sayed Jaffar Ahmed

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 121
Objectives 121
5.1 The Nehru report and importance of the Fourteen Points..... 122
5.2 The Round Table Conferences and 1935 Act 127
5.3 The Lahore Resolution..... 132
5.4 The August Offer and the Cripps Mission..... 138
5.5 The Cabinet Mission Plan and 3rd June Plan 144
5.6 Indian Independence Act of 1947 158
5.7 The Radcliffe Award..... 164
Bibliography 171

INTRODUCTION

The Indian Muslims had their own identity while living in the subcontinent along with the Hindus, who were in majority in undivided India. Politically, the Muslim rule lasted for almost one thousand years but they tried to keep themselves united with the other Indian communities. However, they had to change their strategy once they lost their political power after the annexation of India by the East India Company. They founded their own political party, All India Muslim League in 1906. The party became the sole representative party of the Muslims of British India.

The British Rule and the emergence and consolidation of the separate Muslim identity have been discussed in the current unit. In the opening of the unit, the Delhi Muslim Proposals of 1927 and the Simon Commission in the same year are discussed. In response to it the Nehru Report of 1928 can't be neglected while the most important demands of the Muslims in the following year in 1929, namely the 14 Points and their importance for the Muslims have been discussed in this unit. The Round Table Conferences, the Gandhi-Irvin Pact, the Communal Award, and the Government of India Act 1935 have been discussed in the unit.

The Lahore Resolution 1940 and *the background of the word Pakistan* is also discussed by the author. *The Implications of the Lahore Resolution, the Two Nation Theory and the Bengal Component* are the highly important factors of the Pakistan movement discussed and have been given their due place in the unit. *The August Offer and the Cripps Mission* are analysed keeping in view the students of BS level in this subject.

The Aims of the Cabinet Delegation, the Congress Position, the Role of the Muslim League, Direct Action Day, the 3rd June Plan and *Indian Independence Act of 1947*and *the Appointment of Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General* are discussed significantly in this unit.

OBJECTIVES

After reading of this chapter you will know;

1. The colonial interest of the British Rule, its impact on the Indian Muslims and the efforts of the Muslims to maintain their political and religious identity.
2. The struggle of Indian Muslims and their leaders for the sake of independence particularly during the period from 1927 to 1947.
3. The role of Hindus and British towards the Indian Muslims in the last 20 years of the Pakistan Movement.

5.1 THE NEHRU REPORT AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 14 POINTS

Objectives of Unit 5 are to show how the All-India Muslim League had to struggle for freedom alone, after all attempts to seek accommodation with Congress and other Hindu majority parties had proved futile. In order to secure the basic rights of Muslims, the All Muslim League came up with different type of proposals aimed at the twin purpose of securing independence and communal survival.

The Background: As can be gathered from the previous units, the Nehru Report 1928 was a reaction to two earlier documents: The Delhi Muslim Proposals 1927 and the Simon Commission 1927. The first Congress-Muslim League agreement had been the Lucknow Pact 1916. The Muslim League made self-government its goal and the Congress conceded Separate Electorates for the Muslims. This meant that only Muslim voters could vote for Muslim candidates, to whichever party they belonged. This was demanded by the Simla Deputation, because Hindus being four times more than Muslims no Muslim candidate would ever get elected. But the Lucknow Pact was overtaken by the Khilafat Movement during which both Muslim and Hindu leaders has spoken against Separate Electorates.

In this situation Mohammad Ali Jinnah called a meeting of Muslim notables, and on the basis of joint electorates formulated on 20 March 1927 what were then called

The Delhi Muslim Proposals 1927: Sindh should be separated from Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.

a. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India.
b. In the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation however would be in accordance with their population
c. In the central legislature, Muslim representation was not to be less than a third, and that was to be elected by a mixed electorate.

On the basis of the above proposals being accepted by the Hindus, then Muslims would accept joint electorates. They also agreed that whatever concessions were conceded to Muslims in Hindu majority provinces would be extended to Hindus in the Muslim majority provinces. An exception was being made in the case of Bengal and the Punjab because though both were Muslim majority provinces; the majority of the Muslims was slim and could be turned into a minority by political manipulation.

These proposals were well thought out and initially proved acceptable. Sarojini Naidu writing privately to her daughter commented

Jinnah has absolutely risen to his height and carried the better mind of the people with him. I am very proud of Jinnah.[1]

The Congress accepted the Delhi Muslim Proposals on 15 May at its Bombay Session, and at its 30 December 1927 Madras Session ratified it. Thus seemingly both the major political parties and both the major communities had agreed upon the constitutional proposals on which they could live together without British interference. In between May and December, the Hindu Mahasabha had intervened and in between May and December the British intervened. His Majesty's Government announced on 8 November 1927 the setting up of an Indian Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon.

The Simon Commission 1927: Normally a Statutory Commission to replace the Government of India Act 1919 (The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms) would be due in 1929, but the British alarmed at the Congress and Muslim League coming to an agreement, sought to wreck it by bringing in its own instrument of constitutional change. Their avowed method was to frighten the Hindu majority of losing their advantage and trying to undermine Jinnah because they correctly assessed that at this juncture, Jinnah and not Gandhi was leading the struggle for the Independence of India. In both of their goals, the British were successful.

The Viceroy began by excluding any Indian from the Commission, keeping it all White. When Jinnah protested that Indians are being excluded from the task of making their own constitution, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State riposted that if a Hindu had been appointed, Muslims would have objected and *vice versa*. This was not satisfactory to Jinnah and besides calling for the boycott of the Simon Commission, also called for appointing an all Indian Commission to frame the constitution of India.

To head this Commission, Jinnah recommended his close friend Pandit Motilal Nehru, after whom its report came to be known. The objections of the Mahasabha had been known but the Congress went ahead as we have seen, and ratified its acceptance of the Delhi Muslim Proposals in December 1927. Jinnah secure in his knowledge that the Congress and Muslim League already had an agreement on the basic principles on the future constitution had anticipated that the task of the Nehru Commission would be only settle the minor details, but his hope was belied.

The Nehru Report 1928: When the Nehru Report was published, the only clause from the Delhi Muslim Proposals that were retained were the separation of Sindh from Bombay, otherwise all other guarantees given to Muslims were taken away. The British and the Hindu Mahasabha were already hostile; Pandit Jawaharlal pressurized his father to produce a liberal report which was not touched by communal demands or considerations. As David Page has remarked

The determination of the author to face the problem and solve it, his condemnation of communal organizations for not wanting to change the existing structure of society, and

his faith that in a free India political parties would be formed on an economic basis, all smack strongly of Jawaharlal and not his father.[2]

These ideals were capable of fulfillment in homogenous country, not in India where the basis of discrimination was religion. The Nehru Report did present an ideal which is why so many prominent Muslim League leaders were in favour of acceptance. These included Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who resigned from the Muslim League because he could not get the majority to subscribe to the Nehru Report. At the opposite end was Shuaib Qureshi who wrote a note of Dissent to Nehru Report on the ground that it had resiled from the Delhi Muslim Proposals. On the other hand there were many prominent Muslims who signed the Nehru Report, causing a major crisis for Jinnah led by the Maharaja of Mahmudabad who was equally a friend of Motilal Nehru.

This was the second crisis in the Muslim League set off by the Simon Commission; the first had divided the Muslim League over the question of co-operation or non-co-operation. One faction led by the President Sir Muhammad Shafi was in favour of co-operation while the other faction led by the Honorary Secretary Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew was for boycotting it. First Sir Muhammad Yaqub, and then Jinnah was to head this faction. Now this faction was divided over the acceptance of the Nehru Report.

Despite such pressures M. A. Jinnah felt that acceptance of the Nehru Report would seriously jeopardize the future of Indian Muslims. At first however, he attempted a compromise, because he still felt the British thrust more than the Congress thrust. He proposed three amendments to the Nehru Report, and had they been accepted the Congress and Muslim League would have reverted to their joint struggle against the British.

1. One-third representation of Muslims in the central assembly
2. Muslim majority in Bengal and the Punjab be maintained on the actual population ratio for ten years
3. The provinces to have residuary powers, signifying a federal and not a unitary scheme.

However, Congress, led by the Hindu Mahasabha, cared more about subordinating Muslims than presenting a united stand before the British. Jinnah's amendments were turned down, because the spokesman of the Hindu Mahasabha, M.R. Jaykar once the compatriot of Jinnah in the Home Rule League had closed in on Jinnah's weakness at that particular juncture. Jinnah's representative status had suffered because he was leading a twice divided community. Jaykar said;

Well-known Muslims like the esteemed patriots Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr.[Mukhtar]Ansari, Sir Ali Imam, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Dr.[Saifuddin] Kitchlew have given their full assent to the compromise embodied in the Nehru Committee report. It is further to be borne in mind that even in the Muslim League a

large body of members has given their assent to the Nehru Committee Report. Mr. Jinnah therefore represents, if I may say so without offence, a small minority of Muslims.[3]

In reply, Jinnah had to say that the Muslim leaders were the ones who did not represent the Muslim community, because the import of a document matters more than the people who accept it.. For this Jinnah went beyond the Muslim League:

What we want is that Hindus and Muslims should march together until our object is attained. Therefore it is essential that you must get not only the Muslim League but the Musalmans of India and here I am not speaking as a Musalman but as an Indian…would you be content with a few? Would you be content if I were to say, I am with you? Do you want or do you not want the Muslim India to go along with you?...Minorities cannot give anything to the majority….it is up to the majority and the majority alone can give. I am asking you for this adjustment because I think it is the best and fair to the Musalmans…[4]

What Jinnah was saying that propitiating the leadership was not the solution? The solution was removing the practical difficulties in the way of a minority in the attainment of basic human rights, freedom of belief, freedom of movement.

That his demand was reasonable was evident from the Congress having accepted and ratified the Delhi Muslim Proposals. That the Congress had to re-track on its acceptance showed that the Hindu Mahasabha and not the Congress represented the Hindus. Jawaharlal Nehru's employment of modern and liberal terms would not render discrimination less medieval. This speech was Jinnah's ideological prelude to his 14 Points.

The Delhi Muslim Proposals had been formulated as a scheme to circumvent Separate Electorates. It had faced opposition from Muslim League leaders who constituted the main body. Sir Muhammad Shafi the original president was joined not only by Sir Muhammad Iqbal but by Maulana Hasrat Mohani the radical poet. It had been Kitchlew's and Jinnah's faction that had been dissident. The 14 points now joined together the Delhi Muslim Proposals with Separate Electorates

Underlining more heavily those issues mattered more than the leadership, the two factions reunited.

The Importance of the 14 Points: This was the first importance of the 14 points. It brought Congress closer to the Hindu Mahasabha and it re-united the two factions of the Muslim League. The leaders whom Jayakar had named were undoubtedly very prominent. They signed the Nehru Report. Had the Nehru Report been a real solution to the needs of the Muslim community, they would have gained the leadership, Jinnah would have been sidelined. This was the basic defect of the Nehru Report, and this was the basic merit of the 14 points floated by Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Jinnah had kept up his friendship with Motilal Nehru despite the latter having yielded to the demands of his son Jawaharlal at the Nagpur Congress of 1920.Now with the Nehru Report the helplessness of the father was established as a permanent factor in Indian politics. The 14 Points signaled also the disillusionment of the ideal with which Jinnah had embarked on a political career; a joint Hindu-Muslim struggle against the British. Such a course had proved to be impractical as the aspirations of the two communities were uneven.

The 14 Points 1929: The following is the text of the fourteen points

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal, with the residuary powers 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 majority or even equality.
4. In the central legislature Musalmans representation shall not be less than one-third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorate.
6. Any territorial re-distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the N. W. F. Province.
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 the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as ma be found feasible and practical to deal with such cases.
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and Baluchistan 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 in local self-governing bodies.
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions and for 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 without there being a provision 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.

From a brief perusal of the 14 Points, some salient points surface. Firstly, because the British government had wrecked the Delhi Muslim Proposals by intruding the Simon Commission, two years before it was due, their imminent departure could not be the basis of the coming dispensation.
Secondly, effective representation was the concept around which all constitutional provisions would have to be advanced. Thirdly since the provinces were to be the units of governance, stress was being laid on provincial autonomy and the creation of more Muslim majority provinces simultaneously. The Punjab and Bengal provinces were pivotal because of their proven Muslim majority as well as their marginal Muslim majority. N.W.F.P. was important because Lala Lajpat Rai had demanded that the 1900 separation of the N.W.F.P. from the Punjab be rescinded. On this basis the Muslims of India had hoped to secure their basic rights and on this basis they had chartered their demands

The next year, 1930, presiding over the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League, Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal demanded the division of India.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 1

1. First Congress-Muslim League agreement had been the _____1916.
2. On the basis of joint electorates formulated on 20 March _____ what were then called “The Delhi Muslim Proposals”.
3. M. A. Jinnah felt that acceptance of the _____would seriously jeopardize the future of Indian Muslims.
4. Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal demanded the _____of India.
5. The British and the Hindu _____were already hostile.

QUESTIONS

1. Why did the Congress initially welcome the Delhi Muslim Proposals 1927?
2. The Motilal Nehru Report was an answer to the Simon Commission. Comment.
3. What were the differences between the Delhi Muslim Proposals and the Nehru Report?
4. Did the Fourteen Points contain Separate Electorates?
5. What was the Congress reaction to 14 Points?

5.2 THE RTC’S AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935

The Round Table Conferences represent an attempt by the British authorities to transfer more power to Indian hands provided the Indians adopted a unified stance on the basic issues. The first RTC was acrimonious with the Hindu Mahasabha making extreme communal demands while, the Muslim delegates were divided, agreeing only against allowing M.A. Jinnah to speak for them. This made the attainment of Dominion status for

India more remote than before. The second RTC was momentous because Gandhi, representing the Congress, participated. Communal Awards and Separate Electorates for the Dalit class resulted, though the latter was withdrawn due to the hunger strike undertaken by Gandhi. Hindu-Muslim unity remained elusive and the participation of Congress was not helpful to this end. The third RTC was a tame affair, Gandhi not participating, Jinnah not invited and only a white Paper was issued by HMG.
The Simon Commission had been sidelined but not overtaken, and some of its recommendations were considered while passing the Government of India Act 1935, which remained the constitutional framework till after Independence.

5.2.1 The first RTC 21 November 1930 to 19 January 1931

The 14 Points of M. A. Jinnah were not acceptable to the Congress leadership any more than the Nehru Report was acceptable to the Muslim League leadership. Not only a stalemate, but a sense of drift prevailed over the political climate of India. The suggestion that the British Government hold a Round Table Conference including Gandhi and Jinnah was originally made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on16 December1921, but that was indifferent circumstances and now after The Delhi Muslim Proposals, the Simon Commission and the Nehru Report had all been unproductive, Mohammad Ali Jinnah after a preliminary meeting with the Viceroy, Lord Irwin on 20 May 1929 wrote to the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald on 19 June 1929 asked him for an unequivocal pledge that India would be given full responsible government with Dominion Status.

The second demand of Jinnah had been that a Round Table Conference be held to resolve the internal differences of the Indians. The modicum and modalities of the delegation of power were one side of the coin, Indian concurrence was the other. Jinnah had suggested a representative but compact delegation consisting of only 15 members. This Jinnah thought, would lead to orderly conduct of the RTC. At the eve of the RTC Jinnah said that the Congress refusal to attend was a mistake meaning that Jinnah wanted a lasting agreement.

Jinnah's suggestion of a 15 member RTC was not accepted. The Hindu Mahasabha attended, even if the Congress did not, and the communal safeguards sought by the Muslims were hotly contested. As seen in the previous chapter, though Muslims had a bare majority in the Punjab, to maintain that majority in the legislature, with many nominated members was not easy. That is why in all three documents, the Delhi Muslim Proposals, the A-I.M. L. amendments to the Nehru Report and in the 14 Points, the Muslim League had sought a guarantee that the Muslim majority in the Punjab legislature would be maintained,

On 14 January 1931, the Muslim delegates suggested Hindu-Muslim parity in the Punjab, but the Sikhs backed by the Hindu Sabha were opposed to such a compromise. As a result, Muslim delegates differing on the level of co-operation with the British, Sir Aga Khan III, Sir Mohammad Shafi and Mohammad Ali Jinnah said they would dissociate

themselves from the proceedings unless "satisfactory safeguards were made for Muslims." [1]Despite this common stand, unanimity among Muslims remained elusive, and even if there had been the absence of the Congress, the Muslims sensed, would make their unanimity futile.

Nevertheless, Ramsay MacDonald promised reforms in both spheres, an increase in the powers that would be delegated, as well as safeguards for the religious minorities. On two points Jinnah was most insistent, the role of the Princes and the composition of the Armed Forces. Jinnah was not in favour of giving the princes: the rajas, the nawabs and the nizams, rulers of autonomous states like Tikari, Pirpur, or Jaora, prominence. It was in the first RTC only that the princes had offered to join the proposed federation of India, but Jinnah alienated them although he could have gained strong allies against the Congress. Jinnah said that the princes while gaining a voice in the federation, would retain full control over their states.[2]On the Indianization of the Armed Forces, Jinnah went back to his 1918 stand, demanded the opening of commissioned ranks to Indians. At the RTC, Jinnah exhorted the British to enhance the pace of this process.

The Gandhi-Irvin Pact 4 March 1931: In between the first and second RTC's had come the pact between the Viceroy, Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi, who had lately marched from Sabarmati to Dandi a distance of 240 miles starting on 12 March 1930 and reaching on 5 April. During this long march, Congress workers started picketing shops with British clothes and other goods. Gandhi was almost the last Congress leader to be arrested. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact provided for all prisoners not convicted of acts of violence to be release; on which Congress would attend the next Round Table Conference.

The qualification with regard to the prisoners was carefully worded because Bhagat Singh accused of hurling a bomb at the Central Legislative Assembly was about to be executed. To be sure Mahatma Gandhi did make an appeal to have the death sentence commuted, but since he had already made hostile comments regarding Bhagat Singh and his comrades, the viceroy felt that he could disregard this appeal without Gandhi taking an adverse action. On 25 March Bhagat Singh was hanged.

Writing in *Young India* on 18 April 1929, Mahatma Gandhi had condemned the action of Bhagat Singh and advised Congressmen not to give "even secret approval" to the act. Further when Bhagat Singh and his co-defendants had gone on hunger strike, Mahatma Gandhi had been outraged; He said:"Hunger strikes have positively become a plague. On the *slightest pretext* some people want to resort to hunger strike." The slightest pretext was the death of two prisoners who had died on hunger strike protesting jail conditions.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah's attitude presented a complete contrast. He protested to the Home Secretary. Whom he urged to starve himself and experience what it meant: "A man who resorts to hunger strike is moved by his soul." Although he welcomed Gandhi's attending the Round Table Conference he must have had some misgivings.

At the second Round Table Conference, Jinnah rounded up Sir Mohammad Shafi and approached Sir Aga Khan, who though he warned them that they would lose the support of the Conservative Party nevertheless came around and agreed to compromise on Separate Electorates. Jinnah next inducted Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Srinavasan Shastri and approached Gandhi to make a commensurate concession and announce Hindu-Muslim agreement.

In the initial discussions Gandhi agreed that the safeguards that the Muslims wanted could not be reduced further and were just and reasonable. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, who was present, has written of the optimism occasioned by Mahatma Gandhi's remark but he returned after four hours and said that the Sikhs and the Mahasabhaites are not prepared to accept the terms decided by us." [3]

This was the dilemma that Congress which claimed to represent the whole of India did not represent even the Hindus. How Mahatma Gandhi was beholden to high caste Hindus is illustrated by his attitude to the concession awarded to the Depressed Classes by Ramsay MacDonald that is Separate Electorates being granted to them on 17 August 1932. Gandhi appealed to the Muslims to oppose this proposal, they replied that they would abide by whatever agreement was arrived at between Congress and the Depressed Classes, but could not oppose a measure they had demanded for themselves.

Gandhi's opposition to the alleviation of the miseries of the Depressed Classes took Ramsay MacDonald completely by surprise. Gandhi went ahead and undertook a fast to death if the Dalit/ Depressed Class leader Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar did not agree to the concession being dropped. On 6 September 1932 Ambedkar was forced to sign a pact with Gandhi at Poona whereby he agreed to double reservation rather than Separate Electorates. That resulted in the Dalits loosing each and every seat in the next elections,

This was part of the Communal Award announced by the British prime minister. Seeing that the Indian communities had been unable to arrive at an agreement Ramsay MacDonald asked members of the Minorities Committee to sign a requisition authorizing him to issue an award. Gandhi and the Mahasabha agreed, Jinnah refused,[4] but because of being outnumbered tried to work it to the best of his ability. These were the main outcomes of the Second RTC.

The Communal Award:16 August 1932 provided for both Separate Electorates and weightage for the Muslims, but because of the Muslim weightage in Hindu majority provinces, the Muslim majority of Bengal and the Punjab was reduced to minority.[Weightage meant giving a community larger representation in assemblies than their numbers warranted.] This was a loss because the weightage given to Muslims in Hindu majority provinces did not convert any majority into a minority, but it converted the Muslim majority into a minority in Bengal and the Punjab. Thus the loss in these crucial provinces did not gain a corresponding benefit for the Muslims in minority provinces. This showed that demographically there had to be concessions to strengthen the existing majorities where only they could be of effect, a precursor of the Lahore

Resolution. The Sikhs were given weightage in the Punjab. The provision given to Dalits was, as we have seen withdrawn under pressure from Gandhi,

The third Round Table Conference was a very tame affair. Lord Willingdon had succeeded Lord Irwin as viceroy. This was the same Lord Willingdon against whom Jinnah had agitated in Bombay. Instead of negotiations he preferred force and ordered the arrest of Gandhi. Jinnah too was not present because his insistence on his 14 Points was causing MacDonald and his official's irritation. The only outcome was the issuance of a White Paper which embodied the recommendations of all three sessions. The promise earlier held out by a serious contemplation of the Indian situation proved to be misplaced.

The Government of India Act 1935: India was given a constitutional framework by the British. The various Government of India Acts like those of 1909 and 1919 were not constitutions in the sense of reflecting the aspirations of the Indians, rather they represented the installment of power that HMG thought expedient to transfer. They are better considered as Basic Laws than Constitutions as they set the parameters of powers between the different levels, federal, provincial and local.

The previous G. o .I. 1919 had dyarchy in the provinces. Under the new 1935 Act these were placed at the Centre. The appellation Reserved and Transferred were retained Reserved were for Englishmen who were not responsible to the legislature, while Transferred were those portfolios and departments which were given to Indians responsible to both their respective legislatures and British officials, Defense, foreign affairs, ecclesiastical affairs and tribal affairs were reserved. Education, finance, law, home, railways, commerce, industries and labour were transferred.

Under this Act bicameral legislature was introduced, the upper house being called the Council of State, consisting of 250 members The lower house called House of Assembly consisting of 375 members. The Council of the Secretary of State (for India) was abolished. A Federal Court was set up to resolve differences between the centre and provinces.

Under the provincial part a measure of autonomy was introduced. The Governor was to act on the advice of the Chief Minister except in cases of "special responsibility" Six provinces out of eleven out of which only Bengal was a Muslim majority province were given bicameral legislatures. As all the political parties, Congress, Muslim League, the Chamber of Princes had rejected the federal part, only the provincial portion was acted upon, with the result that in 1937, only provincial elections were held.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 2

1. Jinnah's suggestion of a 15 member _____ was not accepted.
2. At the second Round Table Conference, Jinnah rounded up Sir Mohammad _____and approached Sir Aga Khan.
3. On the Indianization of the Armed Forces, _____went back to his 1918 stand, demanded the opening of commissioned ranks to Indians.

4. On 6 September 1932 _____ was forced to sign a pact with Gandhi at Poona whereby he agreed to double reservation rather than Separate Electorates.
5. As all the political parties, Congress, Muslim League, the Chamber of _____ had rejected the federal part of the 1935 Act.

QUESTIONS

1. What was achieved by the Round Table Conferences?
2. Discuss the Communal Award and its effect on Indian politics.
3. What is meant by Dyarchy? Why did the British maintain it?
4. Why did the federal part of the Government of India act 1935 never came into operation?
5. Can the Government of India Act 1935 be called a constitution? Why?

5.3 THE LAHORE RESOLUTION 1940

Till the 1930's, The All-India Muslim League had only sought guarantees as a minority. In the Muslim majority provinces, powerful parties had come up, thinking that since only the provincial part of the Government of India Act 1935 had come into operation, British patronage was sufficient for their welfare. As a result the A-IML basically lost the provincial elections of 1937. However two very important events took place.1. From 1937 to 1939 Congress formed ministries in the Hindu majority provinces, giving Muslim minorities a taste of what awaited them. 2. After two years, in 1939, the second World War broke out. This made the British themselves apprehensive about their future, and Muslims all over India had now to seriously consider the prospects of British withdrawal. With Congress the only other candidate for occupying the centre, Muslims realized that they needed a well-defined goal, and at the A-IML Lahore 1940 session, they called themselves not a minority, but a separate nation.

On the eve of the 1937 elections, the British promoted a loyalist party, called the National Agriculturist Party, headed by the Nawab of Chatari. This caused resentment to both the Congress and Muslim League. Since the socio-economic manifestos of both the parties were compatible, they entered into a tacit understanding against the royal party. Bombay and U.P. were the only provinces where the showing of the A-IML was appreciable, but since the Muslim seats themselves were in a minority, they could never on their own form a government. There was also this feeling, that at the provincial level at least, Indians had to demonstrate their ability to run the country, therefore the past bitterness between the two communities could be forgotten, and the new responsibility could be jointly undertaken.

After the 1937 elections the Congress had initially refused to form governments unless the special powers enjoyed by the governors were removed. During this time, the Muslim League legislators refused to join the government formed by the National Agriculturist Party, Liaquat Ali Khan telling the Nawab of Chatari that the formation of minority governments was undemocratic. Regardless of this stand, when a compromise was

reached with the British, and the Congress formed governments, they totally ignored the Muslim League, whereby another opportunity for co-operation was lost.

It was in the backdrop of the Congress ministries in the provinces that the demand for separation began to crystalize. Prior to that, Congress rule was a distant and vague concept, but the elections of 1937 made it an immediate and every day experience. If it had been a matter of only economic or cultural discrimination, the Muslims could have limited their demands to increased safeguards, but along with Congress rule had come a spate of Hindu-Muslim riots. The insecurity the riots created among Muslims became the overriding consideration. Speaking in the U.P. Assembly on 24 February 1939 at last, Liaquat Ali Khan had asked:

Sir, is it not the duty of the majority community to create confidence in the mind of the minority? After all, the minority, the Muslim community desires to live in peace It knows that by fighting it is suffering and it will suffer, but the Muslim community has made up its mind that it is much better to perish altogether than to live a dishonorable life in this country. [1]

Thus it was violence in the first instance that prompted the minority to search for solutions. The rally came in the Lucknow Session of the A-IML on 15 October 1937.The treasurer of the A-IML and chairman of the Reception Committee the Raja of Mahmudabad has gathered delegates from not only the minority provinces, A.K. Fazlul Haq ,Sir Sikander Hayat and Sir Mohammad Sa'dullah, the premiers of Bengal, Punjab and Assam had also come. The Raja of Mahmudabad concluded his speech with these ringing words: "We are here not to follow history, but to create it." [2]

And so it proved because the defeat of the 1937 elections was reversed when the Muslim League won 86% of the bye-elections. At last it was realized that regional majorities could be neutralized by national majorities. Though not totally immune from violence, the Muslims of the majority provinces were comparatively secure. Thus the Lahore Resolution signified the unison of the Muslim majority and Muslim minority over a single scheme for emancipation.

The next important stride in this direction was the Sindh Muslim League Conference held in Karachi from 8 to 12 October 1938. Sir Abdullah Haroon in his opening address demanded an independent federation of Muslim states. Early next year, on 25 March 1939, Liaquat Ali Khan addressed a public meeting at Meerut: "But one thing is clear, if Hindus and Muslims cannot live together, then they should divide the country on the basis of religion and culture. This is the only method by which the two communities can progress in their own spheres, without trespassing on the rights of others." [3]

The next step was again taken by the Raja of Mahmudabad in Delhi on 5 May 1939 when he directly linked the demand for Partition to Allama Iqbal's 1930 Allahabad Address as well by bringing the word *Pakistan* into the discourse:

A band of young men fired by the enthusiasm and imagination began to work for this, most appropriately called by the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal: "the final destiny of Muslims of North-West India," This is in a nut shell the "Pakistan Movement". It is in essence a movement for the liberation of the great block of Muslims of the Muslim provinces in the North-West of India from the thralldom of the Hindus Pakistanists (believers in Pakistanism) as I might call them reply that they by remaining in the Hindu-ridden federation can never hope to be of any great help to their brethren living in Hindu India, but they themselves will continue to be under the heels of the Federal Government. Pakistan will at least save the North-West from that unenviable fate.[4]

Look at the date of this speech and two points emerge. Firstly the Raja of Mahmudabad is using the name Pakistan a year before the Lahore Resolution whereas even in the text of the Resolution the word Pakistan does not occur. Secondly he identifies Pakistan with the scheme outlined by Iqbal in 1930.He brings clarity to the continuity of the demand for Pakistan.

History of the word Pakistan: It needs to be emphasized that what Chaudhry Rahmat Ali meant by the name Pakistan in his 1933 pamphlet *Now or Never* was different from the Pakistan we managed to achieve. Chaudhry Sahib's scheme included Iran and Tukharistan lying outside South Asia. Within South Asia Chaudhry Rahmat Ali had included Hindu majority cities like Lucknow, Delhi, Aligarh and Hyderabad (Deccan).That Mohammad Ali Jinnah had called such a Pakistan an "impossible dream" is not surprising. It cannot mean that in 1933 he was dismissing out of hand the Pakistan identified with his mission. Likewise if Allama Iqbal wrote to Raghib Ahsan that his Allahabad scheme was different from Pakistan, he was right because his scheme bore no resemblance to Rahmat Ali's scheme. Confusion has been created because the term Pakistan had different denotations during different phases of the national struggle. Indeed in April 1943, during the Delhi Session of the A-IML Jinnah had himself complained:

I think you will bear me out that when we passed the Lahore Resolution; we had not used the word "Pakistan". You know perfectly well that Pakistan is a word which is really foisted on us and fathered on us by some section of the Hindu Press and also by the British Press.[5]

Implications of the Lahore Resolution: Coming back to the Delhi 1939 speech of the Raja of Mahmudabad, he clearly addresses the fears about the Muslims to be left behind in India, making it manifest that the Lahore Resolution was a well thought out decision. Today's critics of the Pakistan idea are spreading the impression that the leaders of the Muslim League were unconcerned about their fate. A difficult but conscious decision was taken. Another aspect of the Raja's speech is that though the word Pakistan was not mentioned in , either the Allahabad 1930 speech or the Lahore 1940 speech, but it was very much part of the discourse, both Muslim and Hindu. The text of the Lahore Resolution bears resemblance to Iqbal's demand of ten years before:

No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped together to constitute 'Independent states' in which the constituted units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

Durga Das, a long- time friend of the Quaid-i-Azam had this story to relate: "When I met Jinnah after the Session and pointed out that Sikander Hayat had categorically told me that the resolution was a bargaining counter. Jinnah replied 'A bargain my friend is struck between two parties. First let the Congress accepts me as the second party."[6]

The Lahore Resolution was tactical in this sense, not in the sense of having been seriously put forward or not. The text was ambiguous. It does not clarify whether one state or more were meant. "Sovereign" and "autonomous" represent different and incompatible levels of independence. Jinnah being a constitutional lawyer this ambiguity could not have been due to an oversight, it must have been by design. What this amounts to is that while the proposed state as a whole was to be independent, the quantum of autonomy within the proposed state could be subject to adjustment. The Resolution was moved by Abul Kassem Fazlul Haq, and in the Delhi Muslim League Legislators Convention 1946, it would be amended by Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, also of Bengal, to read as "state" instead of "states".

The Two Nation Theory and the Bengal Component: Since the War of 1971 has been used to invalidate the Two-Nation Theory, we need to stress that though Bengal was in the vanguard of the Pakistan Movement, it was not in the vanguard of the Pakistan Movement consistently. Why it was in the Pakistan Movement at all, is explained by this statement of Fazlul Huq issued on 11 October 1933 : "I am prepared to be hanged if I cannot demonstrate to the satisfaction of any judge that the Hindus of Bengal constitute the very personification of communalism based on intense selfishness". [7]

Similar was the experience of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

My speeches would be full of religious sentiments. But there were good reasons for harboring them. On the one hand we would study, play and hang out with Hindu boys. Many of them were my friends. The local Hindus held my own family in high esteem; and yet, when I went to visit some of my Hindu friends they wouldn't invite me to their houses because their families feared that I would pollute them.[8]

The aspirations were different, situations were different, but experience was common. Indeed the Hindus took the lead over Muslims in formulating the Two Nation Theory. In the late 1920's Mahatma Gandhi while inspecting the Wardha camp of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (R.S.S.) had said: "Every community is entitled, indeed bound to organize itself, if it is to live as a separate entity." [9] If the majority community considers

itself a separate entity, the minority community, the minority community becomes separate by itself. Why the blame the Muslims for considering themselves separate. This applies to the Bengalis as well. We have to read Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's own memoirs too see that Bengali aspirations could not circumvent the Pakistan Movement. When Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Sarat Chandra Bose and Kiran Shankar Roy presented their scheme for Bengal to stand outside both India and Pakistan, united and sovereign, Jawaharlal Nehru had replied: "There was no chance of Hindus there agreeing to put themselves under permanent Muslim domination." [10] This is the Two-Nation Theory from another end.

According to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Sardar Vallabhai Patel had scolded Sarat Chandra Bose, the brother of Subhash Chandra Bose "Mr. Bose stop acting crazy, we want Calcutta." When he returned to Calcutta, Mr. Bose issued a written statement making all of this public, and admitting that Mr. Jinnah had accepted the formula." [11] This explains why the Lahore Resolution had mentioned both sovereignty and autonomy without allowing any opening to the Congress.

Here is the Bengali component of the Pakistan Movement, in the words of the founder of Bangladesh himself. This should be read by those scholars who have written that in 1971 Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory was unraveled. If this had been the real situation, then the Bengali speaking Rohingya would not have become stateless people. As far as Bengali nationalism is concerned, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is himself telling us that the Congress, Nehru and Patel were obstructionists, not Jinnah, not the Muslim League. This is the background also of Quaid-i-Azam's language policy. What Quaid-i-Azam said in Lahore was true then and it is true now, when all minorities in India are facing violent discrimination, Muslims cannot transport cows, Dalits cannot own horses, unless they are prepared to die.

The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, racial customs, and literatures. They neither intermarry nor inter-dine, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based on conflicting ideas and conceptions.

It had taken Jinnah many years and many phases to articulate this stance. He had hoped that differences would not take the form of discrimination, and that is why on attaining Pakistan he had put behind himself and his nation every kind of discrimination. A. J. Toynbee had categorized the Hindu and Muslim civilizations separately.

Lahore Resolution 1940: The circumstances and conditions under which the Lahore Resolution was passed need to be noted. There was no direct Muslim League government in the Punjab, but a government of the Unionist Party which ostensibly represented the Muslim League. The Chief Minister was Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. He had his own scheme for partition, identifying seven Muslim zones, but on the basis of autonomy, not sovereignty. Sir Sikander was in favor of amending the Lahore Resolution, which apart from the account of Durga Das, is apparent also from his later statements, as a result,

when the scheduled date for the Muslim League Session approached, Lahore was not administratively prepared for hosting such a large gathering.

For recalling what went on in Lahore that spring, one has the eye-witness account of Ashique Husain Batalvi. Even otherwise Batalvi is an important person in this respect, for when the late Wali Khan had claimed that the Lahore Resolution had been inspired by the British, Batalvi on the basis of the Lord Zetland correspondence had refuted him.[12] As the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow wrote to Lord Zetland:

Silly as the Muslim scheme for partition is, it would be a pity to throw too much cold water at the moment, though clearly, we cannot accept it [13]

Later Wali Khan stated that the British withdrawal from South Asia was a mistake. [14]

The fervor of the people made up for the inadequacy of the arrangements, but then came the Khaksar demonstration and the resultant police brutality on 19 March, which vitiated the atmosphere in Lahore. In a meeting held at Minto Park Mian Amiruddin Ahmad, Nawab Shahnawaz Mamdot, Mian Bashir Ahmad and Mian Ferozuddiin decided that the Muslim League Session had to be postponed. Nazeer Ahmad Mahmud Advocate (who was later elevated to the bench) argued against postponement. When these leaders went to see Sir Sikander Hayat there too Nazeer Ahmad Mahmud argued so forcefully against postponement, that it was decided to go ahead.

When Quaid-i-Azam reached Lahore, he refused to be taken out in a procession, and went straight from the railway station to the Mayo Hospital, where the injured Khaksars were under treatment. Quaid-i-Azam went up to each of them individually inquiring after their treatment, and this gesture reduced the political temperature of Lahore.

The Muslim League Session could be held as planned. On 21 March, the Subjects Committee of the All-India Muslim League held its open session. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Nawab Shahnawaz Khan Mamdot presented his welcome address. How the public reacted has been related by Ashique Husain Batalvi.

People were listening silently and peacefully; towards the end he mentioned the decaying condition of the Badshahi Mosque He voiced the concern that the historical bequest of Alamgir the Great would be damaged. He then mentioned the efforts of Sir Sikander's name of Sir Sikander towards the restoration of the mosque. As soon as Sir Sikander's name was mentioned, from one end of the ground to the other, there was an outcry. From all four corners voices could be heard shouting; "We will not listen. Don't take Sir Sikander's name, sit down, shame… shame!" Nawab Sahib (Mamdot) standing in a perplexed and troubled manner was witnessing all these protests. When the protests grew louder, he quietly resumed his seat. Sir Sikander was himself seated behind Nawab Sahib. When he saw with his own eyes, the grief and anger of the people, then he got up and left through the back entrance of the tent. [15]

During the course of the Second World War, the British had needed anti Congress parties, but far more than the Muslim League, they needed the Unionist Party which was extending unconditional co-operation. The Muslim League observed a Day of Deliverance on the resignation of the Congress ministries on the outbreak of the War, on22 December 1939. In the last stages of the first World War when Britain desperately needed Indian co-operation, Jinnah and Tilak had made co-operation conditional on the grant of Royal Commissions (as commissions were then known) to Indian soldiers. Gandhi had frustrated them by offering unconditional support [16]

Now during the Second World War the same Gandhi was offering resistance which made Jinnah suspicious of Gandhi's motives. Jinnah and the Muslim League were willing to offer support, but not unconditional support. During the second World War, the Muslim League had the difficult task of keeping equal distance from Congress and the Unionist Party. Choosing Lahore as a venue had been a challenge under these conditions, but their determination was rewarded by the spontaneous reaction of the people of Lahore.

Another great achievement of the Lahore Resolution was that the Muslim League had abandoned all attempts to secure rights on the basis of being a minority. A minority is subject to the law of the land, but a nation is equal to another nation regardless of the territory or the population being more, or less. This was the constitutional remedy of being a minority community. During the Commons debates Sir Winston Churchill would bear them out:

Indeed it is certain that more people have lost their lives or have been wounded in India by violence since the Interim Government under Mr. Nehru was installed in office four months ago by the Viceroy, than in the previous ninety years……the word "minority" has no relevance or sense when applied to masses of human beings numbered in many scores of millions[17]

This vindication would come later when the WW2 had ended, but Churchill's speech fulfills two purposes, firstly it upholds the decision of the Muslims to claim their rights as a nation, secondly it shows that Partition was preceded by violence, and not succeeded by violence as recent critics of the Pakistani struggle have started saying.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 3

1. On the eve of the 1937 elections, the British promoted a loyalist party, called the National _____ Party, headed by the Nawab of Chatari.
2. When Chaudhry Rahmat Ali presented the _____ of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah had called such a Pakistan an "impossible dream" is not surprising.
3. These ringing words are belonged to Raja of _____ : "We are here not to follow history, but to create it."
4. Wali Khan stated that the _____ withdrawal from South Asia was a mistake.
5. Quaid-i-Azam went up to each member of _____ movement individually inquiring after their treatment at Mayo Hospital of Lahore.

QUESTIONS

1. When did the Muslims feel that a separate state was necessary?
2. Was Sir Muhammad Iqbal's 1930 Allahabad Address a stepping stone to the Lahore Resolution?
3. What is the Two-Nation Theory? Could a separate state have come into being without it?
4. What is the difference between a minority and a nation?
5. What was the constitutional meaning of the Lahore Resolution?

5.4 THE AUGUST OFFER AND THE CRIPPS MISSION

This chapter describes the many moves made by the British either due to constraint of resources or due to prodding by the United States and other allies to induct the support of the main political parties of India. Due to the large number of Muslim soldiers in the British army, His Majesty's Government could not afford to ignore completely the demands of the All-India Muslim League, or of the Unionist Party in the Punjab, but had as its overriding concern the desire to conciliate the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. The second World War was rapidly reducing the Great Power status of Great Britain. She realized that to win the war against the Germany and Italy-- the Axis Powers—Britain would need the help of both Russia and America, but more importantly she would need the support of the people she ruled over. There were some members of the War cabinet who understood this, but there were other members including the Prime Minister Winston Churchill who considered the retention of colonies the reason for Britain being a first rate power. Just as Indian political parties could not unite to support Britain against her enemies, the two coalition parties in the British War Cabinet could not act in complete unison and they had to exert themselves to produce an agreed document.

As a result the viceroy Lord Linlithgow issued a statement on 8 August 1940--- called the August Offer---- which outlined measures to please both Congress and the Muslim League but ended up dissatisfying both of them. To Congress the following passages were addressed:

Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorize the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee…..It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorize me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life, in order to devise the framework of a new constitution……on the form which the post -war representative body

should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and secondly on the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.

This offer meant that the British were prepared to induct Indian leaders to the Government of India, and that at the end of the war, India would be granted Dominion Status. This was the status enjoyed by other members of the British Commonwealth like Canada or Australia. The British crown would remain, but in a ceremonial role, since in a constitutional monarchy political power is exercised by elected legislators.

While this did not mean Independence, it meant Self-Governance. The British took the plea that during the course of the war they could not transfer defense to India. How much of this decision was based on the grounds of competence and how much on the grounds of loyalty, the British could not be expected to say!

Verbally all political forces in India condemned the Fascist forces of Germany and Italy but beyond expressions of sympathy they were not prepared to go. The August Offer attempted to fill in that gap. H. V. Hodson had tried to have the draft softened but was told that every word had been the result of back and forth negotiations between H.M.G. and the G. o. I---the prime minister and the viceroy.[1] Secondly as Peter Clarke was later to concede, the offer of Dominion Status was: "plainly conditional, deferred and half-hearted" [2]

Winston Churchill's comment, two years later, explains the conflicting sentiments: "We have resigned ourselves to fighting our utmost to defend India in order, if successful, to be turned out." [3]

To the Muslim League, the August Offer addressed the following passage:
His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission.

This seemed to satisfy the Muslim League---if there was any apprehension ---it was regarding its withdrawal. When it was rumored that the British would withdraw or modify their offer in the face of Japanese advancement, Mohammad Ali Jinnah warned:

If any new declaration is made on the part of the British Government, departing from the declaration of August 1940, as to the future constitution of India, or any proposal or move, which could in any way militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan, or prejudge it, or denounce it in any way, as seems to be the main effort of the Hindu leaders, it will not only create an unprecedented catastrophe but result in grave disaster at this juncture of the war.[4]

5.4.1 The Cripps Offer 1942

The August Offer was succeeded by the Cripps Mission. Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India on 23 March 1942 as a plenipotentiary (or as he thought) of H.M.G. to negotiate terms with the political parties of India to induct them into government so that the Indian War Efforts would be of help in winning the War. Winston Churchill was not enthusiastic and had agreed only on the prodding of the U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who suggested to Churchill on March 10, 1942 to "establish a temporary Dominion Government along the American Articles of Confederation.[5] Since Cripps had visited India once before in 1939 privately, and his friendship with the Congress leader Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru was known, there was some apprehension among Muslims that he would try to conciliate the Congress at their cost.

Jinnah tried to allay these fears by saying that this time he had come as a representative of the British crown and would not act according to his personal inclinations. However, what was the extent of the mandate given to Cripps, how much support of the prime minister he really had , or he really had consistently, what were the reservations of the viceroy, Lord Linlithgow have become the subject of controversy. Why did the Congress and then the Muslim League reject the Cripps Mission has become the larger question. First we need to see the text of the offer Sir Stafford Cripps broadcast on 30 March 1942:

a. Immediately on the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India
b. Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution making body.
c. His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to:
    i. The right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down:
    ii. The signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

    Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation.

d. The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities:
Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution- making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the Electoral College.
Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of British India as a whole; and with the same powers as the British Indian members

e. During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must, inevitably, bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defense of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsel of their own country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations . Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

The terms of the Cripps offer were very carefully drafted, speaking in general terms and avoiding particularization as far as possible. Now, it needs to be considered why these terms were rejected, and why they did not serve the purpose of enlisting Indian political forces to the British War efforts and why, they led, instead to the Quit India Movement.

The Congress Working Committee rejected these proposals because of the uncertain future surrounding the commitment to self-determination, the "novel principle of non-accession of a province and the introduction of non-representative elements (the Princes) in the Constituent Assembly. The short run proposals were also criticized because no real change was contemplated.[6]

The Muslim League according to the same author, in spite of appreciating the implied recognition of Pakistan, rejected the Cripps Proposals because of the "vague procedure for its achievement and the rigid character of the offer, a package deal which could not be modified."[7]

So much is clear, but in the revisionist dispensation, for example in the analysis of Asim Roy, Jinnah's rejection of the Cripps Offer and initial acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan are evidence that Jinnah did not crave for Partition. According to Asim Roy:

The principle of secession embodied in the Cripps Offer whereby an unwilling province could opt out of the Union, was a direct British response to the Lahore demand, providing Jinnah and the League with the surest means of fully realizing the stated goals of the Lahore Resolution, namely, independent and sovereign Muslim 'states' [8]

These arguments have no weight. Even otherwise, it was clear that even if Jinnah agreed with the Cripps Offer, it would have been a futile measure, since Congress had already rejected it. His rejection did not cover the clauses that reiterated the August Offer. Jinnah did not object to the exclusion of the name Pakistan, but to the negative formulation of the non-accession clause. He was right, because as Cripps explained to Gandhi:

It was primarily based on the concept of a united India and it was only in the case of Congress being unable to come to an agreement with the Muslims in the Constitution-making Body that any question of non-accession would arise.[9]

Matlubul Hasan Saiyid has explained that the one serious complaint of Jinnah was:

That it did not explicitly pronounce in favor of Pakistan. He expressed satisfaction at the recognition of its possibility implied in the non-adherence scheme; but the establishment of a single Indian Union appears to be the main object of His Majesty's Government, the creation of more than one Union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility.[10]

Both formulations Jinnah's and Cripps' were the same, which means that the only reason for Jinnah's rejecting the Cripps Offer was that it did not contain sufficient assurance that Pakistan would emerge. The Congress did not succeed in watering down the non-accession clause of the August Offer, it protested when C. Rajgopalachari asked that to bring about a Hindu-Muslim understanding during the war "Congress should accept in principle the Muslim claim to Pakistan". And this time the opposition of his colleagues and the A.I.C.C has not silenced him.[11]

Why did Congress reject the Cripps Offer, if the acquiescence in the demand for Pakistan was vague? The reason is that the proposals Cripps had earlier suggested were withdrawn. What Cripps had earlier offered was a Cabinet Government, a National Government, but in the end the Viceroy's Executive Council would remain as before, the arm of governance. Nehru suggested that Churchill recalled Cripps because he had gone beyond his terms of reference. This was correct and confirmed later by Churchill in Commons on 12 December 1946. This he had done at the behest of the viceroy Lord Linlithgow.

While the upshot of the Cripps Mission was the Quit India Movement, and the Muslim League replying "Divide and Quit", Nehru's biographer Michael Brecher says that though the Congress decried the non-accession clause "it apparently felt the need to demonstrate its faith in democracy," and passed the following resolution:

Nevertheless, the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people of any territorial unit to remain in an Indian union against their declared and established will."[12]

To this, Brecher adds the comment: "here was a trump card for Jinnah---and the British---which was to be used with devastating effect in the last stage leading to Partition".[13]Brecher's regret could only have been due to the Congress declaration being insincere. Given his experience of Gandhi in the First World War, Jinnah's suspicions were justified. In 1942, Gandhi said that he was fighting for liberty in order to evolve a National Government suited to the genius of India. In Jinnah's estimate, the function of this National Government in war time was to meet both contingencies:

In the event of Axis entry into India, this National Government would be in a position to decide the fate of India. In the event of the defeat of the Axis and Britain remaining in India it would be in a position to decide the fate of the Musalmans.[14]

While distrustful of the Congress, Jinnah had remained distrustful of the British too. "Let them fight it out, this is one of those cases where neutrality is the most effective policy on our behalf." [15] Nevertheless, the British could not have won without the equivocal position of the Muslim League. Muslim soldiers in the British Army had been discovered writing letters to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and the British knew that they could not treat the Muslim League with disdain. Thus all sections of the Muslim community, regardless of their situation were contributing to the national cause.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 4

1. The viceroy Lord Linlithgow issued a statement on 8 _____ 1940--- called the August Offer.
2. Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India on _____ March 1942 as a plenipotentiary.
3. The Congress Working Committee rejected the proposals of _____ because of the uncertain future surrounding the commitment to self-determination.
4. The only reason for Jinnah's rejecting the Cripps Offer was that it did not contain sufficient assurance that _____would emerge.
5. While distrustful of the_____, Jinnah had remained distrustful of the British too.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the assurance given to the Muslim League in the August Offer 1940?
2. What was the role of the United States in sending the Cripps Mission 1942?
3. In what manner did the Cripps Offer concede the principle of Partition?
4. Why did the Congress reject the Cripps Offer?
5. Why did the Muslim League reject the Cripps Offer?

5.5 THE CABINET MISSION PLAN AND 3 JUNE 1947 PLAN

Background: The Cabinet Mission Plan 16 May 1946, which provided for grouping of provinces instead of the partition of the country as a solution to the minority problem in India signifies a brief detour from the path of the Muslim national struggle since 1940.The Muslim League's initial acceptance of the plan and the Congress' initial equivocal approach has raised QUESTIONS regarding the aims and objectives of the A-IML, which were never posed with regard to the previous or subsequent phases of the struggle for Pakistan. Fortuitously, it clears M. A. Jinnah of the charge of personal ambition. A very careful and stage wise inquiry into the options available to the three parties; H.M.G., the Congress and the Muslim League is needed to explain this temporary digression.

The Cabinet Mission Plan of 16 May 1946 was designed to preserve the unity of India and pre-empt the creation of Pakistan. Why then did the Muslim League initially assent and Congress initially resists it? This is the paradox that has led to the greatest speculation about the intents and purposes of all three parties, the British, the Congress and the Muslim League. This chapter runs counter to the course of the liberation struggle, but before the year was out the parties had changed positions; therefore it needs a more detailed exposition.

5.5.1 The Aims of the Cabinet Delegation

Between 1942 when Sir Stafford Cripps arrived on his mission and 23 March 1946, when he came as a member of the Cabinet Delegation, the circumstances had radically changed. The Second World War was over and British anxiety over its outcome was removed. The Labour Party with Clement Atlee as its head had formed the government. Traditionally, it was pro-Congress and was far less concerned with the minorities and their human rights.

The Cripps Offer 1942 had an uncertain franchise system, but in principle, it had upheld the principle of Pakistan. The Cabinet Mission which had Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State, Mr. A.V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty and Sir Stafford Cripps as members, attacked the principle of Pakistan. Providentially, the Viceroy had also changed and Lord Wavell had taken the place of Lord Linlithgow. Lord Wavell was in favour of a united India, but he distrusted Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress.

These were important factors, since whatever was to be obtained was to be obtained from the British, and the leverage of the Muslim League was greatly reduced. To understand the nature of the negotiations, we have to consider the three documents that preceded the announcement of the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16 May 1946.

1. Jawaharlal Nehru's letter to Sir Stafford Cripps dated 27 January 1946
2. Abul Kalam Azad's letter to Sir Stafford Cripps dated 28 April 1946
3. A-IML's proposals of 12 May 1946

All these had the following structure in common. A common centre with power concentrated in the provinces. On the face of it these congruent proposals would have

hastened an agreement, but it did not. (Why Quaid-i-Azam made a similar proposal shall be explained in the next section.) Why an agreement was not forthcoming when the proposals were so similar is that the two Congress proposals were either insincere or lacked authority. This is the clue to why negotiations ultimately failed.

What the Cabinet Delegation offered to Congress was the unity of India, and what it offered to the Muslim League was two groupings of Muslim majority provinces. Group A would consist of all Hindu majority provinces, Group B was to consist of Muslim majority provinces in the North-West and Group C was to consist of Muslim majority provinces in the North-East. Groups were to frame their own constitutions after which the Union constitution was to be framed.

Two choices had been offered Jinnah. A sovereign Pakistan with Punjab and Bengal divided. Although as not revealed to Jinnah, in the brief prepared for the delegation's interview with Jinnah , it was decided to *exclude Gurdaspur* from the Pakistani Punjab.[1] This was on 15 April 1946, showing from what an early date the British and Congress had decided on depriving Pakistan of Kashmir. The other was a larger Pakistan with the whole of Punjab, Bengal and Assam but without sovereignty and under a common centre.

This was a hard choice, but because of the Grouping of provinces, Jinnah tried the larger Pakistan. Jinnah had often been accused of taking a separatist course to avenge his humiliation at the 1920 Nagpur Congress and to assuage his pride. He initially avoided the option that would give him office and decided to exercise the option that left the Muslim community intact.

But this proved illusory. The Cabinet Delegation's offer of the grouping of provinces was made insincerely. In his report to King George VI, the Secretary of State, Lord Pethick-Lawrence admitted:

Gandhi had foreseen that some document would ultimately be issued, and had expressed his urgent hope that it would not be couched in the language of an award, but would take the form of a proposal to Indian parties. This was, in fact, in accordance with the realities of the situation, for it was impossible for the British Government, in the process of withdrawing its authority completely from India, to enforce conditions as to how subsequent authority there should be exercised. The statement, therefore met Gandhi's wishes in this respect.[2]

If this had been known from the beginning, the futility of negotiating with the Cabinet Mission would have been apparent, but Pethick-Lawrence kept this undertaking from the Viceroy, the formal President of Congress Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the President of the Muslim League, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Lord Pethick-Lawrence went on in this report to recount that when on 24 June 1946 the Viceroy, Lord Wavell told Gandhi that grouping was an essential component of the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Secretary of State told him not to press the point! [3]Lord Wavell confided to his journal that the assurance

given to Gandhi was dishonest, whereas, in fact, the assurance given to the Viceroy and the Muslim League had been dishonest.

In between Lord Pethick-Lawrence's assurance to Gandhi and his directive to Lord Wavell about not pressing the point regarding the grouping clause, was published the State Paper of 16 May 1946 informally known as the Cabinet Mission Plan. This Plan had two stages, one, the formation of an interim government was called the Short Term Plan. The form that the coming constitution would take was called the Long Term Plan. All in all, the Cabinet Mission issued four documents. The first was the State Paper of 16 May 1946:

Document 1: Opening with the sentence suggested by Gandhi the operative portions of the Cabinet Mission Plan were as under:

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form; Paragraph 15(5)—Provinces should be free to form Groups with Executive and Legislature, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

[While sending a resume to Prime Minister Clement Atlee, Lord Pethick-Lawrence added the following note to this provision: "This is one of the basic recommendations as to the form of the new constitution which cannot under paragraph 19 (vii) be altered without a majority of both the major communities." Thus he was saying one thing to his King and another thing to his Prime Minister.]

Paragraph 19 (v)-- These Sections shall proceed to settle Provincial constitutions for the provinces included in each Section and also decide whether any Group constitution should be set up for those provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces should have power to opt out of Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below

Paragraph 19 (viii)- As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation it shall be open to any province to elect to come out of any Group in which it had been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the Legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution[4]

Document 2: The 25 May 1946 statement clarifying that the Grouping of provinces was necessary. The Congress had meanwhile asserted that the grouping of provinces was not compulsory, and that a province could stay away from a group from the beginning.
[This statement was issued to contradict the Congress interpretation.]

Document 3: The 16 June 1946 statement to outline the Short Term Plan or the formation of an Interim Government. Paragraph 8 of this statement said that if one party refused to accept the Long Term Plan of 16 May, the Interim Government would be formed by those parties which had accepted.

[This meant that if the Congress did not accept, the Muslim League would be invited to join the Interim Government.]

Document4: This statement was issued on 6 December 1946 from London, after tripartite talks among the Congress, the Muslim League and His majesty's Government. This statement upheld the Muslim League interpretation of the Cabinet Mission Plan that grouping of provinces was compulsory and not optional as Congress had been asserting, and that a province could not stay out from the beginning. Another explanation is necessary. The Cabinet Delegation sometimes used the term Section, and sometimes the term Groups to describe how provinces were to be arranged:

The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the sections should, in absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives of the sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress have put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the Statement read as a whole is that provinces have a right to decide both as to grouping and as to their own constitutions.

His Majesty's Government have had legal advice which confirms that the Statement of 16 May means what the Cabinet Mission have always stated was their intentions. This part of the Statement as so interpreted must therefore be considered as an essential part of the scheme of 16 May for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament [5]

These statements provide the frame work of how the Cabinet Mission, the Congress and the Muslim League responded to the situations created by them.

5.5.2 The Congress Position

Since the Cripps Offer 1942 had made a concession to the idea of Pakistan, Jawaharlal Nehru needed to obstruct it with a reasonable alternative. Writing to Sir Stafford Cripps on 27 January 1946, Nehru put forward a scheme whereby the anxiety of the minorities could be allayed:

The ideal would be a loose Indian Federation with safeguards to protect interests and in which powers except for defense, external affairs, communications and currency are left to the Federating units.[5]

Yet when a similar proposal was made to Sir Stafford Cripps by Abul Kalam Azad, on 28 April 1946, the Congress was up in arms in spite of the fact that Azad was the Congress President. According to Sudhir Ghosh:

The Maulana's solution of the communal problem was a maximum decentralization of power in a federal structure, with the provinces enjoying the largest degree of autonomy in all subjects, leaving the Centre with only Defense, Communications and Foreign Affairs.[6]

When Gandhi heard of the Maulana's letter to Cripps he was shocked. He asked Cripps for the letter and summoned Azad. When he asked Azad point blank whether he had written such a letter to Cripps the Maulana denied it while Gandhi held Azad's letter in his hands.[7]

Apart from the fact that Azad was not seriously treated as the President of Congress, by Gandhi, who had often asked for Azad's resignation, it shows that the same proposal by Nehru to Cripps caused no concern to Gandhi but Azad's proposal to Cripps caused him great concern. Those scholars who prefer Azad over Jinnah should read this account over and over again. This also meant that the Congress wanted a strong centre with no guarantees for the minorities, and their dalliance with the Cabinet delegation was to gain time.

It was clear that from the beginning Gandhi and Nehru were opposed to the Grouping clause, and did not hesitate to say it over and over again to Cripps and Pethick-Lawrence. On 8 May 1946 Gandhi had conveyed to the Cabinet Delegation that he did not favour Grouping, and parity was worse than a sovereign Pakistan. (Parity had been offered by Bhulabhai Desai to Liaquat Ali Khan, and in 12 May proposal of the Muslim League, there were to be in the Centre 4 Congress, 4 Muslim League and 4 representatives of the Princes, two of them Hindus and two of them Muslims meaning Communal parity)

On 17 May 1946, one day after the Cabinet Mission Plan was published, Mahatma Gandhi wrote an editorial in his paper the *Harijan* that there was no take it or leave it business about the Plan and the provinces were free to reject the very idea of Grouping. Disregarding this editorial of Mahatma Gandhi, in the hope that the Cabinet Delegation would uphold its Plan, regardless of what any one said, the Muslim League on 6 June accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan, Persistent statements from the Congress side was causing disquiet and on 24 June, the Cabinet Mission gave contrary assurances to Gandhi and Jinnah.[8] To the former it was given out that Grouping was not an essential feature of the Plan, and to the latter it was said that Grouping was essential.

On 10 July1946 after replacing Azad as President of the Congress, Nehru opposed the Grouping clause. At the end of a detailed discourse, Nehru concluded: "Thus you will see that this grouping business approached from any point of view does not get us on at all."[9]This was in fact nothing more than what Gandhi had been publicly asserting, but Nehru had also said:

The Congress was committed to participate in the Constituent Assembly, but nothing else. And the Assembly would be a sovereign body, regardless of policy statements from London. [10]

This statement of the Congress President caused a reaction within his own party. Vallabhai Patel called it Nehru's "emotional insanity", Gandhi wrote to Nehru:

If it is correctly reported, some explanation is needed. It must be admitted we have work within the limits of the State Paper. If we do not admit even this much, Jinnah Saheb's accusation would prove true.[11]

But what happened since; especially after Direct Action Day and the Great Calcutta Killing that began on 16 August 1946, shows that such niceties were never part of the Congress strategy. On 27 August, Lord Wavell summoned Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru and asked them to sign an undertaking that they would abide by the intention of the Cabinet Mission. This, Wavell was convinced, would not only restore peace, but revive the Plan and with it India's chance of unity. He produced a draft before them:

The Congress are prepared in the interest of communal harmony to accept the intention of the Statement of 16 May that provinces cannot exercise any option affecting their membership of the sections or of the groups if formed, until the decision contemplated in paragraph 19 (vii) of the Statement of 16 May is taken by the new legislature after the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation and the first general elections have been held.

Both Gandhi and Nehru refused. In what terms they refused shall be very instructive. What Gandhi in particular said was:

We have already said we accept it, but we are not prepared to accept it in the way the Cabinet Mission set it out. We have our own interpretation of what they propose…In any case, what the Cabinet Plan really means is not what the Cabinet Mission thinks, but what the Interim Government thinks it means….. What the Cabinet Mission intended and the way we interpret what they intended may not necessarily be the same.

The second sentence was uttered after seeing the draft produced by Wavell. Lord Wavell has himself described the scene:

The argument went on for some time, and Nehru got very heated. Gandhi said if a blood bath was necessary, it would come about in spite of non-violence. I said that I was very shocked to hear such words from him.[12]

This logic and this attitude was the alternative to Partition. Those who even today argue that Partition was the wrong choice, and the blood bath resulted from Partition, should be asked to explain this scene. It can also reasonably be asked, if the Congress did not subscribe to the basic provision of the Cabinet Mission, why did they assent to it at all? To understand this, we have to go back to Document 3, Paragraph 8 which said that if one party refused to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan, then the Interim Government would be formed by the assenting parties. The result was that the Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan on 25 June. They wrote: "While adhering to our views, we accept your proposals and are prepared to work them with a view to achieve our object." How they were encouraged to do so has been brought out by the Viceroy himself:

Now Cripps, having assured me categorically that Congress would never accept the Statement of 16 May, instigated the Congress to do so by pointing out the tactical advantage they would gain as regards the Interim Government. So did the Secretary of State. When I tackled him on this, he defended it on the grounds that to get the Congress into the Constituent Assembly was such a gain that he considered it justified. It has left me in an impossible position vis- a -vis Jinnah.[13]

It was this confusion that had to be cleared up by the 6 December 1946 statement of H.M.G. (Document 4) after inviting Muslim League and Congress leaders to London, it was decided that the Muslim League interpretation of the Cabinet Mission Plan was correct. The Congress pretended that this ruling created a new situation, and on 5 January 1947 passed the following resolution:
All-India Congress Committee with a view to removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying interpretations, agree to advice action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regards to the procedure to be followed in the Sections

It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a province and the right of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardized

In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a province, or part of a province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned.[14]

Again we see a Congress document, the first paragraph being cancelled by the second and third. Once, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps had encouraged the Congress to make discrepant statements, they could not stop them at their will. As far as the Cabinet Mission Plan was concerned, this was the last chance for Congress to make it work.

5.5.3 The Role of the Muslim League

It was the British that held power and would be in the position to transfer it. In terms of street power the Muslim League was the weakest. The British had gone back on the Cripps Offer. Therefore when the Muslim League was summoned to a Tripartite Conference, which sought a solution of the minority problem wherein a common Union between Hindu and Muslim majority regions had been floated, they tried to avoid commitment. This is apparent from the Muslim League's letter of acceptance:
Therefore, without prejudice of commitment, the Working Committee in their anxiety to assist in finding an agreed solution of the Indian constitutional problem have authorized me (Jinnah) to nominate three representatives on behalf of the Muslim League to participate in the negotiations.[15]

One major consideration for the Muslim League had been defense. The Cabinet Delegation had sent Lt. General Sir Arthur Smith to Jinnah who explained how the defense of India would be weakened by partition. Jinnah had replied that Hindustan and Pakistan could have a treaty between two sovereign states during war, but not in peace time. Despite such an answer, Sir Arthur Smith came away with the impression that the consideration of defense weighed more heavily with the Quaid-i-Azam than he could afford to admit.[16]

Therefore when the Tripartite Conference with the Cabinet Delegation, Congress and Muslim League began, the latter instead of arguing over the necessity of a common

union, argued over the modicum of power to be delegated to it. As touched upon earlier, the Congress was all for a strong centre with a legislature and powers of taxation, while the Muslim League wanted a centre on the basis of Hindu-Muslim parity, no legislature, and no powers of taxation. Ultimately the Muslim League agreed, when the Secretary of State (Lord Pethick-Lawrence) said that: "He understood it to be complementarily agreed on the one hand that there should be Groups and on the other that there should be a Union." [17]

Pethick-Lawrence projected the plight of a foreign minister who would have to defend his policy in three group legislatures, and despite argument, legislature and taxation was added to the functions of the centre.

The members of the Muslim League who were invited to see the Cabinet Mission Plan before its announcement on 16 May had asked most searching QUESTIONS:
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan asked whether the words in paragraph 15 "recommend that the constitution take the following basic form" meant that the Constitution-making Body was not free to alter these basic provisions. The Secretary of State pointed out that it would require a majority of each of the major communities.

Sardar Rabb Nishtar asked whether he correctly understood that each section of the Constitution-making Body would be entitled to frame the Constitution for the provinces within it irrespective of whether they attended or not and also to determine whether there should be a Group, and what the Group subjects would be, subject only to the right of a Province to opt out after the Constitution had been framed. Sir Stafford Cripps said that this was in accordance with the document

Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan asked who would interpret the Statement. Sir Stafford Cripps said if any question arose, he presumed that the Viceroy would be the deciding authority. Nawab Ismail Khan asked what would happen if the Constituent Assembly did not comply with these basic conditions. Could His Excellency the Viceroy dissolve it? Sir Stafford Cripps said it would be open to the Muslim representatives to cease to participate.[18]

Two items are worthy of note. Liaquat Ali Khan questioned the effect of the word "recommended" exactly the word Gandhi and Pethick-Lawrence had agreed upon in an attempt to beguile the Muslim League. Nawab Ismail Khan had asked who would interpret the Document, the question which Gandhi and Nehru answered in terms that the 6 December HMG statement had to correct.

The Muslim League leaders were alert to all the ambiguities in the Cabinet Mission Plan. The QUESTIONS they asked were pertinent and to the point, therefore they made Lord Pethick- Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps most uncomfortable. They actually tried to omit from the record, the portion beginning with Liaquat's query. Turnbull, P.S to the Secretary of State wrote a Note:

There is no doubt that the explanation given to the Muslim League on the three points which the Viceroy mentions were in accordance with the intentions of the Mission, but I doubt if the Viceroy need disclose these points to the Congress out of any sense of fairness to them. If however Mr. Jinnah bases his case for assurances now on these statements made by the Mission, it seems necessary to tell the Congress that these were the intentions of the Mission….There is a much more awkward point than the ones mentioned by the Viceroy in the record of this meeting. This is the statement by Sir Stafford Cripps at the bottom of page 3 of the record that he presumed that if any question of interpretation arose the Viceroy would be the deciding authority in consultation with H.M.G. I believe that Sir Stafford Cripps said something in a different sense to Mr. Gandhi orally, but of that we have no record".[19]

Liaquat Ali Khan was dissatisfied not only with the answers but with the scheme and on 21 May he had sent a written note to the Quaid-i-Azam asking him to turn down the Cabinet Mission Plan. Liaquat said that the coercive apparatus of the state would be with the Congress and all safeguards being promised would be nullified.[20]

The Quaid-i-Azam understood these matters; he understood the defects of the Cabinet Mission Plan, though he was naturally unaware of the internal tensions. Since regional autonomy had been working within the Princely states like Datia and Indore and the concerted opposition to the Grouping clause would mean that such autonomy had a chance of being maintained. Naturally Jinnah was unaware of internal British tensions with Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps willing to use any subterfuge to appease Congress; while Lord Wavell and A .V. Alexander were against any underhand method. Perhaps he believed that with a Labour Government in power, he was unlikely to obtain better terms

Though unhappy, it was with these feelings that Jinnah went to the All-India Muslim League Council on 5 June 1946. He hesitated to provide the lead on this occasion, saying that he and his colleagues had not accepted the Plan. He said:
If we (the Working Committee) had taken any decision and placed it before you, and if you disapproved of it, there would have been no course open to us except to resign, and we thought we should not create such a course.

I want therefore, every member to feel that he is free and that he is not fettered by any step that we have taken which prevents him in any way from expressing his opinion or taking his final decision, whatever it may be. It is now up to you as the Parliament of the Muslim nation to take your decision.

I advised you to reject the Cripps Proposal. I advised you to reject the last Simla Conference formula, but I cannot advise you to reject the British Cabinet Mission's proposals. I advise you to accept it.[21]

But as the Viceroy remarked: "The Muslim League has accepted by a large majority. Now the real battle begins, and the great question is whether the Delegation will stand up

to Congress or not." [22] This was exactly what the Cabinet Delegation; going by Turnbull's Note was not prepared to do.

Thus when on 10 July Nehru repudiated all features of the Cabinet Mission Plan, it was not the first indication of Congress resistance to the Grouping clause, which hopefully, could give Muslim units more than provincial autonomy. Even Azad, who was later to blame Nehru for wrecking the Cabinet Mission Plan had told Lord Pethick-Lawrence on 26 June that: "The Constituent Assembly would obviously function in accordance with its rules but clearly also a Province could stay away." [23]

Since Nehru had repudiated the Cabinet Mission Plan now in categorical terms. There was no alternative for the Muslim League but to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Muslim League Council assembled at Bombay and made two decisions. First was to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan secondly, bidding good-bye to constitutional methods, it announced that it would take Direct Action.

This the Congress had not counted on. In his letter to Cripps dated 27 January 1946 cited above, Nehru had said that the Muslim League was incapable of Direct Action! When Liaquat Ali Khan was asked to explain what the Muslim League meant by Direct Action, he replied: "Direct Action means any action against the law."[24]

5.5.4 Direct Action

The All-India Muslim League had fixed 16 August 1946 for its Direct Action Day. They thought that it would be observed as the Day of Deliverance 22 December 1939 was observed; when Congress had resigned from provincial ministries. This was how it was observed all over India---except in Calcutta, where there was a Muslim League government under Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. Suhrawardy announced a holiday for 16 August and as a result Hindu-Muslim riots of up till then unprecedented magnitude took place. The press described it as the Great Calcutta Killing.

Generally, Suhrawardy was blamed for starting the riots. When Lord Wavell, the Viceroy visited Calcutta after the riots:

I then had three quarters of an hour with Suhrawardy. He was polite and not at all aggressive and took in a subdued way a homily I delivered to him on his duties as Premier of Bengal. He suggested that the Chief Justice, Spens, should head an inquiry into the disturbances.[25]

It was on 15 March 1947, that the Chief Justice, Sir Patrick Spens could give the Viceroy a preview of his Inquiry Report:

Spens, Chief Justice says that the Calcutta Enquiry will show that there was Hindu incitement and a sudden and concerted attack without provocation on the Muslims in the north of Calcutta; that the Ministry will come out of it all right; that there was delay in bringing in the military owing to faulty information; and that Bucher and the military were magnificent when called in.[26]

The Calcutta riots were bad enough in themselves, but they had a domino effect. Calcutta riots gave rise to riots in Noakhali and riots in Noakhali gave rise to wide-spread riots in Bihar. Thousands of Muslims died. Then the riots spread to U.P. In the annual fair of Garmukteswar, a Hindu festival, 1000 Muslims were set upon and killed. In Kohat, Muslims rioted against Hindus and Sikhs in revenge for the massacre of Muslims in Bihar.

Concerted military action and the induction of Muslim League nominees alongside Congress in the Interim Government could in time lessen the intensity of communal riots, but they never completely stopped, even temporarily, till 1948. These were crimes against humanity and though we have become a brutalized society, they were unspeakable.

This signaled the failure of the Cabinet Mission Plan and any attempt of being able to transfer power to a united India. The British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee announced on 20 February 1947 that power would be transferred into the hands of a responsible Indian Government by a date not later than June 1948. He also announced that Lord Wavell was being replaced as viceroy by Lord Mountbatten.

Lord Mountbatten had a *rapport* with Congress, especially with Jawaharlal Nehru and thought Jinnah a "psychopathic case" and the Pakistan scheme as "mad." Despite this empathy, the Congress leaders realized that Mountbatten, in order to get his job done would divide India, before independence. At *this stage* the Cabinet Mission Plan, seemed to the Congress the only device to prevent Partition, and now all the safeguards they had refused to give the Muslim League, without their interpretation, this time, they were most willing to concede. At first Lord Mountbatten seemed willing to please Congress. On 21 April 1947, he told Liaquat that he would mention the Cabinet Mission Plan again "if only for forms sake." It is Lord Mountbatten himself who relays Liaquat's reaction to such a course:

Liaquat went so far as to say that it was providential that Congress had refused the [Cabinet Mission] Plan during the time that the League had accepted it, since it was now clear that they intended to use the Cabinet Mission Plan to obtain a permanent stranglehold over the predominantly Muslim Groups.[27]

Lord Mountbatten himself describes the *volte face* of the Congress leaders. Firstly in a cabinet meeting held in London on 28 May 1947, he reported

Pandit Nehru's view was that the proposals set out in the draft announcement (for partition) should now be abandoned, that the Cabinet Mission's Plan should be imposed as a settlement.[28]

In his Personal Report, dated 5 June 1947, Lord Mountbatten observed that:

Since Gandhi returned to Delhi on the 24th May, he has been carrying out an intense propaganda against the new plan, although I have been led to understand he was the man

who got Congress to turn down the Cabinet Mission Plan a year ago, he was now busy trying to force the Cabinet Mission Plan on the country.[29]

Rank opportunism. Gandhi and Nehru were not ready to concede anything to the Muslim League, but when they saw that the result of their obstinacy was the division of India, they were willing to have the Cabinet Mission Plan imposed as an award, that is, they no longer insisted on giving it their own interpretation, and accepted the British (and Muslim League) interpretation, to avoid partition.

5.5.5 The 3 June Plan

When the Muslim League irrevocably blocked Lord Mountbatten's attempt to revive the Cabinet Mission Plan, he started looking for ways to affect Partition with the least harm to Congress interests. We need not concern ourselves with the so-called "Dickie-Birds Plan" which after being sent to London, was rejected by Nehru. The new Plan was the 3rd June Plan or the Mountbatten Plan under which independence and partition were actually achieved.

The three main features of the 3rd June Plan were:

1. The Partition of India.
2. The emergence of two Dominions of the British Commonwealth, India and Pakistan, as self-governing entities.
3. The partition of Bengal and the Punjab. Lord Mountbatten directly asked Liaquat Ali Khan whether the Muslim League would accept partition of the provinces. Liaquat replied: "We shall never agree to it, but you may make us bow to the inevitable." [30]

There was a reason behind Liaquat's round about assent. In constitutional terms, the Muslim League could not accept the principle that provinces be divided, but in practical terms divided provinces would pose lesser problems in nation building. In Bengal, Hindus would number 48 per cent, in Punjab Sikhs and Hindus would number 38 per cent. For a country that needed to be established, this would be a source of great instability, especially at a time when Mountbatten had refused to divide the Armed Forces.

The partition of the provinces and not the partition of India would be the cause of 1947 riots, but because of two decisions that we shall discuss in the next chapter. Firstly the suppression of Lt. Gen. Sir Francis Tuker's plan of dividing the Armed Forces and placing a neutral force of British and Gurkha forces at the new border areas, and secondly the suppression of the Radcliffe Award till after partition had taken place, so that the Army could not be stationed at the exact locations where trouble was anticipated.

This is the reason why Mohammad Ali Jinnah agreed when Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Sarat Chandra Bose and Kiran Shankar Roy came up with a scheme to keep Bengal independent and united, and how Nehru and Patel turned it down. [We have given

details in a previous chapter.] As Sailesh Kumar Bandhopadhya observes; 'if one province stood out other provinces would follow suit, worse, the princely states like Kashmir and Hyderabad could also opt for independence.'[31]

This was the reason when Congress called for a third option for North-West Frontier Province [now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa] that instead of joining India or Pakistan, the province could remain independent, Mountbatten had to turn down that proposal, because Nehru had not allowed that option for Bengal. But how the Quaid-i-Azam approached the decision of accepting the 3rd June Plan has been recounted by Alan Campbell-Johnson, the Press Secretary of the Viceroy:
Jinnah: insisted that he was not constitutionally authorized to make a decision without the concurrence of the full Muslim League Council

Lord Mountbatten: "If that is your attitude, then the leaders of the Congress Party and the Sikhs will refuse final acceptance at the meeting in the morning: chaos will follow, and you will lose your Pakistan probably for good."

Jinnah: "What must be must be."

Lord Mountbatten:"Mr. Jinnah! I do not intend to let you wreck all the work that has gone into settlement. Since you will not speak for the Muslim League, I will speak for them myself. I will take the risk of saying that I am satisfied with the assurances you have given me, and if your Council fails to ratify the agreement, you can put the blame on me."[32]
Lord Mountbatten went on to say that at the meeting in the morning (3rd June) Then I will say that I had a very long, a very friendly conversation with Mr. Jinnah last night, that we went through the plan in detail and Mr. Jinnah has given me his Now at that point Mr. Jinnah. I will turn to you…I want you to nod your head to show you are in agreement with me."

Lord Mountbatten resumed his warning that unless Mr. Jinnah nodded his head, everything shall collapse. When the moment came in the morning, according to the authors of *Freedom at Midnight*:

At that instant Mountbatten had absolutely no idea what the Moslem leader was going to do [he would look back at that moment as] the most hair raising moment of my life. For an endless second, he stared into Jinnah's impassive, expressionless face. Then slowly, reluctance crying from every pore, Jinnah indicated his agreement with the faintest, most begrudging nod he could make[33]

Contrast this anxious and dramatic account with Mountbatten's summary of Jinnah's attitude on the evening in question: "His delight was unconcealed." [34] What unmistakably emerges from these contrary accounts is that Lord Mountbatten was an unreliable witness. From the speech Jinnah made from All-India Radio the following day, he made

it clear that the final decision was to be awaited, and that he had not anticipated the decision of the A-I.M.L. Council:

It gives the outline of the plan to give it our most earnest consideration. We have to examine it coolly, calmly and dispassionately…It is clear the plan does not in some important respects our point of view and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. It is for us to consider whether the plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point I do not wish to prejudge. The decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League which has been summoned to meet on Monday, 9th June, and its final decisions can only be taken by the conference according to our constitutions, precedents and practice…[35]

The Quaid-i-Azam was right in refusing to predict the decision of the All-India Muslim League Council. The 3rd June Plan did not have an easy passage. As with the Lahore Resolution, every aspect of the Plan was discussed, especially the partition of the provinces. Again someone asked, what about the Muslims to be left behind in India, another group, led by Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatallah, the Chief Minister of Sindh took the view that at least one section of the population would become free, and ultimately that view prevailed, and the A.I.M.L. Council finally authorized the President to accept the Plan "as a compromise"

This phrase which occurs in both Jinnah's radio speech of 3rd June and in the Resolution of 9th June aroused the anger of the Congress. It interpreted this resolution to mean that it could serve as a basis for further demands. Nehru and Patel said they wanted a final settlement.

Liaquat countered by pointing out that when the League accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Congress had defeated them by putting such reservations on their acceptance that the League had to pull out, and they did not intend to be out-manoeuvred again in this way.

Lord Mountbatten offered to receive undertakings from Congress and the Muslim League simultaneously the latter calling their assent "a compromise settlement". This was done and the principle of partition was accepted and the way was set for the Independence of India Act 1947 being passed.

It needs emphasis that the A-IML Council had taken a difficult but correct decision. Some critics, notably Ayesha Jalal has, asked: "How did a Pakistan come about which fitted the interests of most Muslims so poorly."[36]For an answer, one only has to look at the Middle East. The Arabs far outnumber the Israelis, but in spite of that, in every war, the frontiers of Israel have been expanding and the homeland of the Arabs is shrinking. See the map of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 and you will understand that the main strength comes from state power. In India, the Muslims were not even in a majority.

The Muslim League opted for state power in 1947 and despite innumerable challenges still emerged as a nuclear power. This could not happen without partition. Confusion is about the nature of the state. I need not go into details. Pakistan is not an island that rose from the sea. It is a territory that had to be carved out from British India. The course of the Pakistan Movement makes one point clear. It is not a territory with an ideology; it is an ideology with a territory.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 5

1. The Cripps Offer 1942 had an uncertain franchise_____ , but in principle, it had upheld the principle of Pakistan.
2. When Gandhi heard of the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's letter to _____he was shocked.
3. The All-India Muslim League had fixed 16 August 1946 for its Direct _____Day.
4. The British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee announced on 20 February 1947 that power would be transferred into the hands of a responsible _____Government by a date not later than June 1948.
5. Lord Wavell was replaced as _____ by Lord Mountbatten in 1947.

QUESTIONS

1. What was meant by the Grouping of Provinces? Explain in the light of the Cabinet Mission Plan.
2. What was the Three- tier arrangement?
3. Why did Gandhi and Nehru oppose the Cabinet Mission Plan?
4. What was the role of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with reference to the Cabinet Mission Plan?
5. Explain the difference between the Cabinet Mission Plan and the 3rd June Plan.

5.6 INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT OF 1947

The political decision to grant Independence to two dominions of India and Pakistan was taken under the 3rd June Plan. The Constitutional decision was taken under the Government of India Act 1947. There was the issue of appointing the Governor-General. In addition, this Act set of the process of dividing the Armed Forces, as well as the military and financial assets which entailed settling matters of detail, most particularly with regard to the actual boundaries of the provinces to be divided, Bengal and the Punjab, and the holding of referendum in North-Western Frontier Province and the Sylhet District of Assam. It was in this phase that Pakistan was disadvantaged with the purpose of impeding its freedom. Two British commanders Field Marshal Claude Auchinleck and Lt. General Sir Francis Tuker have testified to the resolve of the Dominion of India to prevent the establishment of Pakistan.

The date was 18 July 1947; the place was the British Parliament in London. According to an ages old tradition, the Clerk of the Parliament called out: "The Indian Independence Bill." The Clerk of the Crown, the King's representative replied : *"Le Roi le vault*" which

means : The King wills it, in old Norman language, The Indian Independence Act was sixteen typewritten pages, containing twenty clauses.[1]

We naturally can give only the salient features here:

1. The independent Dominions of India and Pakistan would be set up from August 15 1947
2. India would consist of all the territories under the sovereignty of the King which were included in British India, except for those designated as territories of Pakistan
3. Pakistan would consist of East Bengal, western Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan. If the North-West Frontier Province referendum showed a majority for joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, that Province too would be part of Pakistan.
4. There would be a Governor-General appointed by the King for each of the two Dominions, but "unless and until provision is made to the contrary by the Legislature of either of the Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both."
5. From the date of the transfer of power, the British Government would have "no responsibility for any of the territories now included in British India." The suzerainty of the King over the Indian States would also lapse from the same date.
6. Temporary provisions were made for the government of the Dominions. The powers of the Legislature of each Dominion, for the purpose of making provisions for its Constitution, would be exercised in the first instance by the Constituent Assembly of that Dominion.
7. Transitional powers were given to the Viceroy to make such orders as necessary to bring the Act into force, extending at the latest to March 31, 1948

The Bill also authorized the establishment of a Pakistan Constituent Assembly under the authority of the Governor- General.[2]

The Independence Act also provided that until the promulgation of the constitution, the Government of India Act 1935 would be the basis of governance. This was slightly anomalous, because while British rule lasted, the federal portion of the G. O. I. Act 1935 had not come into operation. Thus independent states began with an imperialist mode of governance. Territorially also there was an anomaly, because Punjab and Bengal as constituted under the G.O.I. Act 1935 ceased to exist under the Independence Act. The accession of Princely States originally envisaged under the RTC's would come about under this Act.

Under the Indian Independence Act, the powers of the Governor-General were extensive. They were spelled out under Section 9:

1. The Governor-General was empowered to bring this Act in force.
2. Division of territories, powers, duties, rights, assets, liabilities etc. was the responsibility of the Governor-General.
3. To adopt, amend, Government of India act 1935, as the Governor -General may consider necessary

4. Power to introduce any change was until 31 March 1948, after that it was open to the Constituent Assembly to modify or adopt the same act (Temporary Provisions as to the Government of Each New Dominion)
5. Governor-General had full powers to give assent to any law.

These powers were so widespread that the survival of the Dominion of Pakistan could not be entrusted to a Governor-General common to both countries and in view of his partiality, certainly not to the person of Lord Mountbatten. As Mian Ata Rabbani recalls: "Mountbatten could not contain his true feelings when in his 3rd June speech he said… "Nothing has shaken my firm opinion that a united India would be by far the best solution." [3]

In view of such open hostility to the idea of Partition, Jinnah or the Muslim League could not afford to accede to the suggestion that Mountbatten become the common Governor-General of both India and Pakistan. Jinnah's resistance hurt not only his vanity but his plans. Lord Mountbatten's speech may well have been a form of assurance that Partition was temporary. Lord Mountbatten himself described the scene how after a four hour persuasion Jinnah refused to have Mountbatten as the Governor-General of Pakistan:
I asked him (Jinnah) "Do you realize what this will cost you? He replied sadly "It may cost me several crores of rupees in assets" to which I (Mountbatten) replied somewhat acidly : "It may well cost you the whole of your assets and the future of Pakistan." I then got up and left the room[4]

5.6.1 The Appointment of Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General

Some historians have not hesitated to say that Jinnah's refusal to make Mountbatten the Governor-General of Pakistan was disastrous as indeed Pakistan suffered in the allocation of assets and in the boundary awards, (next chapter) and in the accession of the Princely States. So far they are only saying that Mountbatten carried out his threat, but they are wrong when they ascribe the outcome to Jinnah's vanity. Jinnah was opposed to Lord Mountbatten becoming the Governor-General of Pakistan, but he was not the candidate himself:

Mountbatten's Press Secretary Alan Campbell- Johnson had received reports that the Muslim League wished to nominate a person with royal blood, but he still persisted in thinking that Jinnah wanted to nominate himself. Let an eye witness Inam Aziz recount what happened in the Delhi Session of the A-IML Council:

Before the Session began, a rumour began to circulate that the Quaid was going to nominate the Nawab of Bhopal, and after acceptance of this proposal, the Quaid would announce his retirement from politics…..He (Jinnah) said the party had now to choose Pakistan's first governor-general. This was greeted by loud cheers but what the Quaid said next changed the gathering's mood to one of disappointment. The Quaid said "I have finished my work, I am like a field marshal who is no longer needed after his army has

become victorious…..At this point Maulana Hasrat Mohani rose and said: "This is not possible. We reject your decision [6]

First Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, then Liaquat Ali Khan and then by acclamation Jinnah's proposal was rejected by the AIML Council. Once we understand that the Quaid-i-Azam had not planned to nominate himself, we can see that his refusal to have Mountbatten as common Governor-General was not based on ambition but on caution, which events vindicated. The other item necessitated by the Indian Independence Act was the bifurcation of the British Indian Armed Forces.

Initially when Liaquat Ali Khan as leader of the Muslim League bloc in the Interim Government had pressed Mountbatten to divide the Armed Forces he made three excuses.

1. Unless a final decision was taken to divide India, he would not divide the Armed Forces.
2. The other excuse was that police and LEA's having proven partial during riots, he needed the army to maintain peace.
3. The division of the Armed Forces would weaken the defense of South Asia as a whole. What made Liaquat wary was that a Supreme Commander's Headquarter in Delhi had been proposed till the period ending in June 1948. This office could acquire permanence without any dislocation, and thus undo partition by military means.

The designated head of the Supreme Commander's Headquarters Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinlech had already expressed himself against Partition. Auchinleck said that Pakistan would be a liability for the British Commonwealth, as a single port at Karachi with only 800 miles of railways up to Lahore would not be adequate resources for the three services, Army, Navy and Air Force. Auchinlech had also said that if Pakistan remained within the British Commonwealth, and India outside, she would be tempted to undo Pakistan by military means, and seek an alliance with Russia.[7] This is in fact what happened in the 1971 War.

F.M. Auchinlech's novel remedy for this challenge was to deprive Pakistan of its own Armed Forces. Before the 3rd June Plan had been announced, Liaquat had been pressing for division while Mountbatten and Auchinlech were equally determined to avoid it. On 18 April 1947 Liaquat wrote to Mountbatten saying post-war demobilization and withdrawal of British forces had provided an opportunity to station the Armed Forces at places where they could be split at the time a political decision to partition India was taken.[8]

Mountbatten was forced now to order Auchinlech to re-organize on the lines suggested by Liaquat and now Auchinleck had to examine a paper already prepared by Lt. General Sir Francis Tuker detailing how to divide the Armed Forces. Tuker was the G.O.C. Eastern Command and had felt the need to draw up such a plan in 1945, even before he

had witnessed the Great Calcutta Killing one year hence.[9] Since Tuker withheld his plan from his memoirs, it is best to reproduce it as he recounted it to Leonard Mosley:

1. India must be partitioned--- therefore the Army must be reclassified into communal units
2. Each communal force must control strong armed police as an internal security force
3. A central impartial force must be formed to step, in and stop the inevitable row which would blow up in the Sikh-Hindu-Muslim areas, and as a ready force to look after external frontiers.
4. The whole should be within a Commonwealth Defense Region.
5. We should not hurry to Indianize the impartial force, but build it well, militarily and communally, till it became the nucleus of an Army which might one day, help to re-unite the sub-continent.; and
6. That before any decision was made about the form of independence, all the above forces must be in position and ready to take the bump.[10]

The plan read as a whole shows that a united India remained the ultimate goal of Sir Francis Tuker, but as a Lt. General and G.O.C. East, he was recommending the necessary military precautions in view of a violent situation that he anticipated regardless of whether a decision was taken to divide India or not.

Lord Mountbatten and Liaquat Ali Khan both had not known of Tuker's Plan. Auchinlech knew and Lord Mountbatten's Chief of Staff Lord Ismay knew. On 2 June Tuker had pleaded with Ismay to put at least the part relating to an impartial force in action, Ismay turned him down, saying that "Nehru would never agree to it." [11]

Thus not only the Great Calcutta Killings but the Partition Riots had been foreseen, and could have been prevented, but for Lord Mountbatten's deference to the wishes of Jawaharlal Nehru. Auchinlech would have prevaricated further but then the Muslim League leadership learnt that Hindu officers were intending to seize power through a *coup d'état*. Such a step would obliterate all political settlements.

That the Congress was complicit in the plot is apparent from what Jinnah told Mountbatten on 23 April:

After full deliberate consideration he (Jinnah) had come to the conclusion that Congress wanted to seize power by a *coup d'état*. This could only be prevented by a quick decision to split the Army. The longer the Army was kept unified, the more was the position endangered. A few days previously the Congress General Secretary had publicly stated that he and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan would be the first to be taken prisoner.[12]

Although the nucleus of a Pakistan Army with 70 per cent Muslims and 30 per cent Hindus was at hand by Independence Day, the organization and equipment was far from complete. However the delay made on what proved to be specious grounds was calamitous and the result was admitted by Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinlech himself:

I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that the present India Cabinet are implacably

determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on a firm basis. In this, I am supported by the unanimous opinion of my senior officers, and indeed by all British officers cognizant of the situation. No one was more strongly opposed to partition than myself if only for military and strategic reasons….

The authors of it are too strongly imbued with the implacable determination to remove any thing which is likely to prevent their own ends, which are to prevent Pakistan receiving her just share, or indeed anything of the large stocks of reserve arms, equipment, stores etc. held in the arsenals and depots of India.[13]

Sir Claude Auchinlech however would not confess that had he not delayed action on Tuker's Plan and Liaquat's Paper, the division of military assets could have been complete before Independence. The financial assets would fare no better. Liaquat Ali Khan as the last Finance Member of united India had presented an egalitarian budget which he said was based on Islamic principles which taxed the rich and spared the poor.

This was resented by Congress because the number of Hindu rich was more than the number of Muslim rich. The Congress however could not put the budget to vote because the Hindu poor were also many more than the Muslim poor. Still this led to the Congress determination to block any amount from reaching Pakistan.

Stanley Wolpert has shown how since independence, Nehru and Patel had been resisting having to give Pakistan its share of Rs. 550 million.[14] This was the amount due to Pakistan in the Indian estimate says Ayesha Jalal.[15]Britain had not felt the iniquity of its attitude. "A suggestion [by P.J. Noel-Baker on 8 November 1947]that Britain should press India to come to terms with Pakistan on the financial assets by refusing to make further releases of sterling balances was shouted down by Cripps in harmony with Atlee."[16]

At this stage, the intervention by Mahatma Gandhi that he would fast unto death unless India paid Pakistan its share of the financial assets was a lifeline from an unexpected quarter. Of course it has been suggested that since the Governor-General and Prime Minister of India, Lord Mountbatten and Jawaharlal Nehru had removed and isolated Gandhi from any position of influence in Independent India, Gandhi had acted in retaliation. Certainly relations between Gandhi and Nehru were nowhere near their solidarity in the aftermath of the Great Calcutta Killings. When Gandhi had concurred with Jinnah in granting independence to a united Bengal, Congress reprimanded him.[17] He had been "severely reprimanded" for saying that in Kashmir the people and not the Maharaja mattered. [18]

By the end of November Gandhi was calling Nehru a "king" and asking for Congress to be replaced by many bodies like the Gao Sevak Sangh.[19]However, M. A. Jinnah himself did not take a cynical view of Gandhi's fast to force India to transfer assets to Pakistan. When Gandhi's intervention resulted in his assassination, he paid him tributes while presiding over the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

May be the red waters that had flown down the bridge were disregarded and Jinnah recalled the scene in Bombay 1915 when as Chairman of the Reception Committee, he had welcomed Gandhi back to India:

He was a man of principles and when he was convinced and when he believed that is was his duty, he took it upon his shoulders to perform it and his tragic death occurred in the discharge of his duty. However much it may be deplored and condemned, it was a noble death.[20]

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 6

1. On 18 July 1947 in the British Parliament in_____, "The Indian Independence Bill" was presented.
2. The Independence Act also provided that until the promulgation of the constitution, the Government of India _____ 1935 would be the basis of governance.
3. Jinnah was opposed to Lord Mountbatten becoming the _____ of Pakistan, but he was not the candidate himself.
4. F.M. Auchinlech's novel remedy for this challenge was to deprive _____ of its own Armed Forces.
5. Jinnah declared the _____ of Gandhi as a noble death.

QUESTIONS

1. Was the Indian Independence Act 1947 satisfactory to the Muslim League? If not explain why?
2. Who was responsible for the Great Calcutta Killing August1946?
3. What was the plan of General Sir Francis Tuker?
4. Why did Lord Mountbatten sideline Gandhi?
5. How did FM Sir Claude Auchinleck delay the partition of the Indian Armed Forces?

5.7 THE RADCLIFFE AWARD

The Radcliffe Award was the instrument by which the partition of India was carried out. This became necessary because Congress had insisted on dividing the provinces, Punjab and Bengal, otherwise provincial and state boundaries were already known. Sir Cyril Radcliffe had been appointed the head of the Boundary Commissions by the British and had been told to have his awards ready before 15 August 1947. Radcliffe had his Award on Bengal ready by 9 August and on Punjab ready by 11 August, but Mountbatten held back the Awards till after 15 August. On 24 February 1992, H.C. Beaumont the secretary to Radcliffe admitted to the Press that the Award had been altered at the last moment. This iniquitous Award cost lives, honor and property in the millions.

There were two Commissions for demarcating the boundaries between India and Pakistan, One for Bengal, one for Punjab. It would also supervise referendum in Sylhet. For Bengal would be Justices C. C. Biswas and B. K. Mukherji representing India and

Abu Saleh Muhammad Akram and S.A. Rahman representing Pakistan. For the Punjab would be Justices Tej Singh and Mehr Chand Mahajan representing India and Din Muhammad and Muhammad Munir representing Pakistan. The chairman for both commissions would be a British barrister, Sir Cyril Radcliffe.

5.7.1 The Appointment of Radcliffe

There is a myth given rise to by Alan Campbell-Johnson, Lord Mountbatten's Press Secretary that the name of Radcliffe had been suggested by the Quaid-i-Azam. This was meant to show the people of Pakistan, that if they thought that the Radcliffe Award was unfair, they had only their own leader to blame. The records completely bely such an assertion. Lord Ismay, the Chief of the Viceroy's Staff wrote to Lord Mountbatten:
I took the opportunity of dropping a hint---without of course mentioning names---that if they were to decide to ask for an independent British Chairman, we had got a possible candidate who would be quite first class. This was with the Secretary of State's telegram about Sir Cyril Radcliffe.[2]

This disposes of the imputation that Radcliffe's appointed was suggested by Indian leaders. It was on 23 June that Mountbatten had first mentioned Radcliffe's name to Jinnah, and Jinnah had asked for more time to consider whether Radcliffe would be suitable as Chairman of the Boundary Commissions. The remark made by Jinnah was a non-committal one: "He knew of him and the high reputation he held at the Bar."[3]

In fact the Muslim League had not originally intended to make a British citizen the arbiter. On 7 June, the Muslim League had asked for three foreign, impartial and experienced members appointed by the United Nations. Although initially Mountbatten thought the suggestion the best solution, [4] he had to give way to Nehru on the ground that it would delay the matter.

5.7.2 The Terms of Reference

For The Punjab: The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

For Bengal: The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

For Sylhet: In the event of referendum in Sylhet District of Assam resulting in favor of amalgamation in Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission for Bengal will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts.5

There was to be referendum for NWFP also to which we shall come later. The main feature of the Terms of Reference above was that the decision of the Chairman Sir Cyril

Radcliffe would be final. For such a vast undertaking the arbiter would have to be immune from fear or favor. Indeed Lord Ismay has argued for the soundness of the Radcliffe Awards on the basis that Radcliffe accepted no renumeration for his task.[6]This was contrary to the facts and the role of Lord Ismay in this whole affair has been so sordid that one cannot say with confidence that he was misrepresenting the facts knowingly, or unknowingly.

Lord Jowitt had approached Radcliffe on the Secretary of State's behalf, and a sum of 5000 pounds was mentioned in addition to free accommodation and travel grants to his wife and children for more than one trip to India. Lord Jowitt thought these terms considerable, but justified them on the basis of Radcliffe's standing at the bar and the magnitude of the task.[7] Lord Listowell, the Secretary of State who had replaced Pethick-Lawrence concurred: "the conditions suggested are not out of proportion to the importance of the work." [8]

Gurdaspur: Gurdaspur, a Muslim majority district was not important in itself; its importance was that it provided India an all-weather access to Kashmir. The British were seized of this point and the reader shall recall that in the brief prepared by the Cabinet Delegation for talks with Jinnah it was proposed to offer half of Punjab without Gurdaspur. This was really about Kashmir.

V.P. Menon wrote to George Abell a secret letter on 23 January 1946, *before* the Cabinet Delegation arrived two months later. Abell was Private Secretary to the Viceroy and V.P. Menon was Reforms Commissioner. The following excerpt from his letter shows how far back the intrigues went:

With the exclusion of the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur, the corresponding figures would be 1.5 million and 2.2 million, so that the majority would now fall in Hindustan, although a substantial minority would still be left in Pakistan. On the whole the best plan would be to exclude these two districts from the Western Zone.[9]

Next V. Krishna Menon wrote to Lord Mountbatten on 14 June

There would be dire consequences for Anglo Indian relations if the State of Jammu and Kashmir were permitted to go to Pakistan.[10]Not content with such an extra -ordinary communication; Jawaharlal Nehru himself wrote to Mountbatten the following letter:

If any attempt is made to push Kashmir into the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, there is likely to be much trouble because the National Conference is not in favor of it and the Maharaja's position would also become very difficult. The normal and obvious course appears to be for Kashmir to join the Constituent Assembly of India. This will satisfy both the popular demand and the Maharaja's wishes. It is absurd to think that Pakistan would create trouble if this happens.[11]

Jawaharlal Nehru had more than a sentimental attachment to Kashmir. His motive was to use the dispute to undo Pakistan. A few months later when India's first envoy to Pakistan, Sri Prakasa suggested to Nehru that Kashmir be given to Pakistan for the sake of peace; Nehru had bristled with anger:

I was amazed that you hinted at Kashmir being handed over to Pakistan….the fact is that Kashmir is of the most vital significance to India. Kashmir is going to be a drain on our resources, but it is going to be a greater drain on Pakistan.[12]

In deference to Nehru's sentiments Lord Mountbatten himself entered the public debate about Gurdaspur. In his press conference on 4 June 1947, Mountbatten said:

In the district of Gurdaspur in the Punjab the population is 50.5 percent Muslim, I think, and 49.6 percent non-Muslim. With a difference of 0.8 point percent, you will see at once it is unlikely that the Boundary Commission will throw the whole of the District in the Muslim majority area.[13]

Justice Din Muhammad on 5 August 1947 refuted the figures supplied by the Viceroy. He cited the 1941 census figures to show that the Muslim population of Gurdaspur was 51.14 percent and as such the Muslim majority was 2.28 and not 0.8 as maintained by Mountbatten.[14]

One consequence of Mountbatten's press conference had been to alert the Muslim League of the possibility that Gurdaspur would be awarded to India. The Pakistan members of the Boundary Commission had misgivings from the beginning. When they learnt that their reports would not be sent up and only Radcliffe's report would be sent up to the Governor-General they had offered to resign.[15]

The Muslim League persuaded the judges not to adopt this course. The next time they offered to resign when they learnt that the whole of Gurdaspur had been awarded to India. The Muslim League again asked them to remain, but this time Liaquat Ali Khan sent Choudhry Muhammad Ali (both future prime ministers of Pakistan) to protest. Lord Ismay demurred:

In the first place, I am told that the final report of Sir Cyril Radcliffe is not ready and therefore, I do not know on what grounds you have for saying that Gurdaspur *has been* allotted to the east Punjab. Secondly, if this be the case, you surely do not expect the Viceroy to suggest to Sir Cyril Radcliffe that he should make any alteration. Still less can I believe that you intend to imply that the Viceroy has influenced the Award.[16]

This was deception on all three counts. Choudhry Muhammad Ali was not taken in by these protestations:

I said it was unnecessary for me to explain further since the line already drawn on the map indicated the boundary I had been talking about. Ismay turned pale and asked in

confusion who had been fooling with his map. This line differed from the final boundary in only one respect----the Muslim majority tehsils of Ferozepur and Zira in the Ferozepur district was still on the side of Pakistan. [17]

Ferozepur and Zira: This account suffices to show that the Radcliffe Awards were altered in two phases. Choudhry Muhammad Ali's account is amply supported by Sir George Abell's letter to Sir Evan Jenkins, which enclosed a rough map of Radcliffe's demarcation. Leonard Mosley takes another line:

In any case to take down a map over the telephone is obviously a chancy business. And the matter might have rested there, had it not happened that Sir Evan Jenkins left the sketch map in his safe when he departed for England on 15 August. The Governor of West Punjab, who took over Jenkin's office in Lahore, was an Englishman Sir Francis Mudie. He found the map. Instead of sending it on to Sir Evan Jenkins, or the India Office Records Department he passed it on to Mr.Jinnah.[18]

Like Liaquat Ali Khan, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru had also received information that Gurdaspur had been given to India, but this did not satisfy him. He wrote that Radcliffe's mind seemed to be working in the direction of giving Ferozepur and Zira in compensation for Gurdaspur.[19]The word "compensation" should not mislead us in thinking that Ferozepur and Zira were Hindu majority areas; they were Muslim majority areas.

Jawaharlal Nehru had been alerted by the Maharaja of Bikaner that Ferozepur and Zira were being allotted to Pakistan. Needless to say Nehru was not chastised for saying that an Award had already been made, his information only set the Government machinery in motion, and Radcliffe received a telegram through the Governor of Punjab saying: "Eliminate Salient"[20]Salient describes Ferozepur and Zira, not Gurdaspur.

This brings us to H. Christopher Beaumont's confession that (a) the awards were altered in respect of Ferozepur and Zira, but not in respect of Gurdaspur. (b) The awards were altered at a luncheon meeting between Radcliffe and Mountbatten from which he had been deliberately excluded. [21] As to the first, we have seen that Gurdaspur had not been altered; from the beginning, Radcliffe had yielded to Mountbatten's suggestion in his press conference that Gurdaspur be outrightly given to India. As to the second; Beaumont had not seen, or had been unable to decipher or had forgotten the telegram calling for removing the salient.

H. C. Beaumont's confession however was not a revelation. On 26 February 1948 Philip Noel-Baker wrote to Clement Atlee:

Mr. (Arthur) Henderson states that Sir Cyril Radcliffe told him that he showed the first draft of the proposed Award to the Authorities and that on further consideration he made the Award in terms which departed from the first draft. [22]

Here also the original typescript is reproduced. A hand written addition by Noel-Baker suggested warning Sir Zafrullah Khan from pursuing the matter of the Mountbatten-Radcliffe collusion. Later the British Government dismissed Philip Noel-Baker because Jawaharlal Nehru had complained that he was "unsympathetic to India".

5.7.3 Delay in Announcing Radcliffe Award

The Partition riots took place because of the partition of the provinces, and because the Radcliffe Award though in Mountbatten's hand on 11 August was announced two days after Independence. On 13 July Mountbatten visited Lahore, where he was told by the Governor Sir Evan Jenkins:

Asked the Viceroy at all costs to get hold of Sir Cyril Radcliffe's report and announce it *before* 15 August, to stop panic and the mad hurrying to and fro of populations from one Dominion to the other. He suggested that a force be moved into the area along the likely line of the new border to preserve peace. And he ended…For it is the Dominion Boundary that it is question and not a Provincial Boundary only.[23]

When Lord Mountbatten visited Lahore on 20 July and there, the Punjab Partition Committee urged him to "get hold of the Boundary award and announce it before 15 August." [24]. Due to Mountbatten's utter disregard for human lives, in spite of such entreaties from the relevant authorities he suppressed the Radcliffe awards till after the Independence celebrations. All the blood that was spilled in the Punjab was due to the vanity of Lord Mountbatten.

No award in history has produced human misery on the scale or for as long as the Radcliffe Award. There is no point in blaming Jawaharlal Nehru or the Maharaja of Bikaner. They had not set themselves up as impartial arbitrators.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. There were _____ Commissions for demarcating the boundaries between India and Pakistan, One for Bengal, one for Punjab.
2. The chairman for both commissions would be a _____barrister, Sir Cyril Radcliffe.
3. There was to be _____ for NWFP also to which we shall come later.
4. Justice Din Muhammad on 5 August 1947 refuted the figures supplied by the _____.
5. All the blood that was spilled in the _____ was due to the vanity of Lord Mountbatten.

QUESTIONS

1. Who was Sir Cyril Radcliffe? Who suggested his appointment?
2. What was the importance of Gurdaspur? Was it a Muslim majority district?
3. Why did the governors of Punjab and Bengal want an early announcement of the Radcliffe Awards?
4. Why was the announcement of the Radcliffe Awards delayed?

5. What was the disclosure made by H. Christopher Beaumont in 1992. Who was he?

ANSWERS OF THE SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. Lucknow Pact	2. 1927	3. Nehru Report
4. Division	5. Mahasabha	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. RTC	2. Shafi	3. Jinnah
4. Ambedkar	5. Princes	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Agriculturist	2. Scheme	3. Mahmudabad
4. British	5. Khaksar	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. August	2. 23	3. Cripps
4. Pakistan	5. Congress	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. System	2. Cripps	3. Action
4. Indian	5. Viceroy	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. London	2. Act	3. Governor-General
4. Pakistan	5. Death	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Two	2. British	3. Referendum
4. Viceroy	5. Punjab	

NOTES AND REFERENCES 1

1. Sheela Reddy, *Mr. and Mrs. Jinnah*, Gurgaon, Penguin/ Viking, 2017,324
2. David Page, *Prelude to Partition*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1987, 172
3. *Ibid.*173
4. Matlubul Hassan Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah A Political Study*, Lahore, Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1945, 428-29

NOTES AND REFERENCES 2

1. Ian Bryant Wells, *Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity*, New Delhi, Permanent Black,2005, p.220
2. *Ibid.* p.224
3. Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, Karachi, Oxford University Press 2002,pp. 121-122
4. Ajeet Javed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, Karachi, 2009, p.184.

NOTES AND REFERENCES 3

1. *Proceedings of the United Provinces Legislative Assembly*, Allahabad, Vol.7, p.171
2. D.A. Pirzada, "The role of the Sindh Muslim League," in Muhammad Ali Sheikh (ed.) *Role of Sindh in the Creation of Pakistan*, Karachi, Sindh Madressatul Islam University, 1998, p.171
3. Ashique Husain Batalvi, *Hamari Qaumi JiddoJahad 1940-1942*, Lahore, Pakistan Times Press.1975, p.98
4. Muhammad Reza Kazimi, *The Raja of Mahmudabad A Political Study*, Karachi, SAMA, 2015, pp. 59-60
5. Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan :All-India Muslim League Documents*, Karachi, National Publishing House, 1969, Volume II, p.425
6. Durga Das, *India From Curzon To Nehru & After*, London, Collins, 1969,p.195
7. Joya Chaterji, *Bengal Divided*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1996, p.33
8. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *Unfinished Memoirs*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp.23-24
9. Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India*, 6 January 1929

10. S. M. Burke and Salim Al Din Quraishi, *The British Raj in India*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1995, p.513

11. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman,*op.cit.*p.78

12. *Jang*, Karachi, 25 August 1985,p.3

13. Hugh Tinker, *Viceroy Curzon to Mountbatten*, Karachi, Oxford University Press ,1997,p.152

14. *The News*, Karachi, 15April 1995.p.1

15. Ashique Husain Batalvi,*op.cit.*p.18

16. Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1989, p.5

17. *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, Fifth Series, Vol.431, pp.1360-1367.

NOTES AND REFERENCES 4

1. H.V. Hodson, The Great Divide: Britain, India, Pakistan, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 3rd Edition, 1989, p.86, note 1

2. Peter Clarke, The Cripps Version, London, Penguin Books, 2003, p282

3. Ibid.p.283.

4. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, Mohammad Ali Jinnah (A Political Study) Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1945, p.755

5. Michael Brecher, Nehru A Political Biography, London, Oxford University Press 1959. PB n.d.,p.277, note1.

6. Ibid.p.278

7. Ibid.

8. Asim Roy, "The High Politics of India's Partition: The Revisionist Perspective." In Mushirul Hasan (ed.) India's Partition, Process, Strategy, Mobilization. Delhi, Oxford University Press,1994,p.114

9. Nicholas Mansergh and E. W. R. Lumby (eds.) *The Transfer of Power*, H.M.S.O.,1970,p. 449

10. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, *op.cit.*p.769

11. *Ibid.*

12. Michael Brecher, *op. cit.* p.279

13. *Ibid*.

14. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid,*op .cit.* pp.778-779

15. *Ibid.*p.783

NOTES AND REFERENCES 5

1. Penderel Moon (ed.) *Wavell The Viceroy's Journal*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1997, p.245 In subsequent references *WJ*

2. S.M. Burke and Salim Al-Din Quraishi, *The British Raj in India*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1995,p.439

3. *WJ* p.303

4. Nicholas Mansergh et. al. (eds.) *The Transfer of Power*, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1979, Vol. VIII, p.501. Subsequently *TP*

5. *Ibid*. 1976, Vol.VI. p.853

6. Sudhir Ghosh, *Gandhi's Emissary*, London, Cresset Press, 1967, p.108.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *TP.* 1977, Vol. VII, p. 1042

9. Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961, p.28

10. Michael Brecher, *Nehru A Political Biography*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999. P. 316

11. Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.222

12. *WJ* pp.341, 342

13. *Ibid.* p.305

14. H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1989, pp.177-178

15. *Hopes and Fears* by a noted journalist. Delhi, 1946 the author wished to remain anonymous, but the Preface was written by Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the historian of the Congress.

16. *TP* vol. VII, p.20

17. *Ibid.* p. 509

18. *Ibid.* pp. 579, 580

19. *Ibid.* 1979, Vol. VIII, p.490

20. *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, File No.12, pp.91-94

21. H.N. Mitra and N.N. Mitra (eds.), *Indian Annual Register*, Delhi, Gian Publishing House, 1990, p.182

22. *WJ*, p.288

23. *TP,* 1979, Vol. VIII, p.504

24. Muhammad Ashraf (ed.) *Cabinet Mission and After*, Lahore, M. Ashraf, *n.d*. pp.319, 320

25. *WJ*, p.340

26. *Ibid.* p.429

27. H.V. Hodson, *op.cit.*p.292

28. *TP*, 1981, Vol. X. pp. 1013-1014

29. *Ibid.*, 1982, Vol XI, p.106

30. *Ibid.* Vol X. p.825

31. Sailesh Kumar Bandhopadhaya, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*, New Delhi, Sterling, 1991,p.323

32. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah Creator of Pakistan,* Westport, Greenwood Press, rpt. 1981p. 185

33. Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*, Delhi, Vikas, 1976, p.160

34. Leonard Mosley, *op.cit.* p.131

35. Mehrunnisa Ali, *Jinnah on World Affairs*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi,2007, p.386

36. Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman*, Cambridge University Press/ Orient Longman, 1985, p.4

NOTES AND REFERENCES 6

1. Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight,* Delhi, Vikas, 1976, p.202

2. Keesing's Research Report: *Pakistan from 1947 to the Creation of Bangladesh*, New York, Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1973, pp3- 4

3. Ata Rabbani, *I Was the Quaid's ADC*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1996,p.17

4 . Philip Ziegler, *Mountbatten The Official Biography*, London, Book Club Associates, 1985, p.398

5. Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, London, Robert Hale, 1972 (rpt.) pp.123-4

6. Inam Aziz, *Stop Press*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp.7-9

7. Nicholas Mansergh et al. (eds.) *the Transfer of Power* London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office,1977 Vol. VII, p. 801

8. *Ibid*, 1981, Vol. X. p.220

9. Sir Francis Tuker, *While Memory Serves*, London, Cassell, 1950, p.162

10. Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, New York, Harcourt ,Brace and World, 1961, pp. 138-139

11. *Ibid.*, p.146

12. *Transfer of Power*, Vol. X, p. 381

13. John Connell, *Auchinlech A Critical Biography*, London, Cassell, 1959, pp. 920-921

14. Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.253

15. Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule,* Lahore, Vanguard, 1991, p.34

16 . *Ibid.* p.46

17. JoyaChatterji, *Bengal Divided*, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 260

18. Stanley Wolpert, *op.cit.*,p.252

19. S.K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi : Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom*, Calcutta, L. K. Mukhopadhaya, 1966,p.261

20. Constituent Assembly Legislature, Pakistan, Karachi, 1948, Vol. I,p.4

NOTES AND REFERENCES 7

1. Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, London, Robert Hale (rpt.) 1972, p.124

2. Nicholas Mansergh et.al.(eds.) *Transfer of Power*, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1983, Vol. XII, pp. 532-533

3. M. Sa'dullah et. al.(eds.) *Partition of the Punjab*, Lahore, National Documentation Center, 1983, Vol. I, p.54

4. *Ibid.* pp. 29-30

5. *Transfer of Power*, 1982, Vol. XI, p.293

6. Lord Ismay, *The Memoirs of Lord Ismay*, London, Heineman, 1960, p. 442

7. *Transfer of Power* ,1982, Vol. XI, p.342

8. *Ibid.* p.437

9. S.M. Burke and Salim Al Din Quraishi, *The British Raj in India*, Karachi, 1995, p.562ff. These appendices reproduce the original typescripts of the documents.

10. Alistair Lamb, *Kashmir A Disputed Legacy*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1992 pp. 108 and 118

11. *Ibid.*p.109

12. Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi* ,New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.250

13. Lord Mountbatten, *Time Only to Look Forward*, London, N. Faye, 1949, p.30 cited in Choudhry Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Lahore, Wajidalis, 1972,pp.215-216

14. K. Sarwar Hasan and Zubeda Hasan (eds.) *Documents in Foreign Relations: The Transfer of Power*, Karachi, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1966. P.309

15. Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, second edition, Lahore, 1980, p.12

16. Choudhry Muhammad Ali, *op. cit.* pp.215-216

17. *Ibid*, pp.218-219

18. Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of the British Raj* ,New York, Harcourt Brace and World, 1961, p230

19. Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *The Partition of India and Mountbatten*, Karachi, Council for Pakistan Studies, 1986, p.174

20. *India Office Records L/P and J/10/119*

21. For H. Christopher Beaumont's confession, see *Dawn*, Karachi 25 and 27 February 1992.

22. S.M. Burke and Salim Al Din Quraishi, *loc cit.*

23. Leonard Mosley, *op. cit.* ,p.207

24. *Ibid*.

Unit - 06

CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN-I (1947 to 1971)

Written By:
Prof. Dr. Muhammad Reza Kazimi

Reviewed By:
Prof. Dr. Sayed Jaffar Ahmed

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 179
Objectives 179
6.1 Initial problems Faced by Pakistan and Important Events..... 180
6.2 Role of Quaid-i-Azam as Governor General 184
6.3 Objective Resolution..... 188
6.4 Constitution Making Efforts (1950-56)..... 192
6.5 Constitution of Pakistan 1956 201
6.6 Martial Law of 1958..... 204
6.7 Constitution of 1962..... 208
6.8 Presidential election of 1962..... 212
6.9 War of 1965 218
6.10 Downfall of Ayub Khan..... 228
Bibliography 246

INTRODUCTION

Achievement of Pakistan for the Indian Muslims was the result of their constant struggle. After the partition of the sub-continent, the new born Muslim state had to face a number of difficulties. First chapter of this unit includes most of the initial problems faced by Pakistan and some of the important events of the initial days. In those days the role of the first governor general of Pakistan was remarkable. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was declared as Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali just after independence. It was of course a quite unfortunate that the Pakistani nation lost Jinnah one year after the creation of the country.

After the death of Jinnah, the most important political issue was the making of the constitution for the country. In this context, the most important step was taken by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan the then Prime minister of the state. It was the approval of Objectives Resolution by the constituent assembly. In the next pages, we would seek to discuss the making of Constitution and then the first constitution of Pakistan 1956.

The next part of this unit highlights the abrogation of the constitution and the imposing of Martial Law by the president Iskandar Mirza in 1958. The year of 1962 brought two important factors for the nation; first, the constitution of 1962 and the presidential elections of the same year. The war of 1965 ended with the successful defence of the country but was the start of downfall for Ayub Khan.

OBJECTIVES

After reading of this chapter you would able to know and realize:

1. The Initial Problems faced by the country and the efforts of Quaid-I-Azam as the first governor general of Pakistan.
2. The struggle of the political leaders in order to reach a consensus on the constitution, of the nation after the death of Quaid-i-Azam, the founder of the country and Liaquat Ali Khan, the most reliable and honest companion of the founder of the nation.
3. Reasons of delay in constitution-making, the fate of the constitution and imposition of Martial Law.
4. The presidential elections of 1965 and the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965.
5. Reasons of the failure of Presidential System of Government and downfall of Ayub Khan.
6. Reasons of insecurities of the Bengalis living in their own country by their own masters, the reasons of war of 1971 and the role of foreign powers in this context.

6.1 INITIAL PROBLEMS FACED BY PAKISTAN AND IMPORTANT EVENTS

No country began with more disadvantages than Pakistan. It had no infrastructure; it had not been considered economically viable, yet its financial assets were withheld from it. The Supreme British Commander Auchinleck had written in a paper that Pakistan's defense would be weak, yet he initially opposed the division of the Armed Forces. After Partition it was Auchinleck who testified that Indian Government was preventing Pakistan from receiving its share of arms and ammunition. Princely states in the Punjab were deliberately exterminating Muslims, causing riots and massive influx of refugees. Afghanistan had opposed the entry of Pakistan to the U.N. Pakistan had no administrative structure, in spite of these forbidding circumstances, Pakistan has survived.

The British agreed to the creation of Pakistan in the expectation that it would not survive. The wartime government led by Winston Churchill had conceded the principle of Pakistan through the 1942 Cripps Mission. The Labor government headed by Clement Atlee attacked the principle of Pakistan through the 1946 Cabinet Delegation. Lord Mountbatten had threatened Quaid-i-Azam that if he were not made the Governor-General, Pakistan would suffer and even its existence would be at stake.

6.1.1 Lack of Infrastructure

Lord Mountbatten did everything in his power to make good his threat. Both Military and Financial Assets of Pakistan were withheld. Pakistan was the only nation state to emerge without an infrastructure. Both colonial era capitals, Calcutta and Delhi were denied to it. Karachi was the only city connecting all routes, sea, rail and road. But Sindh itself had become a province only 10 years before the creation of Pakistan, with an acute shortage of administrative and residential housing. The Sindh Muslim League did not want Karachi to be taken over by the federal government. The Government of Pakistan, awaiting its share of assets, offered compensation to the Government of Sindh, but the compensation was considered insufficient. Only on 23 July 1947 could Karachi formally become Pakistan's capital.

In such forbidding circumstances, the government employees who had opted for Pakistan were dedicated, devoted and indefatigable. The employees of the first generation worked under trees, utilizing their own resources to bring essential furniture and stationery. Their efforts bore fruit and as against the expectation of Lord Mountbatten and the Congress, Pakistan turned the corner. During these months the Pakistan Armed Forces without requisite equipment were nevertheless were being organized.

6.1.2 Riots and Refugees

Riots had been rampant before, but as partition approached, the Princely states of the Punjab in particular, began organized pogroms. The Raja of Bharatpur from 29 May onwards encouraged, if he did not organize, the extermination of the Muslim Meos. The Meos in their south ward journey burnt some villages in Alwar. On 25 July the Maharaja of Alwar ordered a complete extermination of the Meos. In their policy of exterminating Muslims the rajas of Bharatpur and Alwar were joined by the rajas of Jaipur, Nabha and Patiala whopooled their resources for killing Muslims.[1]

Kapurthala riots show how a majority without arms is vulnerable. It had a population of 56.5 per cent Muslims yet: "Armed Sikhs with the support of the state police and the state's military, killed or forced out the entire Muslim population."[2]The Government of Pakistan estimated Muslim refugees at 7.8 million and the Government of India stated that over 5 million non-Muslims moved from West Pakistan.

The most gruesome feature was the massacre of whole trains on both sides. The exodus of non-Muslims was not planned. Pakistan was faced with a crisis due to the exodus of non-Muslim professionals. Both the influx and the outflow was harmful to Pakistan. On 9 January1948 the Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General warned Muslim refugees: "not to abuse the hospitality that had been extended to them." [3]Mohammad Ali Jinnah had said on 25 October 1947:

I have refrained as far as possible from apportioning blame between the Hindus as a community or the Muslims as a community. But I must make it clear that I deplore and condemn without reserve the horrible deeds of killing and destruction that have taken place irrespective of their place of occurrence or origin.[4]

6.1.3 Foreign Relations

Pakistan had the misfortune of gaining independence when the Cold War had already begun. Pakistan became a Dominion by virtue of joining the British Commonwealth of Nations. In practical terms it was self- governing like Canada or India, but the titular head of state, till Pakistan promulgated a constitution was King George VI. Commonwealth membership was necessary for procuring military and financial aid and it was because of the Muslim League initiative that India too applied for membership.

Although the United States was the only country to send an official delegate to the 14 August Independence celebrations, the leaders of Pakistan recalled that the U.S. had initially tried to dissuade the Muslim League from opting for Partition; it did not favor close relations with it. On month before Independence, Liaquat Ali Khan had said of the Americans: "We do not dislike them, we just feel that there is nothing in common".

About Russia, Liaquat in the same interview said: "Soviet Union is an uncertain factor and her materialism is repugnant to Muslims."[5]. Since Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had floated the Pakhtoonistan demand, Pakistan suspected that he had the backing of Russia. The U.S.S.R was the only country not to officially congratulate Pakistan on its creation. Pakistan chose to rely on Britain at a time when Britain was conciliating India.

When Pakistan applied for membership to the United Nations, Afghanistan opposed its entry, refusing to recognize the Durand Line 1893 and claiming large parts of Pakistan as its territory---the Pakhtoonistan issue. In this matter Britain sided with Pakistan, and due to the efforts of Saidullah Khan, the Personal Representative of the Governor-General, Afghanistan withdrew its opposition on 20 October 1947.

The notion of a state based on religion had become anachronistic---outdated. Pandit Nehru had put about that Pakistan was the result of an Imperial conspiracy and due to this propaganda in the Middle East, Pakistan was considered a non-Arab interloper, especially by Egypt. Except for Iran and Turkey, Pakistan did not have well-wishers even in the Muslim world.

Pakistan was practically bereft of industries. To compound the crisis, western countries would not sell to Pakistan the components and parts of those industries already existing in India. Only East European countries strapped of hard cash agreed to supply, and the industrialization of Pakistan could begin. The other steps taken to achieve economic independence shall be discussed in the next chapter.

6.1.4 Accession of the States

The accession of Princely states was a major source of anxiety, not only for the unresolved Kashmir dispute that imposed a war upon Pakistan before the organization of the Pakistan Army was complete, and before it had rid itself of British commanders. We have already discussed under the Radcliffe Awards how and since when, a conspiracy to deprive Pakistan of Kashmir had been under way. Another reason for postponing consideration is that the Maharaja of Kashmir, while he had not acceded to Pakistan, had actually not acceded also to India, as the original signed Instrument of Accession has not surfaced.

However, the disputed nature of Kashmir cast its shadow over Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar. They were most willing to accede to Pakistan, but because the Maharaja of Kashmir claimed to be the overlord of these principalities, the Dominion of Pakistan was wary of complicating matters. It is true that Hunza paid tribute to Kashmir, but it also paid tribute to China and was claimed by China as well. The legal position had been explained by the British Agent Col. Fraser as far back as 5 June 1941:

1. Hunza and Nagar though these are under the suzerainty of the Kashmir State, they are not part of Kashmir but are separate states
2. Chilas. Koh Ghizr, Ishkoman and Yasin. Though these are under the suzerainty of Kashmir State, but they are not part of Kashmir State, but tribal areas.[7]

Thus Pakistan was treading warily and had put off the Raja of Indore when he wished to accede to Pakistan[8], therefore we need to look a bit carefully for the causes that made Pakistan accept the accession of Junagadh, a State with a Muslim ruler but Hindu majority. Apart from sending in troops to block the accession, India wrote to the Government of Pakistan:

The action of Pakistan is considered by the Government of India to be a clear attempt to cause disruption in the integrity of India by extending the influence and boundaries of the Dominion of Pakistan in utter violation of the principles on which Partition was agreed upon and effected.[9]
Lord Ismay gave his view that one of the main objects of the PakistanGovernment was to use Junagadh as a bargaining counter for Kashmir. [10]

Thus a principle for accession was elicited and no more could be expected, with an Army yet to become organized and independent. The Balochistan states: Las Bela, Kharan and Mekran were most willing to accede to Pakistan, but the largest, Kalat, proved reluctant although the accession of these states would leave Kalat with hardly any territory.

In both houses of the Kalat Assembly Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Maulvi Muhammad Umar stated that Balochistan was not an Indian state at all. Instead of accession they preferred a relation based on a treaty.[11]As far as Kalat's assertion that it was now an independent country was concerned, Pakistan had agreed, and both delegations waited on Lord Mountbatten together. As the Viceroy stated in his Report of 25 July 1947:
The Kalat State's representatives claimed that they were an independent sovereign state in treaty relations with the British Government. The Pakistan States Department readily agreed to this view since, in their opinion the successor authority in India would inherit any treaty obligations with foreign states on behalf of India, whereas of course the Indian Independence Bill renounces all treaties entered into with Indian states….If the Khan of Kalat insists on his independent status, it will cost him the leased territory including Quetta…a high price to pay for vanity.[12]

As long as Balochistan was secure in its assumption that it was not an Indian state, it offered resistance, but as soon as an All-India Radio broadcast claimed that Kalat had offered to accede to India, there was alarm and Ahmad Yar Khan, the Khan of Kalat acceded to Pakistan from the day of the AIR broadcast 27March 1948.Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo continued his opposition for a long time as did Prince Karim, nevertheless Pakistan was greatly strengthened by the accession of Kalat.

Since Balochistan had never been a regular province, it had no Governor, and while Kalat had a bicameral legislature, Balochistan as a whole had none. As an immediate measure the Governor-General took charge of the province, but his demise on 11 September 1948, barely 13 months after the creation was another blow. Mohammad Ali Jinnah as the first Governor-General of Pakistan forms the theme of the next chapter.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 1

1. Princely states in the Punjab were deliberately exterminating Muslims, causing riots and massive influx of _____.
2. The _____ was the only country to send an official delegate to the 14 August Independence celebrations.

3. The _____ of the first generation worked under trees, utilizing their own resources to bring essential furniture and stationery.
4. In initial days, except for Iran and Turkey, Pakistan did not have well-wishers even in the _____ world.
5. Disputed nature of _____cast its shadow over Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar.

QUESTIONS

1. Why did Britain want to please Congress?
2. Describe the extent and barbarity of the communal riots in 1947
3. Riots cause Partition or did Partition cause riots?
4. Has any state other than Pakistan being founded without infrastructure?
5. Why was Pakistan not expected to survive?

6.2 ROLE OF QUAID-I-AZAM AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The constitutional role of Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General of the Dominion of Pakistan was a necessity during the formative phase of Pakistan. The Government of India Act 1935 could be adapted to the Indian Independence Act 1947. The ideological concept that Jinnah had of Pakistan would become apparent, as would the practical and ideological compulsions of a Muslim majority state. Pakistan and religious minorities, Economic preferences of the Quaid-i-Azam, Inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan, His illness and stay at Ziarat and his death after arriving at Karachi in 1948: are some of the salient features to be covered in this chapter, which covers the same time period as the previous chapter.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as we have seen in a previous chapter, had wanted to block Lord Mountbatten's attempt to become the Governor-General of Pakistan had nominated the Nawab of Bhopal former Chancellor, Chamber of Princes instead. On 9 July 1947 he had announced his intention to retire but was pre-empted by Hasrat Mohani and the A-IML Council. One reason, was his health. He had been diagnosed as having cancer of the lungs and he knew he had not long to live.

Liaquat Ali Khan was the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, and the leader of the Muslim League block in the Interim Government with the Finance portfolio. His appointment as Prime Minister was expected. The Cabinet of Pakistan was a distinguished one and as we have seen; from the highest to the lowest ranking functionary was dedicated towards making Pakistan survive and thrive.

The Quaid-i-Azam's speech of 11 August 1947 with its constitutional implications shall best be discussed in the next chapter. Here the constitutional basis of his powers and policy shall be spelled out:

The basic law pending the promulgation of a constitution would be the Indian Independence Act 1947. Under clause (c) sub-section (1) Section 9 of this Act the Governor-General was authorized to make such provisions as appeared to him to be necessary or 'for making omissions from, additions to and adaptations and modifications of the Government of India Act 1935; and the Orders-in-Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, in their application to the separate new Domninons'[1]

Basically it meant that the Indian Independence Act 1947 adapted to the Government of India Act 1935 would provide the transitory structure. As noted earlier, this would be an anomaly, because, the Federal portion of the G.O.I. Act 1935 had never come into operation before independence, except perhaps the powers of the Viceroy under it, and it required a very scrupulous Governor-General to exercise powers under it, and the Quaid-i-Azam as a constitutional lawyer, was eminently suited.

6.2.1 Dismissal of the NWFP Congress Government

This act of the Quaid-i-Azam has been subject to criticism as being undemocratic, since the Congress government had come in duly elected, but they do not acknowledge that a referendum had intervened. The referendum, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan declared:
Now, as India has disowned us, why should we have a referendum on Hindustan or Pakistan? Let it be on Pakhtoonistan or Pakistan [2]

However, on this score, Lord Mountbatten could not oblige. When the leaders of Bengal had said they wanted a third option, independence with unity, Congress had opposed it. Once discarded in Bengal, it could not be re-introduced for the North-Western Frontier Province. On 7 July, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's brother and Chief Minister Dr. Khan Sahib declared that : "If the Pathans voted to join Pakistan, he would resign." [3]Ten days later, he changed his tune, "It is for my party to decide whether to resign or not. Last time, I gave purely my personal opinion, subject to the condition that the Referendum will be honest, free and fair, but it is just the opposite." [4]

Since Pakistan had not yet come into being, even if the Referendum had been rigged, the Government of Pakistan could not be held responsible. The writing on the wall was there for all to see, once Jawaharlal Nehru was pelted with stones during his tour of the N-WFP; even with a Congress ministry in power. Another indication of the changing trend was that the Muslims of Kohat had turned on the Hindus and Sikhs in retaliation for the Bihar riots. Most unfortunate, but indicative of rising communal feelings among the Pathans.

Why then the Referendum held between 6 and 17 July which yielded 50.49 per cent in favor of Pakistan was called unfair by the sitting Chief Minister, was revealed by his brother: "As we took no part in the referendum, the Muslim League had no hurdles to cross." [5]

If the Referendum had been unrepresentative, the Pathans would not have turned on the State of Jammu and Kashmir, seeking to rescue their compatriots in Poonch. The provision under which the N-WFP ministry was dismissed was Section 51(5):
In the exercise of his functions under this section with respect to the choosing and summoning and the Governor shall be under the general control of, and comply with such particular directions if any, as may from time to time, be given to him by the Governor-General.[6]

What did Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan gain by trying to jeopardize the establishment of Pakistan, before even the transfer of power? Years later, in January 1980 this conversation took place with Haroon Siddiqui, an Indian journalist:
HS: You mean the idea of Greater Pakhtoonistan is dead? Or do you mean that the concept does exist but that its not causing any problems?

AGK: The idea never helped us. In fact, it was never a reality. Successive Afghan governments just exploited it for their own political ends. It was only towards the end of his regime that Daoud Khan had stopped talking about it…Our people suffered greatly because of all this.[7]

The reason was that, all of Afghanistan is not Pakhtoon. A *Pakhtoonistan* would comprise some areas of Pakistan and some parts of Afghanistan just as the Punjab and Bengal are divided between India and Pakistan.

6.2.2 The Inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan

Although the Quaid-i-Azam was ill, he travelled back to Karachi to inaugurate the State Bank of Pakistan. This signified not only Pakistan's solvency but also viability. The ceremony took place on 1st July 1948. On that occasion he said:
The policy of the Pakistan Government is to stabilize prices at a level that would be fair to the producer as well as to consumers. I hope your efforts will be directed in the same direction in order to tackle this crucial problem with success. I shall watch with keenness the work of your Research Organization in evolving practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world.[8]

This is a major policy statement signifying that Pakistan would follow Islamic principles which include *zakat*, and a system free of usury and exploitation, a ban on hoarding and cheating on weights and measures. This was not just the economic policy of the new state, but the moral fabric on which it would rest. This was his last public appearance in Karachi and only 20 days later his doctor was summoned to Ziarat.

6.2.3 Education and Nation-building

Although his health was rapidly declining, the Quaid-i-Azam never forgot that theAll-India Muslim League had been nurtured by the All-India Muslim Educational

Conference. An All-Pakistan Educational Conference was called at Karachi from 27 to 30 November 1947 for which Jinnah had the following message:
There is immediate and urgent need for giving scientific and technical education to our people in order to build up our future economic life and to see that our people take to science, commerce, trade and particularly well-planned industries. We should not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction.
At the same time, we have to build up the character of our future generation. We should try with sound education, to instill into them the highest sense of honor, integrity, responsibility and selfless service to the nation.[9]

It is for us to judge how far, after 70 years, we have fulfilled the hope of the Father of the Nation.

6.2.4 Illness and Death

Quaid-i-Azam was already very seriously ill when Pakistan came into being. While we evaluate his achievements, we must keep this in mind. Twenty days after he had inaugurated the State Bank of Pakistan, Dr. Ilahi Bakhsh was sent to Ziarat. In Ziarat he had a partial recovery, but that proved to be illusory. Dr. J.A.L. Patel had X-Rays taken which showed cavities in both lungs. The atmosphere at Ziarat although pure was also becoming strenuous for being at a height.

When earlier practically all hopes of the Quaid-i-Azam's survival had vanished we had, to avoid the complications which might arise in the event of his dying at Quetta, decided to take him to Karachi. But on seeing some signs of improvement, I changed my mind. On the one hand there was no doubt that the high altitude was wearing down his resistance and, on the other hand there was in his precarious condition a distinct risk in exposing him to the risk of an air journey.

Unfortunately the improvement was temporary. He bore his air journey well, but he was stranded in the heat at Mauripur when the ambulance sent to escort him broke down. Quaid-i-Azam arrived two hours later at his Karachi residence having endured heat and perspiration. Dr. Mistry, Dr Shah and Dr. Ilahi Bakhsh were in constant attendance. This is how the last named describes his last conversation with the Quaid-i-Azam:
Sir, we have given you an injection to strengthen you, and it will soon have effect.God willing, you are going to live'. The Quaid-i-Azam shook his head and said faintly, 'No I am not.' These were the last words he spoke to anybody before he died half an hour later. [10]

Man is mortal, but if he lives for others, if he is the means of emancipating a whole nation, then it is for the nation to live up to his expectations.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 2

1. Jinnah had been diagnosed as having cancer of the _____ and he knew he had not long to live.

2. Liaquat Ali Khan was the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, and the leader of the Muslim League block in the Interim Government with the _____ portfolio.
3. Another indication of the changing trend was that the Muslims of Kohat had turned on the Hindus and Sikhs in retaliation for the _____riots.
4. The inauguration ceremony of _____ bank of Pakistan took place on 1st July 1948 in Karachi and this proved the last public appearance of Jinnah.
5. "No I am not". These were the _____ words of Quaid-i-Azam half an hour before his death.

QUESTIONS

1. How and when did the Muslim League nominate the Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General of Pakistan?
2. Describe the role of Quaid-i-Azam as the Governor-General of Pakistan.
3. Write about the dismissal of the NWFP Congress Government after the referendum.
4. Write about the importance M.A. Jinnah attached to finance and ideology while inaugurating the State Bank.
5. Write about the circumstances of Quaid-i-Azam' illness and tragic death.

6.3 THE OBJECTIVES RESOLUTION:

The Objectives Resolution was the first document in the direction of framing a constitution for Pakistan. It has been both praised as setting the course of the new state as well as denounced for deviating from the Quaid-i-Azam's 11 August 1947 speech. It is actually framed between two documents, the first being the Quaid-i-Azam's speech , and the second being the draft of the resolution presented by an alliance of religious parties most of which had opposed the Pakistan Movement. The main issue relates to the status of the minorities. The second document presented by Liaquat Ali Khan, the Interim Report of the Basic Principles Report had to be withdrawn.

The Objectives Resolution presented by the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 7 March 1949 and passed by majority on 12 March proved to be a landmark in the constitutional development of Pakistan. It is also a most resilient document, enshrined in the present constitution not as a preamble, but as a substantive part.

It is also the most criticized document, for promoting the aim of establishing an Islamic State, deviating from the assurances given to the minorities by Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his 11 August 1947 speech. One of the latest criticisms has come from Yaqoob Khan Bangash:
After Jinnah's death, the state took a clearly religious turn and the Objectives Resolution of March 1949 further solidified the religious element. Significantly, not only did the

resolution reflect a religious bent, it showed how the government was to regulate the lives of the people.[1]

Yaqoob Khan Bangash objects specifically to the word "enable" which we shall encounter further ahead. Another criticism of the same nature has come from Syed Jaffar Ahmed:
Unfortunately, a narrative other than the one that should have flowed from Jinnah's above mentioned speech which should be regarded as the Magna Carta of Pakistan was introduced through the Objectives Resolution of March 1949. Apparently devised as a compromise between the liberal and orthodox elements in the Constituent Assembly.[2]

The latter criticism has the merit of mentioning that the Objectives Resolution should be seen within the framework of two documents. In fact all the criticism this document has encountered has been due to its being read in isolation. As for deviating from the ideals of Quaid-i-Azam, this should be seen within a constitutional frame work. Replying to conditions set by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, he had said:
It is obvious that I cannot negotiate with any section or party over the head of the Constituent Assembly. Besides, I have no power to commit the Constituent Assembly in advance, or anticipate their final decisions.[3]

Here, the principle is elicited that the Constitution shall not be framed by any individual, be he the Founder of the Nation. Secondly the Resolution has been criticized for its neglect of the minorities and as G.C. Contreras has cited the Quaid-i-Azam's concern for the minorities is framed in the Pakistan Movement itself : "Pakistan which symbolizes the aspirations of a Nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian Subcontinent, cannot be unmindful of the minorities within its own borders."[4] and it is in this context that Quaid-i-Azam's 11 August speech can be regarded. We can call it Document 1:
You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State….We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State.[5]

But by the time Liaquat Ali Khan moved his resolution a religious parties alliance, consisting for the most part of the elements having opposed the establishment of Pakistan, had their own draft of what the Objectives Resolution should be presented in Dacca before a gathering of 10,000 people. Let us name this Document 2:
The Sovereignty of Pakistan belongs to Allah alone, and the Government of Pakistan has no right other than to enforce the will of Allah. The basic law of Pakistan is the Shariah of Islam. All those laws repugnant to Islam are to be revoked, and, in future, no such laws can be passed. The Government of Pakistan shall exercise its authority within the limits prescribed by Islamic Shariah.

This resolution was the Opposition's demand. Now see what Liaquat Ali Khan presented. This is Document 3:

Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone, and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;
This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan.

Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through its chosen representatives of the people;
Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed;

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective sphere sin accord with the teaching and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;

Whereby the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be perceived;

Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of state, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

Where in the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured.

“Enabled” may be a strong word compared to “help” and “facilitate” but it is very weak compared to the word “enforce” employed in the religious party draft. Then this word is meant only for Muslims, not for minorities. There are two separate provisions in the Objectives Resolution as can be seen above, showing that assurance to minorities was of prime importance. Assurances to the minorities does not detract from the Islamic orientation of a polity, as the draft of the religious parties would have us understand

We can now see the difference between the religious alliance’s draft and Liaquat’s draft. The difference is that the religious alliance draft negates democracy while Liaquat’s draft upholds it. Even within the domain of a purely Islamic polity democracy was needed to ensure that a minority sect does not rule over a majority sect. This is the situation that has thrown the whole of the Middle East into confusion during the Arab Spring.

Despite all these assurances, members of the Pakistan National Congress, the main opposition continued to be critical. Liaquat was not sounding a discordant note from Jinnah. He said that power would be exercised by the people of Pakistan, not the Muslims of Pakistan This brings us to Document 4, the speeches of Liaquat Ali Khan:

a. Sir, my friend [Mr. Siris Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the Leader of the Opposition] said these people told him that in an Islamic State--- that means a state which is established in accordance with this resolution--- no non-Muslim can be the head of the administration. This is totally wrong
b. I assure the minorities that we are *fully* conscious of the fact that if the minorities are able to the sum total of human knowledge and thought, it will redound to the credit of Pakistan, and will enrich the life of the nation. Therefore the minorities may look forward not only to a period o *the fullest freedom*, but also to an understanding and appreciation on the part of the majority..
c. Sir, there are a large number of interests for which the minorities desire protection. This protection this Resolution seeks to provide. We are fully conscious of the fact that they do not find themselves in their present plight for any fault of their own. It is also true that we are not responsible by any means for their present position. But now that they are our citizens, it will be our special effort to bring them up to the level of other citizens so that they may bear the responsibilities imposed by their being citizens of a free and progressive State.
d. Sir, I said just now that the people are the real recipients of power. This naturally eliminates any danger of the establishment of theocracy.[6.]

Thus the constant accusation that Liaquat converted Jinnah's secular vision of Pakistan to a religious one is pure propaganda,

As Liaquat explained at the beginning of his words cited above a non-Muslim could become the head of government---that is Prime Minister, affirming that tolerance and equality would be the operative principle of Pakistan. Perhaps Liaquat Ali Khan was referring to the powers of a Vizier as depicted and categorized by Abul Hasan al-Mawardi. The provision that a non-Muslim could be the prime minister was withdrawn only in the 1973 Constitution by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Yet time and again the Pakistan National Congress raised the fear of an Islamic State.

The question, as has now become obvious, is not whether we should have an Islamic State, but whether an Islamic State should be militant or tolerant. Jogendra Nath Mandal called Pakistan an Islamic State for observing Kashmir Day! At the other extreme is the ISIL or Daesh which believes in imposing its rule by violence. In between is the Islamic Republic of Iran where unelected ulama can over rule an elected President. It can also mean a welfare state, where tolerance, as enjoined by the Holy Quran, is practiced. Coercion—the main instrument of the militants--- is firmly rejected by the Holy Quran in the Verse of the Throne [*ayat al-kursi*]

When Liaquat Ali Khan presented the last budget for *united* India, he clearly stated that he was following Islamic principles. In building a society, the economic imperatives are paramount. The Holy Quran warns again and again that usury is a sin, hoarding is a sin, gambling is a sin and cheating in weights and measures is a sin. Any society, to be Islamic, has to avoid such evils. Because of centuries of colonial rule these evils have pervaded our society. We must strive to remove them, that is the spirit of the Objectives Resolution.

Assurances to the minority does not detract from the Islamic orientation of a polity.as the draft of the religious parties made it out to be. This is clearly spelt out by Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his address at the University Stadium, Lahore on 30 October 1947:
The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to his neighbors and minorities, regardless of caste and creed.[8]

And while introducing the Objectives Resolution, Liaquat Ali Khan had said:
We have not ignored the rights of the non-Muslims. Indeed, it would have been un-Islamic to do so[9]

To conclude, 11 August speech of the Quaid-i-Azam while inaugurating the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan did not deviate from the principles of Islam and neither did the Objectives resolution deviate from the 11 August 1947 speech.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 3

1. The Objectives Resolution presented by the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan to the Constituent _____of Pakistan.
2. The Objectives Resolution has been criticized for its neglect of the _____.
3. Liaquat was not sounding a discordant note from_____.
4. A non-Muslim could be the prime minister was withdrawn only in the 1973 Constitution by _____Bhutto.
5. When Liaquat Ali Khan presented the last budget for *united*_____, he clearly stated that he was following Islamic principles.

QUESTIONS

1. Is Pakistan an ideology with a territory, or a territory with an ideology?
2. Describe the provisions in the Objectives Resolution which guaranty fundamental rights of the minorities.
3. Did the Objectives Resolution turn Pakistan into a theocracy?
4. Did the Objectives Resolution deviate from Quaid-i-Azam's speech of 11 August 1947?
5. Does not Islam itself guaranty fundamental Human Rights ?

6.4 CONSTITUTION-MAKING EFFORTS (1950-1956)

Between the passage of the Objectives Resolution 1949 and the promulgation of the 1956

Constitution of Pakistan, a number of documents containing constitutional proposals were released. These were the Basic Principles (Interim Report) 1950, Basic Principles (Final Report) 1952, the Mohammad Ali Formula 1953, and the 1954 draft Constitution. The same era saw the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, the dismissal of Khwaja Nazimuddin, the dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly and the introduction of the One-Unit administration in West Pakistan.

The same day that the Objectives Resolution was passed (12 March 1949), a 25 number Basic Principles Committee was appointed. The Chairman was Tamizuddin Khan, the President of the Constituent Assembly and the Vice-Chairman was Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister. From then on, the issues of the delegation and the distribution of power caused the process of framing a constitution to be protracted. A constitution was needed to end the Dominion status of Pakistan under which the British sovereign was the nominal head of state, and to make it a republic where the head of state would be a national of the state, and elected to office.

A constitution serves two purposes. Firstly, it enshrines the conditions according to which the people of a nation agree to live together. Secondly, it serves as the Basic Law. The Indian Independence Act 1947 read together with provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 was already serving as the basic law, and the quantum of authority to be submitted by the individual to the state, at different levels was the question over which a consensus was needed to evolve. This meant the consideration of various proposals from different quarters which would be partly accepted, partly rejected, and prolonged negotiations were needed to formulate suggestions acceptable to all parties.

The main hurdles were that two parts of Pakistan, the West and the East were separated by a thousand miles of Indian territories and were culturally diverse. It was later called a union between the Middle East and South-East Asia. The territory of East Bengal was small, but it contained the majority of the population. There was no national language in British India, and the only two inter-provincial languages were Hindi and Urdu---Hindi being more of a rural language and Urdu being more of an urban language.

Bengali was a language with a very rich literature, and Rabindra Nath Tagore was a Nobel Laureate, but for all that, it was a provincial language and its Nagri alphabets would prove challenging to the common man in West Pakistan who also had his own mother tongue, whether Sindhi, Punjabi Pashto, Hindko, Balochi and Brahvi all with mystical and folk literatures. This division was compounded by the fact that the *Muslim* population of the two wings was equal, East Bengal had a larger population because of its Hindu component, which is why religious parties were insisting on Separate Electorates for minorities, why the Pakistan National Congress was suspicious of the Objectives Resolution, and why so many formulations were suggested for sharing power, in between accepting the majority status of East Bengal or providing for inter-wing parity. The first such attempt was:

6.4.1 The Basic Principles (Interim Report) 28 September 1950

We have seen how the Objectives Resolution had been criticized by the Pakistan National Congress as being Islamic, and how it had been criticized by the Jama'at-i-Islami led alliance as being un-Islamic, the Basic Principles Committee had in the first instance to deal with the status of the Objectives Resolution:

The Objectives Resolution was to be incorporated in the Constitution as a directive principle of state policy and was not to prejudice the incorporation of fundamental rights in the Constitution.[1]

Briefly stated, Pakistan would be a federation having parliamentary democracy. A federation means a system where more than one government, federal and provincial can function, and where generally a third tier of local government can also cater to the population. There was to be a president and a prime minister The federal legislature would be Bicameral--- consisting of two houses, while the provincial legislatures were to be unicameral—having only one house.

6.4.2 The Legislature

The upper house, to be called the House of Units would have 100 members, who would be elected by provincial assemblies. Units included the 5 provinces as well as Princely states like Bahawalpur and Khairpur.

The lower house called the House of the People would have 400 members elected by adult franchise. Both houses would have equal power and equal tenure. Budgets and monetary bills were to be decided by both houses having joint sessions. The existing provinces would have equal representation in the House of Units. Apart from monetary issues as mentioned above, the President could convene a joint session of parliament, when there was

a. Conflict between the Houses.
b. An election, or move for the removal of the President.
c. Consideration of a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet.
d. The dissolution of the federal legislature would be on the advice of the Prime Minister.

6.4.3 The President

The head of state would be elected for a five year tenure by a joint session of both houses. He himself would not be the member of any house. He had the authority to appoint the Commanders-in-Chief for the three services, and other officers of the armed forces. The President's discretionary powers were restricted to granting clemency, and the appointments of election tribunals. Thus in normal time the powers of the President were to be for the most part ceremonial, but in times of emergency he could abrogate the constitution wholly or partly, and issue ordinances when parliament was not in session.

The powers to abrogate the constitution, given in advance of the constitution having been framed, was an extra ordinarily regressive step.

6.4.4 The Prime Minister

The Prime Minister was to be appointed by the President, but had to be a member of parliament and would have to command the confidence of *both* houses of parliament Cabinet Ministers were to be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister. This arrangement would be replicated in the provinces with Governor and Chief Minister.

6.4.5 The Reaction

The Interim Report proved most unpopular. The teaching of the Holy Quran was made compulsory for Muslims. This would hardly satisfy the religious party alliance, because learning the Quran was already compulsory for Muslims. The report was unpopular in the west wing because the quantum of authority accruing to each house had was not made clear. Presumably, since there were more provinces in the west wing, they would have a majority in the House of Units; but that would come about if all West Pakistan provinces voted as a block, and on a number of issues, something unlikely.

The eastern wing was even more disappointed. Firstly, Urdu was to be the only national language, thus sidelining Bengali, the language of the majority. Secondly, although Bengalis would have a majority in the House of the People, that majority could be neutralized by both houses having equal power and tenure, especially with regard to budgets and financial bills when both houses would sit together.

6.4.6 The Committee of Action

In East Bengal a Committee of Action was constituted under Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani which gave counter proposals to the Interim Report. It proposed two autonomous regional governments, one for West Pakistan and one for East Pakistan. There would be a single central assembly which would have its membership based on population. Its jurisdiction would be limited to Currency, Defense and Foreign Affairs. The central government would have its power further curtailed by requiring that there be two Foreign Offices and two regional defense forces.[2]

This, we need not stress, is the document from which the Awami League derived its 6 Point program which was to ultimately divide the two wings in 1971.It is important to note that this demand surfaced at this early stage when industries were yet in the planning stage This demand for autonomy could not have been based on the notion that West Pakistan was exploiting East Pakistan.

6.4.7 Liaquat's Reaction

In such a situation, Liaquat Ali Khan realized that to persist with this report was futile. On 2 November he moved a motion postponing the consideration of the Interim Report. Liaquat Ali Khan assured the leaders of East Bengal that it was not his intention to deny them a majority in the Constituent Assembly, an assurance that the Bengali leaders found satisfactory.[3]

When the Final Report came out, there was a complete reversal.

6.4.8 The Basic Principles Committees (Final Report) 1952

By the time the Final report was presented in November 1952, Liaquat Ali Khan had been assassinated, and had been succeeded as Prime Minister by Khwaja Nazimuddin.

The head of state was required to be a Muslim. The previous day Maulana Abul 'Ala Maududi had demonstrated for an Islamic constitution in Karachi.

The House of Units was to consist of 120 members, 60 from each wing. In the House of Units equal votes for each unit was done away with and the vote of East Bengal was made equal to the votes of all other units put together. The upper house could only make recommendations; while the actual legislative powers would vest in the lower house—the House of the People--- especially on money bills. It would consist of 400 members. A vote of confidence could be given only in the lower house. In this fashion the powers of the lower house/ east wing was increased to the detriment of the west; especially the Punjab. The smaller provinces in the west wing who were given weightage---that is more seats than warranted by their population-- if joined by the east wing, could out vote the Punjab, for which reason, the Punjab Muslim League withdrew its support for the Basic Principles (Final Report).

The House of the People could normally be dissolved on the advice of the Council of Ministers, but if no party could command confidence, the Head of State could dissolve the house. These provisions were replicated in the provinces and states where the legislatures would remain unicameral.

This Report had the merit of providing for a higher judiciary, and under its rules civil servants would be protected against arbitrary action. Laudable in itself, this provision showed that the civil service was becoming the dominant factor in governance.

Since with the Basic Principles (Final Report) the pendulum had swung in favor of East Bengal, there was hardly any chance of its being adopted. In fact these proposals led to the concept of One-Unit. They also led to the dismissal of Khwaja Nazimuddin as Prime Minister, although he commanded a majority in the Constituent Assembly. For this situation, the vice-regal powers inherited by the governor-general have been blamed. There is some truth in it. However in a fairly recent research carried out by Margit Tavis, it is suggested that directly and indirectly elected presidents can both become active and authoritarian. The real reason she shares is:
Presidents become more influential and active, when parliament is fragmented and government controls an unstable majority or no majority. Presidents are also more active when they are ideologically opposed to the government and parliamentary majority.[4]

6.4.9 Governor-General's Proposals 1953

The next step in the direction of framing a constitution was taken when Ghulam Mohammad, the Governor-General presented his own constitutional proposals. Since

during the Martial Law, most of the religious leaders were in jail, Ghulam Mohammad did not cater to this pressure group. According to the Governor-General's proposal the Constituent Assembly---in a measure that had to be endorsed by the Constituent Assembly----- would loose its sovereign status. This would enable Ghulam Mohammad to control the Constituent Assembly, just as he had taken control of the cabinet by dismissing KhwajaNazimuddin and appointing Mohammad Ali (Bogra) in his stead. His proposals would give him the authority to dissolve the Constituent Assembly.
As another device to counter the Bengali majority Ghulam Mohammad proposed the merger of all western provinces and states into One Unit to be called West Pakistan. This idea had its origin in the Cabinet Mission Plan (see Unit 5) where the whole of west Pakistan (including East Punjab) would comprise Group B. While rejecting the Grouping clause on 10 July 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru had also said that Sindh would not like to be under the domination of the Punjab. This consideration entered political consciousness then,

The following year, in April 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru had also rejected the proposal of an independent and united Bengal, which, if it had been allowed to emerge would have spared Pakistan the tension of balancing the demands of the two wings and making concessions that were asymmetrical. Predictably, the Constituent Assembly rejected the proposals of Ghulam Mohammad, which as predictably, made him more possessive of his powers.

6.4.10 The Mohammad Ali Formula 1953

Mohammad Ali was Prime Minister when the Interim Constitution was rejected. He realized that a balanced document would have to be produced The Basic Principles (Interim Report) reduced the status of the Bengali majority, while The Basic Principles (Final Report) enhanced it. He thereby came up with a formula he hoped to be acceptable to all.
Mohammad Ali adopted the procedure of re-introducing the Basic Principles Report, on 7 October 1953, adding to it a compromise on the quantum of representation in the Constituent Assembly. The Lower House was to consist of 300 members, elected on the basis of population. The Upper House would consist of 50 members, 10 to each unit, who would be elected by the provincial legislatures. In the Upper House, East Bengal would be only one of five, but in the Lower House, it would retain its majority.

The main feature of the Mohammad Ali Formula was to delegate major decisions to joint sessions of the parliament, including the election of the President. This would bring about inter-wing parity. Hamid Khan calculates that each zone would get 175 seats each in the joint sitting.[5]

The next provision though ingenious in its effort to prevent any unit dominating others posed, practical difficulties that the Opposition was not slow to point out; that new legislation would require concurrence of at least 30 per cent of each unit. Going by the contentions in the previous tabling of the Basic Principle bills, this was to prevent East

Bengal to legislate by simple majority. [This was the lacuna in the Legal Framework Order in 1971]

Speaking on the 30 per cent clause, the President of the Azad Pakistan Party, Mian Iftikharuddin described it as:
A worthless formula not from any provincial or sectarian point of view, but because it will create greater difficulties in the democratic working of our constitution.[6]
Indeed, while such a provision would check abuse, it would it be quite an effort to obtain a 30 per cent concurrence to initiate any legislation. Keith Callard writing not long afterwards, observed that:
Such a scheme gave rise to the possibility of complete deadlock and to the probability that the frequent use of joint sessions would convert the Legislature into a single chamber with two rigid committees.[7]

Nevertheless, perhaps considering that checks and balances were concerns overriding practical difficulties the Mohammad Ali Formula was passed by the Constituent Assembly.

6.4.11 The Draft Constitution 1954

Mohammad Ali (Bogra) was encouraged to go forward to complete the process of framing the Constitution. Under the draft, Pakistan was declared an Islamic Republic. The challenge to any law on the ground of being repugnant to Islamic law could be mounted by any citizen, not necessarily an member of the parliament. There would be tribunals for this purpose, but the final adjudication would be by the Supreme Court. Bengali took its place along Urdu as a national language, with English continuing as the official language for 20 years.

As for the distribution of power there were to be three lists: federal, provincial and local. There were 66 items in the federal list, 48 items in the provincial list and 08 items in the concurrent list. The residuary power was to be vested in the President (or Head of State, however designated)

In between the sessions of the Constituent Assembly which had lately taken to working hard and for long durations, there were elections in East Pakistan in which the Pakistan Muslim League was practically wiped out and the winner was the Jugto Front which had fought elections on the basis of 21 Points which all promised maximum provincial autonomy. Thus, the representative status of the Constituent Assembly was called into question, just as the NWFP Congress Ministry had lost its representative status after the referendum. However, Mohammad Ali rallied, and said:
The task of framing the Constitution was not entrusted to the Muslim League as such, but to all members, Muslim and non-Muslim, specifically chosen for this purpose. There is no government party and no opposition in the Constituent Assembly.[8]

This appeal was heard sympathetically because the Constituent Assembly had completed more than three fourths of its task, and starting afresh would entail more delay, unraveling the consensus already achieved.

On 20 September 1954 the Constituent Assembly repealed the PRODA Act which Liaquat Ali Khan had introduced for the accountability of politicians. The second act of legislation was enacting section 10 by repealing a number of provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 and severely curtailed the powers of the Governor-General, preventing him from dismissing ministers, who would be individually and collectively responsible to the federal legislature and not to the Governor-General.

On 24 September, the Governor-General struck back. Ghulam Mohammad dissolved the Constituent Assembly, proclaimed a state of emergency. Strangely, Mohammad Ali was to retain the post of Prime Minister, even though no Constituent Assembly existed. Some other members of his cabinet were also retained. It is true that the Constituent Assembly had taken a long time in framing the Constitution, but it was dissolved when its task was practically over.

6.4.12 The Role of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy the arch democrat came to the aid of Ghulam Mohammad the arch autocrat. Since he had lost the 1946 elections to Nazimuddin and was replaced by him as Chief Minister of Bengal, Suhrawardy had applauded when Nazimuddin was dismissed as Prime Minister—that too after recently gaining a vote of confidence. Since he had lost his seat in the Constituent Assembly by refusing to become a resident of Pakistan and had pleaded the ideals of world citizenship by insisting that an Indian national can become a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Suhrawardy supported the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly. He went on to support Ghulam Mohammad's One Unit Scheme.

6.4.13 The Tamizuddin Khan Case

Ghulam Mohammad's action of dismissing the Constituent Assembly did not go unchallenged. Showing courage the President of the Constituent Assembly, Tamizuddin Khan approached the Sindh Chief Court with the plea that the Governor-General's act be declared unlawful and the Constituent Assembly be restored. The full bench of the Sindh Chief Court decided unanimously in favor of Tamizuddin Khan. This judgment was upset by the Federal Court, four to one. The Chief Justice Muhammad Munir with three other judges decided against Tamizuddin Khan, the dissenting judge being Justice A.R. Cornelius. The majority judges did not go into the question of whether the Governor-General's action was justified. It held that Section 223A of the Government of India Act, 1935, read with the Indian Independence Act 1947 on the basis of which the Sindh Chief Court had decided against the Governor-General, was not yet law because the Governor-General had not assented to it!

Justice Munir was in the Governor-General's house because the speaker of the constituent assembly Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan was going to challenge the dissolution of the assembly in court. We decided to report Justice Munir's presence in the governor-general's house in a brief item, but when it was shown to the chief censor, Commander M. H. Askari of the Pakistan Navy, who was well-known to us, he came down on us like a ton of bricks. We had no idea that we were running an explosive story which could create a national upheaval. Askari held back the copy and kept asking for the source of our story.[10]

Although Ghulam Mohammad was successful in winning the case and retaining the power to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, he was unsuccessful in presenting a constitution of his own liking.

6.4.14 The Usif Patel Case

After the judgment in the Tamizuddin Khan Case, Ghulam Mohammad declared a state of emergency in which he assumed powers to frame the constitution, constitute One-Unit, validate laws passed by the dismissed assembly, authenticate the central budget and rename East Bengal as East Pakistan.. In other words the Governor-General wanted to assume the functions of the legislature. In a case called *Usif Patel vs. The Crown* 13 April 1955 the judgment of the Supreme Court made clear that

The power to make any provisions to the Constitution of the country was not conferred by law on anybody except the Constituent Assembly whose continuing legal status was recognized.[11]

On a further reference by the Governor-General, the Federal Court ruled that:
The Governor-General's duty being to bring into existence a representative institution. He can only nominate the electorate and not members to the Constituent Assembly.[12]

Thus the way was set for convening a second Constituent Assembly. It met for the first time on 7 July 1955. There was a new Governor-General, Iskander Mirza, his predecessor Ghulam Mohammad was made to resign on health grounds.

6.4.15 One Unit:

The second Constituent Assembly on 30 September 1955 passed a bill merging the four provinces, West Punjab, Sindh, N. W. F. Province, Balochistan and the states adjacent, like Kalat, Khairpur and Bahawalpur, into one province called West Pakistan. As an administrative measure, this step may have had some merit, although smaller units are easier to administer, but politically, it was a step towards cultural regimentation and ultimately had to be disbanded. It was providential that One Unit was abolished before the secession of East Pakistan in 1971, otherwise constitutional complications may have been encountered, had there been a necessity to first convert a province into a nation and then to draw provincial boundaries.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 4

1. In East Bengal a Committee of Action was constituted under Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan _____ which gave counter proposals to the Interim Report.
2. Ghulam Mohammad dismissed to Khwaja Nazimuddin and appointed Mohammad Ali (Bogra) as_____.
3. Ghulam Mohammad dissolved the Constituent Assembly, proclaimed a state of_____.
4. Tamizuddin Khan approached the _____Chief Court with the plea that the Governor-General's act be declared unlawful and the Constituent Assembly be restored.
5. The second Constituent Assembly on 30 September 1955 passed a bill merging the four provinces, West Punjab, Sindh, N. W. F. Province, Balochistan and the states adjacent, like Kalat, Khairpur and Bahawalpur, into one province called _____Pakistan.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the role of the two Basic Principles Report in framing the Constitution?
2. Why could the Constituent Assembly not produce a constitution for 7 years?
3. Describe the Mohammad Ali Formula of 1953
4. The framing of the Constitution was impeded by the Bengali Language Movement. Discuss
5. Why did Ghulam Mohammad dissolve the first Constituent Assembly?

6.5 THE CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN 1956

The finally enacted Constitution was comprehensive, covering a wide range of subjects. It had had taken two attempts and nine years to produce this Constitution, and it bore the marks of the contentions that had caused the delay in the framing and passing of a Constitution. It opted for a parliamentary form of government, with a president with executive authority vested in him; a unicameral legislature. Islamic provisions and fundamental rights had been written into constitution which had an independent judiciary, Centre-provincial subjects were determined. Inter wing parity was maintained and Bengali became an official language. All in all, it was potentially workable.

Whether a Constitution is suited to the genius of a people or not, is tested when the elections it sanctions are held. The 1956 Constitution never underwent such a test. An election under this constitution was due in 1959, but in 1958, the first Martial Law Government intervened.

All efforts at arriving at a mutually acceptable formula to share power were based on having a bicameral legislature. However, since One-Unit was carried over in the Constitution, an Upper House having only two units became superfluous. Both wings were allotted an equal number of seats.

6.5.1 The President

The President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan would have to be a Muslim adult, not less than 40 years of age. Normally he was to act on the advice of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, but he enjoyed discretionary power in three spheres.

1. The first was ceremonial and innocuous, like the power to appoint the Chairman and members of the Federal Public Commission, the Chief Election Commissioner, the Chairman and members of the Delimitation Commission (which designated constituencies)
2. Here the President's power's had a more direct bearing on governance. He would appoint the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the High Courts. The President would appoint the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and Air Force. He would also appoint the Attorney-General. In a regular and stable democratic dispensation, these appointments would be seen as impartial appointments of a Constitutional nature in a party government system. In a system where there were no laws against floor crossing and the Prime Minister could be in and out of office without any assurance of tenure, all the above appointees could dissociate themselves from the mandate of the elected government, creating conditions under which a government could fall. The President could serve only for two consecutive terms, if re-elected. He would be part of Parliament.
3. The most significant was the President's authority to appoint as Prime Minister, a member of the House, who in the President's estimation enjoyed a majority in the House. This was controversial, because the designation itself could enable the nominee to garner a majority. This was partially balanced by Article 50, under which a nominated prime minister, already a member of the House would have to summon the Parliament within two months of his appointment and show his strength in the house.

6.5.2 The Prime Minister

The Prime Minister would be one who commanded the majority of the house, but as stated above there were no laws against floor crossing, and the members of the National Assembly kept changing their loyalty with the result that between 23 March 1956 when the Constitution was promulgated and 7 October 1958 when it was abrogated there had been as many as four prime ministers Chaudhri Mohammad Ali,12 August 1955-----8 September 1956; Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, 12 September 1956---10 October 1957; I.I. Chundrigar 18 October 1957- 11 December 1957, Sir Feroz Khan Noon- 12 December 1957-7 October 1958.

Constitutionally the Prime Minister was the head of government, the chief executive, but in the system devised under the Constitution, his was the weakest position. The two months that were mandatory between the naming of a prime minister by the president, and seeking a majority in the National Assembly gave the president sufficient time to maneouvre the ouster of the prime minister on a permanent basis. Thus while the prime minister may constitutionally enjoy protection, in practical terms, he did not.

Another device was the creation of the Republican Party, by Dr. Khan Sahib, Chief Minister of West Pakistan –the same who had headed the Congress government of the NWFP at the time of partition. The President, Iskander Mirza had been posted in that province and had enjoyed excellent relations with the Khan Brothers. Soon the Republican Party was formed in the National Assembly and a number of Muslim League members deserted their party to join it.

Mohammad Ali (Bogra) continued as Prime Minister, even though the Constitutional Assembly had been dissolved, thus acquiescing in the suspension of the very House from where he derived his support. He agreed in this manner to the scrapping the 1954 Constitution. Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, who piloted the 1956 Constitution, though he enjoyed a majority in the House, had to resign because of the disruptive influence of the Republican Party. Even Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, the most seasoned and powerful Prime Minister under the Constitution of 1956 allowed himself to be compromised. He sided with Britain and France when they invaded Egypt during the Suez Crisis, although it was a measure that was, for obvious reasons, unpopular throughout Pakistan.

When the West Pakistan Assembly itself passed on 17 September 1957, a resolution to undo One Unit by 170 votes against 4, Suhrawardy denounced the resolution. Thus not only on the constitutional, but also on the political front, prime ministers were weakened. When I.I. Chundrigar unnecessarily tried to introduce Separate Electorates in West Pakistan, the Republican Party refused to support him, causing his resignation.

6.5.3 Federation- Provinces Relations

With the formation of One Unit in West Pakistan there remained only two provinces in the country and these relations would have been defined solely by the division of power, what were the federal subjects, what were provincial and what were concurrent; instead this led to anomaly between the two provinces. There was the system of Separate Electorates in East Pakistan, because of the sizeable Hindu minority which could influence the election results.

Second, because most of the landlords in East Pakistan were Hindus, *Zamindari* was abolished in East Pakistan, while it was not abolished in West Pakistan, because the landlords had a large presence in the legislatures. Then there was a novel feature as pointed out by Hamid Khan, The federal government could make either or both of the provincial governments, its agent:

The federal government did not have sufficient number of officers in the provinces to execute their orders, hence the necessity of such delegation.[1]

Thus though issues could be resolved by granting greater autonomy to the provinces, the setting up of One-Unit instead lead to polarization between two provinces, especially when practically two different dispensations could be seen in them.

We stated at the outset that the efficacy of a constitution depended on the conduct of elections under it. If elections had been conducted then no matter how weak the position of the prime minister had become, the Constitution would provide for continuity and stability.

6.5.4 Delay of Elections

Why elections were being delayed has been explained by the ruler who ultimately took over. General Muhammad Ayub Khan:

Throughout this confusion there was incessant talk of holding general elections under the 1956 Constitution. These elections were promised for November 1957. They were then postponed to 1958. The President [Iskander Mirza] had thoroughly exploited the weaknesses in the Constitution and had got everyone connected with the political life of the country utterly exposed and discredited.. I do not think that he ever seriously wanted to hold general elections; he was looking for a suitable opportunity to abrogate the Constitution. Indeed he was setting the stage for it.[2]

It had taken two constituent assemblies and 9 years for Pakistan to produce a constitution. It would take a longer time to hold general elections, even after the principle of direct adult franchise had been discarded in the succeeding constitution.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 5

1. An election under 1956 constitution was due in_____, but in 1958, the first Martial Law Government intervened.
2. According to 1956constitution the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan would have to be a _____adult, not less than 40 years of age.
3. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy remained _____from 12 September 1956 to 10 October 1957.
4. When I.I. Chundrigar unnecessarily tried to introduce Separate Electorates in West Pakistan, the _____Party refused to support him, causing his resignation.
5. *Zamindari* was abolished in _____ while it was not abolished in West Pakistan.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the effects of the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan on the stability of Pakistan?
2. Describe the powers of the President in the 1956 Constitution.
3. What were the powers of the President under the 1956 Constitution?
4. Did Inter-wing parity bring about stability?
5. Describe One-Unit as a feature of the 1956 Constitution.

6.6 MARTIAL LAW OF 1958

The military regime of Ayub Khan though undemocratic, was hailed generally, and initially the reforms introduced by the regime brought relief to the masses, while stability had the effect of increasing economic prospects. All economic indicators were positive in the Ayub Khan era. The production of wealth caused Pakistan to be looked upon as a model state of the "Free World". However the distribution of wealth caused friction. Ayub improved relations with the U.S.S.R and the Arab World and for the first years of Martial Law and before the promulgation of the 1962 Constitution, Ayub remained a popular leader.

It is often said that the worst form of democracy is better than the best form of dictatorship. This is true provided that democracy is less fragile than dictatorship. In 1958 military states were not uncommon. General Fransisco Franco was entrenched in Spain and in 1958, General Charles de Gaulle was asked to intervene and founded the Fifth Republic. Military *coupes d'état* took place in Turkey, Egypt, Iraq and Yemen. In South-East Asia, Thailand and Myanmar were ruled by their militaries.

Secondly, the *coup d'état* was at least initially enormously popular. Seen politically, it was a natural consequence of events. This regime provided stability which was to bring economic dividends, and all economic indicators were positive throughout the Ayub Khan Era. Two very popular leaders were thrown up by the military government Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Lt. General Azam Khan. Still while Martial Law could be of effect as shock therapy, in the long run, it was incapable of curing the political malaise of Pakistan. This was later admitted by Ayub Khan himself:
We produced two Martial Law regulations; one made the adulteration of foodstuffs a criminal offence, and the other made black marketing subject to heavy punishment. The result was that sweet-meats started selling at Rs. 1.50 a seer and adulteration of food was completely checked. But within a fortnight all the stocks were exhausted and business came to a standstill. There was great enthusiasm for price controls, too, and everybody started buying crockery, cutlery, and watches at very reasonable prices. But once the stock was sold there was nothing to replace them. The business man had no incentive to re-invest.

The Martial Law of 1958 was proclaimed by President Iskander Mirza, General M. Ayub Khan became Chief Martial Law Administrator on 7 October 1958, Prime Minister on 24 October and after ousting the incumbent, President on 27 October 1958. Ayub in his memoirs had accused Iskander Mirza for creating conditions for the abrogation of the 1956 Constitution which he had himself launched. Nevertheless the political culture that developed, provided the autocrats an opportunity. What Ayub withheld was that military governance was successful only in West Pakistan. The G.O.C Eastern Command, Major-General Umrao Khan had publicly stated that as far as East Pakistan was concerned, Martial Law had been a failure.

Iskander Mirza espoused *controlled* democracy. Ayub was to launch a system of *Basic Democracy,* a system of indirect elections. It had the merit of empowering local

government and the basic democrats 40,000 in each wing served also as the electoral college. It had the demerit of being capable of being managed. It was inherently democratic, as the elections of 1965 to be discussed in a subsequent chapter shall show.
What were the events that led to the Martial Law being welcomed have also been recounted by Ayub Khan himself:
In East Pakistan a serious crisis occurred on 31 March 1958, when Fazlul Haq the Governor dismissed Ataur Rahman's Cabinet. Later that night Fazlul Haq was himself dismissed by Iskander Mirza. Ataur Rahman was succeeded by Abu Husain Sarkar who was in turn dismissed within 12 hours of assuming office , and the Ataur Rahman Cabinet was back again in power….The provincial assembly declared the Speaker "of unsound mind" and a brawl in the House on 21 September resulted in the death of its Deputy Speaker, Shahed Ali.[1]

Other conditions included Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan having recruited 60,000 men to the Muslim National Guards. On 23 September 1958 the Prime Minister banned political parties from having private armies. Undeterred Qayyum Khan adopted a resolution calling for dislodging the government "if need be by extra-constitutional methods." The above incidents are cited by Ayub Khan. The attempt of the Khan of Kalat to secede was suspected by Ayub Khan of being stage-managed by the President. Later Ayub offered an explanation of why there have been repeated military interventions in Pakistan, but none in India:
The fools don't realize that even if he [General Kundar Maddapa Cariappa 1899-1993] was inclined that way, he being a retired man, has no power or influence to do such a thing. I told him that even if circumstances warranted, takeover of 17 provincial governments and a central government was not a feasible proposition. However what is possible is that someone like Yashwant Balwant Rao Chavan may take over with the backing of the army.[2]
From this analysis we can understand the Constitution Ayub Khan wanted.

6.6.1 Land Reforms
In between the proclamation of Martial Law and the promulgation of the1962 Constitution, Ayub Khan ordered massive reforms. A Land Reforms Commission was set up on 31 October under which land holdings had ceiling of 18,000 units It was decided that holdings should be large enough to make mechanized farming possible. No person could own more than 500 acres of irrigated land or 1000 acres of unirrigated land.

6.6.2 Labor Laws
Ayub Khan promulgated the Industrial Disputes Ordinance and set up Industrial courts consisting of representatives of capital and labor and presided over by a representative of the higher judiciary. Speaking at a labor rally on 4 November 1959 he favored joint consultation as a means of settling disputes. Ayub clearly wanted capital and labor to arrive at mutually agreed terms, which could mean a different set of rules for different industrial units.

6.6.3 Capital Growth

Clearly, Ayub was against fixing a ceiling in industry in the manner he had fixed a ceiling, or even minimum renumerations which means fundamental rights were not guaranteed. Capital was protected so much so that industrial units set up in the public sector were sold to the private sector. When Aziz Ahmad then federal secretary suggested that a shipping company be set up in the public sector, he was transferred. It was for this reason that Pakistan was hailed as an economic model. Unfortunately, the same year that saw the 1962 Constitution promulgated, saw the Sino-Indian war when the leaders of the Free World reached out to India over the head of Pakistan.

6.6.4 Settlement of Refugees

For the settlement of refugees 15,000 quarters were built in the Korangi Colony Karachi, and another in North Karachi. Mohammadpur Colony was built in Dacca. These works were personally supervised by Lt. General Azam Khan and laid the foundation of his popularity when was appointed Governor of East Pakistan in 1962. The President revealed his mind while inaugurating the Mohammadpur Society in Dacca on 7 September 1959.

Another notable feature of these colonies is that they are not meant exclusively for the refugees but are designed also to provide accommodation to local people who do not have houses of their own… the resources at the disposal of the Government are not unlimited and the demands of other sectors are also diverse and pressing. We cannot, therefore, afford to spend lavishly on housing and settlement and provide the displaced persons with houses free of cost[3]

Speaking at the inauguration of the North Karachi Township President Ayub Khan had said:

I am very glad also to hear that people from the Lyari area are going to be settled here. Lyari is one of the worst plague spots in the whole of Pakistan and certainly in Karachi. When you pass that place, you feel ashamed of that place. I sometimes hear that people in Lyari are not very happy in being transferred to this new colony. I am surprised to hear that. True they will be away from the present centers of employment and it may cost a certain amount of money on transportation to be able to go there and back. But I would far rather do that and spend a little more money than live in this squalor in which they are doing today.[4]

6.6.5 Educational Reforms

Educational reforms were aimed at raising quality and one short term recommendation of the Education Commission was carried out; that is summer courses for university and college teachers supervised by both local and foreign specialists to bring them up to date in their disciplines. An Institution of Education and Research was set up in the University of the Punjab and the University of Dacca in collaboration with the University of Indiana, (U.S.A.)[5] The Ministry of Education would set up Textbook Boards.

The suggestion that the undergraduate course be increased from two to three years was treated with hostility by student bodies. The extent of the disaffection can be gauged by Ayub Khan's own outcry: "Throughout the whole of 1963, Dacca University operated for only 27 days." [6]

This disaffection against Ayub Khan, was exacerbated by his decision to shift the capital from Karachi to Islamabad. The resistance that the Federal Government had encountered from the Sindh Government would by itself justify the decision. This issue would turn explosive when the elections of 1965 took place.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 6

1. Before the promulgation of the 1962 Constitution, _____remained a popular leader.
2. All economic indicators were _____throughout the Ayub Khan Era.
3. The Martial Law of 1958 was proclaimed by _____ Iskander Mirza; General M. Ayub Khan became Chief Martial Law Administrator on 7 October 1958.
4. On 23 September 1958 the Prime Minister _____ political parties from having private armies.
5. For the settlement of refugees 15,000 quarters were built in the Korangi Colony_____, and another in North Karachi.

QUESTIONS

1. Why was the Martial Law of Ayub initially welcomed?
2. Describe the various reforms under Ayub Khan.
3. What were the economic effects of Ayub's rule?
4. Was the industrial progress of Pakistan an economic land mark?
5. Describe Pakistan's world position in the Ayub Era.

6.7 THE CONSTITUTION OF 1962

The Constitution of 1962 proved unpopular because the recommendations of the Constitution Committee were over ruled and a one man constitution based on indirect elections was promulgated. There was to be a National Assembly, but the parliamentary system was replaced by a presidential system. The office of prime minister was abolished. Local Government was strengthened under the basic democracies system under which these functionaries would also form the Electoral College. One Unit however was retained. The Constitution caused the first stirrings of political dissent

On abrogating the 1956 Constitution Ayub Khan had set up a Constitution Commission on 17 February 1960 under retired Chief Justice Shahabuddin. Primarily its aim was to determine the causes of the failure of the parliamentary system of government and secondarily to make recommendations regarding a constitution suitable to the genius of the people.

6.7.1 Proposed powers of the President

On the first score, the recommendations disappointed the President. While it blamed the lack of proper election procedure and defects in the 1956 Constitution, lack of well-organized and disciplined parties, the general lack of character among politicians; the Constitution Commission mentioned the interference of the president in political matters as well as the interference of the Federal government in provincial matters.

This defect could be removed by the simple device of enacting a law forbidding a legislator from crossing the floor. If a legislator wished to change his party, he or she would have to resign his/her seat and seek re-election to re-enter the House. This would remedy both the procedural and character defects. The other defect would be enhanced not removed in a presidential system. The Constitution Commission recommended a presidential system, but with legislatures being able to restrain his powers. It pointed to the American example in this regard.

The majority of the president's powers and function were traditional, rather routine. Such as making appointments to the judiciary and the armed forces and receiving ambassadors and ministers from foreign countries. The crucial powers were:

- Proclamations of emergency and calling for special sessions of the Parliament or of either House and issuing ordinances subject to certain conditions prescribed in the report.
- Giving or withholding of assent in respect of Bills passed by the Parliament
- Granting of reprieves and pardons
- Nominating eight members of the Senate

These powers could lead to the same defects that were identified by the Commission in the 1956 Constitution.

6.7.2 The Legislature

The Constitution Commission departing from the 1956 Constitution recommended a bicameral legislature. The Upper House to be called the Senate Eight members as noted above would be nominated by the president. Forty members from the Lower house and the two provincial assemblies, that is twenty from each wing.. The candidates would not be members of the lower or provincial houses would be "meritorious" personalities above 50 years of age. The Lower House would presumably be elected on some system of franchise,

The Commission discarded adult franchise because of the dismal literacy percentage that is, 15 per cent. The Commission held that the "right to vote is not inherent like the right to liberty, but it is an office or function conferred only on those who are able to discharge its obligations." The Commission did not recommend the qualifications of voters, but merely recommended a "Franchise Commission" to resolve the issue.

6.7.3 Form of Government

The Constitution Commission recommended a federal form stating:
It is our considered opinion that if we impose a unitary form, ignoring the state of feeling in East and West Pakistan, we would be driving the average Muslims of East Pakistan into the arms of extremists and disruptive elements which are active in that province.

6.7.4 Form of Democracy

The Constitution Commission recommended a party system. Political parties would compete in the elections. Separate Electorates were recommended for minorities. In British India the minority had demanded separate electorates, but in Pakistan, the minorities had repeatedly expressed themselves against this system because they wanted greater influence in the outcome of general elections. The option should have been left to the minorities to apply and no concession can be thrust on any section of the population.

6.7.5 The Actual 1962 Constitution

It appears that Ayub Khan had a dim view of the knowledge and intelligence of the people of Pakistan. The Constitution Commission had ruled out adult franchise and a parliamentary system. They had decided in favor of a federation of two provinces, a structure that would not allow economic benefits to be spread out as a federation demands; yet Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan was not satisfied with the recommendations and overstepped them.

6.7.6 Fundamentals of the 1962 Constitution

The novel feature of the 1962 Constitution was that it was called simply The Republic of Pakistan. Ayub Khan had time and again warned that society must not be allowed to lapse into 'Medievalism', and hence avoided calling the country an Islamic Republic. Nevertheless since there were many aspects of the Constitution which were under pressure, a presidential form, indirect elections and stringent conditions for impeaching the president, that Ayub could not for long afford to be vulnerable on the ideological front and he later bowed to this pressure and renamed the country as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
The outline of the 1962 Constitution was as follows:

1. The President was elected independently of the legislature and had a direct mandate from the electors to perform the executive functions of Government
2. The President was to hold office for a fixed term and could not be removed from office by an adverse vote in the legislature against any of his policies, but only by a special process of impeachment
3. The Legislature was elected independently and had a fixed term.
4. The Legislature functioned independently of the executive and could not be dissolved by the executive or the President.
5. The Legislature was the supreme law- making body of the country and no proposal could become law unless voted by this body.
6. The Judiciary was responsible for the interpretation of laws and executive orders in the light of the principles embodied in the Constitution.

Since the president was elected independent of the legislature, there was no room for a prime minister.

6.7.7 The President

The President would be head of both state and government. He was required to be a Muslim, not less than 35 years of age and having the same qualifications as a member of the National Assembly. A single term of the president was fixed at 5 years. A candidate was not eligible for re-election, if he had held the office of the president for a continuous period of *eight* years; *unless* he gained the approval of the National Assembly sitting with the two provincial assemblies together.

6.7.8 Impeachment of the President

The President could be impeached and removed from office, on a charge of violating the Constitution or for gross misconduct, if one-third of the members of the National Assembly gave a written notice to the Speaker. The charges would be communicated to the President who was given an opportunity to defend himself. The impeachment resolution could not be moved earlier than 14 days or later than 30 days after serving the notice.

If the impeachment resolution gained less than half votes of the total membership of the National Assembly, the movers of the resolution ceased to be members of the National Assembly. In clear words, those seeking to remove the president would have to risk their own removal from the National Assembly.

6.7.9 Basic Democracy

The president was to be elected by Basic Democrats, the only rung of power and the Electoral College directly elected through adult franchise. Every 1000 citizens would elect one member of the Union Council. 10 chairmen of the Union Council became members of the Tehsil Council. The chairmen of the Tehsil Council became members of the District Councils. Some members of the District Council would be appointed to the Division Council. The chairmen of District and Division Councils were bureaucrats.

Thus instead of being a structured system of franchise, it was a system for the distillation of power. The Basic Democrats 40,000 from each wing, 80, 000 in total would elect the president and the members of the National and provincial assemblies Small constituencies are created for manipulation. The elections under the 1962 Constitution when held, showed that political will could not be completely eradicated.

As managers of Local Government they fared better, because although the Divisional Commissioner and the district Deputy Commissioner held sway, at least their power could now be challenged if the need arose.

6.7.10 Distribution of Financial Resources

This was at the heart of Centre-Provinces relations, because this could be the instrument of exploitation. The distribution of resources under the 1962 Constitution was as under. The Central Government would collect

1. 50 per cent of the income tax including corporation tax
2. 60 per cent of the sales tax
3. 40 per cent of the excise duties on tobacco, tea and betel nuts.
4. Both East and West Pakistan provinces would receive 100 per cent share from the joint pool of export duties on jute and cotton, on the basis of population.

The population as the basis of distribution seems to have been aimed at to redress the development imbalance between the two wings. 70 per cent of the sales tax was allocated on the basis of population, which favored East Pakistan as against 30 per cent to the area from where the sales tax was collected. The remaining taxes were distributed on the basis of population.

Ayub was made aware of the disaffection spreading in East Pakistan due to the demonstrations and strikes there on the promulgation of the 1962 Constitution. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy who was leading the demonstrations was promptly arrested. These anti constitution demonstrations being the first uprising after the Martial Law of 1958, made clear the over-riding sentiment in the East Wing. Holding a press conference at Dacca on 2 September 1962, President Ayub said:
If East Pakistan wanted, it had every right to separate, but his advice was for the east Wing not to separate as it might be engulfed by India.[1]

That the possibility of a split was mentioned by the president himself showed 1. The desire for separation could not be wished away, and 2. It should not be forcibly suppressed. Why, and in what circumstances President Ayub opposed the 6 Point program of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be explained in subsequent chapters.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Ayub Khan had set up a Constitution Commission on 17 February 1960 under retired Chief Justice_____.
2. The novel feature of the 1962 Constitution was that it was called simply The _____of Pakistan.
3. The president was to be elected by Basic Democrats, the only rung of power and the Electoral _____directly elected through adult franchise.
4. Every 1000 citizens would elect one member of the _____Council.
5. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy who was leading the demonstrations was promptly_____.

QUESTIONS

1. Did the 1962 Constitution conform to the recommendations of the Constitution Commission?
2. Did the presidential system bring stability to Pakistan?

3. Describe the Basic Democracy System.
4. Were indirect elections undemocratic?
5. How could the president be impeached under the 1962 Constitution?

6.8 THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF 1965

The 1965 elections were the only national elections to be held under the 1962 Constitution. It was an indirect election. Both major presidential candidates were from West Pakistan. It was a hard-hitting campaign. Till the beginning of 1965, Ayub Khan was considered a benign ruler, while sentimentally, Fatima Jinnah had her own appeal. Ayub's rule had brought prosperity and stability, while Fatima Jinnah had mostly tried and tested politicians in her retinue. The violence following the results was unfortunate, but all versions need to be taken into account.

No elections had been held under the Constitution of 1956.. They were thrice postponed, so it is not possible to know how it would fare in practice. The 1962 Constitution, whatever its defects underwent such a test. When Elections to the office of the President and to the National and Provincial assemblies were scheduled, they were held; the presidential elections took place ahead of the elections to legislatures.

6.8.1 The Schedule

On 30 November 1964, the Election Commission of Pakistan announced that the presidential elections would be held on 2 January 1965.

The Candidates: The candidates were four in number, one the incumbent president, the other representing the combined opposition, two were independent candidates among whom only K.M. Kamal was from East Pakistan. This meant out of four candidates, only one was from East Pakistan the most populous province:

1. Field Marshal M. Ayub Khan---------- Election symbol----Flower
2. Mr. K.M. Kamal-------------------------Election symbol---Bicycle
3. Mr. Mian Bashir Ahmad---------- Election Symbol- Airplane
4. Miss Fatima Jinnah----------------------Election symbol—Lantern

Mohammad Ayub Khan was the candidate of the Pakistan Muslim League (Convention), and the sitting president. Miss Fatima Jinnah was the candidate of the Combined Opposition Parties (COP). Bashir Ahmad and K.M. Kamal were enterprising but unknown persons not expected to attract crowds. M. Ayub Khan's Campaign Manager was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Foreign Minister and General Secretary of the ruling party.

The opposition was divided and knew that unless they formed an electoral alliance, they had no chance of success. They decided to come together under the umbrella of the Combined Opposition Parties (COP); and now they needed a candidate acceptable to all. In this process, they were unfortunate that Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, who had led the

agitation against the 1962 Constitution, had died in 1963. His forensic skills would have been valuable during the presidential debates.

In Lt. General Azam Khan also, Ayub Khan would have faced a formidable opponent. Like Ayub, Azam Khan had influence in the army; his supervision saw the swift and efficient construction of low cost housing societies in Karachi and Dacca. This earned him the gratitude of the Muhajirs, especially when they contrasted his on the spot efforts with the lukewarm attitude of Ayub Khan while inaugurating these colonies (Speeches excerpted in the previous chapter) Azam Khan endeared himself to the Bengalis, because of his egalitarian behavior sharing meals with the common laborers, working round the clock on the Dacca Airport Road.

Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani did Ayub Khan a favor by objecting to Azam Khan's candidature by the COP. According to Sher Baz Khan Mazari, it was Bhashani who could persuade Miss Fatima Jinnah to accept the nomination.[1] as a result COP announced on 17 September 1964, that Miss Fatima Jinnah would be their presidential candidate. Ayub Khan commented:

Her choice seemed logical; she was the sister of the Quaid-i-Azam and was bound to to attract considerable attention for sentimental reasons.[2]

Consequently, Ayub Khan took recourse to a *fatwa* (religious ruling) that only a male could be the President of Pakistan; but since Maulana Abul Ala Maududi was a member of COP, he countered the Decree. Now the campaign began.

6.8.2 The PML Campaign

Ayub Khan writes that he had tried to be accommodating to Miss Jinnah: "she should have the first round in each province, let her first complete her tour of West Pakistan, and after she had gone to East Pakistan, I should begin my campaign".[3]This did not mean any plain sailing. Fatima Jinnah revealed:

When according to a pre announced schedule, I was going to Karachi on 3 December, I received a message from the Election Commission that a projection meeting had been arranged, and I was asked whether I would like to address it? The message said that the meeting would begin at 9:30 in the morning in the stadium, but it was not clarified in what order and at what time the presidential candidates would speak. I was forced to cut short my visit and to reach Rawalpindi on the evening of 7 December.[4]

So complaints and constrictions, mainly for the opposition candidates was there, but not of a serious nature.

6.8.3 Ayub Khan's Campaign Speeches

In his autobiography *Friends Not Masters* Ayub Khan does not gives the exact words of his speeches, but only their summaries, it is best to give these in his own words:
I opened my campaign with a public meeting in Peshawar. I talked mainly of the improvements that had taken place since the Revolution. It was an oppressive afternoon and a huge crowd had turned up…In Peshawar, quail fights are very popular, and it is common knowledge that a certain type of quail, however well you might nourish and look after him, deserts the field as soon as he sees his adversary. I pointed towards the cage and said that these COP leaders were no better than runaway quails.

I think the COP wanted the whole campaign to degenerate into a vulgar exercise in mudslinging. I was determined not to let this happen.. I knew I would have to tell some home truths about my rival, but she must be shown the respect she was entitled [Rawalpindi]

I spoke at length and explained the philosophy of the reforms in simple straight forward language. That evening I felt that the West Pakistan battle had been won [Lahore]

I was convinced that whatever might be the strategy of the Opposition, the people at large were deeply interested in acquainting themselves at first hand with the philosophy and program of both sides. [Dacca]

All around me was a veritable ocean of humanity. Innumerable projects of immediate benefit to the people had been completed under the Rural Works Program. These were solid achievements of the regime, which no amount of Opposition propaganda could belittle. By the end of the first phase of the campaign, I think I had managed to put across to the people my basic thinking. Without unity between the two Provinces, the country could not survive; their security and future depended upon working together. [Rangpur]

The presidential election campaign now entered its final phase, when the candidates had to meet their electors, the Basic Democrats. These confrontation meetings were organized by the Election Commission and presided over by a judge of the High Court. It was in these meetings that the voters came in direct contact with us, the candidates. The procedure was that the candidate would make the opening statement and this would be followed by QUESTIONS from the voters. It was in these meetings that Miss Jinnah displayed the full range of her ignorance of national affairs.[5]

Could it be so? Had Ayub Khan reproduced at least one question put to Miss Jinnah and her answer, we could judge for ourselves. That he chose not to do so, is in itself very indicative. Still we can turn to the text of Fatima Jinnah's speeches to determine the truth of Ayub Khan's assertion.

6.8.4 Fatima Jinnah's Campaign Speeches

Miss Fatima Jinnah also began her election campaign from Peshawar. Here she stressed the importance of direct elections:

Democracy is not important for the moral and national supremacy of a country only, but for raising its standing among the nations of the world. Even after 17 years after Independence, the people are deprived of their rights and freedom; which is their right as citizens of a free and sovereign state.

The time is near when you will exercise your sovereignty to decide what type of system of government you want in your country; the type of politics and the laws that should be framed. You have to remain vigilant and prepared at every second, otherwise a little neglect can deprive you of your objective. [Rawalpindi]

We are hearing a lot about development projects, it is also said that crores are being spent on these projects, but the people can measure the success of these projects by asking what is the common man gaining from these projects and what are the effects they are having on the economy. Where is prosperity? Should we look for it in the few high rise buildings or in the few fortunate people who have appropriated the entire wealth of the nation? [Lahore]

The basis of the Constitution is on the principle that the people shall be sovereign, but after the promulgation of Martial Law, the situation changed within a night, By its very nature, Martial Law is the negation of public opinion. [Dacca]

The students are being brainwashed so that they can think in only one mode. Government servants are being frightened. The present rulers have the attitude that they have no concern for Pakistan [Chittagong]

We are struggling for a clean society, a social system in which the people living in remote or down trodden areas will be entitled to demand their rights. [Khulna]

In 1959 Ayub Khan proposed a confederation with India; he had tried to accede to that country from which in order to separate, we had sacrificed hundreds and thousands of lives. [Rajshahi][6]

The last allegation is simply not true. Ayub had offered India joint defense against China, but when foreign journalists asked the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to resolve the Kashmir problem, he would answer that Confederation with Pakistan is under consideration. Fatima Jinnah relentlessly pursued Ayub for handing over the Berubari enclave to India, without first receiving the enclave India was to hand over. She also took Ayub to task for ceding Pakistan territory to China and Iran, while negotiating border agreements with these countries. On the whole, while Ayub Khan stressed stability and development, Fatima Jinnah stressed the lack of fundamental rights.

6.8.5 The Results

In the evening of 2 January 1965 the results of the elections were announced. Ayub won by polling 51,000 votes, while Fatima Jinnah secured 29,000 votes. The elections, by and large were fair. Inam Aziz says that corruption peaked *after* the presidential elections.[7] There is

no evidence of outright rigging, once the polling started. Under the same system of Basic Democracy, Miss Fatima Jinnah had won in Karachi and Dacca. Fatima Jinnah was saying that she would abolish the Basic Democracy system. How many Basic Democrats would vote for her? One criticism that Ayub made of Fatima Jinnah's campaign struck home:

The COP received a blow in the death of Khwaja Nazimuddin in the midst of the campaign. He was a veteran political leader and his presence lent considerable weight to the Opposition. Worse still, Miss Jinnah left East Pakistan without waiting to attend Kwaja Nazimuddin's funeral. I was in Sukkur that evening. We passed a resolution of condolence.[8]

6.8.6 The Violence

In Karachi, where Miss Fatima Jinnah had won there was ethnic violence following the results. The Muhajirs who constituted a majority were resentful that Ayub had shifted the capital from Karachi. Side by Side a large number of Pathans had come live in Karachi and were as entitled to settle here as any other citizens of Pakistan. The Pathans dominated a few sectors here, most important, the transport sector. Supporting candidates on political even economic grounds was healthy, but supporting them on ethnic grounds was not; but unfortunately an ethnic clash occurred a day after the results were announced. Let Roedad Khan, the Commissioner of Karachi at that time tell the story:

The election itself passed of peacefully…there were no serious complaint of abuse of power by officials, or of their involvement in the election for or against either of the two contestants, and certainly no rigging…At 10:30 somebody informed me that a victory procession led by Captain (retd.) Gohar Ayub, the President's son had run into trouble with the residents of the areas through which the procession was passing, and that there had been some stone-throwing.

By this time armed clashes had taken place with the residents resulting in heavy loss of life and property. Several houses and shops were reduced to ashes. The District Magistrate told me that he had authorized the procession and the route it had to follow, but some unauthorized deviation had taken place.[9]

Since Gohar Ayub has been accused of initiating the violence, it is only fair that his version of the events be considered:

I was not aware of the route of the procession, except that we would go to the Quaid's mausoleum, offer *fateha* and then disperse. Smaller processions were taking place in other localities. Unfortunately these smaller processions got into fights which became quite violent resulting in fatalities on both sides.[10]

Miss Fatima Jinnah and Mirza Abol Hasan Ispahani called for a judicial inquiry. The Raja of Mahmudabad, a stalwart of the Pakistan Movement was appointed the Convener of a Non-Partisan Peace Committee. It included Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Lt. General M. K. Jilani, Ajmal Khattak, Roshan Ali Bhimjee, Fakhruddin G. Ibrahim, Ahmad Ali Khan and Fatehyab Ali Khan. The Raja of Mahmudabad said:

These riots befit neither Muslims nor are they a source of pride for human beings. The Committee appeals to all who fear God, and respect humanity and are desirous of the progress and prosperity of Pakistan that they should make every effort at restoring peace and tranquility in the city.[11]

Thus with concerted efforts, the crisis blew over, but this fateful year was to see the crash of P.I.A.'s inaugural flight to Cairo, the Rann of Cutch conflict and then the Indo-Pakistan War.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 8

1. Ayub's rule had brought prosperity and stability, while _____had mostly tried and tested politicians in her retinue.
2. Miss Fatima Jinnah was the candidate of the Combined _____Parties (COP).
3. According to Sher Baz Khan Mazari, it was _____who could persuade Miss Fatima Jinnah to accept the nomination.
4. _____won by polling 51,000 votes, while Fatima Jinnah secured 29,000 votes.
5. *Friends Not Masters* is the autobiography written by_____.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain how an indirect election system works? What is meant by an electoral college?
2. Would election results been different in an adult franchise system?
3. What were the main features of Ayub's speeches?
4. How did Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah win in Karachi and Dacca if the system was flawed?
5. Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah had said that she would end the Basic Democracies System. Was this a vote catching slogan?

6.9 THE 1965 INDO-PAKISTAN WAR

The 1965 Indo-Pakistan War was a watershed in the history of Pakistan, marking the difference between prosperity and adversity. The cause and outcome of this war have been debated in Pakistan itself. We need to understand the roles of President Ayub and General Musa and focus on the contribution of all services: Army, Navy and Air Force. Some strategic details; the valor of the soldiers and the prevarication of the top brass. The role of the Foreign Office and Foreign Powers have to covered.

The 1965 War on Kashmir came after the conflict of the Rann of Kutch. This is a strange war in which initially both sides claimed victory, but subsequently, both sides conceded defeat. By 1990. Both Admiral Nandkarni of India and General Aslam Beg had admitted that their respective countries had fared badly in the 1965 War. How the War started and which country started the War has been debated in Pakistan by Air Force chiefs and some

Professors. They denigrate the courage and enterprise of our Armed Forces, which saved Pakistan from being undone.

6.9.1 The Background

The cause of the war was the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. The first Prime Minister of India had promised the world that the final solution of the dispute on Kashmir would be an *impartial* and *free* plebiscite; reiterating this promise on 26 October , 27 October, 30 October, 2 November 1947; 12 February 1951, 27 June 1952 and 7 August 1952. Nehru went back on his solemn pledges on 24 February 1955, on the excuse that Pakistan had become an American Ally. Today India is an American Ally.

The United Nations Security Council passed on 21 April 1948 and re-iterated on 5 January 1949 that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir would be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite. In1957 the UN ruled that any internal election by India will not be acceptable. Thus the claim that Kashmir is an integral part of India is in violation of International Law.

6.9.2 The Cause

In late 1964 India abrogated Article 370 of its constitution which had given the state of Jammu and Kashmir a separate status, with its own prime minister. On 4 December 1964, India enacted Articles 356/357 which purported to show that Jammu and Kashmir were an integral part of India. What were the courses open to Pakistan? If it took the matter again to the UNSC, The U.S.S.R. would again veto a resolution calling for the implementation of the previous resolutions. If Pakistan just sat back, then it would lose its claim to Kashmir by default; but things were taken out of Pakistan's hands, when first the Rann of Kutch conflict took place and secondly when India attacked Kargil on 15 May 1965.

6.9.3 Kargil

Today, a new generation, mainly due to the Kargil War of 1999, forgets that Kargil was on the side of Pakistan till the 1971 War. That India started the War with a serious action in Azad Kashmir was mentioned by President Ayub Khan in his 6 September 1965 speech and again when the U.S Ambassador Walter Mac Conaughy accused Pakistan of sending infiltrators into Kashmir, (details ahead) Ayub had mentioned Kargil.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant forced India on 30 June to vacate Kargil, but unfortunately the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, General Muhammad Musa did not send troops to retake Kargil, as a result India was able to re-occupy Kargil on 15 August 1965 without any resistance. The War in Kashmir started on 1 September, so Kargil gave India an advantage. General Musa's account on this point is rather ambiguous; he tries to down play the importance of Kargil:

On the Kargil front, we could use only a portion of the civil armed forces contingent, based on Skardu. Due to the difficulties caused by the very hilly nature of the terrain, and bad state of the jeepable road and the mule track between the two places….despite these

limitations, Indian troops who had *re-occupied* a few of the hill features were driven back. They found the occupation of those heights even by a small force irksome as they overlooked the road connecting Srinagar to Leh.[1]

It is not clear whom General Musa meant by "they"? Indians or Pakistanis. If Kargil overlooked the road connecting Srinagar to Leh then its strategic value is self-evident and the difficulty of the terrain would be a negligible factor hence the occupation of Kargil by either India or Pakistan would not be considered irksome.

6.9.4 The Infiltrators

Two of our legendary Air Force Commanders have accused their own country of aggression, Air Marshal Nur Khan by saying that Pakistan sent infiltrators into Occupied Kashmir:

The earliest when the infiltrators started going into Kashmir was by August 6. When the Indians came to know about it in mid-August they were surprised and thought something big was coming up. Kashmir was under pressure and in trying to defend that area, it escalated into a war.[2]

Air Marshal Nur Khan also said in that the Pakistan Air Force and Navy was not taken into confidence by the Army. So here we have a unique instance of an aggressor country being unprepared for war! Air Chief Marshal M. Anwar Shamim Khan has also confirmed that the Pakistan Airforce was not informed in advance [3] In mid -August India had *re-occupied* Kargil so the very element of surprise was absent. Since the American envoy Walter MacConaughy had refused to abide by the Defense Pact with Pakistan on the grounds that Pakistan had sent infiltrators, Ayub had mentioned not only Kargil but also that infiltrators were sent into Kashmir, a disputed territory and not inside India.

Lately America itself had sent infiltrators into Cuba, which set of the Bay of Pigs Crisis. Sir Paul Gore-Booth of the British Foreign Office put the sending of infiltrators in perspective:

A public reference to the infiltrators from Pakistan would need to be included in a rather carefully considered piece, which should also refer to our regret that the differences of opinion between India and Pakistan over Kashmir have not been resolved in the 18 years since 1947, the Indian deployment of regular troops over the cease-fire line in Azad Kashmir, the Pakistan armored probe across the cease-fire line towards India's communications in Kashmir, as well as to the final outbreak of fighting on the international border[4]

While it is clear that the sending of infiltrators was not the cause of war; whether it was a successful strategy is another question. Why some decision makers planned it has to be answered. Major General Akhtar Husain Malik, the GOC, Kashmir advised sending infiltrators according to General Musa. It is General Musa again who himself relays the advice of Brigadier Irshad, Director of Military Intelligence that arms disparity with India

would only grow, even to the extent of India acquiring nuclear weapons. DMI said whatever Pakistan could do, had to be done within two to three years.[5]

6.9.5 Operation Grand Slam

Air Marshal M. Asghar Khan does not mention infiltrators neither in his book *My Political Struggle* nor in his *Dawn* article:

Ayub Khan encouraged by the Pakistan's army's successes in the Rann of Kutch operations against Indian ground forces decided to attempt a military solution of this problem…the Foreign Office convinced him that if the conflict was confined to Indian occupied Kashmir, India would not cross the international frontier…It visualized an attack by armor and infantry on Akhnur, only 20 miles away from the strategic town of Jammu, astride the road to Srinagar.[6]

Since Pakistan attempted a strike only after armed conflict had begun it on this count too, cannot be accused of causing the outbreak of war. As for the Rann of Kutch conflict, on 8 April 1965 *Dawn*, reported : "A large-scale *infiltration* by Indian troops in the Ding area of the Rann of Kutch region." Twenty days later *Dawn* was reporting the threat of Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Indian Prime Minister "that the Indian Army would choose its own battleground unless Pakistani attacks in the Rann of Kutch ceased" [7]

6.9.6 Foreign Office Advice

In view of the clear declaration by Shastri that India would choose its own battleground; the advice of the Foreign Minister, Z. A. Bhutto as relayed by Asghar Khan, that India would not retaliate if the conflict remained confined to Kashmir, seems redundant. Furthermore, why would a military President heed the advice of a civilian over a military matter is also not clear.

However, it surfaces that this advice, if given in these words, though obviously erroneous was not totally without foundation. On 4 September Shastri received advice that:

Pakistan must be diverted from Kashmir to the defense of Lahore and Sialkot. While Chavan strongly supported his proposal for a counter-attack, Swaran Singh [External Affairs Minister] was worried about the adverse reactions abroad…They then told Swaran Singh that if Kashmir fell to the invaders and the Indian troops trapped in the state were compelled to surrender, the Government would be thrown out….Shastri told me that[Gen.] Chaudhuri, too, did not at first favor attacking Pakistan in reprisal for the infiltration in Kashmir.[8]

However, in view of the nature of the status of Kashmir, divided opinion in the Indian leadership was natural. The test is how the advise was actually taken by the military high command:

Gul Hasan recalls discussing the Indian move with Chief of General Staff, Lt. General Sher Bahadur, and suggesting that Pakistan move its forces to defensive positions along the border. Sher Bahadur was reluctant to commit, giving the prevailing stricture from the Foreign Office: "Do not provoke. Do not escalate."[9]

When the GOC 10 Division, Lt. General Sarfaraz Khan asked Corps Commander, General Bakhtiar Rana on 31 August : "Shall we occupy defensive positions?" To this Rana replied "negative." When Sarfaraz sought permission to at least lay mines, Rana responded: "No we do not want to provoke the Indians." [10]

What Bhutto had actually written on 12 March 1965 was : "India is not at present in a position to risk a general war of unlimited duration for the annihilation of Pakistan." [11] .This advice was rendered before the Rann of Kutch conflict in April and as far as it went the advise was correct , because India was asking for a cease-fire ahead of Pakistan in September. The Foreign Policy advice ahead of the September War can be deduced as having been inhibiting, not provocative as Asghar Khan would have us believe. On 31 August, the Pakistan Army was prevented from laying mines even within its border, therefore they knew that the conflict already raging in Kashmir could any time escalate.
On 6 September Squadron Leader Syed Sajjad Hyder strafed the Indian Army Brigade which had cleared the BRB canal and was advancing towards Lahore.

6.9.7 The Cypher Message

Altaf Gauhar, the Information Secretary and Biographer of Ayub Khan has asked:
Why was the cypher message sent by the Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi on 4 September about the Indian plan to attack Lahore on 6 September suppressed? Who was responsible for withholding this vital piece of information? Ayub would hear of these accusations but take no action.[12]

Altaf Gauhar does not mention anyone but clearly he means Z. A. Bhutto. but his imputation is clear. This imputation had a resonance in 2015 when the Golden Jubilee of the 1965 War was celebrated,[13] so it is best to clear the matter. When Ayub Khan dismissed Bhutto as Foreign Minister, he inscribed the following reasons to his *Diary*:
He started using provocative language even on international platforms and started behaving in an irresponsible and objectionable manner. He was working fast in the direction of becoming another Krishna Menon or Subandrio. Demagogy was his stock in trade. Several warnings went unheeded. So, there was no alternative but to tell him to go. Besides, he started drinking himself into a stupor and led a very loose life. It is a pity that a man of considerable talent went astray. I offered him a foreign assignment but he was not interested. His *real trouble* was that he started running a personal policy assisted by a few elements in the Foreign Office instead of the national policy: also he was distrusted and disliked in most capitals.[14]

It is best to explain in Ayub's own words where he thought Bhutto and Aziz Ahmed deviated from the national policy:
Our foreign office in Bhutto's and Aziz Ahmed's time were bending over backwards to establish close relations with Nepal and even Sikkim and Bhutan. They thought that these countries could prove a counter to India, little realizing that geography favored them and was against us.[15]

First of all had Z.A. Bhutto suppressed the cypher message saying that India would attack on 6 September, this misdeed would be first on Ayub's list of the reasons for removing Bhutto. Secondly what Bhutto had said was that if Muslim Afghanistan could be used by India against Pakistan, why couldn't Hindu Nepal be used against India? Geography did not favor India, because Nepal had a border with China as well, and building relations with Himalayan states was a part of the China policy. From the above entries, it emerges that Ayub' policy was appeasement while Bhutto's policy was resistance.

This matter is rather academic because General Musa writes that due to an All-India Radio broadcast on 4 September he deduced that India was going to attack on 6 September.[16:] Thereafter what General Musa ordered is written in his own words:
Our full formation moved forward from their concentration areas...I was in a bit of a dilemma in making this decision. If I had not so acted, the field army would have stayed in its forward concentration areas whence we could not have repelled their invasion. On the other hand, to move the army to the borders would have corroborated Shastri' statement[17]
Since Musa weighed the strategic against the political consideration, vigilance lightened, and India between 5/6 September was able to take Chand Tekri 2 point 7702. This means that whatever the original intention, the Indian thrust across the border was not to relieve pressure on Kashmir, the pressure had already been relieved.

6.9.8 Outbreak of War

The Indian Armed Forces on 6 September were headed towards Sialkot from the Jammu Sector and Jassar from across the Ravi. On 7 September, the Indian Armored 1st Division with two Infantry Mountain divisions crept to the Chawra area from Samba. The 1965 War was spread over a wide terrain and lasted 17 days. To cover the entire course of the war we need to describe the following battles : Lahore, Dograi, Rohiwal, Phillaurah, Zafarwal, Jassoran and Bandiana

Since it is not possible here to give a detailed study here, we shall discuss only the Khem Karan and Chawinda sectors to have at least a glimpse of the strategic and tactical aspects of the war:

6.9.9 Khem Karan Sector

This sector is important for two reasons.1.Initially it was hailed as a triumph but subsequently described as debacle. 2. It serves as a microcosm of the War. In the opinion of General Musa the terrain, though difficult was still suitable for tank warfare. He does factor in the risk of flooding, but does not consider it an over-riding factor. He confines the danger of flooding "over which a portion of our armor was to advance in order to get to the main road behind China near milestone 32, on the main road to Amritsar"

Musa clearly meant that an obstacle in one direction, did not mean that the whole thrust had to be halted. Musa criticizes the three motor battalion for not being able to hold the ground gained by Armor. Twice 5 Armor Brigade (led by Brigadier Bashir Ahmad) reached, Valhola Railway Station, Asal and Uttar, 12 and 6 miles respectively beyond Khem Karan: "but for inexplicable reasons, the Brigade Commander issued confusing orders for it, on both occasions to return to Khem Karan.[18]

Lt. General Mahmud Ahmad makes four observations that explain the out- come.1 Major Salim pointed to the risk of tanks getting stuck, but Major Altaf did not heed him. 2.Some of Pakistan's bridging vehicles were bogged down while crossing the Beas riverbed. When 35 Engineer Battalion recovered them, it was found that some vehicles had not loaded bridging stores. 3. 5Armored Brigade in violation of General Hamid's order not to give away ground after it had been gained, had returned to Khem Karan on both 8 and 9 September. 4.Tanks were bogged down during *retreat* and not during advance.[19]

The Indians won the battles of Asal and Uttar on 10 and 11 September, positions Pakistan had abandoned after capturing. Major Faruq despite having his tank hit and burnt led his troops south from the inundation, south of the flooded area and by 08:45 captured the road bifurcation and established a blocking position. Khem Karan was cleared of the enemy by 11:00 hours. Lt. General Mahmud Ahmad explains why, in the Khem Karan Sector there was conquest by day and withdrawal by night.

1.The lack of a field or corps Head Quarter, made contact difficult and constricted the movements of the troops.2 There were Instructional Shortcomings: the Night Leaguer's Drill of the WWII North African campaign had been till the 1960's part of the PMA syllabus.

6.9.10 Chawinda

The course of battle at Chawinda was the opposite of Khem Karan. Here what was lost by night was recovered by day. The Indian Army noted that Pakistani tanks were without infantry protection, and in crop areas crept in the night between 13 and 14 September. The Armored Division fought relentlessly and on 19 September, Jassoran and Janewal were secured before dark As Major General Abrar Husain has noted: "The enemy now went on the defensive. The crucial and what proved to be the final battle of Chawinda was over." [20] Much of the success was due to Brigadier Abdul Ali Malik. According to Lt. General Mahmud Ahmad: "Artillery was employed most aggressively and often dangerously forward." [21]

6.9.11 The Pakistan Navy

Admiral Muhammad Ajmal Khan Lodi gave me a pre-view of his book *Logbook of Lodi* [20 September 2014] according to which Pakistan had only 7 Destroyers/Frigates as against 19 held by India. India had an aircraft carrier, *Vikrant*, while Pakistan had none. Pakistan had a submarine *Ghazi* leased from the United States. The *Ghazi* proved so threatening to the Indian Navy that it kept *Vikrant* locked up in Bombay harbor for the entire duration of the war.

In his book, Admiral Lodi mentions three objectives of the Pakistan Navy-A- To draw the Indian Navy away from its sanctuary -B-To destroy the aircraft guidance beacon and radar installations, and-C-To adversely affect Indian morale. The last objectives was achieved by 7 warships. Both the Commander, Commodore S. M. Anwar and Captain Lodi were aboard *P.N.S. Babur*. These ships had bee assigned the task of bombard ing the Indian port of Dwarka which was on the Rann of Kutch, the scene of earlier fighting in 1965. The time for the raid was fixed at midnight, on 8 September. The objective was achieved in four minutes.[22]

Admiral Lodi tells us that the cruiser *Babur* was undergoing extensive repairs, and was undocked only on 3 September 1965. Admiral Zahid Hasnain writes in his book that the acquisition of *Babur* had been "much resisted by Ayub Khan."[23] He says that the raid on Dwarka was a daring act after which the Indian Navy never attempted to challenge the Pakistan Navy throughout the war. The submarine *Ghazi* downed an Indian frigate. Indonesia had provided a submarine to Pakistan, which though not eventually needed was a great morale booster. The initiative and drive of the Pakistan Navy was not a mere corollary of the main war effort. It proved vital to the defense of Pakistan.

6.9.12 The Pakistan Air Force

The Pakistan Air Force drew first blood on 1 September when Squadron- Leader Sarfaraz Rafiqui and Flight Lieutenant Imtiaz Bhatti downed two Indian Commander Muhammad Mahmud Alam. Initially doubts had been raised within the PAF command whether Sabres could be effective against Indian Hunters, but the final decision, in which M. M. Alam also participated, was that Pakistani pilots were familiar and comfortable with Sabres, pilot efficiency would be the overriding factor.

On 3 September the first four F-86 fighter aircraft took off at 05:30 in the morning from Sargodha Airbase. Each one was fitted with 28 rockets of 2.75 inches and machine guns of 5 inches diameter. One section under M. M. Alam headed for Jaurian where the army was advancing. Alam's section targeted a cluster of enemy military vehicles, and hit a rest- house being used as a training centre. The second Sabre section, led by Flight Lieutenant Yusuf Khan saw from a height of 4000 feet, a convoy of Indian vehicles and tanks coming from the direction of Akhnur. They stood aloft for 30 minutes and destroyed vehicles including four tanks.[24]

Whatever he may have said later as a politician, on 4 September 1965, while he was Commander-i-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, Air Marshal Nur Khan had issued the following statement:

So far Pakistan had not violated Indian airspace. The Government of Pakistan did not consider the cease-fire line in Kashmir to be legitimate, and the PAF had confined its airstrikes to this territory. As against this, the Indian Air Force strikes at places and at times of its own choosing, but it shall not be allowed to do so for long.[25]

Two points emerge from this statement. If India had not crossed the International border before 6 September on the ground, it had done so in the sky. Secondly, with its

Commander-in-Chief issuing such a warning on the 4th, it did not need to be told that war across the border was imminent.

On the same day, while M.M. Alam was flying over Jammu, the canopy of his plane was hit by ground fire. The ground fire caused a sandstorm of 15 seconds which affected visibility. At that time, M.M. Alam's aircraft was 420 knots above the trees. There Air Commodore M. M. Alam saw 16 canons flying from the Jhamb Area, which were hampering the advance of the Pakistan Army. he started bombing the enemy formation with such rapidity that his machine guns jammed. Even then he was able to counter the six Indian Hunters sent to intercept him. On 6 September, M.M Alam downed 9 Indian planes,5 of them in single encounter. On 7 September, M. M. Alam shot down 5 more Indian Hunters,

Indian air base, Halwara. Later he destroyed two Hunter aircraft east of Amritsar. We have already mentioned the exploits of Sarfaraz Rafiqui, Imtiaz Bhatti and Syed Sajjad Hyder, we need to mention Flight Lieutenant Aftab Alam who downed the first Indian *Mystere* aircraft. Pakistan's air superiority saved the day. Air Chief Marshal P. C. Lal complained of lack of co-ordination between the Indian Army and Air Force.[26] General Musa, on the other hand praised the Pakistan Air Force for not only fighting its own battles, but also for co- ordinating with the Pakistan Army.[27]

6.9.13 Outcome

Thus it can be seen that Pakistan's air and sea superiority was manifest, and so would have been superiority on the ground. Aziz Ahmad, then Foreign Secretary confirmed in the *Dawn* of 22 June 1979 that the Pakistan G.H.Q. had wanted 3 days delay in the cease-fire, but President Ayub would not agree. Regarding Pakistan Air superiority, the celebrated American pilot Chuck Yeagers (who first broke the sound barrier) had estimated PAF's three to one superiority over IAF in 1971, the war Pakistan *lost*. Our own citizens however challenge this:
Dr. Akbar S. Zaidi dispelled 'the victory myth' saying that there can be no bigger lie, as Pakistan lost terribly.[28]

In the first place had Pakistan lost "terribly" there would have no survival of Pakistan. If Pakistan had merely lost the whole of Azad Kashmir would have been lost. Let him answer the query of Lt. General B.M. Kaul. Kaul may have been suffering from bias, but the facts he cites speak for themselves:
India signed a cease-fire agreement with Pakistan after fighting for only 22 days. The question is, why was this done if India as she said, was about to knock out Pakistan; also when Shastri had said on 6 September 1965 that India would not go from one cease-fire to another.[29]

Valor: Any way victory is evanescent, valor is not. We have not been able to detail their exploits but not only those soldiers who won the awards listed below but many who won

other awards need to be listed in any book of history. This was the moment when in Pakistan, Unity, Faith and Discipline were at its height.

Pakistan Army:
10 September: brigadier Alam Rashid Shamil:*Hilal-i-Jur'at*
11September, Major Ziauddin Abbasi: *Sitara-i-Jur'at*
12 September, Major Raja Aziz Bhatti:*Nishan-i- Hyder*
23 September Major Mas'ud Akhtar:*Sitara-i-Jur'at*

Pakistan Air Force:
6 September Squadron Leader Sarfaraz Ahmad Rafiqui: *Sitara-i-Jur'at*
6 September Flight Lieutenant KhwajaYunus Husain: *Sitara-i-Jur'at*
11 September Squadron Leader Munir Ahmad:*Sitara-i-Jur'at*
According to Rear Admiral Lodi, no Awards were recommended by the Commander-i-Chief of the Navy, Admiral A. R. Khan

The Role of Foreign Powers:
President Ayub refused the request of the G.H.Q. to delay Cease -Fire by three days because of foreign pressure, and not because of any desperation. Let us see briefly what their roles were:

6.9.14 The American Role

Immediately as the war broke out President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered an arms embargo and economic sanctions on both countries, knowing fully that India had an alternative source in the U.S.S.R. while Pakistan did not although Pakistan was a CENTO and SEATO ally. The Secretary of State Dean Rusk used to abide by the U.S.-Pakistan 1959 Treaty on the ground that Pakistan had sent infiltrators to Kasmir.

However, Dean Rusk told the Indian Ambassador, that in the unlikely event of sizeable Chinese intervention, the U.S. would first ask India to stop the fighting; moreover, there was little chance of U.S committing troops to the conflict.[30]

Under-Secretary George Ball and Assistant Secretary William Bundy were of the opinion that were the Chinese to indulge in some mild harassing action, it would give the U.S. leverage over India.[31] In the midst of U.S.-Pakistan recrimination was published Dean Rusk's statement, upholding the principle of self-determination.[32]

It seems that the State Department took a more sympathetic view than the President.

6.9.15 The U.S.SR.

On 4 September Alexei Kosygin, the Soviet Prime Minister called on both countries to withdraw to the 1949 Ceasefire Line. Kosygin softened the stand on Kashmir: "The Soviet Union appreciates that a dispute exists in Kashmir--- of course there is a dispute." [33] However such a promising statement was not followed through.

6.9.16 The People's Republic of China.

The Chinese Foreign minister had been in Karachi on 4 September saying that sacrifices would have to be made. According to Asghar Khan, China had promised help on the condition that Pakistan remain steadfast and not back out. China threatened India with military reprisals, not only during the course of the war but even when the Tashkent Conference was taking place.

6.9.17 Britain

It was Britain that persuaded President Ayub Khan from accepting Chinese help. Although on 6 September, the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson had branded India the aggressor for crossing the International Boundary, thereafter all British efforts were directed at persuading Ayub to accept cease-fire without the resolution of the core issue. In his memoirs *Pakistan Chronicle* Sir Morrice James, the British High Commissioner claimed the credit for prevailing on Ayub to refuse Chinese help.[34]

How James achieved his aim is not mentioned in his memoirs, but can be seen in the records. James had told Ayub that : "the world would not, repeat would not, in the foreseeable future revert to the position that the future of Kashmir was a closed issue." [35]

President Ayub Khan's gullibility and inherent aversion to China cost Pakistan the fruits of a victory won by blood. Earlier, he had replaced Major-General Akhtar Malik with Major-General Yahya Khan with instructions to the latter not to capture Akhnur.[36] He was so overwrought that he would not hear the appeal of the Army Head Quarters to at least delay cease-fire by three days. This proved to be a great set back to Pakistan and the cause of Ayub Khan's decline , which forms the subject of the next chapter.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 9

1. The 1965 War on _____came after the conflict of the Rann of Kutch.
2. The United Nations _____Council passed on 21 April 1948 and re-iterated on 5 January 1949 that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir would be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite.
3. M. M. Alam's section targeted a cluster of enemy military vehicles, and hit a rest-house being used as a _____centre.
4. Flight Lieutenant Yusuf Khan saw from a height of 4000 feet, a convoy of _____ vehicles and tanks coming from the direction of Akhnur.
5. China threatened India with military reprisals, not only during the course of the war but even when the _____Conference was taking place.

QUESTIONS

1. The Indian attack on Kargil 15 May 1965 caused the war. Comment
2. Explain the importance of the Khem Karan Sector in understanding the nature of the war.
3. Describe Operation Dwarka. Did it achieve its object?

4. The Pakistan Air Force made the difference between victory and defeat. Comment
5. Describe the role of Britain in the 1965 War.

6.10 THE DOWNFALL OF AYUB KHAN

The downfall of Ayub Khan was somewhat unexpected. His popularity had plummeted, but he seemed well entrenched, regardless. Tashkent Declaration 1966 was seen as abandoning the fruits of the 1965 War. This led to a student's movement in Pakistan which coincided with the student's movement in France. The same year at a Round Table Conference, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unveiled his 6 Point Program. Dr. Mahbubul Haq claimed that 90 per cent of Pakistan's wealth was held by 22 families. The National Press Trust papers were giving prominence to the President's son Gohar Ayub, which gave rise to fears of a dynasty. Lastly the Ayub regime celebrated a Decade of Development in1968, which caused a reaction. Surround and Burn operations led to the break-down of law and order forcing Ayub to resign.

Ayub Khan's decision to accept British advice and cease-fire against the request of the military, caused him to loose ground in his own institution. At this juncture, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) through its Prime Minister offered its offices for the resolution of the differences which had led India and Pakistan to war. Alexei Kosygin, the Russian Prime Minister had written to the leaders of both countries on 20 August and 4 September to avoid war, and suggested a tripartite conference on 17 September 1965.

Ayub's initial reaction was one of caution. Two days after the cease-fire, Ayub wrote to Kosygin to instead, promote a UNSC resolution "that can lead to an honorable settlement of the Kashmir dispute." The Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's "first reaction to the proposal was not favorable and he did not want to go to Tashkent….But he was finally persuaded to accept Kosygin's invitation." [1]This he did after obtaining Anglo American consent.[2]

On 23 November, Shastri told the Rajya Sabha that he would be willing to go to Tashkent, "but he would not be prepared to talk specifically about Kashmir, but would be ready to discuss the whole range of relations between India and Pakistan---which of course, *could* not exclude Kashmir."[3][Emphasis added]. On the same day the Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto met the Soviet Prime Minister in Moscow and on 25 November, Bhutto addressed a press conference in Moscow that the prospects of a peace conference between India and Pakistan were fairly good.

Z.A. Bhutto said that the ball was now entirely in India's court. He was prepared to discuss the whole gamut of Indo-Pakistan relations with Mr. Shastri. The Foreign Minister said that Shastri's statement of 23 November "does not go as far as our willingness, though it does not preclude such willingness." [4]

6.10.1 The Road to Tashkent

In talks preliminary to the Tashkent conference, General Musa said "India would never negotiate on the basis of Kashmir being anything other than a part of India." When Bhutto said that Tashkent had also the backing of Britain, U.S. and the U.N., Ayub said : "I know people who want to risk Pakistan for the sake of Kashmir." [5]Like the Indian Prime Minister, President Ayub also stopped at Kabul. Zahir Shah told Ayub: "General, you have to be strong" Ayub replied: "Yes in the end you have to fight your own battle." [6]

This was Zahir Shah's way of telling Ayub that he had Afghanistan's support and he would not be embarrassed by the raising of a "Pakhtunistan" issue. In spite of his answer Ayub did not heed Zahir Shah.

6.10.2 The Tashkent Conference

On 8 December 1965 the following communiqué was released in Karachi by the U.S.S.R.:

The Soviet Government, guided by the interests of peace and desire to promote the improvement of relations between Pakistan and India, offered to the Governments of both countries its good offices for peaceful settlement of India-Pakistan conflict. With these aims the Soviet Government submitted to the Governments of Pakistan and India the suggestion to hold in Tashkent a meeting of the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India.[7]

In pursuance of this offer, Ayub Khan with his delegation and Lal Bahadur Shastri with his delegation reached Tashkent on 3 January 1966, one day before the Conference was to begin. What happened in Tashkent has been revealed by Altaf Gauhar and, on the Indian side, by Kuldip Nayyar. According to Altaf Gauhar, the Information Secretary of Pakistan, when he told reporters on 6 January that Ayub Khan was in Tashkent to discuss the totality of our relationship with India, and this included the "crucial question of Kashmir". His counterpart C. S. Jha said that "Kashmir was not negotiable.":

A belligerent Indian journalist, who seemed a little worked up, started shouting that since Kashmir was not negotiable what was the point of Tashkent? He did go on a little, so the Information Secretary reminded him that according to Hindu philosophy even irreconcilables could be reconciled.[8]

Altaf Gauhar reported on the one on one talks Between Ayub and Shastri. Shastri kept on reminding Ayub that he had stepped into the shoes of a giant[Jawaharlal Nehru] and he was really too small for the job. Ayub's impression was that there was no possibility of Shastri yielding on Kashmir, despite Soviet pressure, but he would probably agree to the withdrawal of forces:

When Ayub was relating how Shastri kept saying that he was answerable to the people Bhutto interrupted him and said quite sharply: "But you too are answerable to the people. You don't have a heavenly mandate." That was the first indication of Bhutto's unhappiness with the way negotiations were proceeding.[9]

From here on Kuldip Nayar the Indian journalist, also present at Tashkent, takes over: There was a deadlock. Shastri told Ayub--- and the latter Kosygin—that India was willing to withdraw from all territories if Pakistan were to agree to sign a no-war pact. Ayub said he would consider the suggestion…

Ayub brought with him a two-page draft typed at his place and it discussed mainly the withdrawal of forces by Pakistan and India and the post withdrawal steps. There was no mention of a no-war pact of Kashmir

However, during the meeting, Shastri, a tough negotiator, once again raised the no-war question. Ayub wrote in his own hand on that very typed draft that Pakistan would renounce the use of force in settling disputes with India (Probably this is what Bhutto referred to as a secret clause of the Tashkent Agreement in his later speeches criticizing the Agreement K.N.)….

When Ayub's rejection reached Shastri's camp, [F.M.] Gromyko was with the Indian delegation. In their hearing he admonished Bhutto, who had called him on the phone to communicate Ayub's reply. Bhutto had said that when Ayub agreed to renounce the use of force, India had promised to show some concession on Kashmir. Gromyko said," it is a lie", India had extended no such promise.

Once it had looked that even the Kashmir question could be settled at Tashkent itself. *After* the Declaration Kosygin asked Shastri to solve the Kashmir issue as well…Shastri told Kosygin that India would be willing to make some adjustment in the cease-fire line and give some territory of the State to Pakistan"[10][emphasis added]

6.10.3 The Tashkent Declaration

The Tashkent Declaration after a great deal of pressure from Alexei Kosygin was finally signed on 10 January 1966 It provided for A) The reaffirmation by both sides of their obligation under the United Nations Charter, to settle disputes by peaceful means. B) The withdrawal of all armed personnel by 25 February 1966 to positions held prior to 5 August 1965. C) Discontinuance of hostile propaganda. D) Restoration of full diplomatic representation. E) Machinery to continue joint India/Pakistan discussions on other issues of direct interest.

And, almost as a corollary was stated: "It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective positions.". The Tashkent Declaration was so much in India's favor that its Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri died of jubilation.

6.10.4 The Reaction

All the opposition leaders in East Pakistan welcomed the Tashkent Declaration; all the opposition leaders in West Pakistan rejected it. The country stood divided then and there; only filling out the details---- and the shedding of blood was left. An editorial of *The*

Times of India claimed that the Tashkent declaration was "a complete endorsement of the Indian point of view"., and that "nothing can now be gained by questioning Kashmir's status as an integral part of India."

It was a very correct reading of the text but on 17 January, *Dawn* counter -editorialized that the Declaration itself was careful to couple the reaffirmation of India and Pakistan of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter deprecating the use of force in settling disputes with Article 33 of the Charter which clearly stipulates negotiations, conciliation, mediation and arbitration as the essential ingredients of the United Nations mechanism for peace.[11]

From this list, only arbitration was actionable, but with China still out of the United Nations and the U.S.S.R., the United States and the United Kingdom, all rallying behind India, it was not a practical suggestion. The Rann of Kutch conflict had been subject to arbitration and its result was unknown till January 1966.

6.10.5 Demonstrations

On 23 January opposition leaders demonstrated in Rawalpindi [the interim capital] in defiance of Section 144. The police, according to an official press note had to resort to "a mild cane charge, and to take five persons into custody. The situation then became normal."[12]The last sentence of the press note was somewhat optimistic. In Lahore, anti - Tashkent Declaration demonstrations were set of when a war widow appeared at the Punjab University with her orphaned infants. These demonstrations kept on swelling.

On 6 February1966 the All-Pakistan National Conference led by Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan denounced the Tashkent Declaration. With the momentum building up, Foreign Minister Z. A. Bhutto on 10 June advocated overstepping the Tashkent Declaration to find a solution to the Kashmir problem. [13]Eventually the anti- Tashkent demonstration came to be led by him. When a student leader Abdul Hamid died of police firing on 7 November 1966, the protests increased. On 13 November Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Khan Abdul Wali Khan and 11 others were arrested.

6.10.6 Agartala Conspiracy Case

In the midst of protests in West Pakistan against the Tashkent Declaration, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested in the Agartala Conspiracy Case. The charge was that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had crossed over to India and met with officials there to plan a joint movement against Pakistan. Although a number of Human Rights Activists have been insisting that Ayub, or the Army, concocted a case against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, two Bangladeshi writers S.A. Karim and Badruddin Umar have carried Mujibur Rahman's admission that he had indeed gone to Agartala, only, that he would not call it a conspiracy, but a striving for Independence.[14]

However, the political fall-out of the trial which was allowed to drag on, is best described by Ayub Khan himself:

16 February 1969 : Bhashani held a meeting in Paltan Maidan, ostensibly for holding funeral prayers of an Agartala conspirator prisoner killed when attempting to escape. He then encouraged the students to indulge in large scale arson, several houses belonging to ministers and the government have been burnt. Apparently, Bhashani pointed out the places himself. The governor rang up to say that he had enough evidence to arrest Bhashani. Justice Rahman, who was president of the Agartala tribune, escaped by a hair's breadth. Manzur Qadir too was chased.[15]

6.10.7 The Opposition Conference Lahore 1966

The student's movement in (West) Pakistan proved more successful than the student's movement in France, and the seemingly entrenched Ayub regime had been shaken, two years before the events described above. To stem the tide, the Government called a Round Table Conference in Lahore, and in this Conference on 5 February 1966 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced his 6 Point program. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had been released from prison where he had been put for his role in the Agartala Conspiracy, because other participants of the RTC made his release a condition for participation. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani Chairman, National Awami Party, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman, Pakistan People's Party, both radicals, did not participate.

The 6 Point program was a rehash of Bhashani's constitutional proposals of 1950. What had added to the acrimony was that Dr. Mahbubul Haq gave a speech in which he said that 90 per cent of the country's wealth was held by 22 families. Only one family was ethnically Bengali. This shifted attention away from the production of wealth to the distribution of wealth.

6.10.8 Jalao Gherao

This was the reason that, after issuance of the Six Point Program, disturbances in East Pakistan overtook disturbances in West Pakistan. Protestors there took to *Jalao Gherao* which means Surround and Burn. Just the situation described by Ayub Khan on 16 February. This movement caused massive loss of life and property; till finally Ayub Khan went on the radio on 21 February and regretted that so many lives had been lost, and that he would not contest the next presidential elections. Confiding his reasons to his *Diary*, Ayub wrote of his choices:

Declare that I am not a candidate for the next presidential election. This may help to cool the situation, enable the elections to be held and leave me some power to influence the election of a good man if the presidential system is to stay. [16]

This announcement should have brought about peace and order but in East Pakistan at least, it did not, for the demands contained in the 6 Point Program went beyond asking for the President's resignation.

6.10.9 The Decade of Development 1958-1968

If we look at Ayub Khan's achievements in their totality, they are impressive. Under Ayub, Pakistan enjoyed unprecedented stability, and because of the economic gains made under his regime, Pakistan was held up as a model of development in the "Free World"

that is the non-Communist world. We have seen how going contrary to the socialist trend in the Third World, Pakistan was setting up industries in the public sector and selling them to the private sector.

When Mahbubul Haq complained that only 22 families held the wealth of the nation, the prosperity itself became a cause of complaint in the East Wing. Since there were demands for a more equitable distribution of wealth, the production of wealth went down and disparity between the two wings became a cause of grievance. The trouble was that Ayub was genuinely and sincerely opposed to Communism, or any form of socialism, and this had led him to refuse Chinese help in the 1965 War. The publicity given by the press to his son Gohar Ayub added to public apprehension.

In other circumstances celebrating the decade of development, and the publication of his autobiography *Friends Not Masters* would have been a welcome step, but since disaffection against his regime had become wide scale, the Decade of Development rebounded against Ayub. Demonstrations along with incidents of ethnic violence became uncontrollable. On 26 February, Ayub Khan Records:
Incidentally, Mujib came to see me last night. Our talk was cordial. He seemed conciliatory though making no bones that he was the uncrowned king of East Pakistan and he must be recognized as such. There was no give and take in his points. He was greatly under the influence of the extremists in his party and the students were completely out of control.[17]

Under the circumstances, had Ayub stuck to his own 1962 Constitution and transferred power to Abdul Jabbar Khan, Speaker of the National Assembly, a Bengali, there would have been an iota of hope. On 25 March 1969, he resigned and transferred power to the Army headed by General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, proclaimed Martial Law and abrogated his own Constitution.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 10

1. Dr. Mahbubul Haq claimed that 90 per cent of Pakistan's wealth was held by __ families.
2. The Ayub regime celebrated a Decade of _____in1968, which caused a reaction.
3. The Tashkent Declaration after a great deal of pressure from Alexei Kosygin was finally signed on 10 January_____.
4. All the opposition leaders in East Pakistan welcomed the _____ Declaration; all the opposition leaders in West Pakistan rejected it.
5. On 25 March 1969, Ayub Khan resigned and transferred power to the _____ headed by General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan

QUESTIONS

1. Did the U.S.S.R apply pressure on India in Tashkent?
2. How would a no-war agreement affect the Kashmir issue?

3. Why were East Pakistan and West Pakistan politicians divided over the Tashkent Declaration?
4. Was the Agartala Conspiracy real? Did Mujib really go to Agartala?
5. Describe the reaction to the Decade of Development.

6.11 BENGALI INSURRECTION AND THE 1971 WAR

The restoration of law and order was the immediate priority which was then achieved, because a fair election was promised. Simultaneously the framing of a new constitution and the Awami League's 6 Point program became the main political issue. Yahya Khan issued an LFO, which ended One Unit and provided for One Man One Vote. There was an unusually long campaign period. After election results the PPP in the west resisted a 6 Point constitution due to which a crisis occurred. On 1 March 1970 the National Assembly session was postponed leading to ethnic cleansing by the Awami League. On 25 March the Pakistan Army took action. India and Russia signed a pact. War broke out in November 1971.In the UNSC the proposal for cease fire was vetoed. On 16 December 1971, the Army surrendered and on 20 December, Z. A. Bhutto took over as C.M.L.A. and President.

Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan was the general to whom the Akhnur campaign was given after taking it from General Akhtar Malik in 1965. Later Yahya Khan explained he had instructions not to take Akhnur. [1] This means that under international pressure, a very vital triumph was thwarted. It would be unfair to say that Yahya Khan had a similar mission in 1971, but it is an omen.

The L.F.O:
On 30th March 1970, The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. General Yahya Khan promulgated the Legal Framework Order under which elections would be held. Prior to this, he undid One Unit and restored the 4 provincial governments of West Pakistan. The principle of parity between the two wings was removed, and that of One Man- One Vote (adult franchise) was introduced which meant a majority for East Pakistan in terms of National Assembly seats.

The L.F.O was a very long document, its intent and purpose can be gathered by the Oath to be taken by the elected Members of the National Assembly and the provincial assemblies:
12 I……. son of ….. do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to Pakistan and that I will discharge the duties upon which I am to enter honestly, to the best of my ability, faithfully in accordance with the provisions of the Legal Framework Order 1970, the Law and the rules of the Assembly set out in that Order, and always in the interest of the solidarity, integrity, well-being and prosperity of Pakistan.

The reference to the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan meant that the constitution to be framed would be based on united Pakistan. The challenge to this principle could come from the provinces, especially East Pakistan, therefore the LFO defined the centre-provinces relations:

20 (4) All powers including legislative, administrative and financial, shall be so distributed between the Federal Government and the Provinces that the Provinces shall have maximum autonomy that is to say, maximum legislative, administrative and financial powers but the Federal Government shall also have adequate powers including legislative, administrative and financial powers, to discharge its responsibilities in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the country.

What if the majority of the elected members deviated from this distribution of powers and disregarded the solidarity and territorial integrity of Pakistan? There was a formal provision for this contingency:

25. The constitution Bill, as passed by the National Assembly, shall be presented to the President for authentication. The National Assembly shall stand dissolved in the event that authentication is refused.

To understand why provisions directly addressing the solidarity and territorial integrity of Pakistan were so explicitly stated, we need to see the text of the Awami League's 6 Point program as it appeared in their Manifesto:

Point No. 1

The character of the government shall be federal and parliamentary, in which the election to the federal legislature and to the legislatures of the federating units shall be direct and on the basis of universal adult franchise. The representation in the federal legislature shall be on the basis of population.

Point No.2

The federal government shall be responsible only for defense and foreign affairs, and, subject to the conditions provided in (3) below, currency.

Point No.3

There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region, or, in the alternative, a single currency, subject to the establishment of a federal reserve system in which there will be federal reserve banks which shall devise measures to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to another.

Point No. 4

Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the federating units. The federal government shall be provided with requisite revenue resources for meeting the requirements of defense and foreign affairs, which revenue resources would be automatically appropriable by the

federal government in the manner provided and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Such constitutional provisions would ensure that the federal government's revenue requirements are met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over the fiscal policy by the governments of the federating units.

Point No. 5
Constitutional provisions shall be made to enable separate accounts to be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the federating units, under the control of the respective governments of the federating units. The foreign exchange requirements of the federal government shall be met by the governments of the federating units on the basis of a ratio to be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. The regional governments shall have power under the Constitution to negotiate foreign trade and aid within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsibility of the federal government.

Point No.6
The governments of the federating units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or para-military force in order to contribute effectively towards national security.

In plain words it meant that all the provinces of Pakistan (after the undoing of One-Unit) shall have their own currencies or reserves, each province would have direct trade and aid relations with foreign countries and each province would have its own militia. This means that the two subjects given to federation in the first point would be further constricted, leaving the federal parliament with hardly any power.

This was the reason that West Pakistan political parties like the Pakistan Peoples Party and the Muslim League (Qayyum) was opposing any constitution on the basis of 6 Point program. Mujibur Rahman was not asking only for autonomy of East Bengal, he was asking for autonomy for all 5 provinces of Pakistan. In the last stages of negotiations in Dacca March 1970. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, the NAP Baloch leader who had earlier opposed the accession of Balochistan to Pakistan,had according to his own account, demanded 5 instead of two constitutional commissions as demanded by Mujibur Rahman.[2]
The power was held by Yahya Khan, the majority was led by Mujibur Rahman. It would not matter whether Zulfikar Ali Bhutto liked it or not, Yahya Khan immediately after the results were known could have transferred power to the Awami League. The PPP acquired a stake because the 6 Point constitution would affect the integrity of West Pakistan as well. In his reaction after the promulgation of the LFO, at Hatiya on 1 May 1970, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman —demanded1--- that the National Assembly be declared a sovereign body, 2—regretted that certain provisions of the LFO were undemocratic and 3--:
The coming elections were not for achieving power, but to frame the country's constitution.[3]

This clear statement of Mujibur Rahman, made months before the elections is ignored by our own writers who claim that the crisis occurred because power was not transferred to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Why did Yahya persist when he saw that the L.F.O and 6 points were incompatible? The answer has been provided by one of Yahya's ministers Gholam Wahid Choudhury previously Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca:

Mujib gave the impression of being satisfied. He told Yahya and (Governor) Ahsan that his 6 points were not "the Koran or the Bible" and the plan was negotiable. One morning in the autumn of 1969, he told me, pointing at the photo of Suhrawardy which hung prominently in his room: "How could I think of destroying Pakistan, being a disciple of this great leader?"[4]

Yahya Khan, though not arbitrarily, undid One Unit and introduced One Man One Vote principle which removed inter-wing parity and gave greater seats to East Pakistan. Air Marshal Nur Khan and General Abdul Hamid warned Yahya that without a second house, and on the basis of larger population, the Bengalis would be in a position to impose a constitution on other federating units of West Pakistan, by brute majority. G.W. Choudhury does not mention the traditional two third majority condition for framing or amending constitutions; he mentions a 60 per cent majority proposal:

The provision for 60 per cent was in the plan up to the last moment. When it was put before the Cabinet just one day before its announcement, the 60 per cent clause was still there. At the eleventh hour, by most skillful maneuvering, Yahya dropped the clause from the plan.[5]

This account comes from a Bengali member of Yahya Khan's cabinet, a professor of political science, who tells that although the danger had been clearly stated out to him Yahya dropped the one democratic and constitutional provision which could have averted the crisis. Again it is G.W. Choudhury who tells us that

Yahya was presented with a tape recorded account of those talks of Mujib with his close associates. Mujib was clearly heard to say: "My aim is to establish Bangladesh; I will tear the LFO into pieces as soon as the elections are over. Who would challenge me once the elections are over?" He also hinted to his colleagues about help from "outside sources." [6]

In an accompanying note, G.W. Choudhury writes: "For some reason, presumably to continue the path of negotiations he (Yahya) decided to ignore it." [7]This belies the theory given by a number of authors that the army held free and fair elections in the belief that no single party would emerge dominant from the results. How wide spread this theory was can be seen in the following assessments.

1. He (Yahya) was led by his intelligence agencies; as also by the political party supporting him, the Jamaat-i-Islami, that no single political party, including the Awami League would win an absolute majority. There would be a number of parties, splinter groups and individuals with a sizeable number of seats in the

National Assembly and that as President. Yahya Khan would be able to bargain from a position of strength and play off one against the other.[8]

2. The election results were agreat disappointment to the junta because contrary to intelligence estimates the Awami League received an overwhelming mandate.[9]
3. The central government's military and civilian intelligence services had consistently underestimated the appeal of the Awami League.[10]

It is not known for a fact whether intelligence agencies had arrived at such estimates, or that the Army had believed them, otherwise they would not have kept pressing for a 60 per cent majority for framing the Constitution in the Legal Framework Order. Yahya Khan as an individual, and not the army as an institution, bears responsibility for what follows. This estimate that the Awami League would not win is belied by Ayub Khan's entry of 23 February 1969, while he was still President:

A serious political situation is emerging. Bhutto in West Pakistan and Mujib in East Pakistan are gaining ascendancy. Something has to be done to prevent such a dangerous combination.[11]

It is difficult to believe that Yahya could not see what Ayub could clearly see.

6.11.1 Election Results

The results of the 7December 1970 elections were exactly as Ayub Khan had foreseen. The overall majority was gained by the Awami League 161 seats out of the 163 seats allotted to the eastern Wing. One seat each was won by Raja Tridev Roy and Nurul Amin, both of whom later sided with Pakistan. In the west the PPP had initially won 81 seats out of 144 which increased to 88 as independents joined it. The religious and conservative parties had been wiped out in both wings.

Speaking at Chittagong on 12 December Mujibur Rahman re-affirmed that "the constitution of the country would be based on the 6 Points which he described as a panacea." [12]On 17 December at Dacca:

The Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that he firmly believed that he could be able to realize the Six Point demand of the people of Bangladesh. No power on earth would be able to frustrate the legitimate demands of Bangladesh.[13]

The die was cast, and now the political forces favoring integrity and those seeking to cater to Bangladesh to the exclusion of Pakistan were at logger-heads. In practical terms PPP and Muslim League (Qayyum) on one side, the Awami League and NAP on the other.

6.11.2 The Cause of the Crisis

It needs to be understood that it was not a question of the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people; it was a question of the powers allowed to the federation under the 6 Point constitution. If it had been a question of power What Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League would get in one province, [East Bengal] Z. A. Bhutto and the

PPP would get in two, [Sindh and Punjab] and Wali Khan and the NAP would also get in two.[Balochistan and NWFP] If all these entities were allowed to maintain militias and to directly control currency, foreign trade and aid, it can only be imagined what sort of Pakistan would have survived.
Even if it were not possible to militarily preserve East Pakistan, accepting the 6 Point program was not an option. If East Pakistan was lost in battle, the possession would be lost, if it was surrendered in a negotiated transfer, the title would be lost. Possession in legal terms means having physical control over a territory or property. Title means having the legal right over that territory. As long as Pakistan or at any rate west Pakistan did not have a constitution, by letting Bangladesh go. Pakistan would have to let Balochistan and NWFP go, and even West Pakistan would have disintegrated. Yaqub-Khan and S. M. Ahsan were calling for a political solution, but they were not saying *what* that political solution was.

6.11.3 Z. A. Bhutto's Speeches

On 20 December 1970 Z.A. Bhutto stated outside the Punjab Assembly building:
I congratulate Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. We respect the majority. East-West parity no longer exists. We recognize the principle of majority under accepted democratic traditions. But we must take into account many other factors. Both Punjab and Sindh are bastions of power. We may or may not form a government at the center…In one of my pockets lie the keys of the Sindh Assembly and in the other those of the Punjab Assembly. No central government can be run without our co-operation. Any constitution shall have to provide maximum autonomy of the provinces.

I assure you I will remain always at your service. I want neither minister-ship nor presidentship. I only want to end the exploitation of the poor.[14]

This is the text as reproduced in *Marching towards Democracy* Here the phrase is "centers of power" Since the speech was in Urdu, English versions differ. *Dawn* does not reproduce this phrase but in his rejoinder of next day, Tajuddin Ahmed Secretary of the Awami League criticized Bhutto's use of the constitution framed without the co-operation of the Pakistan People's Party. Now follows a paragraph not found in *Marching towards Democracy,* but carried by *Dawn* the next day:
Mr. Bhutto told the crowd that his party would not like to sit *permanently* in the opposition at the center, because in that case, it would not be in a position to fulfil the promises made to the people. He particularly referred to the problems of the rising cost of living, economic reforms and independent foreign policy.[15]

Now whether Z .A. Bhutto said "bastions" or "centers" the words were ill chosen. It was in his book *The Great Tragedy* and in English that Bhutto explained his stand:
The principle of majority rule could be applied in a federal, but not confederal, structure; under a federal arrangement the roles of the majority and minority are reversible, but this is not so in a confederal arrangement.[16]

Next Z.A. Bhutto addressed a press conference in Peshawar on 15 February 1971:
I stated that in the circumstances we would not participate in the National Assembly session on the 3rd of March unless assured that our point of view would be heard and, if found reasonable, accepted by the Awami League.[17]
Next, on 22 February 1971, Z. A. Bhutto addressed the students of the University of the Punjab:
I want to assure you that the People's Party does not want to pollute the political atmosphere of the country. We have never done that. We want to prove our case through argument and logic. I will tell you tomorrow why we decided not to go to Dacca… We have regard and respect for all. Let the newspapermen take note of it. If any of them misreports please remember others have heard me and can bear witness. [18]

Z.A. Bhutto followed up with his promise at a public meeting at Minar-i-Pakistan, Lahore on 28 February 1971:
I propose two alternatives to resolve the present crisis----postponement of the National Assembly session or removal of the 120 day time limit for the assembly to frame a constitution. If either of these alternatives are accepted, I shall go to Dacca tomorrow to resolve the pre-session deadlock….However we narrowed down our disagreement to foreign trade and foreign aid which cannot be entrusted to the provincial governments.[19]
On 15 March, Z.A. Bhutto addressing a press conference at Karachi explained his lengthy speech of the previous day.

At Nishtar Park yesterday, the whole substance and the whole tenor of my speech was a plea and a demand for maintaining of the unity of Pakistan.[20]

It is the 14 March 1971 speech which has become controversial, because of the Urdu words :*Udhar Tum, Idhar Ham* words that Bhutto had never uttered, hence his protest at the press conference. The report given both by *The Pakistan Times* and the *Dawn* was:
Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, said today that if power is to be transferred to the people before any constitutional settlement, as demanded by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, it should be transferred to the majority party in East Pakistan and to the majority party in West Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto strongly advocated one Pakistan.[21]

6.11.4 President Yahya Khan's Broadcast

Z.A. Bhutto's speech of 14 March was made when matters had gone too far. President Yahya Khan announced that the National Assembly session had been postponed:
While realizing that an application of adequate force can effectively bring the situation under control, I have deliberately ordered the authorities in East Pakistan to use the absolute minimum force required to stop the law breakers from loot, arson and murder….As long as I am in command of the Pakistani armed forces, I will ensure complete and absolute integrity of Pakistan…

According to the Awami League leader Kamal Hossain "as we listened to this broadcast we were totally outraged":

The students were already out in the streets in spontaneous demonstrations shouting slogans of *Joy Bangla,* and *Bir Bengali osthrodhoro, Bangladesh shadhinkoro* ("Victory to Bengalis" and "Brave Bengalis take up arms liberate Bangladesh) [22]
I was asked to draw up a draft declaration of independence which I did under Tajuddin's close guidance. ..We duly prepared the draft and handed it over to Bangbandhu (Mujibur Rahman) around 10 February, he then kept it with himself. [22]

Kamal Hossein's account is sufficient to show that the demonstrations were caused neither by Bhutto's boycott nor by Yahya's broadcast, they were pre-planned. Only, after Yahya Khan's broadcast they became more violent.

6.11.5 Violence in East Pakistan

There are a number of accounts of what happened in the that fateful March, we are choosing the account of S. A. Karim, the first Foreign Secretary of Bangla-desh:
The already strained relations between them were exacerbated after 1 March1971 when Yahya announced the indefinite postponement of the National Assembly. Bengalis in Dhaka began venting their wrath on non-Bengalis. Violence soon spread to other towns of East Pakistan…The subcontinent had a history of communal riots and it was not altogether surprising that bad feelings against Biharis should set off communal violence. There were massacres of Biharis in Dhaka, Chittagong and Khulna by mobs. The disturbing aspect of the riots in Dhaka was that their prime instigators were motivated by greed.[23]

There are a number of other authorities listed here. On 4 March 1971, Mujibur Rahman told the *New York Times* that each wing should have its own prime minister, a full ten days before Bhutto was accused of the *Udhar Tum Idhar Ham* speech. On 7 March Mujibur Rahman made a speech in Dacca. According to Kamal Hossein:
The historic speech of 7 March lasted only 19 minutes…Thus though independence was clearly set as the goal, and in fact it was a declaration of independence, Bangabandhu stopped short of a formal declaration as it was clear that the army had been mobilized and had conspicuously taken up positions at different vantage points in the city.[24]

The four concrete demands Mujibur Rahman put forward in the 7 March 1971 speech were 1.The immediate withdrawal of Martial Law. 2.The transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.3 Investigations into the Army shootings in East Pakistan.4.The return of the Army to the barracks. He would consider attending the National Assembly on 23 March [the new date] only if these demands were met. Z.A. Bhutto agreed with these demands in principle but said that modalities needed to be worked out.

6.11.6 Dacca Discussions

President Yahya Khan arrived at Dacca on 15 March, and after deliberating Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also arrived in Dacca on 21 March. Here Mujibur Rahman presented them with new proposals on 18 March. The salient features were:

That a Presidential Proclamation would provide 1-for the immediate transfer of Pakistan to the 5 provinces without effecting a similar transfer at the center 2- The President would keep running affairs with advisers, who would not be legislators.3-The National assembly would be divided *ab initio* into 2 committees each representing elected members from each wing.4-these committees would submit their proposals to the National Assembly which would consider ways and means of living together5- East Pakistan would be given autonomy on the basis of 6 Points while West Pakistan would work out its autonomy on the basis of mutual agreement.[25]

On 23 March, (Pakistan Day) Sheikh Mujibur Rahman hoisted the Bangladesh flag at his residence. On 24 March the Awami League further amended its proposals. They wanted two Constitutional Conventions instead of Committees which would submit two Constitutions not proposals for a Confederation of Pakistan. After submitting his latest demarche Tajuddin Ahmed said that there nothing further to negotiate.

We have based the above account on Bhutto's *The Great Tragedy* because Kamal Hossein has written: "Bhutto's account confirms the basic position that was maintained by Bangabandhu."[26]

6.11.7 Pakistan Army Action

The Two Constitution demand is not understood here. It was not a demand for the secession of East Pakistan any more. Martial Law was the basic law, there was no constitution; if power was transferred directly to provinces in such vacuum, it would mean the disintegration of the *whole* of Pakistan. How long the Pakistan Army had exercised restrain can be gathered by the complaint of an Awami Leaguer to Brigadier Siddique Salik:

Nor had anyone dropped a word of caution that we were crossing the limitsbeyond which lay death and destruction. I asked: "Do you think that there was still some hope left after the confederation proposal had been made?" He replied: "That is where we miscalculated. We thought and our sources inside the government confirmed that the army was giving in. So we pressed on, completely forgetting that Bhutto had arrived on the scene."[27]

The Hamoodur Rahman Commission has given full details of Pakistan Army atrocities. I myself have given salient details in *A Concise History of Pakistan*, but just as I have restrained from giving details of ethnic cleansing by the Awami League and the Mukti Bahini, I restrain myself from giving details of Pakistan Army atrocities here. The Hamoodur Rahman Commission mentions both sides, but then says that the crimes committed by unorganized mobs are not equal to the crimes committed by a trained and disciplined army.

In this the Hamoodur Rahman Commission erred. In the Mymensingh Sector, this "unorganized" Awami League mob was able to kill 37 officers of the Pakistan Air Force including their commander Flight Lieutenant Safi Mustafa. General Shahbeg Singh who

had trained the MuktiBahini, died fighting against in Indian Army during the assault on the Golden Temple.

6.11.8 The Role of Foreign Powers

The leading role against Pakistan was taken by Russia and Britain who had never shown concern for state terrorism against Kashmir. On 9 August 1971,the USSR and India signed A Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation which included military collaboration. Pakistan had facilitated Dr. Henry Kissinger's secret visit to China, therefore America and China were supporting Pakistan in this war. After the State Department reported that the emergence of Bangla- desh was unavoidable, the US sent its Seventh Fleet. The USSR according to a Yale University professor, countered by placing two nuclear submarines 8 miles off the Pacific Coast of America.

6.11.9 The Outbreak of War

The war was started by India on 22 November without a formal declaration. On 3 December, Pakistan retaliated. On the western front, while Pakistan won the battle of Husaini Wala, it lost Kargil. The result according to Henry Kissinger was foregone because the US. had placed an Arms embargo on Pakistan in 1965. The Pakistan Army surrendered in Dacca on 16 December1971, but it was in this war that the Pakistan army surrounded, out numbered and slandered had displayed the greatest acts of courage, fighting without food against odds for more than a fortnight.

6.11.10 The Poland Resolution

At the United Nations Security Council the USSR vetoed every resolution calling for a cease-fire. One resolution moved by Poland presented on 14 December, has become controversial. Both Sultan M. Khan then Foreign Secretary and Hasan Zaheer later Cabinet Secretary have given the same texts:
i-The immediate release of Mujibur Rahman [this was deleted in the revised version] and transfer of power to the elected representatives of East Pakistan ii-An initial cease-fire in all areas of Pakistan for a period of 72 hours immediately after the beginning of the process of transfer of power. iii- Regrouping of Pakistani armed forces in East Pakistan to pre-set locations for evacuation from there. iv-All West Pakistani civilian personnel and other persons willing to return to West Pakistan and East Pakistani civilian personnel and other persons in West Pakistan to be given an opportunity to do so under the supervision of the United Nations. v-The cease-fire to become permanent soon *after* the withdrawal of Pakistani troops and their concentration for that purpose had started during the period of 72 hour- vi- Withdrawal of Indian armed forces from East Pakistan to start soon *after* the evacuation of nationals from both the wings and the Pakistan armed forces from East Pakistan had started; and vii-The withdrawal of Indian troops to actually start in consultation with the newly established authority in East Pakistan,[28]

According to the then Foreign Secretary Sultan M. Khan, the Foreign Minister designate, Z. A. Bhutto had the Poland Resolution rejected on the ground that it required the Pakistan Army to first withdraw from its own territory, and only then at an un-specified

time the occupying Indian forces would withdraw. The Permanent Representative, on Bhutto's instructions but before his arrival had in a three paragraph note, containing the above objection, formally rejected the Polish Resolution.[29]On 15 September Poland submitted another resolution which omitted the name of Mujibur Rahman, otherwise every other word was there.

Sultan M. Khan writes: "It is true that acceptance of either of these resolutions would have spared the humiliation of the Pakistan armed forces and a large number of civilian personnel being taken prisoners of war." [30]This however is a wrong interpretation. In clause iii, the Pakistan Army personnel would be taken to pre-set locations for evacuation. Their ultimate destination was not mentioned. In clause iv it was clearly mentioned that West Pakistan civilian personnel would be allowed to go home. Clearly then the humiliation of Pakistan armed forces being taken prisoners of war would not be avoided under the terms of the Poland resolution. Since Z.A. Bhutto had torn up his notes while leaving the UNSC the double myth was spread that 1. The Polish resolution was favorable or even preferable for Pakistan, and 2. Bhutto had torn up the Polish resolution.

On 20 December 1971, Yahya Khan had promulgated his own Constitution, but public demonstrations forced him to withdraw it. On 20 December the office of the Chief Martial Law Administrator and President was transferred to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Martial Law being the basic law, he could not have become the President without first becoming the C.M.L.A.
With this defeat one phase of Pakistan's history came to an end.

The Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that she had drowned the Two Nation Theory in the Bay of Bengal. The Rohingia refugees have rescued it.

SELF ASSESSMENT No. 11

1. The Awami League's 6 Point program became the main _____ issue.
2. Yahya Khan issued an_____, which ended One Unit and provided for One Man One Vote.
3. On 1 March 1970 the National Assembly session was postponed leading to ethnic cleansing by the_____.
4. On 23 March, (Pakistan Day) Sheikh Mujibur Rahman hoisted the _____flag at his residence.
5. The Pakistan Army surrendered in Dacca on 16 December_____.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the implications of accepting the 6 Point program as the Constitution of the whole of Pakistan?
2. Why did President Yahya Khan refuse to incorporate a 60 per cent majority condition for framing the constitution?
3. Who started the violence in East Pakistan?
4. What was Z.A. Bhutto's role in the dismemberment of Pakistan?

5. What was the role of the Indo-Soviet Treaty in the dismemberment of Pakistan?

ANSWERS OF THE SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. Refugees	2. United States	3. Employees
4. Muslim	5. Kashmir	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Lungs	2. Finance	3. Bihar
4. State	5. Last	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Assembly	2. Minorities	3. Jinnah
4. Zulfikar Ali	5. India	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Bhashani	2. Prime Minister	3. Emergency
4. Sindh	5. West	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. 1959	2. Muslim	3. Prime Minister
4. Republican	5. East Pakistan	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Ayub	2. Positive	3. President
4. Banned	5. Karachi	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Shahabuddin	2. Republic	3. College
4. Union	5. Arrested	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. Fatima Jinnah	2. Opposition	3. Bhashani
4. Ayub	5. Ayub Khan	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. Kashmir	2. Security	3. Training
4. Indian	5. Tashkent	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.10

1. 22	2. Development	3. 1966
4. Tashkent	5. Army	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.11

1. Political	2. L.F.O.	3. Awami League
4. Bangladesh	5. 1971	

NOTES AND REFERENCES 1

1. Richard D. Lambert, *Hindu-Muslim Riots*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 221-222

2. *Ibid.* p.226

3. *Jinnah :Speeches and Statements 1947-1948*, Karachi, Oxford University Press,2000, p.92

4. *Ibid.* p.65

5. Nicholas Mansergh, *Independence Years*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999,p.246

6. Yaqoob Khan Bangash, *A Princely Affair*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2015, p.137

7. *Ibid.*, p.138

8. Mehrunnisa Ali (ed.) *Jinnah on World Affairs*, Karachi, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2007, p.498

9. M. Rafique Afzal, (ed.) *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan*, Lahore, Research Society of Pakistan/ University of the Punjab, 1967, p.625—Ashfaque Naqvi, ADC to Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Dewan of Junagadh wrote that it was Captain Harvey Jones who had invited the Indian troops—*Dawn*,27 March 1998, p.3.

10. H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1989, p.432

11. Yaqoob Khan Bangash, *op cit.* pp. 176-178

12. Mehrunnisa Ali, *op.cit.*p.466.

NOTES AND REFERENCES 2

1. Khalid B. Sayeed, *Pakistan The Formative Phase*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1969, p.233

2. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *North-West Frontier Province : History and Politics*, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2007, p.80

3. Khalid B. Sayeed *op. cit,* p.246

4. *Ibid*

5. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah,*loc.cit*

6. Khalid B. Sayeed, *op. cit*, p.247.

7. *India Today*, 31 January 2014. Reprint. The interview was conducted by Haroon Siddiqui in January 1980

8. *Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-1948*, Karachi, Oxford University Press,2000, pp. 230-231

9. Shahid Siddiqui, *Education Policies in Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press,2016, pp.277-278

10. Ilahi Bakhsh, *With the Quaid-i-Azam in his Last Days*, Karachi, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1978, p.41 and 51

NOTES AND REFERENCES 3:

1. Yaqoob Khan Bangash, *A Princely Affair,* Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.395-396

2. Syed Jaffar Ahmed, "On Constitutions and Constitutionalism in Pakistan," in Sabiha Hasan (ed.) *Pakistan Perspectives*, Vol.22. No. 1, January -June 2017, pp.13-14

3. Mehrunnisa Ali (ed.) *Jinnah on World Affairs*, Karachi, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2007, p.464

4. Ahmad Hasan Dani (ed.) *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Islamabad, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1979, p.374

5. Jinnah *Speeches and Statements 1947-1948*, Karachi, 2000, p.28

6. M. Rafique Afzal (ed.) *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan,* Lahore, Research Society of Pakistan, 1976, p.230-240

7. Anthony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press,2001.p.88

8. Jinnah, *op. cit.* p.72

9. M. Rafique Afzal, *op. cit.*p.232.

NOTES AND REFERENCES 4:

1. Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2018, p.65

2. Allen McGrath, *The Destruction of Democracy in Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1996, p.77

3. *Ibid.* p.76

4. Margit Tavits, *Presidents with Prime Ministers*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.234

5. Hamid Khan, *op. cit.* p.74

6. Kausar Parween, *The Politics of Pakistan : The Role of the Opposition 1947-1958*, Karachi, Oxford University Press,2013, p.235

7. Keith Callard, *Pakistan A Political Study*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1957,p.180

8. Hamid Khan, *op. cit*, p.77

9. *Ibid.* p. 32

10. Inam Aziz*, Stop Press*, tr. Khalid Hasan, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.74. Commander Mirza Hasan Askari wrote fiction under the name Ibn Sa'eed, was a member of the editorial staff at *Dawn* , and Editorial Consultant , Oxford University Press till 2003.

11. Hamid Khan, *op.cit.* p.85

12. *Ibid*.,p.87

NOTES AND REFERENCES 5:

1. Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, (3rd edition), Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2017,p.107

2. Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, *Friends Not Masters*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1967, pp.56-57

NOTES AND REFERENCES 6:

1. Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1967, pp.78 and56

2. Craig Baxter (ed.) *The Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2007, p.165

3. Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Speeches and Statements*, Karachi, July 1959- June 1960, Vol II, p.27

4. Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Speeches and Statements*, Karachi, July 1962-June1963 Vol. V, p.74

5. Shahid Siddiqui, *Education Policies in Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp.7-8

6. Mohammad Ayub Khan *op. cit.* pp. 100, 101

NOTES AND REFERENCES7:

1. M.H.R. Talukdar, (ed.) *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy*, Dhaka, University Press, 1987, p. 205.

NOTES AND REFERENCES 8:

1. Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, Karachi, Oxford University Press,1999, p.117

2. M. Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1967, p.237

3. *Ibid.* p.235

4. Muhammad Afzal Hameed, *Hyat-i-Madar-i-Millat*, Rawalpindi, Ashraf Book Agency, n.d. p.93

5. M. Ayub Khan, *op. cit.* pp. 236-239

6. Muhammad Afzal Hameed, *op. cit*. pp.69-91

7. Inam Aziz, *Stop Press*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp.79, 80

8. M. Ayub Khan, *op .cit.* p.237

9. Roedad Khan, *Pakistan A Dream Gone Sour*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1998, p.20

10. Gohar Ayub Khan, *Glimpses into the Corridors of Power*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2007, p.85

11. Muhammad Reza Kazimi, *The Raja of Mahmudabad A Political Study*, Karachi. SAMA, 2015, pp. 20-21

NOTES AND REFERENCES 9:

1. General Muhammad Musa, *My Version*, Lahore ,Wajidalis, 1983, p.44

2. *Dawn*, Karachi, 2 August 2005, p.2

3. *Dawn*, Karachi, 30 May 2010, p.5

4. Roedad Khan,(ed.) *The British Papers*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2002,p.377

5. General Musa, *op. cit.* pp.2 and 29

6. *Dawn*, 4 May 2001,p.6

7. *Dawn*, 29 April 1965 [*Dawn* references without page numbers are taken from 2015 reprints]

8. Durga Das, *India from Curzon to Nehru and After*, London, Collins, 1969,p.394

9. Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2008, p222

10. *Ibid.* p.223

11. Iqbal Akhund, *Memoirs of a Bystander*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1997,p.87

12. Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, Lahore, sang-i-Meel, 1993, p.359

13. Zahid Husain, "A Wrong War" *Dawn* 9 September 2015, p.8 and Afaq Rizvi, "Letter" *Dawn*, 16 September 2015,p.9

14. Craig Baxter, (ed.) *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan 1966-1972*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp.3, 4

15. *Ibid*, p.84

16. General Musa, o*p.cit.*,p.48. In his book *My Version* General Musa writes that he heard on All-India Radio that the Pakistan army was advancing to Jammu from Sialkot. Since this was not true he calculated that India would attack on 6 September—p.47. To Mukhtar Butt he said he heard All-India Radio say that PAF was bombarding Amritsar. Since it was not true, he divined that India would attack on 6 September, *Dawn* 22 December 2015, p.9

17. General Musa.p.48

18. *Ibid.*

19. Lt. General Mahmud Ahmad, *History of Indo-Pak War 1965*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2006,pp.255,254,262 and 273.

20. Major General Abrar Husain, *Men of Steel*, Rawalpindi, Army Education Publishing House, 2005, p.55

21. Mahmud Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p.518

22. Rear Admiral M. A. K. Lodi, *Logbook of Lodi*, forthcoming, p.78

23. Rear Admiral Zahid Hasnain, *Odyssey of a Sailor,* Karachi, SAMA, 2011,p.176

24. John Fricker, *Battle for Pakistan The Air Warof 1965*. Michigan, Ian Allen, 1979,from Urdu translation by Latif Ahmad Khan, Karachi, Misbah-ul- Islam, 1979.p.73

25. *Ibid*,p.86

26. Qambar Raza, *Dawn*, 6 September 2014, p.8

27. General Musa,*op .cit.* p.76

28. *Dawn* 5 September 2015, p.17

29. Lt. General B.M. Kaul, *The Untold Story*, Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1967,p.474

30. Roedad Khan, *op. cit.* p.372

31. *Ibid*., pp.375, 410

32. *Ibid*. p.384

33. G.W. Choudhry, *India, Pakistan , Bangladesh and the Major Powers*, New York, The Free Press, 1975,p.53

34. Sir Morrice James, *Pakistan Chronicle*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1993, p.153

35. Roedad Khan, *op. cit.* p.388

36. Brigadier Amjad Ali Chaudhury, "September 65—Before and After", *Defense Journal*, July 1984, p.742.

NOTES AND REFERENCES 10:

1. Durga Das, *India from Curzon to Nehru and After*, London, Collins, 1969, p.396.

2. Roedad Khan (ed.) *The British Papers*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 20002, p.395

3. Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, Lahore, Sang-i-Meel, 1993, p.364

4. *Ibid*

5. *Ibid*. p.379

6. *Ibid*.

7. *Dawn*, Karachi, 9 December 2015

8. Altaf Gauhar, *op. cit.* pp.381, 382

9. *Ibid.*

10. KuldipNayar, *India The Critical Years*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1971,pp.244-249; In his later publication *Distant Neighbours*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1972, p.136, KudipNayar has given the photograph of Ayub's handwritten concession.

11. *Dawn*, 17 January 1966

12. *Ibid.,* 23 January 1966

13. *The British Papers*, p.573

14. S. A. Karim, *Sheikh Mujib Triumph and Tragedy*, Dhaka, the University Press, 2005, p.111 and Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2006, Vol.II,p.137

15. Craig Baxter (ed.) *The Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan 1966-1972*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2007, p.300

16. *Ibid.* p. 301

17. *Ibid* p.302

NOTES AND REFERENCES 11:

1. Brigadier Amjad Ali Khan Chaudhury, "September 65--- Before and After", *Defence Journal*, Karachi, July 1984, p.742

2. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, *In Search of Solutions*, Pakistan Study Center, University of Karachi, 2009, pp. 152-153

3. *Dawn*, 2 May 1970,p.1

4. G,W, Choudhary, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University

Press, 1993, p.85

5. *Ibid.* p.87

6. *Ibid.* p.98

7. *Ibid.* p.105

8. *Dawn*, 27 May 1992, p.13

9. Syed Shahid Hussain, *What Was Once East Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2011, p.34

10. Richard Sisson and Leo E. Rose, *War and Secession, Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1992, p.31

11. Craig Baxter (ed.) *The Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan 1966-1972*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2007, p.203

12. *Dawn*, 13 December 1970

13. *Dawn*, 18 December 1970

14. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed, *Marching Towards Democracy*, Lahore, Classic, n.d. reprint of DFP 1972

15. *Dawn*, 21 December 1970, p.1

16. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy*, Karachi. Pakistan People's Party, September 1971, p.19

17. *Ibid.*,p.28

18. *March Towards Democracy*, pp.168 and 170

19. *Ibid.*,p.171

20. *Ibid.* p.194

21. *Pakistan Times* and *Dawn*,15 March 1971,p.1

22. Kamal Hossein, *Bangladesh Quest for Freedom*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2013,pp. 80 and 72 respectively.

23. S. A. Karim, *Sheikh Mujib Triumph and Tragedy*, Dhaka, University Press, 2005, p.284

24. Kamal Hossein*, op. cit.*p.89

25. *The Great Tragedy*, p.40

26. Kamal Hossein, *op. cit.* p.100

27. Siddique Salik, *Witness to Surrender,* Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1988, p.68

28. Sultan M. Khan, *Memories and Reflections*, London, Center for Pakistan Studies, 1997, p.384 and Hasan Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1994,p.414.

29. Sultan M. Khan, *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid*. p.385

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 257
Objectives 257
7.1 Dismemberment of Pakistan 1971 258
7.2 Constitution of 1973 262
7.3 Islamic Provisions of the Constitution 265
7.4 Fundamental Rights in the Constitution 266
7.5 Amendments in the Constitution of 1973 268
7.6 Politics of Bhutto 272
7.7 Pakistan National Alliance and Downfall of Bhutto 274
7.8 Period of Zia-ul-Haq 277
7.9 Journey of Democracy from 1988 to 1999 280
7.10 Musharraf as President 285
7.11 Zafar-ul-Ullah Khan Jamali and Shokat Aziz as Prime Ministers 288
7.12 Election of 2013 and Pakistan Muslim League (N) 290
Bibliography 294

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the continuity of the previous one. The unit covers the political and constitutional development since the dismemberment of Pakistan. The author tried to cover the important issues of the politics as well as the rule of military in the state. The constitution of 1973 has been discussed in detail. In this regard, Islamic Provisions of the Constitution, Fundamental rights of the citizens provided in the constitution and the amendments made in the Constitution of 1973 had also been discussed. The unit also elaborated about the amendments in the Constitution of 1973 since 2019.

The role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto cannot be neglected during the discussion of Pakistan's political and constitutional development. This chapter discusses about the politics of Bhutto and Pakistan People's Party as well as the reasons of creation of Pakistan National Alliance and how it affected Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as his downfall started.

General Zia-ul-Haq ruled for over a decade. He introduced the eighth amendment in the constitution of Pakistan. The chapter also covers the steps of Islamisation in Pakistan introduced by Zia-ul-Haq as well as his political strategies. In response to the death of Zia, a new journey of democracy can be seen in the country from 1988 to 1999. The students of BS also read about the two turns of government taken by Pakistan People's Party and Muslim League (N) each in this decade.

Moreover, the chapter comprises the rule of General Pervaiz Musharraf from 1999 to 2008. Under the shadow of General Musharraf, the executive of two Prime Minister including Zafar-ul-Ullah Khan Jamali and Shokat Aziz has also discussed.

The chapter also covers the general elections of 2013 and the government of Pakistan Muslim League (N) till 2018. The general elections of 2018 are also briefly discussed at the end of this chapter.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you would be able to know about:

1. the constitutional history of Pakistan;
2. the Political history of Pakistan;
3. the rise and fall of political parties in the country;
4. the struggle of power among the political parties; and
5. the role of military in the politics of Pakistan.

7.1 DISMEMBERMENT OF EAST PAKISTAN 1971

In 1940, the Lahore Resolution, which demanded a separate state for the Muslims, put forward by Fazal-ul-Haq, (shair-i-Bengal) the premier of Bengal. This resolution was passed without any objection by the members of All India Muslim League. That's why at the time of Independence, the people of Bengal believed that there would be provincial autonomy in Pakistan but they were disappointed due to centralization policy of the government of Pakistan.

United Pakistan had peculiar geographical characteristics, as it consisted of two distinct wings of territories separated by a distance of 1500 km. East Pakistan and West Pakistan were geographically separated and had diverse culture and language. The only binding factors between both the wings were the common religion and their joint struggle for independence.

Social and cultural Diversity: The inhabitants of East and West Pakistan belonged to very different social structure. Their ideologies as the people of East Pakistan were secular and the people of West Pakistan were more traditional and conservative. These differences reflected in the behaviour of government officials as well. There were complaints about the behaviour of the high officials in central government towards the East Pakistan. The apathetic attitude of central government resulted into mistrust between both the parts. No serious attempt was made to solve this issue. It seemed as East and West Pakistan were two different parts of one country separated by 1000 miles of Indian territory. Ayub Khan in his autobiography stated that the people of West Pakistan considered their culture superior to that of East Pakistan and that did not go unnoticed in East Pakistan.

Language Issue: When the capital of Pakistan was decided to set up in Karachi in West Pakistan, the people in East Pakistan felt that they were not considered equal partners in the new nation. Ignoring their language, Urdu was chosen as the national language. They protested that Urdu was the language of only six percent people in Pakistan, whereas Bengali was spoken by 56 percent of the total population of the country. The issue of language was mishandled by the central government. However, Bengali was declared as national language along with Urdu in the constitution of 1956.

Economic Disparity: Pakistan was not stable in respect of economic at the time of independence and the Eastern part was more backward. However, the Government took steps to improve the economic condition of the country but their main focus remained on the western wing. A lot of foreign aid and capital investments were received but its major share was spent in West Pakistan. Even Bengalis alleged that the benefits from their trade in jute were also used in Western part. Between the years 1949-1960 the per capita income increased in West Pakistan from Rs. 330 to Rs. 373; on the other hand, in East Pakistan it reduced from Rs. 305 to Rs.280. In short, West Pakistan was always 15% wealthier than the East Pakistan. By 1969, the difference had increased to 40%. It was

thought by the Bengalis that West Pakistan's economic growth had taken place due to the transfer of resources from East to West Pakistan. They claimed that the single largest Pakistani export was jute and that was grown in East Pakistan. On the other hand, the leading expense of the country was on defence to protect the borders with India. Most of the borders between two countries were in West Pakistan; therefore, the Bengali Pakistani thought that their money was spent on the protection of Punjabis (West Pakistanis), because there was no major border dispute between East Pakistan and India.

The same situation was also observed in the fields of health and education. It was the matter of concern that in 1948, there were only 20 doctors and 3000 hospital beds in East Pakistan. Between the years 1947-1958 the numbers in primary school in West Pakistan increased by 150 per cent and in East Pakistan by 40 percent only.

Political Alienation: The citizens of East Pakistan also complained that Bengalis were in majority in the Constituent Assembly. Governor Generals and Prime Ministers were nearly always from West Pakistan. Although, East Pakistan accounted for a slight majority of the country's population but political power remained firmly in the hands of West Pakistanis. The Bengali leaders remained unhappy with the one unit scheme as they considered that it only counter balanced the East Wing votes.

After the assassination of the First Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, political power was usurped by the Governor General of Pakistan and eventually, the military. The East Pakistanis noticed that whenever one of them, such as Khawja Nazimuddin, Muhammad Ali Bogra or Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy was elected prime minister of Pakistan, he was swiftly deposed by the largely West Pakistani establishment.

The situation reached a climax when in 1970 the Awami League, the largest Pakistani Political Party led by sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman won a landslide victory in the national election. However, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) refused to allow Rahman to be the Prime Minister of Pakistan; instead he proposed the idea of having two prime ministers, one for each wing. Bhutto also refused to accept Mujeeb's Six Points. On 3rd March 1971 two leaders along with president General Yahya Khan met in Dhaka to decide the fate of the country. Talks failed and this led to the breakup of Pakistan.

Military imbalance: Bengalis were under represented in the Pakistan Military. By 1965, there were only 5 percent Bengali officers in the armed forces and only a few in high positions, with the majority in technical and administrative posts. Moreover, despite huge defense spending East Pakistan received none of the benefits such as contracts, purchasing and military support job. The Indo-Pak war 1965 also highlighted the sense of military insecurity among Bengalis.

Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman and his Six Points: Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman became popular among the masses. He took advantage from the frustration of Bengalis. He put forward the demand of two separate economies for the country; one for the West Pakistan

and other for the East Pakistan. This demand was rejected by Ayub Khan with the promise to improve the economic conditions of the country. Industrial development could not create the employment opportunities for Bengalis.

The policy of free economy was adopted by General Ayub which was on the pattern of United States. Through this policy a class of industrialist was created in the country which owned more than 80 percent of the nation's wealth. This policy by Ayub Khan led to the alienation of the masses due to the deepening economic inequality and concentration of wealth in a few hands. The economy of East Pakistan was already weaker than West Pakistan and it gradually declined.

Why were Six Points rejected in West Pakistan?: Great deal of provincial autonomy and direct elected government was one of the demands of Mujeeb included in his six points. This would have reduced the power of the central government over provinces. Semi autonomous provinces and weak central government was accepted by Yahya Khan but Mujeeb wanted the full implementation of his demands. Another demand of the six points was economic independence. Major demands were separate currencies, taxation policy and trade agreements which would have reduced the flow of investments from East to West Pakistan.

Another demand was the separate army troops for the East and West Pakistan. This way, West Pakistan would have lost control over army and the defense budget would have been reduced. So, the six points of Mujib were rejected by the people and politician of West Pakistan.

Response to the 1970 cyclone: The year 1970 brought a disaster in East Pakistan; the cyclone in the East Pakistan coastline destroyed a large number of people. It was estimated that almost 300,000 to 500,000 people died due to destructive cyclone. A week after this destruction, Yahya Khan, the president of Pakistan admitted that his government has made slips and mistakes in handling of the relief due to a lack of understanding of the disaster scale.

After ten days of the cyclone, the eleven political leaders in East Pakistan alleged the government with the charge of "gross neglect, callous and utter indifference". These Bengali leaders also blamed that the president tried to play down the importance of the difficulties in news coverage. Addressing a rally, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani demanded the resignation of the president.

The Bengalis had been blaming the government and the president one side and on the other hand the Awami League banned the government activities of restoration. As time passed by, the conflict between East and West Pakistan accelerate. This disagreement led to the Bangladesh Liberation War in December 1971 and accomplished with the creation of Bangladesh.

Immediate Reasons: The First General Elections were held in Pakistan in January 1970 and the results were dreadful for West Pakistan. There were 313 seats for the National Assembly of Pakistan including 169 for East Pakistan and 144 for West Pakistan. The president Yahya Khan had the expectation that no party would be able to get the leading majority. Contrary to it, the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman won the elections with leading majority. It was due to two reasons; first was the demagogue personality of Mujeeb and other was his agenda based on six points. He obtained overpowering majority in the elections and he stood in the position to form his government. It was surprising that the Awami League of Mujib-ur-Rehman acquired 167 seats out of 169 while the remaining two candidates also joined Awami League after results. Pakistan People's Party was the second largest political party winning elections in the West Pakistan on the basis of "food, clothing and shelter" (roti, *kapra aur makan)*. According to the election results, now the government belonged to Awami League but the politician of West Pakistan had the judgment that the new constitution would be based on 6 points agenda which would reduce the traditional dominance of West in politics and it was unacceptable for them.

Due to uncertainties, West Pakistan was unwilling to transfer power to Mujib. It caused unrest in East Pakistan. Bhutto proved inflexible and he demanded the power sharing with Awami League in the future government. Awami League was not willing to share power in any way because Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman was the leader of People of Pakistan securing 169 seats out of 313 while PPP achieved 81 seats. General Yahya Khan called the session of National Assembly on 3rd March 1971 in Dhaka. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto not only refused to attend the session in Dhaka but also threatened to break the legs of any party member if someone dared to go to Dhaka. It is said that Bhutto knew well that he could never be appointed the prime minister of the united Pakistan, so he resisted formation of the new government. Consequently, Yahya Khan postponed the session of Assembly without fixing the next date. It was not acceptable for Mujib and Bengalis. As a result the civil disobedience movement started in East Pakistan which deteriorated law and order situation. This rebellion was not handled properly and the Bengalis demanded their separation from Pakistan.

The Negotiations among Yahya Khan, Mujeeb-ur-Rehman and Z. A. Bhutto held in Dhaka in March 1971 but failed as the leaders could not succeed to reach a compromise or agreement. As talks were last peaceful solution to the problems but Bhutto was demanding sharing in government which was refused by Mujeeb. This made military operation inevitable but it added fuel to the fire.

Martial law was imposed in the country and Mujeeb-ur-Rehman was arrested. The Awami League was banned and press restrictions were imposed. General Tikka khan arrived in East Pakistan to suppress the Bengali rebellion but Bengali retaliated and formed Mukti Bahini (a Bengali rebel army). Mukti Bahini was the Bengali word which means freedom fighters. This started a civil war in which thousands of civilians were killed and millions fled from East Pakistan to India. India had already been waiting for

the same situation. India began to support Bengalis against West Pakistan. Mukti Bahini was trained and equipped by India. The Indian involvement strengthened the movement of separation of East Pakistan. In April 1971, USSR and India signed a friendship treaty ensuring USSR shall support India against West Pakistan. China helped Pakistan. At last in December 1971, the war between India and Pakistan started and within 2 weeks on 16th December 1971, Indian army surrounded Dhaka and forced Pakistan army to surrender.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. There were only 20 doctors and 3000 hospital beds in _____Pakistan.
2. The First General Elections were held in Pakistan in _____1970.
3. Due to uncertainties, West Pakistan was unwilling to _____power to Mujib.
4. Two distinct wings of territories separated by a _____of 1500 km.
5. Mukti Bahini was the _____word which means freedom fighters.

QUESTIONS

1. Why the incident of dismemberment of Pakistan occurred in 1971. Highlight the socio-economic reasons of political disturbances in East Pakistan.

7.2 CONSTITUTION OF 1973

A constitution is the body of fundamental principles or established precedents according to which a state or other organization is acknowledged to be governed. In simple words constitution is the set of rules and the laws are prepared under these rules.

A constitution is a set of rules that regulates the nature, function and limits of the government and other institutions. The People's Party Government attached more importance to framing a permanent constitution of Pakistan. The National Assembly had already appointed a committee for the purpose even before the promulgation of the interim constitution. Although the People's Party enjoyed two third majority in the National Assembly and it could easily pass the constitution of its choice but it decided to associate all the other political parties in this sacred task of great national importance. The draft of the constitution was prepared with the consent of all the political parties .All the leaders of the parliamentary groups of the various political parties signed the draft of the constitution on 20th October, 1972. It was collectively passed by the Assembly on 10th April 1973. The same was authenticated by the President of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 12th April 1973. This Constitution, called the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, was promulgated on 14th August 1973. The silent features of the constitution were:

Written constitution: It was a written document, very comprehensive in nature and consists of 280 articles and 7 schedules.

Objectives Resolution: The most important and introductory objective was that the Islam shall be the state religion. Pakistan to be an Islamic republic and the constitution emphasized that the prime minister and president should be Muslims. Objectives Resolution is included as the preamble of the constitution.

Islamic Constitution: The preparation of Islamic laws makes sure the implementation of Islamic system in the country.

Rigid constitution: It is considered a rigid constitution, as amendments cannot be made easily. It required two-third of the majority from both the houses to make the amendments.

Federal System: A Federal system was introduced within the federal and provincial government. In an emergency the federal government has the authority to pass any law and even suspend fundamental freedoms.

Federal Structure: Four provinces: according to constitution the country is divided in four provinces Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Former NWFP), Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan. Islamabad is the Federal Capital Territory while tribal and northern areas also included in Pakistan.

Parliamentary form of government: Parliamentary form of the government was introduced in the constitution. Pakistan to be a federal republic with a parliamentary system of government. The Prime Minister, chosen by the majority party to be head of the government.

- **Head of State:** President is considered as the head of the state, should be Muslim, not less than 45 years, to be elected by the parliament and provincial assembly for a period of 5 years. He had the power of dissolve the assembly on advice of prime minister, can summon the session of parliaments (before the 18th constitutional amendment).
  The president has the power to appoint governor, attorney generals and chief election commissioner chief of army, navy and air force.
- **Head of Government:** The Prime Minister is the head of government, he chooses his own cabinet, he is the leader of house, elected by National Assembly after 30 days of general elections.

Bicameral legislature: The Majlis Shoora (parliament) consists of 2 houses. Upper house is called the Senate of Pakistan and it has 104 members. The lower house is called National Assemble and it has 342 members. When the members of senate and national assemble gather it called the parliament. The national Assembly is the house of people and its tenure is five years. However, it can be dissolved any time. The Senate is house of provinces and its tenure is for six years. It cannot be dissolved and its one third members get retirement after two years on their turn.

Method of election: The members of national assembly and provincial assembly should be elected by the people through election. The members of upper house called Senators are elected by the provincial government.

Structure of Judiciary: The constitution of 1973 emphasized on the independence of the judiciary of the country. The Supreme Court and high courts in the country have the power and responsibility to enforce fundamental rights of the citizens. According to an act of parliament of 1997, the number of judges is 17 headed by a chief justice. Currently there are sixteen judges including a Chief Justice. One seat of judge in Supreme Court is vacant. Mr. Justice Asif Saeed Khan Khosa is the honourable Chief Justice of Pakistan. The honourable judges of Supreme Court of Pakistan are.

The Judges of Supreme Court of Pakistan can hold their offices till the age of 65. There are five High Courts in Pakistan; each High Court is based in the capital city of one of the four provinces. Each Court is consisted of chief justice and other judges. The judges of High Courts are appointed by president of Pakistan and chief justices of Pakistan.

National Language: Urdu was declared as the national language of Pakistan in the constitution of 1973. However, English will retain as the official language.

Rule of Law: The constitution determined the rule of law in Pakistan. According to this law no one can be deprived of the basic fundamental right.

High Treason: According to the constitution the act of unconstitutional abrogation has been declared as the act of great treason. It has written in the constitution that if 'any person who abrogates or attempts or conspires to abrogate, subverts or attempts or conspires to subvert the constitution by use of force or show of force or by other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason'.

Referendum: The constitution allowed the president to hold referendum on any national issue. Referendum should be in the form of question that is capable of being answered either by yes or no.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. The Prime Minister is the _____ of government.
2. Constitution of Pakistan 1973 was _____on 14th August 1973.
3. The members of upper _____ called Senators.
4. The constitution of 1973 emphasized on the _____of the judiciary of the country.
5. Parliamentary form of the _____was introduced in the constitution.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the Salient features of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973.

7.3 ISLAMIC PROVISIONS OF 1973 CONSTITUTION

The constitution of 1973 has the following Islamic provisions.

Sovereignty of Allah: The most important feature of the 1973 constitution of Pakistan is that it offers an essential element that sovereignty over the whole universe, belongs to Allah the Almighty alone. All the powers in actual is belonged to Allah Almighty and the Head of the state and the government shall use the power as the representative of Allah. The power by the heads should be practiced within boundaries which have been explained by Allah.

Name of Sate: Constitution of 1973 has stated Pakistan as Islamic Federal State to be known as 'Islamic republic of Pakistan'.

State Religion: According to the constitution of 1973, Islam shall be the state religion of Pakistan. It is the first Constitution through which the state has selected its religion.

Observance of Islamic Principle: It is defined in the introduction of the constitution of Pakistan that fundamental elements of republic; opportunity, equity, tolerance and social justice, as described by Islam, might be observed completely.

President and Prime Minister to be Muslim: It was made obligatory both for the President and Prime Minister to be a Muslim by faith and belief and to proclaim faith in the Finality of Prophet hood.

Definition of Muslim: Definition of a Muslim is presented in the constitution. According to this constitution, it is important to have belief on solidity of Allah, Prophets, Day of Judgment and the Books of Allah. This clause was missing in previous two constitutions.

Islamic Way of Life: It is also presented in the constitution that country shall authorize the Muslims of Pakistan, freedom to live their lives in accordance with the basic principles and concept of Islam.

Provision of Islamic Teaching: All possible steps will be taken by the government to promote the education of Islamic Studies and the Holy Quran.

Correct and Exact Printing and Publishing of the Holy Quran: The government shall be responsible to ensure the correct printing and publishing of the Holy Quran.

Learning of Arabic Language: It is also described in the constitution that necessary facilities shall be provided for the learning of Arabic language.

Protection of Islamic Values: It is explained in the constitution that Islamic moral values shall be safeguarded in the country.

Protection of Religious Minorities: The State should safeguard the rights and interests of the minorities in Pakistan.

Strengthening Bonds with Muslim World: The government would attempt to safeguard and strengthen the relations with the Muslim countries of the world.

Proper Organization of Zakat, Auqaf and Masajid: The state shall attempt, the proper organization of Zakat, Auqaf and Masajid.

Existing Law shall be brought Into Conformity with Islam: An important Islamic provision stated that no law shall be enacted which is against the directions of Islam as described in the Quran and the Sunnah. All the existing laws shall be brought into conformity within injunction of Islam as laid down in the Quran and Sunnah.

Islamic Council: Islamic ideology council shall be established to make advices to the parliament and the provincial assemblies of Pakistan. The council will help for bringing the existing laws into conformity with the injunctions of Islam.

Interest Free Banking: It was focused in the constitution that all possibilities will be taken to introduce interest free banking system in the country.

Welfare State: The concept of a welfare state has been adopted in the constitution.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Islam shall be the state _____of Pakistan..
2. It was made obligatory both for the _____ and Prime Minister to be a Muslim.
3. Definition of a _____ is presented in the constitution.
4. The state shall attempt, the proper _____of Zakat, Auqaf and Masajid.
5. Constitution of 1973 has stated Pakistan as Islamic _____State to be known as 'Islamic republic of Pakistan'.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the Islamic Provisions of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973.

7.4 FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN PAKISTAN

Fundamental Rights are enshrined in the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Chapter 1 of the Constitution contains articles about the fundamental rights. Articles 8 to 28 of the constitution deals with all the fundamental rights provided to the citizens of Pakistan. Followings are the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens of Pakistan under the constitution.

Right of Life: According to the article 9 of the Constitution of Pakistan, no person shall be deprived of life or liberty. It is the responsibility of the state to protect her citizens.

Right of Defence: No one can be arrested without his/ her offence. All arrested person must be informed the grounds of their arrest, they have right to consult and defend by the lawyers of their choice.

Right of Trial: Every citizen of Pakistan has the right of fair trial under article 10 of the

Constitution of Pakistan.

Prohibition of Slavery: Article 11 of the Constitution of Pakistan provided liberal life to the citizens. According to this article the slavery and forced labor is prohibited while children under age of 14 year cannot be employed in factories and mines.

Retrospective Punishment: According to article 12 of the Constitution of 1973, there shall be protection against retrospective punishment.

Double Punishment: According to article 13 of the Constitution of 1973, there shall be protection against double punishment and self-incrimination.

Freedom of Movement: Freedom of movement has been provided to everyone in the Constitution of 1973.

Freedom of Assembly: Freedom of assembly has also been provided to all the citizens of the state. The Constitution also granted the freedom of association for all citizens of Pakistan.

Freedom of Trade: According to article 18 of the Constitution of Pakistan there shall be freedom of trade, business and profession for all citizens. The citizens have also been granted the freedom of speech through the Constitution of 1973.

Access to Information: All citizens shall have right to access to information in all matters of public importance under the Constitution.

Freedom to Profess Religion: Freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institution in country has been granted in the Constitution. Every citizen shall have the right to profess, practice and propagate his/ her religion without any barrier. However, through the Constitutional Amendments in the reign of Zia-u-Haq the extra ordinary activities of Quadiani Community for the promotion of their religious teachings were banned. The Quadiani Community clamed themselves as Muslims but had declared non-Muslims through the Parliament of Pakistan as they did not believe the finality of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Right of property: All citizens have right to acquire, hold and dispose of property in any part of Pakistan. However, in practice, the citizens of Pakistan cannot acquire immoveable property in Azad Kashmir but the people of Azad Kashmir can acquire in all over Pakistan including their own state.

Equality of citizens: All citizens are equal and there shall be no discrimination on bases of sex, race, religion, caste, residence or place of birth etc.

Free and Compulsory Education: The constitution of Pakistan granted the right of free and compulsory education to all children of age 5 to 16. The Government of Pakistan has the responsibility to provide the compulsory education to all children.

Right of Language and Culture: The article 28 of the Constitution of 1973, all citizens have the right to preserve and promote their particular language, script and culture.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. No person shall be _____of life or liberty.
2. The slavery and forced labor is _____while children under age of 14 year cannot be employed in factories and mines.
3. The citizens have also been granted the _____of speech through the Constitution of 1973.
4. In the reign of Zia-u-Haq the extra ordinary activities of _____Community for the promotion of their religious teachings were banned.
5. The Government of Pakistan has the responsibility to provide the _____ education to all children.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the fundamental rights of Pakistani citizens provided in the constitutional of 1973.

7.5 AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF 1973

First Amendment: The first amendment of the Constitution of 1973 was enacted on 4th May 1974. It redefined the boundaries of Pakistan as after the separation of East Pakistan the territories were changed. According to the first amendment the territories of Pakistan shall comprise on the four provinces including the Balochistan, the North-West Frontier Province (present day K.P), the Punjab and Sindh. Along with the four provinces the territories of the country comprised Federal Capital Area of Islamabad and the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). FATA was merged in KP in May 2018 through thirty first constitutional Bill, after approval of the bill; FATA included in KP under 25th Constitutional Amendment.

Second Amendment: On 7 September 1974, the Second Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan became the part of the Constitution of Pakistan. The persons belonged to Quadiani group or the Lahori groups (who call themselves 'Ahmadis') were declared as non-Muslim through this amendment as the Indian Muslims had been demanding before the creation of Pakistan. It was first time in the constitutional history of Pakistan that the term Muslim was defined. The Quadiani and Lahori do not believe on the finality of the Holy Prophet (PBUH); therefore, they were declared non-Muslims.

Third Amendment: It was enacted on 18 February 1975. Through this amendment the period of preventive detention was extended. It was for those who accused of committing

serious cases of treason and espionage against the state of Pakistan. in such cases, these persons may under trial by the government of Pakistan. The third amendment of the constitution protected against the abuse of government authority in legal procedure, and extended the investigation period from one month to three month.

Fourth Amendment: On 21 November 1975, the additional seats for minorities were decided through the fourth amendment of the Constitution. It also deprived courts of the power to grant bail to any person detained under any preventive detention.

Fifth Amendment: On 5 September 1976, the West Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority and the West Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation were replaced as Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority and the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. It was also decided that the Chief Justice of a High Court, will be able to hold his office for a term of four years or unless he sooner attains the age of sixty-two years.

Sixth Amendment: This was enacted on 22 December 1976. This amendment declared that a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court will attain his office for five years up to the maximum age of sixty-five years. While a Chief justice of the High Court may also continue his office for five years but the maximum age would be 62 years. According to the same amendment the word "Mansehra" was substituted for the word "Hazara" in the constitution.

Seventh Amendment: It was enacted on 16 May 1977 which stated that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has to obtain a vote of confidence from the people of Pakistan through a referendum.

Eighth Amendment: It was enacted in November 1985 and remained the most debatable amendment in the politics of Pakistan. Through this amendment the Pakistani government was changed from a parliamentary government to a semi-presidential system by giving president a number of additional powers.

Ninth Amendment: It was a bill to impose the Shariah Law as the supreme law of Pakistan. The bill was although passed by the Senate of Pakistan in 1985 but could never be passed by the National Assembly.

Tenth Amendment: This amendment was enacted on 29 March 1987. It amended article 54 and 61 of the Constitution. The minimum working day of the National Assembly and Senate were decreased from 160 to 130 in each year.

Eleventh Amendment: The bill was presented in 1989 regarding the revision of women seats in national assembly and provincial assemblies but could not pass and the bill was withdrawn in 1992.

Twelfth Amendment: The amendment was enacted in 1991 and a new article 212B was added in the constitution. The special courts were established for the trial of heinous offences. The courts were established for the initial period of three years. The amount of salaries and pension for the Chief Justice and other judges was also revised.

Thirteenth Amendment: The amendment was enacted in 1997 and through this amendment the presidential power of Article 58 (2-B) was omitted. The amendment was related to article 58, 101, 112 and 243. Through this the power of the president of Pakistan was reduced and the effort was made to restore the actual parliamentary form of government in Pakistan.

Fourteenth Amendment: It was enacted in July 1997 regarding the disqualification of members of parliament.

Fifteenth Amendment: The bill was presented in 1998 in the second reign of Nawaz Sharif government. It was a bill to enforce the Shariah Law as Supreme law in the country but never passed.

Sixteenth Amendment: It was promulgated on 5 August 1999. Through this amendment the quota system was increased for the appointment in government jobs for next 20 years in the country.

Seventeenth Amendment: The Seventeenth Amendment was promulgated in December 2003 and it made various changes to Pakistan's constitution. Some of these changes dealt with the office of the President and the reversal of the effects of the thirteenth amendment of the constitution.

Eighteenth Amendment: The Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution of 1973 was passed by the National Assembly of Pakistan on 8 April 2010 during the tenure of Prime Minister of Pakistan, Yousaf Raza Gillani. The amendment dealt with removing the power of the President of Pakistan to dissolve the National Assembly unilaterally. It turned Pakistan from a semi-presidential to a parliamentary form of government. According to the same amendment, various departments and powers of the federal government were transferred to the provinces.

Nineteenth Amendment: The Nineteenth Amendment was passed on 22 December 2010 by the National Assembly and on 30 December 2010 by the Senate while it assented to by the president on 1 January 2011. According to the amendment the Tribal Areas adjoining to the Districts of Tank and Laki Marwat were declared to be part of FATA. It was also regarding the appointment of the judges. Now it was decided that the parliamentary committee shall send the name of the nominee confirmed by it, to the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Prime Minister shall forward it to the president, which meant that the Prime Minister was now involved in the appointment of the judges.

Twentieth Amendment: It was relevant to free and fair elections of Pakistan. The words "Chief Election Commissioner" were substituted by the words "Election Commission of Pakistan". The twentieth amendment was promulgated in 2012.

Twenty-first Amendment: It was passed by both the houses of the parliament on 6 January 2015. Through this amendment the military courts were established for speedy trial for terrorist offenses, waging war against Pakistan and the acts threatening the security of Pakistan. It was decided that the initial duration of these courts would be two years. The decision to amend the constitution came after the Army Public School, Peshawar massacre on 16 December 2014.

Twenty-second Amendment: It was passed in June 2016. The Amendment was unanimously passed by the National Assembly and the Senate. Through the amendment important positive electoral reforms had been introduced. The aim of these reforms was to solve the issues regarding the limitations in the functions of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) and its chief, the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC).

Twenty-third Amendment: The Twenty-third Amendment was passed for the establishment of the military courts for additional two years till 6 January 2019. The military courts were established in 2015 for the period of two years. The period had to expire on 6 January 2017; hence the twenty third amendment was passed. At the end of this period all the amendments will automatically expire.

Twenty-forth Amendment: This amendment was promulgated in December 2017 and it was for the approval of adjustment of seats in the Parliament of Pakistan. The constitutional amendment was brought in the parliament after the provisional results of the Census 2017. The Punjab lost some seats while the provinces of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa gained the seats. The Sindh province had no affects; however, the overall number of seats in the National Assembly will stay the same.

Twenty-fifth Amendment: This amendment was passed by the Parliament of Pakistan and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly in May 2018. After the implementation of this amendment, the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) has been merged with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Twenty-sixth& Twenty-seventh Amendments: Both the bills were introduced by Minister for Law and Justice and Climate Change Zahid Hamid in the house in 2017. The first was a proposed amendment to the Constitution of 1973. Its aim was to restore the delegation powers of the federal government authorities which were not included in the eighteenth amendment. However, the said amendment was not adopted and never officially became part of the constitution of Pakistan. The second was regarding the Electoral Reforms package comprising Draft Election Bill, 2017. The said bill was approved by the National Assembly of Pakistan in October 2017.

Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Amendments: The two bills were presented by Minister for Law and Justice Zahid Hamid on 10 March 2017 in National Assembly of Pakistan to introduce new constitutional Bills. The 28th Amendment Bill 2017 was aimed to restore the military courts in the country while the 29th Amendment Bill was aimed to enable trial of the cases related to terrorism under the Pakistan Army Act 1952.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. Quota system was increased for the _____ in government jobs for next 20 years.
2. Through twenty-first amendment the _____ courts were established for speedy trial for terrorist offenses.
3. The Seventeenth Amendment was promulgated in _____ 2003.
4. The Eighth Amendment remained the most debatable amendment in the _____ of Pakistan.
5. The 28th Amendment Bill 2017 was aimed to restore the military _____ in the country.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the amendments made in the constitution of Pakistan 1973.

7.6 POLITICS OF BHUTTO

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Bhutto) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a famous Sindhi politician of Pakistan. He was the third son of Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto who remained influential personality in the reign the British Raj. Bhutto got his higher education of Political Science and Law from the university of California and Oxford. His marriage was arranged with Shireen Amir Begum in 1943 but he divorced her in 1945. However, Bhutto married again with Nusrat Ispahani (Nusrat Bhutto), in Karachi in September 1951. Nusrat Bhutto was an Iranian lady and their first child (Benazir Bhutto) was born in 1953. Their next children were Murtaza (1954), Sanam (1957) and Shahnawaz (1958) respectively.

In 1957, Bhutto became the youngest member of Pakistan's delegation to the United Nations in the year 1957 and later on, he became Pakistan's youngest cabinet minister in 1958. He was the advisor of Mohammad Ayub Khan (Ayub Khan). Bhutto helped and advised him in the discussion of the Indus Water Treaty in1960. He became the foreign minister of Pakistan in 1963 and due to his communist ideas he remained successful in building good relations with China. He openly supported Beijing in the United Nations. China laid down the foundations of various projects in Pakistan due to efforts of Bhutto. The Sino-Pakistan Boundary Agreement was also signed by Bhutto on 2 March 1963. He worked for the Pan-Islamic Unity and maintained the closer relations with Muslim Countries. Bhutto remained active in reshaping the foreign policy of Pakistan and removed the US influence. He strengthened the strategic alliances with other countries

and continued the technical, industrial and martial agreements with the both East and West German states.

Miss Fatima Jinnah had challenged the 1965 presidential election against Ayub Khan. She contested against Ayub Khan under the banner of Combined Opposition Parties. She was easily defeated by Muhammad Ayub Khan. During the campaign of the presidential elections, Bhutto was part of the Ayub government and he had helped Ayub in opposition to Miss Fatima Jinnah.

After the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, President Ayub Khan signed a peace treaty with the Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri on 10 January 1966. Both the leaders agreed to exchange their war prisoners and to restore the pre-war boundaries. The agreement was famous as 'The Tashkent Declaration'. It was highly disparaged by the people of Pakistan and the Declaration separated the ways of Bhutto from Ayub Khan. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto founded his own party named Pakistan People's Party in the last month of 1967.

Bhutto started his movement against Ayub Khan and response to it Ayub Khan finally decided to resign from his office in March 1969. Assemblies, Ministers and Governors were disabled while General Muhammad Yahya Khan became the Chief Martial Law Administrator. Yahya Khan promised to the nation that he will hand over the power to the nation after fair elections and he did the same.

The political situation was uncertain in the country. The Awami League and Pakistan People's Party were the major parties in Pakistan. The results surprised the nation and of Yahya Khan himself. Awami League swept the elections in East Pakistan while in West Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party achieved the majority. However, it was a matter of great concern that Awami League had not won a single seat in West Pakistan while Awami League did not award a chance of single seat to any other party of the country. Awami League won 167 seats out of 169 in East Pakistan and while Pakistan People's Party got 81 seats out of 144. Bhutto opposed to transfer of power to Sheikh Mujeeb-Ur-Rehman. This power struggle led to the dismemberment of Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh.

On 20 December, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came in power with the removal of Yahya Khan. Bhutto had two caps; first as the president of Pakistan and the second as Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan. He was the first civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator of the country. Bhutto served as the fourth President of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973. He handed over the office of President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry who occupied the office from 1973 to 1978. Bhutto took the charge of 9th Prime Minister of Pakistan and served from 1973 to 1977, He was also the founder of the Pakistan People's Party and served as its chairman till his execution in 1979. On 7 March 1977 Bhutto held general elections in Pakistan. The elections saw a massive victory for the ruling PPP against the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). Although PPP succeeded to win the elections; however, the opposition did not accept the results and started protest and demonstrations all over the country. The deterioration of law and order involved army into politics once again.

Federal Security Force (FSF) was a paramilitary force of Federal Government created by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto when he was the president in 1972. The primary objective of the FSF was to assist the civil administration and the police in the maintenance of law and order. The opposition challenged that Bhutto used it as his personal army to harass the political enemies. FSF was blamed of a murder of a political opponent and was found guilty. The name of Bhutto was also included in the FIR on the failure of negotiations between the government and opposition

General Zia-ul-Haq took over the government imposing martial law in July 1977. Initially, Bhutto was arrested and after some time he was released on bail. Bhutto did not take the case against him serious and considered it as political step. Bhutto went to public and announced that he would arrest all those who were responsible for this. He also threatened to hold trails to bring to justice responsible for his removal. This attitude was not acceptable to the Zia-ul-Haq. He considered Bhutto a political risk and decided to get rid of Bhutto. Trail against Bhutto ended to his execution. Later, he refused to plead for his life. Many others at home and abroad did so but Zia was unmoved. PPP also failed to mobilize people to save his life. Consequently, Bhutto was hanged on 4 April 1979 at the age of 51 years.

The Army dugout the case and the trail against Bhutto took 2 years. The Courts convicted him and he was hanged. Army gave Bhutto a chance to defend himself against murder charges. Almost two years Bhutto's trail continued and legal help was provided to him. He refused to defend himself and at last was sentenced to death penalty.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Bhutto became the youngest _____of Pakistan's delegation to the United Nations.
2. China laid down the foundations of various projects in _____due to efforts of Bhutto..
3. The Sino-Pakistan Boundary Agreement was also signed by _____on 2 March 1963.
4. The results surprised the nation and of _____himself.
5. General Zia-ul-Haq took over the government imposing _____ in July 1977.

QUESTIONS

1. Highlight the political struggle of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Also discuss the reasons of the failure of Bhutto's government.

7.7 PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE AND DOWNFALL OF ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

Some of the causes of downfall of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto are as under:

Progressive Agenda: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto formed his political party with the slogan of Socialism. The manifesto of Pakistan People's party was based on progressive agenda.

His slogan was:

1. Islam is our Faith
2. Democracy is our Policy
3. Socialism is our Economy
4. All Power to the People

According to the manifesto, the Pakistan People's Party was the very first in Pakistan that had the slogan of Islam and Socialism. The party declared that all the power in the country would be for public. The *roti, kapra and makan* would be provided to the people by the government. The people from West Pakistan impressed with the politics of Bhutto but the Bengalis had believed that the leaders of West Wing would never be sincere with them. After achieving the government Bhutto brought many reforms in the remaining Pakistan.

In 1972 Bhutto settled a Tripartite Agreement; the accord was reconciled among the PPP, ANP and JUI in March 1972. However, he broke the agreement with JUI and ANP as he dismissed Balochistan government which forced NWFP (now K.P) to resign as well. The Baloch rebelled and started an armed struggle against the central government. Army was called in to suppress them. This increased army role in the politics. Bhutto had lost support of two provinces which weakened his government and encouraged army coup against him in future.

Nationalization Policy: The policies of Bhutto produced a number of powerful enemies for him. The businessmen and the landowners were totally against his economic policy through which he nationalized the private industries and institutions. Of course Bhutto himself belonged to a wealthy landowning family but he increased the bitterness among landowners. The middle class opinion criticized him for his educational reforms which they claimed that the policy undermined the academic standard in good schools. It is said that Bhutto's domestic policies offended the rich and wealthy both. The Nationalization and land reforms hit the wealthy, powerful landlords and industrialist who were keen to see the removal on Bhutto to save their own privileges and status. Their loss of support paved the way for Bhutto's downfall.

Bhutto remained under pressure from the religious leaders and opposition parties; therefore, he declared 'Friday' as the weekly holiday. He declared the Quadiani Community as non-Muslims also. The Religious groups wanted pure Islamic laws and Bhutto did not do it. Consequently, the religious groups extremely opposed him. Bhutto tried his best to win them over by stopping anti-Islamic activities but failed.

Bhutto's personality: Bhutto had charm full personality but his style of government also upset the people. He was accused of becoming increasingly authoritarian, ruthless and dogmatic. By 1977 his popularity was beginning to fade. At the same time his party, the PPP was no longer the powerful political machine that it had been. In 1977, he called early general elections in Pakistan. Bhutto hoped that his party will gain majority in the elections. He also used all means to destroy his enemies. Nine political parties of the country joined together to present a united opposition under the banner of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The PNA was the strong opposition party against PPP and it promised to bring pure Islamic laws in Pakistan. Bhutto, facing a surprisingly strong opposition, was fighting for his political life. The results of the elections on 7 March 1977 showed a landslide victory for the PPP. The PNA accused the government of rigging the results. The political parties demanded new elections. PNA protests were dealt harshly by the police so it deteriorated the law and order situation.

Bhutto's Authority: Bhutto policies made him an authoritarian ruler towards the end of 1977. Bhutto put restrictions on political parties and the press. FSF was given extensive powers to keep in its custody the people for indefinite period. All these measures made Bhutto unpopular among public. It developed combined opposition against Bhutto which led to his dismissal by army.

Failure of Negotiations between the government and PNA: The talks between the PNA and Bhutto were not successful. Bhutto accepted some of the demands of PNA as he declared Friday as a holiday. Gambling and drinking was also banned on the demands of PNA but he refused to hold fresh elections and to leave the office of Prime Minister. Bhutto imposed emergency in the country. He called the army to control the situation. PNA leadership was arrested but protests did not stop. This created a deadlock situation which forced army to take over the country to prevent further chaos. Army staged a coup called operation Fair Play on 5 July 1977. Bhutto was arrested, his government was dismissed and Pakistan Army once again took over the country under the leadership of General Zia-ul-Haq.

As we have discussed the role of FSF. This was a private army formed by Bhutto to deal with law and order situation in the country. Bhutto also amended the constitution and gave more powers to FSF. He used Federal Security Force to harass his political opponents and even party members. Many politicians turned against him. This strengthened the opposition against Bhutto very soon.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. The manifesto of Pakistan People's party was based on progressive_____.
2. The policies of Bhutto produced a number of _____ enemies for him.

3. Bhutto remained under _____ from the religious leaders and opposition parties.
4. Bhutto put restrictions on _____parties and the press.
5. Bhutto used Federal _____ Force to harass his political opponents and even party members.

QUESTIONS

1. The rise of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was the fall of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Give your arguments.

7.8 PERIOD OF GENERAL MUHAMMAD ZIA-UL-HAQ (1977-1988)

After Bhutto's takeover, General Tikka Khan was appointed Chief of Army Staff (COAS) on March 3, 1972 and he retired on 26 Feb 1976. Bhutto rejected all the names for the appointment of COAS recommended by his advisors. Bhutto superseded seven generals including Mohammad Sharif, Mohammad Akbar Khan, Aftab Ahmad Khan, Azmat Bakhsh Awan, Agha Ibrahim Akram, Abdul Majeed Malik and Ghulam Gilani. The senior generals were forcefully retired to appoint General Zia-ul-Haq as COAS. Bhutto believed in the loyalty of Zia. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq took over the charge as 4th Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan removing Bhutto on 5 July 1977. Zia also served as the 6th president of Pakistan from July 1978 till his death on 17 August 1988.

Zia Reforms: Bhutto had secular mind and he declared the slogan of socialism in his public meetings during his election campaign. General Zia-ul-Haq introduced his own set of reforms. He focused on Islamization. He also introduced economic, political and educational reforms.

Policy of Islamization: During his reign from 1977 to 1988, General Zia-ul-Haq endorsed a series of laws. He introduced Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a powerful and secure government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He apparently wanted to make Pakistan an Islamic state as he believed that the country needed a robust government based on Islamic values. He thought that the process of Islamization shall win massive public support. Zia also wished to avail the support of the political parties as well as religious groups to fortify his rule.

In 1979, a Federal Shariat Court was set up to consider existing laws. The court had to decide if the legal judgments were according to Islamic principles or not. The court had a chairman, five judges with addition to three Ulema. If the Federal Shariat Court decides that existing laws were not in keeping with Islamic principles, the laws could be revoked.

The Hudood Ordinance was enacted in Pakistan in 1979 as a part of Islamization process. According to this Ordinance different punishments for various crimes were prescribed including offences against property ordinance, Zina Ordinance, Qazq Ordinance and Prohibition Ordinance. These Hudood ordinances were relevant to Islamic jurisprudence

through which Islamic Punishment was introduced for gambling, drinking, theft and adultery.

These Ordinances worried many Pakistanis after opening the case of Safia Bibi. She was a thirteen years old blind girl who was raped by her employer and the son of his employer. She was unmarried as she was under age. At spot she did not report the crime but Safia Bibi showed clear signs of pregnancy. As she was unmarried, therefore, it was clear that she was raped. She failed to prove that she was raped prompted, the judge sentenced her imprisonment for three years and 15 lashes or strokes. She was declared as perpetrator instead of the victim. Those were never imprisoned who committed rape with her. Safia Bibi was punished under the Hudood Ordinance (the Islamic ordinance) but the public resented these laws were according to Islam under which the victim was punished. Women's groups and the organizations of human rights criticized these laws.

General Zia also wanted to implement the laws which punished people for showing disrespect towards the Holy Prophet. Therefore, a new offence of disrespect for the Holy Prophet was introduced. Under this law imprisonment or a fine as the punishment for offenders was suggested. He introduced Zakat Ordinance in 1980, to impose a 2.5 percent of wealth tax on savings over a certain amount. It was a wealth tax in the light of Islamic Principle of Zakat.

Economic Reforms: Zia reversed the nationalization policy of Bhutto and followed the policy of privatization in the country. Most of the nationalized industries were handed over to the private owners. The remaining industries were reformed by the government. Now the government promised to avoid nationalization in future to recover the confidence of the investors. The Pakistanis were also encouraged to go abroad for employment and as a result they sent money which helped to improve the economy.

Political Reforms: He banned FSF which remained the symbol of terror and fear in the past. It improved the image of his government and provided relief to the political parties of the country. He ended Baloch insurgency and granted forgiveness to those who gave up arms in province. Zia government also initiated a variety of development projects to remove the Baloch alienation. This helped to bring and maintain peace in the most troublesome province of Pakistan.

General Zia opened corruption cases of the previous government. He succeeded to find a lot of evidences of nepotism and corruption against the Bhutto government. Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) was issued on 24 March 1981which was the First PCO in Pakistan. Through this order the president of Pakistan restricted the power of Supreme Court and High Courts to challenge the military government. Many judges took the oath under PCO while some judges protested against this Order and they resigned from their service.

General Zia set up a Consultative Council named Majlis-e-Shoora. It was an Islamic parliament since National Assembly was non-existent. It was only an advisory body and had no legislative power at all. There were 350 members of Majlis-e-Shoora who were

nominated by General Zia. He amended the 1973 constitution in order to consolidate his position. So that new elected government could not challenge his presidency. These constitutional amendments especially the Eighth Amendment enhanced his power.

Educational reforms: General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq emphasized on the use of Urdu as the national, official and educational language in the country. All subjects in primary schools were taught in Urdu. Arabic was also introduced in schools and colleges. Pakistan studies and Islamiat were made compulsory subjects for students up to graduation. Zia devoted himself to the reorganization of 'Dini Madaris' in Pakistan. The Madaris in Pakistan widely spread in all over the country during Zia era. The government also supported the Madaris.

Foreign Policies: During the Zia era, in 1979 Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to reinforce the pro-Communist government's position in Afghanistan. The Afghans rebelled against the Soviet forces and those who resisted against Soviet Union came to known as Mujahideen. As Afghanistan is our neighboring country, Pakistan also had to suffer a lot. The Soviet Invasion at Afghanistan bounded Pakistan to change her foreign policy. General Zia did not like United States of America (USA) in the beginning of the conflict and wanted Pakistan to pursue an independent foreign policy. However, Zia became the strong supporter of America against Soviet Union. America supported Pakistan over Afghanistan issue and provided plenty of economic and military aid to Pakistan. USA was allied of Pakistan just to fight a war in Afghanistan to stop the Soviet and Communism.

A very large number of Afghan refugees poured into Pakistan. It was the initiative and support of General Zia government to Afghan Mujahideen that Soviet Union was forced to withdraw from Afghanistan. Zia also succeeded to get support of the Muslim countries due to his policy of Islamization in Pakistan. Numerous conferences between Muslim countries enabled Zia to gather economic aid for Afghan refugees. During his reign the relations with Muslim countries improved.

The daughter of famous Hindu leader Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi (Indira Gandhi) was assassinated in India. She was killed by her own bodyguards on 31 October 1984. The body guards were Sikh nationalists. His son Rajiv Ratna Gandhi (Rajiv Gandhi) was appointed the Prime Minister of India and soon he blamed that Pakistan was the responsible of the death of his mother. The Indian army held massive military exercised along the southern border of Pakistan. The government was forced to deploy the troops on the international border. It caused to diffuse tension between both the countries. The situation increased the possibilities of war between two countries. The circumstances were very critical and then Zia went India to watch cricket match and the situation improved.

General Zia gave much importance to Pakistan-China relations. The foreign aid from China also continued to some extent. The government could not focus the attention

towards agricultural and industrial development. The government achieved foreign aid from USA at large scale and the government had been running smoothly.

Assassination of Zia: On 28 February 1985, the General Elections were held in Pakistan. These elections were based on the principle of non-party basis in which around 1,300 candidates took part. The 1985 elections led to the formation of elected government in the country. Muhammad Khan Junejo was appointed as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Martial law was lifted and the role of army decreased in politics. Soviet Union was defeated by the joint efforts of USA and Afghanistan while Pakistan performed its key role. Moreover, the end of Afghan conflict reduced the importance of army and Zia both. The political forces gained power and it became critical for Zia government and its policies. Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo decided for an inquiry into Ojhri Camp Disaster on 10 April 1988. The decision of Prime Minister increased the tension between army and civilian government. It finally led to the dismissal of the elected government on 29 May 1988 by General Zia-ul-Haq. On 20 July 1988 Zia addressed to the nation and declared that general elections would be held on 16 November 1988. However, on 17 August 1988 General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq was killed in a flight near Bahawalpur.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. After Bhutto's takeover, General _____Khan was appointed Chief of Army Staff.
2. During his reign from 1977 to 1988, General Zia-ul-Haq endorsed a _____ of laws.
3. The Hudood _____was enacted in Pakistan in 1979 as a part of Islamization process.
4. The Madaris in Pakistan widely _____in all over the country during Zia era.
5. Zia government could not focus the attention towards _____and industrial development.

QUESTIONS

1. Elaborate the political policies under the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq.

7.9 JOURNEY OF DEMOCRACY FROM 1977 TO 1999

Due to the death of Zia, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the president of Pakistan on 17 August 1988 and he served the nation till 18 July 1993. Ghulam Ishaq Khan announced the general elections within 90 days and on 16 November 1988, elections were held in Pakistan. The previous elections were held on party-less basis but Benazir Bhutto went to the Supreme Court of Pakistan and asked for the party-based elections during the last days of Zia. The Supreme Court accepted constitutional petition of Benazir declaring that non-party elections in Pakistan was a violation of freedom of association which is the fundamental right of the citizens. At last the government accepted the demand of party based elections on 16 September 1988. After two months the elections held on 16 November 1988.

There were 207 seats for the National Assembly of Pakistan. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by Benazir Bhutto won 94 seats out of 207 in the National Assembly. On the other hand, In oppose to her, Nawaz Sharif of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) won 56 seats of the National Assembly. In other parties, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazl-ur-Rehman) remained on third position achieving only seven seats. The remaining seats were divided among other parties including 40 seats of independent candidates. Benazir Bhutto became the eleventh Prime Minister of Pakistan. She was the first female of the Muslim World who became the head of government. On the other hand, Nawaz Sharif became the Leader of Opposition. Benazir took the oath on 2 December 1988 as the Prime Minister of Pakistan and a new democratic era started in the country. She could serve the nation for one year, eight months and four days only. Pakistan People's Party had won the elections but with narrow margin. Benazir was constrained to form her government with the association of various other parties including independent candidates.

On 2 December 1988 Benazir Bhutto formed her government with alliance of 'Muttahida Qaumi Movement' (MQM). Benazir wanted to remove the 8th constitutional amendment to regain her power as Prime Minister.

The PPP government got involved in power struggle with Nawaz in the provincial assembly. Moreover, the Party developed differences with its coalition partners. Consequently, Pakistan People's Party suffered alienation and in October 1989, MQM withdrew from the government.

Benazir Bhutto took the charge of Prime Minister during difficult time. It was the first period of Benazir Bhutto in the government. During this reign the foreign policy centered in the regions of Afghanistan, India, and the United States. Benazir wished to maintain good relations with neighboring countries including India. She also carried on the atomic programme which was initiated by her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. She acknowledged the 1990 as a year of space. It was the first time that Pakistani scientists launched and experienced the satellite in Earth's orbit. Awards were given to those engineers and scientists who worked in this regard.

The relations between Benazir Bhutto and the president Ghulam Ishaq Khan could not remain cordial. It was due to a variety of issues such as the unemployment increased and labour class came on roads. The economy of the country ruined while government could not solve these problems. This situation developed a cold war between the President and the Prime Minister. After a long political deadlock, on 6 August 1990, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan used his power under the 8th constitutional amendment. The Pakistan Television had broken news in early morning that the president dismissed the Benazir's government using 58 (2-B) declaring the emergency in the country. He charged government with nepotism, corruption and despotism. He called for new elections in the same year. He suspended the civilian courts and the fundamental rights in the state of emergency. The President announced that the National Assembly of Pakistan had lost the confidence of the people of Pakistan. In the same night during a press conference,

Benazir Bhutto declared his action "illegal and unconstitutional." She claimed that she would win the next election because she had the public support.

General Elections 1990: General elections of 1990 were held on 24 October 1990. There were 217 seats of the National Assembly. The elections showed surprising results and Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), led by Muhammad Nawaz Sharif achieved 106 seats out of 217. Benazir took part in election forming People's Democratic Alliance and won only 44 seats. Nawaz Sharif was appointed Prime Minister of Pakistan on 6th November 1990. After taking the charge of Prime Minster, Nawaz Sharif during his tenure, announced nuclear policy and he expressed his aim to continue the expansion of nuclear technology to meet the energy needs of Pakistan. Moreover, he initiated to build road network for Pakistan. In this respect, the network of Motorways is highly appreciated by the public.

During the first term, Nawaz Sharif started a motivated program of economic reforms. He adopted privatizing policy. He also continued the policy of Islamization in Pakistan. He served for the nation for two years, 5 months and 12 days only. His government was dismissed by the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan when he announced to dissolve the National Assembly of Pakistan on 18 April 1993. Balakh Sher Mazari was appointed as Caretaker Prime Minster of Pakistan who served from 18 April to 26 May 1993 only for 38 days.

After the termination in 1993, Nawaz Sharif went to Supreme Court over the termination of National Assembly. The full bench of 11 Judges heard the case. It was the matter of concern that Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the Assembly second time during his single tenure of five years. The Supreme Court issued a decision on 26 May 1993 that the presidential action was unconstitutional because the president can only dissolve the assembly if there appeared a constitutional breakdown and the government's incompetence or corruption was irrelevant. Nawaz Sharif was restored on 26 May 1993 due to involvement of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. This was the memorable decision of the Supreme Court of the country. However, the cold war between the President and Prime Minister continued and finally on 18 July 1993 both of them resigned from their offices due to a deal brokered by the Chief of Army Staff.

General Elections 1993: Mr. Wasim Sajjad the chairman of Senate of Pakistan took the charge of Acting President on 18 July 1993. He served the state for 3 months and 27 days till 14 November 1993. He executed the responsibilities of conduction of fair elections in the country. While from the same date Moeenuddin Ahmad Qureshi carried on the responsibilities of caretaker Prime Minister. He served the public for 3 months and a day till the selection of new Prime Minister.

General elections were held in Pakistan on 6 October 1993. According to the results, out of 207 seats of National Assembly; Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan People's Party achieved 89 seats. On the other hand Nawaz Sharif, her opponent could win 73 seats under the

banner of Pakistan Muslim League (N). In this way no political party could gain the decisive majority.

On behalf of Pakistan People's Party, Farooq Leghari became the president of Pakistan on 18 July 1993. Benazir Bhutto achieved the support of smaller parties and independent candidates. She was elected as Prime Minister on 19 October 1993 after gaining 121 votes in National Assembly while Nawaz Sharif could get 71 votes and he became leader of the opposition. Benazir Bhutto formed the government and the second tenure of her reign started.

It was the second opportunity for Benazir Bhutto but unfortunately she could not complete the tenure. The practice of extortion exceeded and corruption crossed the limits in the country. The chaos increased at national level and the situation of law and order deteriorated. Especially in the Sindh province, the sectarian issue surfaced. In the other province in NWFP (now K.P), the tribal leaders became the target of killers. Most of the corrupt people were involved in smuggling of weapons and drugs. According to the 'New York Times' In the last week of September about 40 religious minded army officers had been arrested with the allegation that they wanted to crush the government and planned to kill the President and the Prime Minster.

Moreover, in September 1996, the real brother of Benazir Bhutto was killed by the Karachi Police in Clifton near his home in an alleged encounter. This incident was a clear indicator of chaos, prevailing in the country. The incident was heart breaking news for Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Later on, she declared that the murder of his brother was a conspiracy to bring down her government. President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari was also blamed to be involved in the murder of Murtaza. This increased the trust deficit between the President and the Prime Minister. Moreover, the government lost its control in Sindh province. Her Husband Mr. Asif Ali Zardari was also blamed to be involved in the killing of her brother Murtaza Bhutto.

On the other hand, the corruption in Pakistan was on its rise as the capital amount about 40 to 45 million dollars transferred from Pakistan to foreign countries on weekly basis. Asif Ali Zardari was also blamed to be involved in the killing of a Sindh High Court Judge Justice Nizam. In such situation, the President decided to use his constitutional powers. He dismissed the government of his own party and dissolved the assemblies on 4 November 1996. According to President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari it was very difficult to compromise on Pakistan's national interest. He preferred the national interests over loyalty to his party.

General Elections 1997: Malik Meraj Khalid was appointed as caretaker Prime Minter on 5 November 1996. He worked till 17 February 1997. General elections were held in Pakistan on 3 February 1997 for National Assembly and four provincial assemblies. Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf took participation in these elections first time and could not win a single seat of the National Assembly. The actual competition was between the two major political Parties, Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League (N). Out of 207

seats of the National Assembly, PML (N) succeeded to get 137 seats. On the other hand, PPP could only get 18 seats. Nawaz Sharif was elected as the Prime Minister of the country by the National Assembly receiving 177 votes. He took the oath on 18 February 1997.

The second tenure of Nawaz Sharif was famous for the constitutional amendments. In this period the government initiated a series of amendments. The hallmarked of them was the termination the 8th Constitutional Amendment. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had to face a serious conflict with the Judiciary and the Executive both. The conflict ended with the resignation of President Farooq Ahmed Leghari on 2 December 1997. Mr. Wasim Sajjad remained the acting president for 29 days.

Pakistan Muslim League (N) had the majority in National Assembly. It had majority in the provinces. The government nominated Mr. Muhammad Rafiq Tarar former Judge of the Supreme Court Pakistan as presidential candidate. Muhammad Rafiq Tarar was appointed the President of Pakistan on 1 January 1998. He was associated to the Pakistan Muslim League (N).

Nawaz Sharif government presented the Fifteenth Amendment on 28 August 1998. The Bill was related to implement the Shariah Law as supreme law in the country. It produced excited discussion in all over the country. The government had the powerful majority in National Assembly therefore the government succeeded to pass the bill from the lower house on 9 October 1998. However, the bill was not presented in the Senate within 90 days. The main reason behind it was that Nawaz Sharif Party lacked two-third majority in the Senate.

There was a great conflict in Pakistan-India relations during this period. The government proclaimed state of emergency on 28 May 1998 as there was a threat of external aggression from India. All fundamental rights of the citizens of Pakistan were suspended. Moreover, the government froze all the foreign currency accounts in Pakistani banks. Pakistan had no way except testing its nuclear technology in response to India's nuclear tests. At the place of Chaghi in Balochistan, on the same day Pakistan succeeded to test its nuclear weapons. Now, Pakistan was on a par with India. Moreover, Pakistan was the first nuclear power in the Muslim World. The government celebrated 28th May as '*Youm-e-Takbir'*. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif became the hero of millions of Pakistanis and the Muslims all over the world.

As usual, a chain of conflicts and disagreements appeared between the Military and Nawaz Sharif. On 7 October 1998, General Jahangir Karamat resigned from his office and General Pervaiz Musharraf was appointed as the Chief of Army Staff. After a few weeks the Kargil Operation was started at Kargil. The relations between Nawaz Sharif and the armed forces once again deteriorated. On 12 October 1999, General Pervaiz

Musharraf was coming back from Sri Lanka to Pakistan after completing an official visit. Meanwhile, Nawaz Sharif dismissed him from service and appointed General Khawja Ziauddin Abbasi as new Chief of Army Staff. The government ordered not to allow the plane of Musharraf to land on Karachi Airport. Air traffic controllers were ordered to send the flight to Nawab Shah Airport in Sindh where the security team of the Prime Minister would be able to take General into custody.

However, the senior Generals of Pakistan Army showed loyalty with General Musharraf. They refused to accept his termination and the appointment of General Ziauddin Abbasi. The troops of Pakistan army took control of Karachi airport to facilitate landing of General Musharraf in Karachi. The army men sieged the Prime Minister House and suspended the operation in all airports of the country. The military also shut down the Pakistan Television and Radio Pakistan for a few hours.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), led by Muhammad Nawaz Sharif achieved _____ seats out of 217.
2. On behalf of Pakistan People's Party, _____ Leghari became the president of Pakistan.
3. Nawaz government nominated Mr. Muhammad Rafiq Tarar former _____of the Supreme Court Pakistan as presidential candidate.
4. The government proclaimed state of _____on 28 May 1998 as there was a threat of external aggression from India.
5. The senior _____of Pakistan Army showed loyalty with General Musharraf.

QUESTIONS

1. Highlight the political development under the journey of democracy from 1988 to 1999.

7.10 MUSHARRAF AS PRESIDENT

With the military takeover on 12th October 1999, a chapter of democracy closed once again in Pakistan. At same night on 22:15 the Pakistan Army reinstated PTV broadcastings and it was announced that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has been dismissed. After few hours at same midnight at 02:50 am Gen Musharraf addressed to Pakistanis that Sharif era has gone to an end. He declared himself as the new Chief Executive of Pakistan. He justified the coup as the last remedy to 'prevent any further destabilization of the military'. In the same week, he suspended all the assemblies and the Senate. He temporarily suspended the Constitution. In his speech, General Musharraf said that on his return to Pakistan from Sri Lanka, his commercial flight was ordered to land outside of Pakistan, as the plane had shortage of fuel. It threatened the lives of all passengers. He further said '*Thanks be to Allah, this evil design was thwarted through speedy army action'*. General Musharraf announced the referendum to legitimate his rule as the president.

As he suspended the Constitution and dissolved Parliament, he formed a National Security Council consists of eight-members. Mr. Rafiq Tarar, the President of Pakistan, served the nation till 20 June 2001. The President, Rafiq Tarar refused to endorse the military takeover of 1999 by General Musharraf. In response to this, General Musharraf did not retain Rafiq Tarar as the President for future. The president could not maintain his office for his legal term of five years. He was forced to resign and he left his office on 20 June 2001. General Musharraf took over the office of the President removing Rafiq Tarar. General Musharraf had to face a number of difficulties to run the county. The most unfortunate incident in this context was of the 9/11 attacks in United States of America (USA). The incident turned the foreign policy of Pakistan in a moment when the World Trade Centre was attacked on 11 September 2001 and almost 3000 people were killed. General Musharraf had to set the direction of foreign policy of Pakistan in a moment. Most immediately after the attacks, the United States concluded that the attack was rooted from Afghanistan. The administration decided to respond attack on Afghanistan but with the help of Pakistan.

The very next day on 12 September 2001, at early morning, Richard Lee Armitage the United States Deputy Secretary of State get together with Lieutenant-General Mahmud Ahmed who was already present at Washington at the time. He was the chief of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan. Richard Armitage made it clear at the spot that Pakistan would have to decide to stand with Washington or with the Taliban of Afghanistan. Islamabad had no other option at all. The same message was communicated to Islamabad, now General Musharraf had to decide on the phone call weather he is with Washington or with the terrorists. Musharraf decided in a moment to align with Washington. Pakistan provided its land to USA against its neighbor Muslim country Afghanistan. Pakistan expected a great offer in return to its support. United States continued financially and military support for Pakistan including air craft C-130, helicopters and radars.

In early morning on 8 October 2005, an earthquake occurred in Pakistan and it affected northern parts of Pakistan particularly in Kashmir and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It increased the difficulties of government and thousands soldiers of Pakistan army involved in rehabilitation of the affected citizens. However, the war against Terrorism proved beneficial for Musharraf to extend rule for few years.

However, on 30 April 2002, the Presidential Referendum was held and General Pervez Musharraf was elected as President of the country for further five years. On 31st July 2002 as the Chief Executive of Pakistan, General Pervaiz Musharraf issued 'The Conduct of General Elections Order, 2002' through which it was decided that the elections for National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies will be held under the joint electorate system in Pakistan. The numbers of seats in National Assembly were increased from 217 to 272 including 60 seats for women and ten seats for non-Muslims. In this way the total seats were 342 for the lower house (National Assembly). Every citizen who attained the age of eighteen years on the first day of January, 2002, had the right of casting vote. The order further made it obligatory for the candidates of national or provincial assemblies having a graduation level degree. The system of joint electorate was criticized by the religious parties while the requirement of graduation degree was challenged in Supreme Court of Pakistan.

According to the Elections Order, the general elections held on 10 October 2002. The elections brought a great change as the PML (N) and PPP were temporarily disappeared from political scene. Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam) achieved the success and Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali was elected as prime Minister of Pakistan. He proved himself as silent prime minister and served under General Musharraf. He was appointed on 1 November 2002 while left his office on 26 June 2004 due to lack of the confidence of the President. Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was elected as Prime Minister from 30 June 2004. He served for two months and on 20 August 2004, once again a new Prime Minister Mr. Shaukat Aziz was appointed.

General Pervaiz Musharraf had to fight on many fronts during his reign. On 13 July 2001, he visited New Delhi, India for mutual dialogue with Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee the Indian Prime Minister. General Musharraf wanted to solve the Kashmir issue but India

was not interested. The talks continued for two days and ended in failure. Pakistani president returned and on 8 October 2001, he once again requested India resumption of negotiations to maintain peace in the region. On 17 December 2001, Pakistan was blamed for suicide attack on Indian parliament. India demanded General Musharraf to take action against the responsible elements within Pakistan. On 12 January 2002, General Musharraf declared war against extremism.

In March 2007, President Musharraf removed Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, the Chief Justice of Pakistan due to corruption charges. He was replaced by Chief Justice Javed Iqbal. This proved to be the starting point of his decline. The lawyers from all over the country initiated their campaign and recorded their protest. In the first week of November, President Musharraf announced emergency in the country. During the emergency period, the constitution was suspended and the judges of Supreme Court were arrested from Islamabad. The Pakistan Television and Radio stations were being controlled by the army troops. The private channels went off air as some of them did not stop to show the public protests and demonstrations against Musharraf.

Musharraf lacked the tendency to solve the issues through negotiations. During his reign, the situation of law and order was weaker in Balochistan. Nawab Akbar Shahbaz Khan Bugti was killed by Pakistan Army during an operation at Kohlu, Balochistan on 26 August 2006. The leader of Balochi militants was killed but the politicians had the opinion that a number of Akbar Bugtis would appear in future in response to military action taken by General Musharraf.

In July 2007, the incident of Lal Masjid occurred when the nation had to hear that the Lal Masjid of Islamabad is the centre of Islamic terrorists. The government tried to negotiate but proved all in vain. The Musharraf administration attacked on Lal Masjid finally. Benazir Bhutto was assassinated in on 27 December 2007 in Rawalpindi. General Musharraf was blamed for this as he was responsible to provide security to her.

In last days of his president ship, Musharraf lost the control over his government. The news Press and Electronic Media propagated against Musharraf. The president was declared responsible for the assassination of Akbar Bugti, students of Lal Masjid and Benazir Bhutto. At last Musharraf has to resign from his post on 18 August 2008.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.10

1. General Musharraf formed a National _____ Council consists of eight-members.
2. The President, Rafiq Tarar _____to endorse the military takeover of 1999 by General Musharraf.
3. Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was elected as Prime Minister and he served for _____ months.
4. Pakistan was blamed for suicide attack on parliament.
5. Nawab Akbar Shahbaz Khan Bugti was killed by Pakistan Army during an operation at_____, Balochistan.

QUESTIONS

1 Elaborate the geostrategic and political position of Pakistan under the Musharraf rule.

7.11 ZAFAR-UL-ULLAH KHAN JAMALI AND SHOKAT AZIZ AS PRIME MINISTERS

After the Military Revolution General Pervaiz Musharraf the post of the Prime Minister remained vacant from 12 October 1999 to 20 November 2002. In response to results of the elections (2002), Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He was the Secretary General of the newly formed political party 'Pakistan Muslim League (Q). After winning the election he was nominated for the post of Prime Minister and was apparently elected to appease Balochistan. He was succeeded to gain 172 votes out of 329. Original seats of the PML (Q) were less and the party allied with other parties. It was the matter of satisfaction for Pakistanis that Jamali became the very first Prime Minister of the country who belonged to Balochistan. He took the charge of his office as the 21st Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mr. Jamali was the head of civilian government under the supervision of General Pervez Musharraf.

After taking oath Jamali worked under the directions of President General Musharraf. He proved himself as cooperative and facilitator to the president. Jamali continued economic and foreign policies of General Musharraf. He supported the president regarding the war against terrorism. Mr. Jamali also announced that Islamabad will continue the support for USA during the war against terrorism.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan had to face a number of challenges in future including harsh opposition in the lower house. The basic reason of his difficulties was that Jamali was the Prime Minister yet General Musharraf had the actual power. On 29 December 2002, Jamali won the vote of confidence from National Assembly with 188 votes. However, during his last working days, he could not maintain the confidence of the president. He was appointed on 1 November 2002 while he had to leave his office on 26 June 2004 due to lack of confidence of the President General Musharraf.

After the resignation of Jamali, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was elected for the office of Prime Minister who also belonged to PML (Q). After his service of one month and 21 days, the General Musharraf selected a new Prime Minister Mr. Shaukat Aziz. He started his services as the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 20 August 2004. Prior to it he had been serving as finance minister of Pakistan. Shaukat Aziz was the trustworthy companion of Pervaiz Musharraf. He carried on his work as per the direction of General Musharraf like Zafarullah Khan Jamali. However, he introduced some reforms in economic sector as he was also the finance minister from 1999 to 2007. A number of corruption cases were opened by NAB against him after his removal from the office of Prime Minister.

Election 2008: Muhammad Mian Soomro was appointed as the caretaker Prime Minister of Pakistan on 16 November 2007. He also belonged to PML (Q) and he served the nation till 25 March 2008.

In the night of 18 October 2007, the 'Karsaz Incident' occurred at Karachi when Benazir Bhutto came back to Pakistan after her self-imposed exile. The Pubic welcomed her but when she was passing on Shahrah-e-Faisal she was attacked. More than 180 were killed and the injuries exceeded to 500 in this attack. Musharraf government was blamed for this incident by PPP. General Pervez Musharraf used his authority as the President and Chief of Army Staff and he endorsed the state of emergency in the country on 3 November 2007. On 27 December Benazir Bhutto was assassinated and the government lost its control. Karachi city remained close for next three days. The banks and ATMs were looted; the cars and vans were burnt by the mob. It was looking that there is no law and no Law enforcement agencies in the country. At last the president announced the final schedule for elections and the new General Elections were held on 18 February 2008.

Pakistan People's Party won the elections with majority. PPP achieved 118 seats while its opponent party PML (N) and PML (Q) could achieve 89 and 50 seats respectively. Mr. Yousaf Raza Gillani was nominated by PPP for the office of Prime Minister and was elected by the National Assembly. He took the oath on 25 March 2008. More than four years and two months Gillani served the nation. During this period government focused on employment of those Pakistanis who belonged to PPP. The newspapers of those days alleged that the PPP government had been writing the letters of the various institutions including Federal Public Service Commission of Pakistan to induct the PPP workers on key posts. President Asif Ali Zardari remained the president of the country from 9 September 2008 to 8 September 2013. PPP served the nation a lot in respect of constitutional amendments. The government approved 18th constitutional amendment through which most of the presidential powers shifted to the Parliament and the constitution was restored in its original form. Many departments were shifted to the Provinces from Centre. The party also restored all the government employees who had been terminated from their jobs by the previous governments.

Due to charges of corruption, Gillani was convicted by the Supreme Court of Pakistan on 26 April 2012. On 19 June 2012, the Supreme Court further ordered that according to previous decision of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Gillani was not eligible to maintain his office. The court explained that he had been ineligible since 26 April 2012. According to the decision of Judiciary, the Election Commission of Pakistan issued a notification through which Gillani was disqualified from the membership of National Assembly and in this way he had no longer any chance to maintain his post. Finally, Yousaf Raza Gillani vacated the office of Prime Minister on 19 June 2012. After his removal, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf remained Prime Minister of Pakistan from 22 June 2012 to 25 March 2013. The National Assembly of Pakistan and People's Party completed their terms successfully and that was first chance in the political history of Pakistan.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.11

1. Jamali became the very _____ Prime Minister of the country who belonged to Balochistan.

2. Jamali won the _____ of confidence from National Assembly with 188 votes.
3. In the night of 18 October 2007, the 'Karsaz Incident' occurred at _____.
4. Government under_____, focused on employment of those Pakistanis who belonged to PPP.
5. Due to charges of_____, Gillani was convicted by the Supreme Court of Pakistan.

QUESTIONS

1. Evaluate the political and constitutional redevelopment of Pakistan under the Premiership of Zafar-ul-Ullah Khan Jamali and Shokat Aziz.

7.12 GENERAL ELECTIONS 2013

Pakistan People's Party remained under high pressure during the last day of its government. More than ninety innocent people were killed in response to bomb attack in Quetta on 11 January 2013. On 13 January 2013, Tahirul Qadri commenced Long March from Lahore to Islamabad. He assembled his party workers near the Parliament House. He demanded instant dissolution of the parliament and provincial assemblies including the Election Commission of Pakistan. After 3 days sitting, an agreement formed between the government and Qadri and he returned. On 25 March 2013, Mir Hazar Khan Khoso was appointed the Caretaker Prime Minister of Pakistan and served till 4 June 2013. The General Elections held in Pakistan on 11 May 2013 to elect the representatives for the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies. The elections were held for 342 seats of the National Assembly including 60 seats for women and 10 for non-Muslims. No party succeeded to gain heavy majority; however, the PML (N) could get 126 General while 34 reserved seats for women and 6 for minorities. In this way PML (N) achieved 166 seats but it needed 6 more seats to form the government. Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf (PTI) won 42 and 35 seats respectively. The Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was the fourth largest party of Pakistan with 24 seats. PTI became the third largest party by number of seats and second ranked by the number of votes.

Pakistan Muslim League (N) formed the government in centre and in the Province of Punjab. PTI formed its government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa while PPP formed government in Sindh and the Balochistan went under the Baloch and Pashtun nationalists. Nawaz Sharif of PML (N) took the oath as the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 5 June 2013 and the nation had been expecting that the government would complete its tenure. However, Nawaz government faced troubles and difficulties since the first day. A number of political parties refused to accept the general elections' results 2013 and accused of rigging in election. Asif Ali Zardari completed his tenure of five years and left the office on 8 September 2014 while Mamnoon Hussain took the oath as president on 9 September 2014.

The senior Major General of Pakistan Army became martyred on 15 September 2013, in Upper Dir. The very sad incident happened when the roadside bomb explosion struck his vehicle. He was returning from a visit on the Pakistan Afghanistan border. It was a great loss for Pakistan.

Nawaz had to face the stiff opposition by Tahirul Qadri and Imran Khan. Nawaz government was alleged for corruption in almost all state projects after breaking the news in Panama Papers. In Punjab, Mr. Shahbaz Sharif was declared responsible for Model Town incident.

Clash occurred in Lahore in June 2014 when the Punjab Police opened fire on the activists of Pakistan Awami Tehrik of Tahirul Qadri. On 30 November 2014, Imran Khan addressed to the party workers in Islamabad. On 16 December 2014, Imran Khan called off his party Dharna after 126 days. The Dharna was called off due to dreadful attack on Army Public School at Peshawar. The government could not improve the Human Development Index of the citizens. Pakistan was ranked on 150 out of 189 countries in the world in 2018. Pakistan's Foreign Policy remained weak during the third reign of PML (N) while the drone attacks were also continued in Pakistan and its borders. However, the government succeeded to achieve some of its targets. The PML-N government tried to boost the economy of Pakistan. Despite of political disturbance, the party saved its government. The stock exchanges were merged and Pakistan Stock Exchange was established. The work remained in progress on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and the project of Metro Bus was completed. To improve the law and order situation government decided to launch the Operation Zarb-e-Azb and National Action Plan.

On 28 July 2017, the Supreme Court of Pakistan disqualified Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from holding the office of Prime Minister in its landmark decision on the Panama Papers case. Nawaz Sharif left the office on the same day. On 1 August 2017 Shahid Khaqan Abbasi of PML (N) was appointed as the next Prime Minister of Pakistan. He served till 31 May 2018 and removed from his office with the dissolution of the National Assembly as it had completed its term under the article 52 of the constitution of Pakistan.

General Elections 2018: Nasirul Mulk was appointed the caretaker Prime Minister of Pakistan and he served from 1 June to 18 August 2018. During his term, the general election for National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies were held on 25 July 2018. Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf achieved 116 seats out of 270 general seats while the elections were postponed in two constituencies. PML (N) and PPP succeeded on 64 and 43 seats respectively. Reserved seats for women and minorities were also led by PTI. With the winning of PTI, the dominance of PPP and PML (N) ended in the political history of Pakistan. Imran Khan took the oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan on 18 August 2018 while the newly formed government of PTI had to face a number of difficulties including the payment of foreign loans and threats and attacks by India. The people of Pakistan have enormous expectations from the PTI government while PTI government has its

focus on the Public health, public education and good relations with neighboring and Islamic countries.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.12

1. The nation had been expecting that the government would _____its tenure.
2. Nawaz had to face the stiff opposition by _____and Imran Khan.
3. In Punjab, Mr. Shahbaz Sharif was declared responsible for _____Town incident.
4. The Dharna was called off due to dreadful _____on Army Public School at Peshawar.
5. To improve the law and order situation government decided to launch the _____Zarb-e-Azb and National Action Plan.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the results of election 2013 and aftermaths of the government of Pakistan Muslim League (N).

ANSWERS OF THE SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. East	2. January	3. Transfer
4. Distance	5. Bengali	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Head	2. Promulgated	3. House
4. Independence	5. Government	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Religion	2. President	3. Muslim
4. Organization	5. Federal	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Deprived	2. Prohibited	3. Freedom
4. Quadiani	5. Compulsory	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. Appointment	2. Military	3. December
4. Politics	5. Courts	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Member	2. Pakistan	3. Bhutto
4. Yahya Khan	5. Martial law	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Agenda	2. Powerful	3. Pressure
4. Political	5. Security	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. Tikka	2. Series	3. Ordinance
4. Spread	5. Agricultural	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. 106	2. Farooq	3. Judge
4. Emergency	5. Generals	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.10

1. Security	2. Refused	3. Two
4. Indian	5. Kohlu	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.11

1. First	2. Vote	3. Karachi
4. Zardari	5. Corruption	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.12

1. Complete	2. Tahirul Qadri	3. Model
4. Attack	5. Operation	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Philip E. Jones (*Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*)

Celia W. Dugger, *the New York Times*, 13 October 1999.

Dr. Maqsood Jafri, *The Ideals of Bhutto*, Islamabad: National Book Foundation.

Masuma Hasan, Pakistan in a changing world, Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi.

Ayesha Jalal, The State of Martial *Rule,* Lahore, Vanguard.

Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press.

Unit - 08

NATURAL RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Written By:
Dr. Khalid Mahmood

Reviewed By:
Prof. Dr. Anwar Shaheen

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 297
Objectives 297
8.1 Physical features of Pakistan 298
8.2 Natural Resources 302
8.3 Human Resources 305
8.4 Urban and Rural Issues 308
8.5 Populations, Employment and Settlements 311
8.6 Society and Culture 314
8.7 Ethnicity 318
8.8 Important Industries 321
8.9 Five year plans 327
8.10 China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) 334
Bibliography 338

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan has been endowed by God Almighty regard existence. It has a large variety of geographical features, huge mountains, pleasant environment, moderate weathers, and a very dynamic human resource which can be turned into great productive assets. This Unit is focusing upon natural resources and economic development of Pakistan. The Unit informs the students of Pakistan studies about the physical features of Pakistan. Mountains, Plains, Plateaus, rivers, coastal areas and deserts of Pakistan are of great importance. All these are rich in natural bounties. The human resources have been contributing towards national development as well as are valuable part of the countries where they migrate as workers with various levels of education and skills. This Unit also discusses national issues such as: overpopulation, unemployment, shortage of housing, poverty, and uneven development level of the urban and rural areas. Given the rich variety of culture and social lifestyles, the aspects of ethnic mosaic are also discussed as to their influence on unity and diversity. The major industries of Pakistan have also been discussed in this unit. Undoubtedly, Pakistan is an agricultural country, but the industrial sector has played a key role in its economic development. The Planning mechanism has been foreseeing and devising development plans for the country, however, their effective implementation has not always been up to the mark. The author is hoping the future of our beloved Pakistan to be bright and prosperous in view of keen involvement of the government in introducing new development policies and programs. Particularly the progress under the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has been very encouraging. Some of its projects have been completed and many others are in progress. The CPEC is expected to bring a major positive change in the level of prosperity for the people of Pakistan.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you would be able to know about:

1. the physical features of Pakistan;
2. the natural resources and human resources and their importance for the country's development;
3. the urban and rural area, populations and issues of employment;
4. the Pakistani society and culture and implications of ethnic diversity; and
5. the importance of industries, Five Year Plans and the China Pakistan Economic Corridor.

8.1 PHYSICAL FEATURES OF PAKISTAN:

Pakistan is one of the richest countries of the world according to its physical features. It has various types of features in its surface. The natural endowments available in air, land, water and under the ground, from south to north and east to west, are immeasurable. God has gifted us with high mountains and eight of the world's highest peaks, including: K-2, Nanga Parbat, Gasherbrum, Distaghil Sar and Kunyang Chhish; These mountains and peaks remain covered with snow throughout the year. The rivers flowing in the mountains have cold water full with minerals. The same rivers when enter the plains are great source of irrigation as well as hydroelectricity. Pakistan has vast plateaus of Potohar and Baluchistan. Thal and Thar are the famous deserts of the country situated in Punjab and Sindh. The mountainous areas are coldest in winter while desert areas have the record highest temperature in continent during the summer.

According to the geologists physical features of Pakistan may be divided into following different parts.

1. Northern Mountainous Region
2. Western Mountainous Region
3. Salt Range and Potohar Plateau
4. Baluchistan Plateau
5. Upper Plain of the Indus
6. Coastal Area of Sindh and Baluchistan
7. Deserts of Pakistan

8.1.1 Northern Mountainous Region

The region of Northern Mountains is located in the north of Pakistan and is known as northern areas of the country. It contains a variety of beautiful and huge mountains. The elegant K-2 is the second highest peak of the world situated in this area. The world famous wonder of engineering, historical road Karakoram Highway runs this challenging mountainous area, and has remained the only land link between Pakistan and China.

8.1.2 Western Mountainous Region

The region of these mountains is located in the western part of the country. Most these mountains and hills are dry with little vegetation in sight. However, a large quantity of bushes and grass is available, which provides a source of income to people who raise sheep and goats, and earn their living by herding.

8.1.3 Salt Range and Potohar Plateau

The Salt Range and the Potohar Plateau is located in the Punjab Province. Potohar includes the districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Chakwal and some areas of Attock and Mianwali. The land of this Plateau is full of minerals deposited here by rivers as well as the rain water streams. Therefore, the land of Potohar Plateau is very suitable for growing

crops, vegetables and fruit. On the other hand, the Salt Range comprises a series of small hills and low mountains located between the valleys of the Indus and Jhelum Rivers. It starts from Deena near Jehlum and ends at Mianwali near Kalabagh. The Range stretches to a length of almost 175 Kms. The average height of this Range is about 2200 feet (671 meters) and its highest point is Sakesar which is approximately 4,992feet (1522meters). It has the world famous mines of salt and other mineral located in Kalabagh Mari city, Warcha (near Khushab), and Khewra (near Pind Dadan Khan). Khewra is the largest salt mine in the world where a large number of local and foreign visitors come to visit and enjoy this wonder of nature.

8.1.4 Balochistan Plateau

Balochistan comprises about 44 percent of total area of the country, having a variety of physical features..Although, it is bounded almost all sides by mountains but most of its plain area has taken form of a Plateau. Quetta is the capital city of the province; and it is also surrounded by mountains, therefore, that is a small basin. Actually, the province of Balochistan is a sequence of low-lying plateaus separated by various hills. Most of the area is barren with average height from the sea level is between 1,000 to 1,250 metres (3,000-4,000 feet).

Administratively Balochistan is divided into six divisions, namely: Quetta, Sibi, Qalat, Loralai, Makran and Naseerabad. Hingol National Park at Hingol is famous tourist attraction due to its park, garden and volcano. Hanna Lake of Quetta is a famous lake where visitors come from all over the country. Hinglaj Mata of Makran coast in Lasbela District is also a beautiful place where one can enjoy the historical sites of Shrine and Temple. Eighty-five km long Hamun-e-Mashkel Lake is the world's largest seasonal lake situated in the desert area of Washuk district. Due to its exquisite atmosphere, Ziarat is ahighly valuable station, historically important, too, as the Father of Nation spent his last days there. (Pir Ghaib (the invisible saint) near Bolan, Waadi-e-Bolan (Bolan), Moola Chotok (Khuzdar), Kund Malir Beach, (Kund Malir), Pir Chattal Noorani Gandhawa, (Jhal Magsi), Astola Island (Gwadar and Pasni) are the fairly wonderful places for tourists; anyhow, it is nothing else more but our bad luck as we are unfamiliar with these beautiful scenes of our homeland.

Besides, the most area of Baluchistan Plateau is dry and barren due to lack of water resources. Some areas are cultivated through karez system. A large proportion of people of Baluchistan have to live their lives in absence of the basic facilities. Unavailability of water, hospitals, educational institutes, industries, and transport facility are the painful issues for the public of Balochistan.

8.1.5 Upper Plain of the Indus

Indus is the largest plain in the country. According to meanings the word Indus has originated from the word 'Sindhu' which is a Sanskrit word meaning an 'ocean'. Some other words including Sindh, India and Hindu also come from the same word. The Indus River is one of the greatest rivers of the world. Other rivers of Pakistan are comparatively

smaller than Indus rather they are its tributaries. Indus river basin covers a total area of about 1.12 million square km. this is the largest plain with marvellous fertile soil in Pakistan. The Indus River is famous due to its old civilization dating5,000 years back, which was dependant on agriculture as its main source of income. This Indus plain is divided into two parts; the one of them is called Upper Plain and the other is known as Lower Plain of the Indus Basin. The upper portion of the Indus basin comprises the Province of Punjab.

The higher area of the Indus Plain is identified as the Potohar Plateau which is situated close to the foot hills of Himalaya Mountains. Thal and Cholistan are the desert areas of Lower Indus Plain. This is in fact the central area of the country. A large variety of agricultural crops are cultivated here. It also has many canals that are the source of supplying water to the agricultural lands.

8.1.5.1 Lower Plain of the Indus

The Lower Plain of the Indus is located from the south of Mithan Kot to the Arabian Sea. This Plain contains most of the area of Sind Province except hills. Like the Upper Plain it also has very fertile soil. This plain provides a large area to cultivate the agriculture crops in Sindh. Almost all the Plain is very suitable for growing the crops where the proper supply of water is available. Like the Upper Plain, a larger area of Sindh Province is irrigated by a network of canals.

However, the desert tract is comparatively infertile because there is no water supply at all. The Indus becomes closer to the Arabian Sea near Thatta where the morass delta is formed. Its vegetation cover is largely of mangrove forests covering about 556,000 acres. Then the delta divides into numerous branches and at last falls into the Arabian Sea. A huge part of this area is regularly flooded with water causing destruction at large scale during the monsoon season. On the west of this delta, the well-known seaport of Karachi is situated.

8.1.6 Coastal Area of Sindh and Baluchistan

Arabian Sea lies in the south of Pakistan. Along the coastline Karachi is the biggest city of Sindh as well as of Pakistan. Farther in the west, in Baluchistan the seaport of Gawadar is located. A large quantity of fish is caught from the coastal waters of Sindh and Baluchistan. Ibrahim Hayderi is the largest township of the fishing community adjacent to Karachi. More than 90 percent of the fish and seafood in Pakistan is catch and export through the harbour. For the Development of the fishing sector, the government has founded Karachi Fisheries Harbour Authority. Harbour is a sheltered body of water where boats, ships and barges can be docked. A large number of fishermen in the country belong to Sindh and Balochistan. Most of them live near the coastal areas of the country.

Very important information regarding this region is that a unique species of sea turtles, called ‘green turtles’ is nesting near the Karachi beach. They nest in the sandy beach

area. Moreover, famous beaches of Pakistan, Sandspit and Hawksbay are situated near Karachi. Ormara-Taq Beach, Astola Island and Daran beaches are located nearer to the Makran in Baluchistan. These beaches have also great importance for us due to nesting sites of sea turtles. During the months of July to December these sea turtles lay their eggs on these beaches. Sandspit and Hawksbay beaches are two of the eleven globally recognised nesting beaches. Every year a large number (in thousands) of green sea turtles make their nest on the shore of Sandspit and Hawksbay.

8.1.7 Deserts of Pakistan

The sand covered areas of Pakistan, though deprived of water, are rich in wildlife, culture and customs. The desert areas of Pakistan located in the province of the Punjab are now partially irrigated by the efforts of government. The Punjab's desert region is divided in two parts, namely, Thal and Cholistan. The Thal desert is located in upper Punjab and comprises the districts of Khushab, Layyah and Muzaffargarh and Tehsil Piplan of Mianwali district. On the other hand, the Cholistan desert comprises the areas of district Bahawalpur, Bahawal Nagar and Rahim Yar Khan. Mostly land of this desert has been found suitable for growing crops. The desert has been provided water through the canals. As rain is scanty in these regions, the farmers have to depend on canal water. Mostly the underground water is not suitable, especially in district of Rahim Yar Khan water is too brackish; not suitable for human or irrigation purposes.

If we look at Sindh province, here is a larger desert called Thar. It has been facing severe shortage of water, low rainfall and frequent spells of drought. A large number of humans, precious birds and cattle die every year due to unavailability of water and food. The same desert is also famous as Great Indian Desert because larger part of it lies in India and there it is called Nara while in Sindh it is known as Thar and Parkar. Nonetheless, the region is habitat of diverse species of wild life in Sindh. The livelihood of the inhabitants is derived from domestic animals including cows, goats, sheep and camels, as well as crops, wild grass and bushes, which depend on the rain water.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. Indus is the _____plain in the country.
2. Administratively Balochistan is divided into _____divisions.
3. Thal and Cholistan are the desert areas of _____Indus Plain.
4. Ormara-Taq Beach, Astola Island and Daran beaches are located nearer to the _____in Baluchistan.
5. The mountainous areas are coldest in _____.

QUESTIONS

1. Keeping in view the geographical position of Pakistan, discuss the Physical Features of Pakistan in detail.

8.2 NATURAL RESOURCES OF PAKISTAN

According to Cambridge English Dictionary the natural resources mean the things such as minerals, forests, coal, etc. that exist in a place and can be used by people. In other words natural resources are provided by the nature and there is no role of humans in creating or producing them; however, the humans can explore and exploit these resources to bring into use.

Allah Almighty had provided a large number of natural resources to our dear country. Every region and corner has some sort of such blessing hidden in the soil or lying on the surface of earth. The important natural resources of Pakistan include rock salt, iron, coal, natural gas, gypsum, limestone, silver, copper, gold, zinc and natural oil. Broad sunlight is available almost throughout the year and it is a valuable source of solar energy among other benefits. Water resources, though shrinking according to increasing pressure on demand, are also valuable source in need of saving and conserving wisely.

It is noteworthy that Pakistan is a country blessed by God in many respects. Even its magnificent high mountains are very useful to our survival. The northern mountains of Pakistan are very important for us as listed below:

1. These are a natural barrier providing protection from the enemy. No enemy could crossed easily such highest mountain ranges of the world, throughout history.
2. These northern mountains are the unique source of preventing us from the cold weather, and cold waves coming from the northern countries.
3. These mountains are a reserve of rich forests, wild life, and migratory Siberian birds that visit Pakistan in harsh cold season. Moreover, a number of cement factories and stone crushing plants operate in this area using raw material from these mountains.
4. The mountains provide us various types of wild herbs that are used allopathic, homoeopathic and unani medicines.
5. The mountains add unique beauty to the landscape, because the snow-covered peaks, endless glaciers, lakes and valleys make this area scenic, a great attraction for the tourists from all over the world, thus the country earns huge amount of foreign exchange through tourism.
6. A number of businesses and industries flourish due to tourism value of this mountainous region.
7. A large part of Pakistan is arid or semi-arid. The agricultural crops so essential for food security of the nation, are cultivated by using the canal water coming from the snow deposited on these high mountains.

Our beloved country Pakistan is among those countries which are rich in minerals. Moreover, Pakistan has vast reserves of energy sources, including coal and gas in different parts of the country. Apart from this, precious metals like copper and gold and gemstones are also found here in large quantity. Other resources also include natural oil, iron, titanium and aluminium. These metallic and non-metallic resources play an important part in the growth of our economy. Sometimes these resources are not utilized in the country. For example, in Pakistan, a large quantity of gold was discovered in

Balochistan but it was noted by Supreme Court of Pakistan that the contractors were involved in corruption. However, nothing was happened after the notice that was why corruption had caused severe damage to our economy and the society.
Some important natural resources are being discussed here briefly:

8.2.1 Natural Gas

Natural gas was discovered in Pakistan in 1952 near the town of Sui located in Dera-Bugti district of Balochistan near Kashmore. The commercial exploitation of the field started in year 1955. In fact, it is natural gas but in Pakistan it is called Sui gas as it was discovered first time in Sui. Sui Northern Gas Pipelines Limited and Sui Southern Gas Pipelines Limited are the known gas supplier companies in Pakistan. Pakistan Petroleum Company (PPL) had the credit to explore initially in Pakistan. Now PPL is the sole operator of the Sui Gas Field situated in Dera-Bugti. The Company had undergone huge financial and technical loss as the terrorists made routine attacks on the gas pipe lines. Oil and Gas Development Company (OGDC), Mari Petroleum Company Limited (formerly Mari Gas Company Limited), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Oil & Gas Company Limited, Dewan Petroleum Private Limited and Attock Petroleum Limited are established companies engaged in exploration of oil and gas in Pakistan. Moreover, there are natural gas fields other than Sui, located in other provinces of Pakistan. The major gas fields operated by Pakistan Petroleum Limited include: Sui Gas Field (Dera-Bugti District of Balochistan), Kandhkot Gas Field (Kashmore District, Sindh), Adhi Field (Mastala, Rawalpindi, and Punjab), Mazarani Gas Field (District Kamber-Shahdadkot in Sindh), Chachar Gas Field (Kashmore), Hala Block (Sanghar and Matiari districts in Sindh), Adam Field (Sanghar District of Sindh) and Shahdadpur Gas Field (Sindh). Some of these are run by PPL while certain other gas fields are run by PPL in association with other Companies. The utilization of the natural resources had never been made efficient and in a wisely manner. Almost40 percent of the natural gases supplied through pipelines and in this system a large part of it is wasted.

8.2.2 Petroleum

Petrol and gas are naturally found mostly together underground. Recently, the new reserves of natural gas and petroleum have been identified, available under the surface of earth in the form of shell like balloons. Shell and China National Petroleum Corporation have developed a system to find out reserves of gas in greater depth of the earth. However, Pakistan cannot meet its energy requirements from the available resources, so it imports soil and gas from international market. Now, as many oil refineries have been established in our country, we purchase crude oil from international oil market which is shipped to Pakistan. The crude oil is the raw fluid, not in pure form; hence the oil refineries established locally refine the crude oil through technical process in a scientific ways. The famous refineries of Pakistan are Byco Oil Pakistan (formerly Bosicar), Pakistan Refinery Limited, National Refinery Limited, Attock Refinery Limited, Pak-Arab Refinery, Indus Oil Refinery Ltd, Khalifa Coastal Refinery and Trans Asia Refinery. The last three refineries are not fully operational yet there are in the process of being developed.

8.2.3 Coal

Coal is a very common source of energy, hence is an important natural resource. It looks unattractive but given its importance, it is also called black gold in the world. The early train engines were run with the help of coal. Pakistan is rich in coal reserves to some extent but the quality of coal found in Pakistan is not of good quality. We use it in industries, such as brick- making, steel mills and similar other industries. Major deposits of coal in Pakistan are available at: Lakhra, Sonda, Thatta, Jherruck and Thar. Coal has a significant share in the growth of the economy of our country. Coal fields at Jehlum, Mach, Ziarat, Chamalang and Kingri also do not have coal of high quality.

8.2.4 Mines and Minerals

As we have discussed in above lines that Pakistan is rich in its minerals. The finding mines from the mountains and underground is not an easy task. Government had established the mines and mineral departments at provincial level and each of them has the responsibilities of various types.

Mines & Minerals Department, Punjab is working in the territories of the Punjab province. The department has the responsibilities for various types of grants, conducting surveys, exploration of the mines and working for development of several mineral resources. The Department is also involved in rental collection, paying royalties and working for the welfare of its employees. For this purpose the department had built houses in colonies and had established various schools in her colonies to educate the children of the workers. It also performs responsibilities for the development of infrastructure in mining areas; work for safety, health and manage other welfare projects of mine workers. The Mines and Mineral department had paid contribution in multi sectors including industries, energy, services and development.

Mines & Mineral Development Department looks after the same as the Punjab Mines and Mineral Department in the Punjab province. The land of Sindh is rich in minerals including coal, granite marble, limestone, and travertine and sandstone reserves. Here are enormous deposits of dimension and cut stones in Sari Singh area of Thano Bula Khan Taluka. The discoveries of granite in remote areas of Sindh are smoothly continued. The far areas where granite is available were not accessible previously but are now linked with Karachi through roads. A fine quality of marble such as golden and coral marble were also found near Thatta. The Mines and Mineral Department had provided basic facilities including electricity, telephone and water supply inthe village areas connected quarry sites.

Minerals Development Department Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is also active to discover the natural resource. It has the responsibilities of consideration of applications and grants the licenses and leases for mining. Now a day, mining has become an industry and the Department works for regulation and monitoring of mining operations in this mineral sector. It also performs the collection of royalties. Mineral Development Department of K.P also negotiate mineral agreements and consultation with the Federal Government. Like other provincial departments it also provides facilitation.

Mines and Minerals Development Department Balochistan is responsible to facilitate and provide service for the exploration of Mineral resources in the Balochistan province. According to area, Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan comprising almost 42 per cent of the total area of the country. The provincial government always gave punctual attention towards the minerals. A large number of national and multinational companies have been interested in exploration of minerals here. Balochistan is highly rich in gold, copper, coal and other precious metals. The Mineral Department had performed its responsibilities regarding the development of Infrastructure and provision of facilities in mining areas. It made the efforts to generate the revenue in the mines and mineral sector.

Huge resources of copper have been recently discovered by the Geological Survey of Pakistan in District Chaghi at Saindak, Koh-i-Dalil, Dash-i-Kain, Durban Chah, Kabul Koh, Ziarat, Pir Sultan and Rekodiq, etc. A number of deposits of iron ore have also been found in the same district. Total iron ore reserves are estimated to almost 273 million tons.

The above discussion shows that we need to take maximum benefit from natural resources. However, we are unable to do it as there is crying need of technical education. The people must be involved in resource exploitation and management and it is impossible without the promotion of technical education. It should be ensure to minimum wastage of the natural resources. The huge natural resources of all kinds including minerals, energy, agriculture and human resources are the base of developing our economy.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Allah Almighty had provided a large number of _____resources to our dear country.
2. The mountains provide us various types of _____herbs.
3. The crude oil is the raw fluid, not in _____form.
4. Coal fields at Jehlum, Mach, Ziarat, Chamalang and Kingri also do not have coal of _____ quality.
5. Balochistan is highly rich in gold, copper, coal and other _____metals.

QUESTIONS

1. Evaluate the role of Natural Resources for the economic development of the Country.
2. Discuss the various Natural Resources of Pakistan in detail and highlight their contribution in the economy of the country.

8.3 HUMAN RESOURCES

It is important to know that human resources mean the human or the people, both male and female, who make up the workforce of any organization or business, or labour of the agriculture sector and economy. The group of human who play role in the economic development is known as human capital as well as human resources. It is universal fact

that no country can make progress without the human resources. China had the largest number of people as compared to any other country in the world. Being the largest populated country in the world, it is extremely difficult for the government to provided food and basic facilities to the citizens. However, China had engaged its population in industries and agriculture; therefore, the inhabitants are not burden on the economy rather now they are regarded as the human resource.
The situation in Pakistan is opposite than that of China. Our government has always pleaded arguing that the growth of population is at very fast and the people should cooperative to control the increasing population. The concept of family planning was introduced as early as 1952, but was extensively propagated by the international support in the Ayub Khan era. Now the contraceptive methods are popularized at large scale by the health departments in the country; though their use is going up, yet the population rate is still fairly high.

According to the 6th National Population and Housing Census of Pakistan (held in 2017) the population of Pakistan was 207.77 million. The population is increasing and the responsibilities of the government are also enhancing as government is responsible for providing basic facilities to the public.

8.3.1 Human Resources Utilization in Pakistan

The proper utilization of human resources is a crucial task for the government. There prevails a common perception that the government of Pakistan could not manage its human resources in a wise manner. An important fact is that during the Ayub regime, employment opportunities were abundant. The Second Five Year Plan was the most successful plan in the Pakistan in terms of economic development in the country. However, it does not imply that there had been a dearth of employment opportunities in the country. During the reign of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the large number of workforce migrated to Arab countries. The outmigration of human resources is continued till today because the employment opportunities in Pakistan are really short as compared to the needs of growing population. The number of jobless people is increasing day by day. Since the trend of women's economic participation is rising, it adds to number of unemployed persons in Pakistan. The literacy rate of females has been increasing steadily so the female workforce that worked as unskilled/semi-skilled labourers at the brick kilns or in agriculture, have now shifted to work in the factories or industries. Millions of females are engaged in the education sector, including public and private educational institutions. Females are paid relatively less wages than men in the private sector; therefore, they are given preference for employment by the owners. This had created dual problem; first, the females have to work under stress for lower wage; second, the males are deprived of the employment opportunities.

The governments in Pakistan have been working for the development of the population through various measures. According to *Economic Survey of Pakistan (2017-18)*, the Youth Programme of Prime Minister has been one of the revolutionary programmes initiated by the government. It has proved helpful for the socio-economic development of

the country and supported the efforts to control joblessness in Pakistan to some extent. The scheme was started with the main purpose of empowerment of youth, enabling them to work according to their abilities. The government has taken various steps under Prime Minister's Youth Programme. Some of them are briefly discussed in the following:

Prime Minister's Youth Business Loan Scheme: In the beginning, the scheme was launched through National Bank of Pakistan (NBP) and First Women Bank Limited (FWBL). Later on, sixteen other commercial banks have also provided their services as part of the same scheme. The banks presented their financing products under Prime Minister Youth Business Loan Scheme. According to this scheme, around 22,210 people had taken benefit in the form of loans. The loans were issued under this scheme with very low interest rate.

Prime Minister's Interest Free Loan Scheme: Another scheme initiated by the prime minister was Interest free loan scheme. It was launched to grant loans to poor, vulnerable and marginalized households without any interest. This programme provided support to the poor females all over the country. At the start of year 2018, an amount of Rs. 9,737 million was disbursed to 409,805 borrowers. However, most of the females in the country including educated women are also not aware from this type of schemes. Another issue is that the process of availing benefit is not simple.

Prime Minister's Youth Skill Development Programme: According to this programme, the training was provided to the young males and females within the age group of 18 to 40 year. A 30 percent special quota was reserved for females by the National Vocational and Technical Training Commission (NAVTTC). The purpose of this programme was to provide technical training enabling youth to be useful for the country. It was the good initiative towards human resource development program in the country.

Provision of Laptops: The prime minister's scheme for provision of laptop was for those students who proved themselves as talented. So, 300,000 laptops were provided in first and second phase to young students from all over the country. Moreover, 200,000 laptops have been reserved for distribution among the selected students in near future.

Prime Minister's Fee Reimbursement Scheme: According to this Scheme, the actual expenses in respect of fee for the students were reimbursed. It was reserved for under-developed areas of the country and Rs 7.5 billion have been reimbursed to 149,695 university students from 2012-13 to 2016-17 financial years.

Overseas Employment: The government had tried her best to grapple with the issue of unemployment in the country. Human capital was exported for this purpose. Migration of human resources is significant feature of globalization in the modern world. The migration process played a significant role in provision of employment to jobless people and also for reduction of poverty. Since the reign of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, more than 10.1 million Pakistanis have proceeded abroad for the sake of employment. Out of them, 96.1

percent Pakistanis applied to Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries including Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) and United Arab Emirates (UAE). However, during 2017 United Arab Emirates has become the largest country for our workforce. Almost 0.275 million workers proceeded for employment to UAE and 0.143 million for Saudi Arabia 0.143 million. Oman is the third largest country where 42,362 Pakistani workers went for better job opportunities during 2017. The better educated people migrated to the European countries but their number is not significant.

The above discussion shows that without using the human resources no nation can be able to make progress. Human resources are also included in natural resources. The best trained population is blessing for the any nation while the inactive humans become burden on the economy. It is a hard fact that now our country is the sixth most populous country in the world. According to United Nations Development Programme, Pakistan has large share of young population, as about 63 percent of total population is below the age of 25 years. There is lack of strong administrative policy through which the young people could be engaged in the practical work. If the human resources are not properly used the economic development would not be possible. The lack of opportunities regarding employment will lead to higher risk of unemployment, poverty and the socio-political evils associated with it.

In short, Pakistan is in fact not a poor country but it is poorly managed. There are many aspects which remained causes of the poor management. Some of the important problems are political instability, lack of timely decisions by the political leaders, shortage of effective planning mechanism, defective economic policies, bureaucratic blockage, neglecting of human development, bad situation of law and order and corruption. These are the factors due to which the natural and human resources could not be used in Pakistan in proper way. Now, the federal and provincial governments are taking measures towards the development of human resource in Pakistan and the efforts are under way to provide basic educational and training facilities to the citizens.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. The concept of _____ planning was introduced as early as 1952.
2. An important fact is that during the _____ regime, employment opportunities were abundant.
3. The governments in Pakistan have been working for the _____ of the population through various measures.
4. Without using the _____ resources no nation can be able to make progress..
5. Pakistan has large share of young population, as about 63 percent of total _____ is below the age of 25 years.

QUESTIONS

1. Define the term human resources. How the government can utilize the human resources in a better way?

8.4 URBAN RURAL ISSUES

Evolution of human society has happened in different stages. Man was not aware of sowing the seed in the beginning of human life on earth. He could only hunt and gather food from nature. Later on, he learnt the art of growing crop from seeds and thus emerged an agricultural society. The rural societies in the world developed along with the agricultural developments. Gradually the progress towards industries development happened and a part of human societies transformed into urban societies. Both urban and rural forms of societies co-exist in the world nowadays.

8.4.1 What is the Urban & Rural Society?

- **Rural society:** The society where inhabitants are in small number, homogenous in qualities, open land is abundant, basic sources of livelihood is based on extraction of raw materials available in the nature or agriculture using simple tools, is called rural society.
- **Urban society:** The society which is typical as modern industrial civilization, is heterogeneous in ethnic and cultural traditions, and emphasizes secular values and norms, is characterized as an urban society.

8.4.2 Characteristics of Urban and Rural Society

Some of the characters of Urban Society are as under.

- In urban society, size of population is much larger and density of population is higher than the rural society.
- Nuclear family system is found mostly in the urban society.
- Out of family marriage are held in urban areas.
- Secondary profession are very common in towns and cities.
- All three social classes (lower, middle and high) dwell in urban areas.
- The cities are characterized by diverse people, races and cultures.
- Impersonal and formal relations are established in urban social set-up.
- Lifestyle is generally complex in urban society.
- Material culture dominates the urban life and economy.
- People easily accept new norms; therefore, prospects of social change are higher in urban sector.
- Modern rules and regulations enforced by police and similar agencies are major sources of social control.

8.4.3 Characteristics of Rural Society

The characteristics of rural societies are mentioned as under:

- It is undeveloped and less populated.
- It is homogeneous society where dress, culture and language are almost the same.
- Means of mass communication are not developed and prompt.
- Rate of social change is slow.

- People are less educated.
- People know each other thoroughly and nature of human relation is informal.
- Guests are treated warmly.
- Specific traditional values and norms are practiced in these societies.
- Lifestyle is simple.
- Family relations are strong.
- Endogamy id popular and low rate of divorce can be observed.

8.4.4 Issues of Urban and Rural Societies

Every society has its own dynamics and conditions. Their merits, demerits, issues and problems are different from each other. Urban and rural societies have their own respective problems and issues in Pakistan. Hare we mention important and basic problems of both types of societies.

8.4.5 Problems of Rural Society

Issues and problems of rural society of Pakistan include:

- Lack of education and health facilities
- Lack of grid-stations and prolong load shading
- Lack of social and civil infrastructure, especially in remote areas
- Problems faced by agriculture profession, such as: shortage of water, no dams, lack of modern machinery, old farming inputs and old methods of cultivation, etc.
- Lack of IT resources and network
- High infant mortality rate as a big threat to survival of humans
- No interest of residents in community development
- Poor agricultural policies
- Problem of provision of human rights
- Unavailability of recreation facilities
- A large number of people living below the poverty line.

8.4.6 Problems of Urban Societies

Like rural societies, urban society also faces multiple problems. Main problems still lingering on since the establishment of Pakistan in urban areas are as follows:

- Poor quality housing and problem of affordability of purchasing or renting a house
- Due to overpopulation, problem of shortage of water increases day by day.
- Means of transportation are not sufficient, while increasing transportation vehicles causes congestion of traffic.
- Health facilities centres are increased but due to being run by the private sectors, these facilities are not affordable for a common urban dweller.
- Though a large number of schools, colleges and universities working in urban areas, but the main problem lie in their fees and standard of education, whereas the government is not contributing sufficiently in this sector.

- Cleanliness and garbage disposal in the cities is a big problem in urban sector.
- Pollution level is increasing day to day, causing severe health issues.
- Lack of proper land management is another massive problem of this sector.
- Law and order situation is not satisfactory.
- Crime rate is higher as compared to rural areas.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Man was not aware of sowing the _____in the beginning of human life on earth.
2. Lifestyle is generally complex in _____ society.
3. Material _____dominates the urban life and economy.
4. Due to overpopulation, problem of _____ of water increases day by day.
5. Crime rate is higher in urban _____ as compared to rural areas.

QUESTIONS

1. Define the rural and urban society. Also elaborate the problems faced by the inhabitants of rural and urban societies.

8.5 POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENTS

The study of collection of people, size, composition and distribution in a particular space is called "Population."The study of population is very important to understand the characteristics of people living in a country or a small place and provide a guideline to chalk-out a macro plan in a specific patch of land where people are living.
Migration and settlement is also a common phenomenon related to population in the society. People move from one area to settle in another for different reasons. It is necessary to understand this demographical change at a collective societal level.

8.5.1 Demography in Pakistan

Latest estimated population of Pakistan (excluding Kashmir, Gilgit, and Baltistan)is 207,774,420. Its highlights are as under:

- Fifth most populous country
- Death rate : 7.5 deaths/1000 population
- Birth rate: 29.8 birth/ 1000 population
- Fertility rate: 2.68 children born per woman
- Life expectancy: 67.7 years
- Infant mortality rate: 53.86 deaths / 1000 births
- Growth rate: 2.10 per cent per annum
- During 1950-2011 overall population increased fourfold.
- Pakistan urban population increased sevenfold during 1950-2011.
- During 1990-2003, Pakistan emerged as the second most urbanized nation in South Asia.
- Karachi and Lahore are most dense cities of Pakistan. Population of Karachi is 14,910,325 while Lahore's population is 11,126,285.
- Population of transvestites (*khowajasaras*) is approximately 100,000 in Pakistan.
- Punjab is the most populated and Baluchistan is the least populated province of Pakistan.

8.5.2 Theories of Population

There are two important theories of population presented by different thinkers, mentioned below.

- *Malthus Theory:*
  It describes that population increases in geometrical progression like 1, 2, 4, 8 and doubles in 25 years on the other hand food supplies increases in slow mathematical ways like 1,2,3,4,5 etc., hence the crisis.
- *Optimum Theory:*
  This theory is presented by Edwin Cannon in 1924. It says that there is no relation between population and food supply. It is rather concerned with the relationship between size of population and production of wealth. Here, optimum population means the population gives maximum economic welfare.

8.5.3 Migration

Movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living condition is called "migration".

The purpose of migration is "settlement" that is why movement of nomadic people is not regarded as a "migration". Migration could be internal or external, seasonal or permanent.
Two terms are necessary here to understand "migration".

- **Emigration:**
  The act of leaving one's own country to settle permanently in another country; moving abroad.
- **Immigration:**
  The act of someone coming to live in different countries to be settled.

8.5.4 Causes of Migration

People migrate for many reasons. Five basic reasons of migration are described as under:

1. People migrate due to worst environmental reasons as unsuitable climate, or calamities in an area.
2. Economic factor is another reason. People migrate to raise their standard of living and to search better jobs.
3. People moves from one place to other for cultural, religious and educational freedom.
4. People often migrate for political factor like civil war, etc.
5. Sometime people feel loneliness and move the place where their relative and family members are living.

8.5.5 Migration and Settlement

When an individual migrates from one area to another he faces many social and cultural problems. He tries his best to adjust according to environmental and cultural conditions respecting the prevailing found there. The main problems faced by any emigrants are listed below:

- **Residential Problems:**
  Most of the emigrants face residential problems in new settled areas. It often takes some time to get better and desired accommodation.
- **Home Sickness:**
  When an individual migrates to a new city or state, leaving his family behind, he feels home sickness. This feeling affects the emigrants' psychology negatively.
- **Cultural Adaptation:**
  The newly settled emigrants have to adapt themselves to the cultural norms found in that society. They would be relaxed if they are flexible in adopting new cultural values.
- **Helplessness:**
  Individual survives in society by social co-operation and harmony. A new emigrant just because of belonging to the out-group faces non cooperative behaviour and feels helpless in the new area.
- **Sense of Insecurity:**
  In a new settled area, a migrated individual always feels insecure because he lives there as an outsider or temporary resident.
- **Language Barrier:**
  Language barrier mostly pose big problem for the settlers in a new living set-up. Without communication tools, even the very first introduction becomes impossible with anyone.
- **Prey of Prejudices:**
  A migrated individual does not belong to that ethnic group relates with culture. That is why, group people consider him as a heterogenic person and he becomes victim of prejudices.
- **Health Issues:**
  A new climate and environmental conditions do pose challenge for a settled emigrant in an un-known area. This situation creates health issues for him. Even if he takes full care of his health and maintains hygiene, it might take him some time to become normally adjusted.
- **Acceptance of Law:**
  An emigrant has to accept new rules and regulations and civic laws in a new area. He has to mould himself in new political scenario and be prepared and alert to abide by the new regulations.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. People move from one area to _____in another for different reasons.
2. _____ Theory describes that population increases in geometrical progression like 1, 2, 4, 8.
3. People migrate to raise their _____ of living and to search better jobs.
4. Individual survives in _____ by social co-operation and harmony.
5. Language barrier mostly pose big _____for the settlers in a new living set-up.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a detailed note on the population, migration and settlements of Pakistan.

8.6 SOCIETY AND CULTURE

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

8.6.1 What is Society?

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

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

8.6.2 Evolution of society

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

There are six stages of evolution of human society:

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

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

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

Horticultural society: This is third stage where people already knew how to cultivate plants. History shows evidence that in some part of the world, like Latin America, Asia

and Middle-East, human beings cultivated fruit, vegetable and food plant first time. So people also started living permanently near the cultivated area they had acquired.

Agricultural society: This is an advanced form of horticultural society. For the first time, humans started using technology to grow crops on large pieces of land. Feudal system is the example and very advanced stage of agriculture society.

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

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

8.6.3 Significance of Society

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

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

8.6.4 Pakistani Society

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

Muslim League was founded in 1906 to protect Muslims' rights and save Islamic culture and civilization. Muslims of the subcontinent overwhelmingly supported the Two Nation Theory. In 1930, Allama Muhammad Iqbal demanded a separate state for the Muslims He suggested that Sindh, Punjab, N.W.F.P, Baluchistan and Asam etc., should be amalgamated into a Muslim state. It was demand of a Muslim society in other words. In 1940, at Lahore, a resolution was passed where Muslims League demanded a separate state for the Muslims for the Indian Muslims to practice and develop their culture and

form an Islamic Society. At last, on 14 August 1947, Pakistan came into being as a Muslim State. In 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan delivered his speech in America where he defined the aim behind achievement of Pakistan, which was to make it a real Islamic Model. In short, we can say that Pakistani society is predominantly an Islamic society, where non-Muslims are allowed to live as respectable citizens.

8.6.5 Culture

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

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

Types of Culture

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

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

Significance of Culture

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

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

8.6.6 Relationship between Culture and Society

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

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

8.6.7 Culture of Pakistan

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

- **Literature:** Our literatures have developed after the creation of Pakistan. These are written in both national and regional languages including poetry and prose. The literatures reflect Islamic spirit while social and cultural issues are discussed in poetry and prose. Our national poet is Allama Iqbal.
- **Performing art:** This includes music, dance, drama and theatre. Through performing arts, artists highlight different social and cultural issues and present their solution. It has been a major mean to create social awareness in Pakistan Society.
- **Painting:**
  This exhibit different social aspects and present real picture of our rich culture. Sadequain, Abdul Rehman Chughtai and Guljee are true Ambassadors of Pakistan.
- **Architecture:**
  It has two types:
  i. Pre-Islamic architecture
  ii. Post-Islamic architecture

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

- **Sports**
  Cricket, hockey, squash, snooker, and football are famous popular games of Pakistan. The world knows Pakistan as a sports-loving country.
- **FESTIVAL**
  We celebrated both Islamic and national days and occasions like Eid-ul-Fitr, Eid-ul-Azha, Eid-e-Milad-un-Nabi, Urses of Saints, Independence Day, Defence Day, etc. The whole nation gets involved in celebrating with national spirit because these festivals are part of our culture.
  In short, Pakistani culture is the basis of identity of Pakistan and every Pakistani feels proud to adopt these cultural values wholeheartedly.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Islam came in the Indian subcontinent on a large scale with the _____ of Muhammad Bin Qasim.
2. The art and other manifestations of _____ intellectual achievements is culture.
3. Culture gives unique _____to the group members.
4. Muslim League was founded in _____ to protect Muslims' rights.
5. Society is built through social _____among its members.

QUESTIONS

1. Differentiate between the society and culture. Also discuss the relationship in society and culture.
2. Describe the sages of evolution of human society and the significance of the society.

8.7 ETHNICITY

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

8.7.1 What is Ethnicity?

- Ethnicity refers to sharing of a common culture and similar way of life by an ethnic group. Its common elements are language, religion, culture, music, art etc.
- Ethnicity is basically an "in group or own group."
- The word 'ethnicity' is derived from the Greek word 'ethos', used for "folk" and 'people' centuries ago.

- The term ethnic group was first recorded in 1935 and inducted in Oxford English Dictionary in 1972 as synonym of ethnicity, nationality and citizenship.

Ethnicity and Nation

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

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

Ethnicity and Prejudice

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

Ethnocentrism

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

Prejudice

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

Ethnocentrism is "objective approach" while prejudice is "subjective approach".

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

8.7.2 Ethnicity in Pakistan

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

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

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

Trends of Prejudice in Pakistan

Unfortunately, prejudice has been a part of Pakistan society since its birth because of illiteracy and misinterpretation of Islam and the Quran. Islam teaches the lesson of brotherhood but in our society Muslims are divided into subgroup on the basis of sects and languages. Our political and religious parties commonly play religious and sectarian cards and manipulate group's emotions for their benefits.

It has now become a pressing need that public mind-set is changed and message of brotherhood is spread far and wide to link up all sorts of subgroups to the anchor of one *Ummah* in order to make Pakistan a real Islamic society.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Ethnicity refers to sharing of a common _____ and similar way of life by an ethnic group.
2. Pakistan is multi-ethnic country where various major and minor ethnic _____ are found.
3. Islam teaches the lesson of _____but in our society Muslims are divided into subgroup.
4. Seraikis live in lower Punjab and _____ Seraiki language.
5. Muhajirs came from _____ after creation of Pakistan and speak "Urdu" as a mother tongue.

QUESTIONS:

1. What do you understand by term ethnicity? Discuss the various aspects of ethnicity in Pakistan.

8.8 IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES OF PAKISTAN

The term Industry is referred to economic activities involving the processing of raw materials and manufacturing of goods with machines in the factories. Industries are divided into three main categories including cottage industries, small scale industries and heavy industries.

8.8.1 Cottage Industries

Cottage industry means a business or manufacturing activity carried on in people's homes. It is an industry in which people work in a group but their number is not more than 20. It is the real smallest type of industry.

It is also defined as 'an industry whose labour force consists of family members or individuals working at home with their own equipment, such as shoe making, carpet making, basket making, iron work, tailoring, jewellery making and pottery making, etc.

Most of our population live in the rural areas and a large number among them are included in the poor class. They have to work for living but the resources are not available in our villages. In this situation, cottage industry has introduced a way through which our illiterate or less educated people can work and earn. In Pakistan, for the development of cottage industry there is need for measures to be taken by the government. Through developing cottage industries we may develop our economy. The government should provide major incentives to the labour force and should establish proper institutions for technical education.

8.8.2 Small Scale Industries

Small scale industries vary from country to country and it depends upon the infrastructure facilities of the country. In simple words small industry is that industry where the heavy machinery is not installed, the number of employees not more than 250 and its annual sale is up to 250 million. It is the medium size of industry in which power loom, hosiery, garments and wood industry may be included as examples.

Basically, Pakistan is an agricultural country but the role of industry can't be neglected in its economic development. The small scale industries of Pakistan are major employer in the manufacturing sector. Almost 80 percent of our labour force is associated with the small scale industries.

8.8.3 Heavy Industries

Generally, when we talk about industries in Pakistan; the heavy industry comes to our minds. Heavy Industry is a term used for those industries that require extremely capital-intensive structure. This type of industry also needs a lot of heavy machinery and equipment to produce the material. Moreover, the heavy industry needs a large area of land to install the heavy machinery. In simple words the heavy industry is a manufacturing industry that uses heavy or bulky raw materials to make heavy or bulky goods. This is also called large scale industry. Examples include: oil or Banaspati ghee, steel, cement, sugar, food and beverage, textile, fertilizer, and automobiles, etc. In Pakistan, many industrial estates have been developed. In Punjab province, "Punjab Industrial Estates Development & Management Company" had developed Sundar Industrial Estate (located at approximately 45Km from the centre of Lahore on Sundar Raiwind Road), Bhalwal Industrial Estate (near Sargodha), Multan Industrial Estate, Rahim Yar Khan Industrial Estate, Vehari Industrial Estate, Chunian Industrial Estate and Quaid-i-Azam Industrial Estate, Kot Lakhpat, Lahore. Faisalabad Industrial Estate is also contributing significantly in the industrial and economic development. In Sindh province, Sindh Industrial Trading Estate (SITE) is the largest industrial trading estate in Asia. Landhi Association of Trade & Industry and Korangi Association of Trade & Industry in Karachi are also well known in the industrial sector of Pakistan. Industrial Estate Nowshera, Hattar, Peshawar, D.I. Khan, Jalozai, Gadoon Amazai are the industrial estates of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In Balochistan, 28 industrial estates have been established and some of them are in Gawadar, Lasbela, Hub, Loralai, Uthal and Quetta.

8.8.4 Majour Industries in Pakistan

In Pakistan, there are a large number of heavy industries that have been playing a vital role in meeting the demands of the nation. Industrial sector in Pakistan had assumed great importance like the agriculture sector for economic development. There are a lot of industries in Pakistan but some of them are briefly described in the following.

a. Oil or Banaspati Ghee Industry:

Gone are the days the people of Pakistan used the pure ghee or *desi ghee*. Along with rapid growth in population, the shortage of food has become a big concern for the people. The investors now set up factories to prepare the vegetable ghee and cooking oil to fulfil the needs of the consumers. Vegetable ghee is prepared by hardening the vegetable oil through the process of hydrogenation in the plants. After the nationalization of the industries in1973, the Government of Pakistan established the Ghee Corporation of Pakistan in 1976. Now the government and private sector corporations import soybean oil, palm oil, and sunflower oil. These oils are then converted into Banaspati ghee after the process in factories. The vegetable oil is also being sold in the market after packing in plastic bags and tins. Some companies are providing corn oil to the consumers but it is more costly than others. However, the corn oil in considered the best cooking oil for human health while the cotton seed oil (cheaper in cost) is very harmful for human body. Recently, Punjab Food Authority (PFA) has started its work with honesty and dedication, and PFA officers and inspectors have banned more than fifty oil and ghee products. The

Unit - 07

CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN- II (1971 TO ONWARDS)

Written By:
Dr. Khalid Mahmood

Reviewed By:
Dr. Kausar Parveen

samples of the oil and ghee were checked in the laboratory of Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR) and found dangerous for human health.

b. Steel and Iron Industry:

The steel and iron industry has become the backbone of the modern economies of the world. This industry has the direct relation with the industrial development as the steel and iron are used in many ways in almost all industrial sectors including construction, automobiles, infrastructure, transportation and home appliances.

The production of steel in the world was 1,149m tons in 2005 and it rose up to 1,621m tons in 2015. According to World Steel Association, among the top 10 steel producing countries, China was the leading one in steel producing countries and it produced 804m tons which was almost 50 percent of the world production. Japan was the second major steel producer with 105m tons while India, United States and Russia contributed 89m tons, 79m tons and 71m tons respectively.

Pakistan is although a developing county,it is estimated that Pakistan's demand was4.4m tons in 2015. In our country, the demand for steel products remained high in the Fiscal Year 2017-18 (check???).The main reason for high demand was public sector infrastructure projects as well as the private investment in housing schemes. The higher demands of automobiles in the country also became a reason as raw material requirement was increased. In Pakistan a large number of steel manufacturing mills have been working. According to the report of State Bank of Pakistan (2018), International Steel, Amreli Steel, Aisha Steel, and Mughal Steel Mills are the big players in steel industry and the investment of 112 million US Dollars has been made in their units.

Abbas Steel Industries Pvt. Ltd., Al-Shafi Group of Companies, Cables & Conductor Limited, Capital Steel Industries, City Steel Industries, FSL Group of Companies, International Industries Ltd, Ittefaq Steel (Pvt.) Ltd., Izhar Steel (Pvt.) Ltd., Locker Smiths, Magna Steel (Pvt.) Ltd., Metropolitan Steel Corporation Ltd., Mughal Steel, New Shalimar Steel Industries (Pvt) Ltd., Pak Steel, Pakistan Steel Mills Corporation (Pvt) Ltd., Quality Steel Works Ltd. and Sufi Steel Industries are the well-known steel factories in Pakistan. Besides, a large number of small steel factories have also been making their contribution to steel production.

c. Cement Industry

In Pakistan, cement industry is the most important industry that contributed well in the economic development. In 2017, Pakistan exported cement of 210.40 million dollars. One of the main reasons of this success story of the cement industry is the presence of mountains in Pakistan. In these mountains, crushing plants and cement factories have been installed. Although, the cement factories contribute well in the growth of economy; however, certain companies have been causing pollution at high scale. The Supreme Court of Pakistan, therefore, took notice of the cement factories installed in Chakwal district of Punjab near Katas Raj temples. Gharibwal Cement Limited, Kohat Cement

Company Limited, Lucky Cement Limited, Maple Leaf Cement Factory Limited, Pioneer Cement Limited, Power Cement Limited, Attock Cement Pakistan Limited, Dewan Cement Limited, Thatta Cement Company Limited, Askari Cement, Best Way Cement, and Fauji Cement are the well-known cement companies in Pakistan.

***d. Sugar Industry**:*

At the time of independence in 1947, there were only two sugar mills in Pakistan. One of them was in the Punjab and the other was in the North West Frontier Province. The government of Pakistan took step on expansion of the sugar mills since 1949 with the construction of the Premier Mill at Mardan. During 1959-1990, 28 new sugar mills were set up in various cities of Pakistan. The industry showed quick progress when another 31 mills appeared from 1990 to 1998. However, in 1998, the Government of Pakistan imposed a three year ban on the construction of new sugar mills.

During the 15 years, from 1985 to 2000, the consumption of sugar in Pakistan rose by almost one-and-a-half times from 1.4 million to 3.3 million tones. Sugar is widely used in the confectionary industry all over the country. The local sources indicate that the quality of the sugarcane in Pakistan is also not good. The unavailability of quality sugarcane is due to various reasons including lake of varieties, lack of facilities for cane growing and shortage of water resources. *Gur* and *shakar* are also being prepared at large scale in Pakistan and its price is higher than the refined white sugar due to various reasons, include rare production of *gur* and *shakar* and presence of Afghan citizens in Pakistan.

Now the sugar industry is the second largest agro-based industry in Pakistan after the textile industry. Pakistan has fifth rank in the world in production of cane while our country had 9th rank in the world regarding the production of sugar. There are more than 1.5 million employees engaged in this industry. Many other industries are based on sugar industry as sugar is used in other industries, like sweets, biscuits, cakes, candies, chocolates, lollipops, tea, juices and other food items.

Al-Noor Sugar Mills Limited, Faran Sugar Mills Limited, Habib Sugar Mills Limited, Khairpur Sugar Mills Limited, Matiari Sugar Mills Limited, Deharki Sugar Mills Pvt. Limited, Tando Allahyar Sugar Mills Pvt. Limited and Mehran Sugar Mills Limited are the famous mills in Sindh. Baba Farid Sugar Mills Limited, Etihad Sugar Mills Limited, Hamza Sugar Mills Limited, Haseeb Waqas Sugar Mills Limited, Hunza Sugar Mills Limited, Husein Sugar Mills Limited, Indus Sugar Mills Limited, JWD Sugar Mills Limited¸ Layyah Sugar Mills Limited and Shakarganj Mills Limited are well known sugar mills in the Punjab.

e. Food and Beverage Industry:

There are lots of food and beverage companies in Pakistan which play a vital role in the development of economy. Pakistan's beverage industry now is included in the top industries. In Pakistan, tea has become the largest segment of beverages but carbonated

drinks like Pepsi Cola, Coca Cola and juices of various companies are being prepared in Pakistan. Nestle Pakistan is the best leading food company in Pakistan that produces food items including milk, potable water and other food items. Dalda Foods Pvt. Ltd. is the manufacturing company of saturated vegetable oil and ghee. Other famous companies in Pakistan are Mitchell's Fruit Farms Limited, Omore and Shan Food Industries. Murree Brewery is the oldest and largest producer of both alcoholic and non-alcoholic products. It was founded in 1860 and now is the top famous leading company in Rawalpindi that prepares various types of drinks including beer. The Company produced 10 million liters of beer and hundreds of tons of single malt whisky, Scotch whisky, vodka and brandy in year 2015. Another leading food company is National Foods. It is located in Karachi and was established in 1970.It is basically a producer of spicy and condiments, and is counted as a leading food company in Pakistan.

f. Textile Industry:

The largest manufacturing industry in Pakistan is textile Industry. Government of Pakistan has established the Ministry of Textile Industry. National Textile University (NTU) in Faisalabad has been running under the federal government for promotion of textile equation. The textile sector of Pakistan contributes an important share in the exports. Pakistan is at8^{th} rank regarding export of textile production in Asia. It also provided enormous opportunities for employment. Due to large scale textile factories and power looms the Faisalabad city is called the Manchester of Pakistan. Textile sector contributes about 8.5% to the GDP of the country.

However, the economy of Pakistan has been shrinking since the last decade. Foreign Direct Investment in Pakistan has badly suffered due to many issues including high inflation, poor management and policies, shortage of electricity, low rate of GDP, political and social instability, and poor law and order situation. Now the national and international investors feel it insecure to invest in Pakistan. Moreover, the power looms had declined at all and due to this situation the progress of the textile industry is thwarted.

g. Fertilizer Industry:

Pakistan is an agricultural country where a number of industries have been developed. The fertilizer industry is linked with the agriculture development. Pakistan had now over 20 million people and their survival depends on agriculture production. Pakistan gets almost 20% of its total GDP from the agriculture sector. The consumption of fertilizers is very important to gain the better quality crops. Pakistan has various limitations regarding the growth of crops; for example: arable land is limited; water supply for irrigation is not available at large scale, soil fertility is declining, and the use of technology in agriculture is not extensive.

The soil formation is different throughout the country hence different types of fertilizers are used in different areas for various crops. The fertilizer factories produce different kinds of fertilizer according to the needs of formers. Urea is the leading fertilizer type

which constitutes approximately65 per cent of total fertilizer input. The Diammonium phosphate (DAP) has 20 per cent share in total input of fertilizers. Some other products are calcium ammonium nitrate (CAN), Nitrophos (N.P), nitrogen phosphorus and potassium (NPK) which are used in the fields.

There are six major fertilizers companies operating in Pakistan, namely: Fauji Fertilizer, (including FFC and FFBL), Dawood Hercules, Engro Fertilizer Company and Fatima Fertilizers Company Limited. The prices of fertilizers in Pakistan are linked with the prices of natural gas. Therefore, whenever the gas prices increased, the prices of fertilizers also went up, and then the government had to import fertilizers.

h. Automobile industry:

It is the most popular industry of the country which producesmotorcycles, cars, buses, tractors and trucks, etc. The automobile industry is making progress day by day due to rising demand of vehicles. The well-known auto-producers in Pakistan include: Pak Suzuki Motor Company Ltd., Indus Motor Company Ltd., Honda Atlas Cars (Pakistan) Ltd., Dewan Farooque Motors Ltd., Sigma Motors (Pvt.) Ltd., Hinopak Motors Ltd., and Gandhara Nissan Ltd.

The leading source of imports in this sector is Japan; the contribution of Japan in year 2008 was 59.5% of total auto imports. Japan has also contributed well in this sector as in Pakistan most of the companies are working with the collaboration of Japan's automobile companies, including Honda, Suzuki, and Toyota. Motorcycle and its accessories are mostly imported from China.

Hinopak Motors Limited is a large company which manufactures, assembles and sales diesel trucks and buses in the country. Hinopak had acquired the leading position in the Pakistani market for providing medium and heavy-duty vehicles. Hinopak installed its assembly plant in S.I.T.E. area of Karachi in 1985. Moreover, Millat Tractors Limited, Al-Ghazi Tractors Limited, IMT of Orient Automotive Industries Private Limited, Belarus International Tractor Company of Russia and Euro Ford Tractors are the leading tractor-making international companies working in Pakistan.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. The local _____ indicate that the quality of the sugarcane in Pakistan is also not good.
2. Pakistan's beverage _____ now is included in the top industries.
3. The soil formation is different _____the country.
4. The largest manufacturing industry in Pakistan is _____ Industry.
5. Hinopak installed its assembly plant in S.I.T.E. area of _____in 1985.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the major industries of Pakistan. How these industries have been playing the vital role to develop our economy.

8.9 FIVE YEAR PLANS IN PAKISTAN

Background

At the time of independence the country's economy was in very poor state with respect to many sectors. The Government of Pakistan continued its struggle to realize economic development. Malik Ghulam Muhammad worked as the first finance minister of Pakistan. He took the charge of duties on 15th August and worked till 19th October 1951. He presented the first financial budget of Pakistan in the assembly on 28thFebruary 1948. The legislative assembly of Pakistan approved the budget on next day. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah founded the State Bank of Pakistan in Karachi, the then capital of country on 1st July 1948. In early day, Pakistan had to face a number of social and administrative issues. The Government of Pakistan set up a National Planning Board in July 1953. The Board developed First Five Year Plan in 1955, which was approved by the National Economic Council in April 1957. The term of this economic plan was 1955 to 1960.

8.9.1 First Five Year Plan

The first five year Plan had the following objectives.

1. To increase the national income and improve the living standard of the citizens of Pakistan.
2. To improve the foreign exchange position through increasing exports and reducing imports.
3. To increase the opportunities for useful employment.
4. To provide social services to the citizens.
5. To increase the development in East Pakistan and other undeveloped regions at a high pace.
6. To improve balance of payments of the country by increasing exports and by producing substitutes for imports.

As this was the first economic plan for Pakistan, it was beginning of the development process. The agriculture sector was given emphasised in this Plan and in this way the success of plan was dependent on cultivators in the fields and hard work of labourers in the factories. The success of planning was also linked with and dependent on the landlords, landowners, social workers and government officials.

The Plan focused on the development of education, health facilities, and provision of housing services apart from various schemes of social and labour welfare. The planners also highlighted the importance of social justice and equality of citizens in the country. To that end they emphasized elimination of financial disparities among the citizens. Infrastructure was also developed in far-flung areas all over the country.

According to the Plan, Rs. 269.7 crore were reserved for water and power development, Rs. 166.6 crore for transport and communication, and Rs. 162.2 crore for industry. Rs. 86.1 crore were reserved for housing and settlements, Rs. 58 Crore for education and training, Rs.28.8 crore for health and Rs. 13.3 crore for social welfare and other projects.

Total expenditures for this plan were initially estimated 10,800 million but actually Rs. 13,300 million were spent due to inflation and other reasons.

Overall the Plan proved a success and targets were achieved to some extent but development as such was hardly visible at the end of the plan. It was due to multiple reasons; most important being the fact that at the time of establishment of Pakistan, almost all there goings of the country was underdeveloped and the infrastructure was not in good shape at all.

8.9.2 Second Five Year Plan

The second five year plan was continuation of the first plan. The political situation was stable in the regime of Ayub Khan and the work for industrial and agricultural development in country was progressing. The objectives of the Second Five Year Plan were as under:

1. To increase the Gross National Product (GNP) by 24 per cent.
2. To increase the per capita income by 13 per cent.
3. To increase the food grain production by 21 per cent to make the country self-sufficient.
4. To increase the production of industrial sector by 50 per cent.
5. To increase the exports by 15 per cent.
6. To create 3 million new job opportunities.
7. To bring about better distribution of income among different income groups.
8. To increase facilities in the field of education, health, housing and social welfare.

Under this Plan the expenditures were estimated as Rs. 23000 million. Agriculture and education sectors were accorded preference in this Plan. Rs. 3420 million were reserved for agriculture, Rs. 4390 million for water and power, Rs. 6120 million for industry, Rs. 4050 million for transport and communication, Rs. 3410 million for housing and settlements, Rs. 1055 million for education and training, and Rs. 420 million were reserved for heath sector during the Plan period (1960-65).

This was the most successful plan in the history of Pakistan. The objectives of the Plan regarding savings, per capita income and agriculture and industries were achieved more than the targets. According to the Plan it was decided that the financial stability in the country shall be maintained. A term of semi-public sector was introduced by the planners. Various steps were taken for the development of agriculture sector to achieve the target of GNP. At the end of the Plan, the government had succeeded in most of the objectives of Second Five Year Plan as the expected GNP was to go up by 24 per cent while it was actually raised by 29 per cent. Performance in agriculture and industrial sectors remained outstanding while exports were increased fast during this plan. Moreover, the per capita income was targeted to increase by 10 per cent and the actual achievement was 13 per cent.

8.9.3 Third Five Year Plan

During the period of Second Five Year Plan, the achievements remained satisfactory. The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) was developed within the framework of a Perspective Plan. Perspective plans are developed to fulfill the requirements for next 20 years. The Third Five Year Plan was in fact a part of the first Perspective Plan for Pakistan. According to the Perspective Plan some objectives were:

a. To make the Gross National Product (GNP) triple from 44000 million (1965) to 145000 million till 1985. Minimum 30 per cent annual increase was estimated in the Plan.
b. To provide employment to all the labour force present in the country.
c. To bring parity of per capita income between the East Pakistan and West Pakistan. There was disparity of one-fifth between the two wings.
d. To provide universal literacy.
e. To eliminate the dependence on foreign aid.
f. To control the rapidly growing population of Pakistan.
g. To provide better opportunities of housing, health and education especially to the under-privilege population.

In the Third Five Year Plan, the target of increase in GNP was 30 per cent for next 5 years. It was expected that the industrial sector will continue its progress and will grow about 10 per cent every year. Most of the expectations were based on the achievements of Second Five Year Plan but the ground realities during 1965-70 were different from those of 1960-65. The saving rate in Third Five Year Plan was estimated as 23 per cent which was too high. It was 6 per cent in 1959-60 and it increased to only 8 per cent in 1964-65. The balance of payments strategy also needed attention, as it was estimated that the economy of the country would develop and will not depend on the foreign assistance. It was also calculated that the disparity between the two wings of the county would be removed and opportunity of development will be provided to the people of East Pakistan on equal footing with the people of West Pakistan. According to the Plan, incentive programmes for the labour force will be introduced through which the employment opportunities would be provided in rural areas also. It was estimated that at the ending year of the Third Five Year Plan, there shall be almost 4.5 million job opportunities in the country. Out of them almost 1.3 million would be in agriculture sector; 1 million in manufacturing sector and 1.8 million in other sectors.

The targets of the Plan were very attractive, however, it was very difficult to achieve all the targets, but the Planning Commission was very much committed in this mission. The achievements were not as high as were in the previous Plan. One of its main reasons was the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, and the second was blockage in foreign assistance after the war of 1965. Pakistan had to spend a lot of resources in the war and government was unable to plan or finance the needs of a development budget.

8.9.4 Fourth Five Year Plan

The Fourth Five Year Plan was for the duration of 1970-75. The plan was developed keeping in view the economic development of last two decades. In the Fourth Five Year

Plan, the government reserved special funds for improvement in social services including health, education, housing facilities, environment and family planning. It was suggested that the doctors were mostly appointed in the urban areas but now they would be appointed in rural areas on priority basis. For this purpose, the doctors who will work in rural areas would be awarded more facilities. The government was committed for the development of industrial sector. In 1960s, the growth rate was achieved by almost 4 percent while it was estimated to be 7.5 per cent.

The country remained in a condition of emergency during 1970-71 and the government could not concentrate on development. Pakistan had to spend a lot of money during the unfortunate days of conflict in East Pakistan. The dismemberment of Pakistan was another unlucky incident for the nation. The government had to focus much on improving the law and order situation. Overall the Plan failed as government was unable to attain the objectives of the plan.

8.9.5 Fifth Five Year Plan

The fourth five-year plan (1978-83) was drafted for the period of 1970-75 but the government was unable to draft next plan in 1975. The Fifth Five Year Plan was drafted for 1978-83. It was prepared in the reign of Pakistan People's Party. The objectives of Fifth Five Year Plan are discussed in the following. The Plan had focused to improve the living standard of people. The plan aimed to facilitate the common people regarding housing, clothing, health, education and nutrition. Rs.163 billion was reserved for the public sector development programme in this Plan (1977-83). Some of the objectives of the Plan are as under:

a. To maintain national integration
b. To remove poverty from the country
c. Working for the development of backward regions of the country
d. Working for the agriculture sector and provision of water
e. Working for uplifting the industry
f. Special focus on fuel and minerals
g. Working for the promotion of science and technology
h. Working for creation of employment opportunities
i. Promoting the family panning to control the population.

According to the Plan the government tried to stabilize the economy and efforts were made to improve the living standard of the poor people. However, the defense expenditures were increase. There was an extra burden on our economy when a large number of Afghan refugees entered Pakistan due to the Soviet-Union invasion in December 1979. The oil prices in international market increased simultaneously. The objectives of the Plan were achieved partially. The development in infrastructure especially in rural areas could not be improved according to planning.

8.9.6 Sixth Five Year Plan

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-98) was prepared and implemented in time as before the end of previous plan the new plan was ready for action. The main objectives of the Plan were as under:

1. To make production sector of the economy powerful and stable
2. To concentrate on the economic development so that the living standard of the common people may be improved
3. To boost growth in the agriculture sector by using additional fertilizers, healthier seeds and modern technology
4. To achieve the target of self-sufficiency in oil (petroleum)
5. To grow the industries including engineering sector, textile sector and expansion of agriculture
6. To increase the literacy rate and deliver maximum social services to the people
7. To provide the facilities of drinking water and drainage of water

The targets of the Plan were also very attractive, including: to grow GDP by 6.5 per cent in every year; agriculture production by 5 per cent; and to increase the industrial production by 9 percent per year. It was included in the targets that 4 million new job opportunities will be created during the next five years. The facility of electricity will be provided to 88 per cent of the village population during the plan period. Fifteen thousand km new roads would be constructed through which the villages will be connected to the cities. It was also planned that 3 million acres of unfertile land will be recovered for cultivation during the next five years. The targets of the Sixth Five Year Plan were achieved to some extent.

8.9.7 Seventh Five Year Plan

The Seventh Five-Year Plan (1988-93) was prepared in new democratic period in the reign of Benazir Bhutto. The plan was also part of the Perspective Plan (1988-2003). The total size of the Seventh Five Year Plan was fixed at Rs. 66,020 crores and out of which Rs. 29240 crores and Rs.36, 780 crores were reserved for the public and private sector respectively. The objectives of the plan were:

1. To provide 6 million new employment opportunities
2. To provide better facilities regarding housing, food, transportation and education
3. To develop the human resources by giving more emphasis upon education and training
4. To achieve self-sufficiency in every field of economic activity
5. To decrease dependence on foreign assistance
6. To increase the role of private sector
7. To denationalize various industries and giving the same back to their owners

In the Seventh Five Year Plan, education and energy sectors were given preference. Population planning was also emphasized to control birth rate in the country. The government succeeded to obtain the objectives of the Plan partially due to political uncertainty and changes of governments. However, the overall performance remained satisfactory.

8.9.8 Eighth Five-Year Plan

National Economic Council (NEC) approved the Eighth Five Year Plan (1993-98) on 31 May 1994. The most important objective of the Plan was to accomplish the constant economic development and ensure equity and justice. Some of the objectives of this Plan are as under:

1. To achieve GDP growth by 7 per cent annual (4.9 per cent in agriculture while 9.9 per cent in manufacturing sector) through proper use of domestic and foreign resources
2. To support contribution of all citizens in the expansion process and reasonable sharing of the benefits
3. To produce supplementary job opportunities by increasing production
4. To remove poverty through income generation, provision of social and community services ,developing human resources, improving the infrastructure and special programmes for underdeveloped areas
5. To acquire self-sufficiency in energy and food
6. Protection the natural resources, protection of environment, promotion of good governance, and stabilizing the economy

The Eighth Five Year Plan was launched at a critical period. The political instability was at the high watermark in the country. The official endorsement of the Plan was one year late. Under the critic circumstances it was difficult to obtain the major objectives of the Plan. The crops of cotton and wheat were damaged and during the first year of the Plan the growth rate in economy was achieved at 4 per cent. The situation of politics and governance was not satisfactory during the period and it was impossible to achieve the target of GDP growth at 7 per cent per annum.

8.9.9 Ninth Five Year Plan

The Ninth Five Year Plan (1998-2003) was formulated and implemented in the second reign of Nawaz Sharif. The major objectives of the Plan were:

1. To maintain GDP growth rate at 7 per cent per annum
2. To concentrate on physical infrastructure
3. To bring development in industrialisation
4. To increase the exports
5. To bring reform in agriculture sector
6. To develop the social sector by providing facilities of food, health and education.

The Plan covered the period of five years from 1998-2003. On 28 May 1998, Pakistan tested its nuclear devices and consequently had to face international economic sanctions. The stability of government also suffered due to Kargil war. In October 1999, democracy was once again stifled by Gen. Pervez Musharraf, then Chief of Army Staff. Under this action the government of Nawaz Sharif was ended and the new government focused on other issues of the state. The process of economic development also suffered and it could not maintain its fast pace. Due to these reasons the objectives of Ninth Five-Year Plan could not be achieved properly.

8.9.10 Tenth Five Year Plan

The Ninth Five Year Plan (2010-2015) had the following objectives:

1. To build the agriculture and storage infrastructure with a total cost of Rs. 38 billion
2. To bring reforms in the social sector through public-private partnership.
3. To ensure sustainable food security in the country through the development of agriculture sector
4. To develop the agriculture sector to expand the exports
5. To offer the opportunities of investment under public-private partnership
6. To achieve sustainable GDP growth of 6 per cent or higher

The Tenth Five Year Plan was supposed to cover a period of five years but it was discontinued due to political changes. A new five year plan was developed by the new government.

8.9.11 Eleventh Five Year Plan

The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2013-18) was connected with the Pakistan Vision 2025 through which the government planned to improve the living standard of every Pakistani by 2025. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan was approved with the following objectives:

1. To provide opportunities to the citizens for improving their quality of life.
2. To ensure benefit to the population from the economic growth.
3. To provide the educational facilities to the population and focussing on enhancement of quality of education. It was suggested that a larger share of the GDP would be reserved for education sector by 4 per cent.
4. To provide better health services and 3 per cent of GDP would be allocated for this sector
5. To mobilise the indigenous resources in order to provide better living standard to citizens without discrimination of religion, creed, caste, area and political affiliation
6. To become one of the 20 largest economies in the world
7. To increase annual exports from 25 billion dollars to 150 billion dollars
8. To increase the storage capacity of water to 180 days

Moreover, the plan had the vision of reshaping the lives of the people of Pakistan. It was one of the objectives that the agriculture sector will be reformed; energy capacity would be increased and rural areas would be connected with the markets through railways and roads. However, the objectives of the plan could not be achieved as the living standards of people could not be improved during this period.

8.9.12 Twelfth Five Year Plan

The working on upcoming five year plan is in progress yet. Federal Minister for Planning, Development and Reform Makhdum Khusro Bakhtyar; in the last month of 2018, directed that the future five year plan would focus on: modernizing agriculture, education and health; basic and higher infrastructure; poverty alleviation; services sector; social reforms and enlargement of exports. He further highlighted that an effective

scheme should be prepared for attaining sustainable development and economic maturation. It is hoped that the upcoming five year plan would be prepared according to the needs of the citizens of Pakistan and through its implementation the country would make progress.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. Perspective plans are developed to fulfill the _____for next 20 years.
2. In the Seventh Five Year Plan, education and _____ sectors were given preference.
3. On 28 May 1998, Pakistan tested its _____ devices and consequently had to face international economic sanctions.
4. In October 1999, _____ was once again stifled by Gen. Pervez Musharraf.
5. The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2013-18) was connected with the Pakistan _____ 2025.

QUESTIONS

1. Highlight the targets and achievement of the five year plans of country.
2. Elaborate the role of five year plans in the economic development of Pakistan.

8.10 CHINA-PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR (CPEC)

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is the largest investment project between Pakistan and China and it represents a new framework of regional connectivity. The 1300 kilometers long Karakoram Highway had already been constructed with the collaboration of Chinese engineers. Now the CPEC will not only benefit China and Pakistan but will have positive impact on Iran, Afghanistan, India and the Central Asian Republics. It is the long term planning of connecting various states through international roads. The development of geographical linkages through the extension of roads, railways and air transport will ultimately facilitate connection among people. Not only the markets of various countries will be connected but the cultural and regional knowledge will also find its channels of flowing. The CPEC has become a sign of hope of superior regional relations for future and due to its presence the peace, regional development and economic growth will move towards enlargement.

In fact, CPEC is not a project but it is a collection of various projects. The most important project under CPEC is the development of infrastructure. On the project of KKH Phase II (Thakot-Havelian Section) the work was started in the end of 2016 and the construction will be completed by 2020. The other project Peshawar-Karachi Motorway (Multan-Sukkur Section) was inaugurated in May 2018 by Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, the then Prime Minister. The section is 394 km long with a cost of almost Rs. 294 billion. It is scheduled to be completed by August 2019. Khuzdar-Basima Road N-30 (110 km), up gradation of Dera Ismail Khan (Yarik) - Zhob, N-50 Phase-I (210 km), KKH Thakot-Raikot N-35 remaining portion (136 Km) and Havelian Dry-port are also under process.

There are 12 projects under CPEC Gawadar Projects in Gawadar including Gawadar East-Bay Expressway, New Gawadar International Airport, Construction of Breakwaters, Pakistan China Friendship Hospital, Pak-China Technical and Vocational Institute at Gawadar and a university in Gawadar.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has great importance for regional development and its potential areas of cooperation are:

1. Regional connectivity (including transport infrastructure, energy flows, logistic flows, trade &commerce, peace & development of region, connectivity and integration of civilizations)
2. Diverse investment opportunities
3. Industrial cooperation
4. Financial cooperation
5. Agricultural cooperation
6. Developing tourism
7. Educational linkage
8. Human resource development
9. Health care
10. People to people contact
11. Increase in livelihood opportunities
12. Enhance security and stability of the region

Moreover, the following energy projects have been developing under CPEC Plan:

1. Coal-fired Power Plants at Port Qasim Karachi.
2. Suki Kinari Hydropower Station, Naran, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
3. Coal-fired Power Plant, Punjab.
4. Engro Thar Coal-fired Power Plant, Sindh.
5. Hydro China Dawood Wind Farm (Gharo, Thatta).
6. Imported Coal Based Power Project at Gawadar, Pakistan.
7. Quaid-e-Azam 1000MW Solar Park (Bahawalpur) Quaid-e-Azam.
8. UEP Wind Farm (Jhimpir, Thatta).
9. Sachal Wind Farm (Jhimpir, Thatta).
10. Karot Hydropower Station.
11. Coal-fired Power Plant, Hub, Balochistan.
12. Matiari to Lahore Transmission Line Project.
13. Matiari (Port Qasim)-Faisalabad Transmission Line Project.
14. Thar Mine Mouth Oracle Power Plant (1320MW) & surface mine
15. Kohala Hydel Project, AJK
16. Rahimyar Khan Imported Fuel Power Plant 1320 MW
17. Cacho 50MW Wind Power Project

Phandar Hydropower Station and Gilgit KIU Hydropower are also expected to be initiated soon, as both the projects are under the review of experts from both Pakistan and China.

The launching of CPEC is the best example of China-Pakistan friendship. The CPEC is an agreement between the states of Pakistan and China, and not between the governments.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.10

1. (CPEC) is the _____ investment project between Pakistan and China.
2. In fact, CPEC is not a _____ but it is a collection of various projects.
3. Motorway (Multan-Sukkur Section) was inaugurated in May 2018 by Abbasi.
4. The CPEC has become a sign of _____ of superior regional relations.
5. The CPEC is an agreement _____the states of Pakistan and China.

QUESTIONS

1. China and Pakistan are going to enter in a new regime of friendship. Give your arguments in the light of benefits of CPEC Project.

ANSWERS OF THE SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. Largest	2. Six	3. Lower
4. Makran	5. Winter	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Natural	2. Wild	3. Pure
4. High	5. Precious	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Family	2. Ayub	3. Development
4. Human	5. Population	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Seed	2. Urban	3. Culture
4. shortage	5. Areas	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.5

1. Settle	2. Malthus	3. Standard
4. Society	5. problem	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.6

1. Arrival
2. Human
3. Identity
4. 1906
5. Interaction

SELF ASSESSMENT No.7

1. Culture
2. Groups
3. Brotherhood
4. Speak
5. India

SELF ASSESSMENT No.8

1. Sources
2. Industry
3. Throughout
4. Textile
5. Karachi

SELF ASSESSMENT No.9

1. Requirement
2. Energy
3. Nuclear
4. Democracy
5. Vision

SELF ASSESSMENT No.10

1. Largest
2. Project
3. Shahid Khaqan
4. Hope
5. Between

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Economic Survey 2017-18*, Ministry of Finance.

2. JCR-VIS, *Sector Update: Steel Sector,* December 2016

3. JCR-VIS, *Sector Update: Fertilizer Sector,* September 2017

4. The Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry, *Overview of Sugar Industry in Pakistan*, Research and Development Department: The Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry, June 2013.

5. Francis B. Narayan, *Financial Management and Governance Issues in Pakistan*, Philippines: Asian Development Bank, 2000.

6. Government of Pakistan, *The First Five Year Plan (1955-60)*, National Planning Board, December 1957.

7. Government of Pakistan, *The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65)*, National Planning Board, June 1960.

8. Government of Pakistan, *Outlines of The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70)*: National Planning Board, August 1964.

9. Government of Pakistan, *The Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-75)*, National Planning Board, July 1970.

10. Government of Pakistan, *Seventh Five Year Plan (1988-93) and Perspective Plan (1988-2003),* Islamabad: Planning Commission.

11. http://cpec.gov.pk

Unit - 09

FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN

Written By:
Dr. Khalid Mahmood

Reviewed By:
Dr. Umar Hayat

INTRODUCTION

This unit comprises of the brief history and developments of the Foreign Policy of Pakistan. Pakistan had to face a number of issues in the beginning. Hence, the formation of foreign policy was a complex task heavy on the early government. The author of the unit started the chapter with the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy and covered the salient features. The United Nations and its subsidiary organizations including the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat of the United Nations are shortly discussed in the initial part of the Unit. Pakistan's policy towards the world and regional organisations including Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, Economic Cooperation Organisation (former RCD) and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation has also been discussed.

The second phase of this unit consists of Pakistan's relation with the Muslim and non-Muslim states. Diplomatic relations with China, India, Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, America and the former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the Russian Federation have been discussed. Thus the chapter has been written for the students of BS so that they can acquire basic knowledge regarding the foreign policy of Pakistan.

OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

1. To understand the definition and objectives of the foreign policy of Pakistan.
2. To comprehend the role of Pakistan in the world and regional associations as well as the diplomatic development with the Muslim / Islamic Organisations.
3. To know the bilateral relations with the various countries including China, India, Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, USA and USSR / Russia.

9.1 OBJECTIVES OF PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

To understand the objectives of Pakistan's Foreign Policy we need to understand the term 'Foreign Policy'. As matter of fact the man is a social animal and no one is able to live alone in the society without direct or indirect help of others. The same situation is for the sates or countries of the world. No country can survive soundly without maintaining relations with other states. The foreign relations or foreign affairs of any country with others are called foreign policy. Every country has its own interests and the governments formulate the foreign policies to achieve their targets.

Foreign Policy had been defined by the experts of international relations through a variety of words. According to Hermann the foreign policy is "the discrete purposeful action that results from the political level decision of an individual or group of individuals. It is the observable artifact of a political level decision. It is not the decision, but a product of the decision." In simple words someone can say that Hermann described it as the behaviour of states.

Another definition of foreign policy by Joseph Frankel is as follows.

"Foreign Policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others". According to Frankel a foreign policy is a term that involves a number of actions or a set of actions within the boundaries of states.

According to Henry John Temple (British statesmen and former British Prime Minister who was 3rd Lord Palmerston) of Great Britain, "In international relations, there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies, only permanent interests". Palmerston was the prominent British foreign policy maker during 1830 to 1865. It was the time when Britain was at the peak of her imperial power. The words of Henry John Temple proved a great guidance for the policy makers. Even, in twenty first century we have been observing the same policy is being followed by the great powers of the world.

Like other countries Pakistan has its own objectives of foreign policy. In real practice, Pakistan had to change the direction of its foreign policy from time to time to suit its relations with the neighbouring countries and beyond. The fundamental objectives of our foreign policy are being discussed below.

National Security: One of the main objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy is the national security. Pakistan came into being on the basis of two-nation theory in 1947. Since then a lot of issues with India have been un-settled. The security of our country has always remained threatened. Initially Pakistan did not have better opportunities in the fields of finance, ordnance, and foreign relations. Pakistan could not get its share from the assets and arms and even water. The Kashmir dispute is another issue linked with our self-determination. It is a fact that the territorial issues are connected directly with the sovereignty of Pakistan.

Initially Pakistan established relations with United States of America and that ditoriated its relations with the Soviet Union. The next step was laid down in 1953, when Pakistan agreed on a military pact with the association of the other Middle Eastern states. The very next year in 1954, Pakistan accepted the South East Treaty Organization (SEATO) for her protection. In the falling year (1955), another agreement was signed called Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Pakistan signed all of these agreements to acquire the pleasure of the United States of America.

Protection of Islamic Values: The Indian Muslims demanded the creation of Pakistan due to various Religious, Social, Political and Economic deprivation. However, the most prominent element of its achievement was the Protection of Islamic Values. The father of nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah explained many times through his speeches that Pakistan would be a laboratory for practicing Islam. He said:
"It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are a minority and we have got used to it...These settled notions are difficult to remove. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition.... The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies...To yoke together two such nations under a single state must lead to final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state".

On 30 October 1947, just 2 months after the creation of Pakistan, Jinnah said during his address:
"If we take our inspiration and guidance from Holy Quran the final victory will be ours. All I require of you now is that every one of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam'.

In the views of Jinnah it is clear that Pakistan had its focus on the protection of Islamic values in the state. Pakistan of course, had good relations with non-Muslim countries but we also made our objective to protect Islam and Islamic ideology.

Most of the Pakistani population belonged to Islam and are Muslims while Pakistan is an ideological Islamic state. Pakistan had also focused on the Islamic brotherhood and tried to develop better relations with the Muslim countries. Pakistan had made many pacts of friendship with the various Muslim states including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Turkey. Pakistan also had trading and arms pacts with the Muslim countries of the world.

Improvement of the standard of living of the population: The governments had focused on the betterment of the living standard of the country and a number of steps had been taken in this direction. One of the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy is to bring improvement in the standard of life of its citizens through making good relations with other nations.

Peace and freedom in the world: The founder of Pakistan M.A. Jinnah stated that Pakistan will maintain good relations with neighboring countries. In February 1948, as the Governor General of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam made it clear by saying that:
'*Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter'*.

Pakistan always had a great focus in the maintenance of regional and international peace. Pakistan accepts freedom for nations and the countries. Pakistan believes on the positive role of United Nations and accepts its declarations. Pakistan army had also been working as the military peacekeeper along with United Nations in various countries of the world.

Maintenance of Territorial Integrity: Pakistan's foreign policy had been formulated according to the demands of the territorial issues. Pakistan tried to maintain her territorial integrity at any cost. Whenever, the enemy attacked or crossed its limit, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had condemned the enemy in extreme words. Recently, Indian airstrikes against Pakistan near Balakot on 26 Feb 2019 proved a jerk for all the institutions of Pakistan. The very next day Indian Air Forces once again tried to attack Pakistan but Pakistani forces shot down the Indian MIG-21 warplane and one of the Pilots (Abhinandan Varthaman) was arrested. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister addressed the nation on 27 February 2019. He took the nation into confidence saying said that Pakistan Army is ready to give response befitting to the attacking enemy. Prime Minister warned that the wars are miscalculated by the enemies. According to daily Dawn of 28 Feb 2019, he stated that "*Now the question is where we go from here. I tell India that now better sense should prevail". The Prime Minister addressed the nation after the action taken by the Pakistan army against Indian intervention. He said that "we waited and today took an action just to make India realise that we have the capability to respond and that if you intrude into our country, we can also go to yours, but not to inflict any collateral damage*".

Maintenance of its Political Independence: Pakistan's foreign policy has also focused on the political independence. Pakistan never interfered in the internal matters of other countries and determined its foreign policy to the effect that it will be free from the external effects in her internal matters.

Acceleration of Social and Economic Development: Pakistan's foreign policy is independent and focused on acceleration of socio-political development. Although, Pakistan had been looking for the foreign investment and loans due to financial difficulties, however, it never compromised on its sovereignty.

Keeping Cordial and Friendly Relations with all Countries: Pakistan always preferred its friendly relations with all the countries especially with the Muslim World. Pakistan has close relations with Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, UAE and other Muslim countries.

Protection of Freedom and Sovereignty: One of the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy is to protect the freedom and sovereignty of the state. Pakistan never compromised on its sovereignty in any cost. The governments make their relations with various countries of the world without effecting the territorial protection.

Non-interference in Internal Affairs of other Countries: Pakistan had a clear policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the other courtiers. Pakistan has been making efforts to establish friendly relations with all countries of the world especially the neighbours. Pakistan has focused on the principles of no use of power, bilateral relation and keeping away from interference in the internal matters of the other states.

Implementation of U.N Charter: Pakistan became the member of United Nations on 30 September 1947. The state followed all the declarations of the United Nations. Pakistan always implemented the charter of the United Nations. Pakistan had sent her army to other counties many times to assist the peace keeping missions of the United Nations.

Promotion of World Peace: Peace is the basic requirement for the development of the human society. Pakistan wishes to maintain peace in the world and always assisted in the process of international peace. Pakistan's efforts in this regard show that the state never followed aggressive policy against any nation of the world. Moreover, Pakistan had made many efforts to resolve the disputes at the international level.

Member of International Organizations: Pakistan believes in international brotherhood and had accepted the membership of numerous international organizations. Pakistan became the member of the British Commonwealth at the time of its creation. Soon after its creation, Pakistan also became the member of United Nations in September 1947. Moreover, Pakistan got the membership of Non-Aligned Movement, Organization of Islamic Conference, Economic Cooperation Organization, South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), D-Eight and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Pakistan also struggled for world peace and to unite the Muslim countries.

Cordial Relations with Muslim Countries: After the creation of Pakistan, the state had always tried to maintain the friendly and cordial relations with the Muslim countries. Pakistan also emphasized for the liberation of Palestine, Kashmir and other countries of world. Pakistan tried its best to work for the safeguarding the Muslims' rights. Pakistan had also contributed to maintain the law and order in the Muslim world. Pakistan has been an active member of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) which was formed in 1969.

Non-Aligned Policy: Pakistan has determined the policy of alignment in the international affairs. However, in the past Pakistan joined The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

(SEATO) and Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) in 1954 and 1955 respectively. Pakistan followed the Non-Aligned policy later on. Pakistan joined the Non-Aligned Movement which was founded in 1961. However, Pakistan did not attend the first summit due to its membership in SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan became the permanent member of The Non-Aligned Movement in 1979 after leaving the SEATO and CENTO.

Self-Determination Support: Pakistan has been the supporting the right of self-determination of the people of the world. Pakistan has always been supporting the right of self determination of the people of Kashmir, Palestinian and African regions at the national and international level.

Non-Proliferation Nuclear: Pakistan made a nuclear explosion in May, 1998 in response to Indian nuclear threat. However, for the purpose of peace and security, Pakistan remained serious and responsible. Pakistan always wished to reduce the nuclear and conventional weapons. At the same time, our country never compromised on its own security and survival.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. Pakistan had to change the _____of its foreign policy from time to time.
2. One of the main objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy is the _____security.
3. In the views of _____ it is clear that Pakistan had its focus on the protection of Islamic values in the state.
4. Pakistan tried to maintain her _____integrity at any cost.
5. Peace is the basic requirement for the development of the _____society.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy?
2. Define foreign policy and highlight the aims of foreign policy of Pakistan.

9.2 THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS SUBSIDIARY ORGANIZATIONS

The United Nations (UN) is an international organization which was established on 24 October 1945. Almost all of the sovereign states have joined the United Nations willingly. The main objective of the creation of the UN was to maintain peace in the world. At the time of its establishment, 51 independent states became the members. Now (till 2019) 193 countries have the membership of United Nations.

The United Nations is a platform for all states or nations of the world. United Nations gives the mechanism to find solutions of the humanitarian issues and the states as well. The United Nations is also known as the 'Parliament of the nations'. It is a matter of interest that UN has no army. It does not have any authority to collect taxes from any country or nation. The United Nations is dependent on the political spirit of her member countries whether any of these implements the decisions of the UN or rejects. The

institution of UN has been playing a key responsibility to decrease the worries on international level.

United Nations performed its responsibilities to control the various diseases including Polio, Malaria and chicken pox etc. United Nations played a remarkable role in the protection of refugees, providing foods during earthquakes and other disasters. The UN has also been working for the protection of the rights of the children, minorities, women and labourers of the world.

9.2.1 The Six Main Organs of United Nations

The United Nations has its six chief organs including the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat. All of the organs of United Nations except the International Court of Justice are located in New York. The head office of the UN is also in New York which controls all the subsidiary organizations of the United Nations. It is the head-quarter of the UN where most of the meetings are being held. However, sometime United Nations holds its meetings in other countries of the world also.

The General Assembly: The General Assembly is the chief organ of the United Nations. The total number of its members is 193. Every country or member state has its one vote. Every member of the Assembly got the equal opportunity to discuss any issue arising under the Charter of United Nations. The two-third majority is the basic requirement for taking decisions regarding security and peace, United Nations budget and regarding the membership of any state. However, decision regarding the other matters requires the simple majority i.e. more than fifty percent votes.

The General Assembly starts its session in the mid of September and continues till December. On the other hand, the special sessions of the General Assembly may be called by the Assembly as per the request of the Security Council of the United Nations.

The President of the General Assembly is elected every year to neutrally preside over the session of the Assembly representing the United Nations. The United Nations General Assembly has its six committees. These committees are as under:

- Disarmament and International Security Committee
- Economic and Financial Committee
- Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee
- Special Political and Decolonization Committee
- Administrative and Budgetary Committee
- Legal Committee

The Security Council: Security is also an important organ of the United Nations like the General Assembly. It works under the UN charter with the basic responsibility of maintaining the international peace and security. However, the Security Council does not

arrange regular meeting as is the case of the General Assembly. The Council may call its meeting at any time according to its requirements. Normally, the meetings of Security Council remain all over the year. The member countries of the United Nations are legally bound to follow the decisions of the Security Council.

The Security Council adopts a method to maintain peace in the world. If the matter of danger comes to Security Council which may harm the peace, the Council requests to the both or more parties to reach an agreement through negotiations. In case of war or attack of a state on another, the Security Council attempts for ceasefire through conciliation, the second step may be taken as the financial or other sanctions. If the parties do not follow the Security Council's decisions, the Security Council may use the power with the approval of the member states.

The Security Council of the United Nations has 15 members in all; out of these five are the permanent members including Russia, America, United Kingdom France and China. The five members are considered the key player to maintain the peace at international level. There are ten temporary members of the Council. These are rotating members in fact elected by the General Assembly for the period of two years.

The Economic and Social Council: The Economic and Social Council is the organisation of the United Nations that looks after the finical and social work of the United Nations. The Economic and Social Council consist of 54 members. The members are selected through equivalent geographical representation for the period of three years. Each member of the council has one vote.

The council fulfills the promotion of living standard, employment and social development. The Economic and Social Council recommends the activities for economic development of third world countries, supports the human rights and fight against poverty.

The General Assembly of the United Nations had set up various particular agencies i.e. the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Many other programmes including the UN Children Fund (UNICEF), the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have also been functioning under the United Nations. The Economic and Social Council coordinates with all of these agencies of the United Nations.

The Trusteeship Council: Another organisation of the United Nations is its Trusteeship Council. The council was established under the United Nations Charter to manage the

running of 11 Trust Territories. These are the former dependent territories or colonies, which were kept under the International Trusteeship System.

This was created at the conclusion of the Second World War and its aim was the promotion or development of the residents of dependent Territories or colonies. With the help of United Nations Trusteeship Council, more than 70 colonial territories have achieved their independence including 11 trust territories.

The International Court of Justice: The International Court of Justice is one the United Nations main organ for judicial matter. The International Court of Justice was established in 1945 and is situated The Hague, Netherlands. The Court became functional in 1946. This is an international court for provision of justice in case of disputes between or among the states. The decisions are made here according to the international law.

The judgments passed by the Court are considered as final and no one has the chance of appeal. The International Court of Justice is chaired by fifteen judges. The judges are appointed for a period of nine years. The judges belonged to various nations but more than one judge cannot be appointed from any country. According to the electoral system, one third judges retired after three years and the new elections held.

The Secretariat: This organ of the United Nations works at New York. The Secretariat is also considered as the United Nations' executive arm. It is the organ that coordinates the various activities of the UN. The Secretariat is running under the directions of Secretary General of the General Assembly.

Secretary General is in fact the Principal administrative officer of the Secretariat. The staff of the Secretariat is called the 'international civil servants'. The staff works without any pressure of their governments or nations. The staff members have been adopted from the Member States of United Nations.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. The General Assembly is the _____organ of the United Nations.
2. The United Nations has its _____ chief organs.
3. The Economic and Social Council consist of _____ members.
4. The International Court of _____ became functional in 1946.
5. Secretary General is in fact the Principal administrative officer of the_____.

QUESTIONS:

1. Discuss the role of the United Nations and its Subsidiary Organizations in the world.

2. Describe the six organs of the United Nations. Also elaborate how these organs work?

9.3 PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE ORGANISATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION (OIC), ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANISATION (FORMER RCD), SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) are the organisations with which Pakistan had always been connected. A brief account is being given below.

Organisation of Islamic Cooperation: The Organization of Islamic Cooperation(OIC) is labeled as' The Collective Voice of The Muslim World'. The OIC has become the second largest organisation of the world after the United Nations. It is consist of 57 members of states belonged to four continents of the world. The OIC is called "The collective voice of the Muslim world" today. The Organisation has the initial aim to protect the interests of the Muslim countries and Muslim minorities of the world.

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation was set up in response to the decision of the historical summit on 25 September 1969 held in Rabat, the Kingdom of Morocco. The Summit was called due to criminal arson of Al-Aqsa Mosque in occupied Jerusalem.

Its General Secretariat was founded at Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) by the First Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in February 1970. The General Secretariat includes a Secretary General while the Secretary General works as the Chief Administrative Officer of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.

The first OIC Charter was adopted in 1972. The objectives of the organization were adopted to increase the solidarity and cooperation among the Member States. The Organisation was established by the 30 founding member states and now it has 57 members. The General Secretariat is the executive organ of the Organisation and it gives directions to broad network of OIC bodies, subsidiary organs, committees, and affiliated institutions.

The Council of Foreign Ministers performs the responsibility to elect the Secretary General for five year's tenure. The Council elects the Secretary-General on the basis of equality of geographical distribution, turn, competency, integrity and experience. Dr. Yousef Bin Ahmad Bin Abdul Rahman Al-Othaimeen is the current Secretary-General of the OIC and was elected in 2016 for a period of five years.

Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO): In 1963, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey formed an organisation named "Regional Cooperation for Development" (RCD). In 1985, the name of RCD was replaced by Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). The Organisation was formed with the purpose of enhancement of technical, cultural and economic cooperation among member countries. It is an intergovernmental regional organization.

After the breakdown of 'the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' (USSR), six Central Asian states including Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan joined the ECO in 1992. In the meanwhile, Afghanistan also became its member. Now the organisation is comprised of ten member states including Pakistan.

The summit of the Economic Cooperation Organisation takes place after five years. The 13th ECO Summit was held in Pakistan Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan on opening day of March 2017. The theme of the Summit was 'Connectivity for Regional Prosperity'.

All of the ten member states attended the summit of the ECO. The Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Yesui attended the summit as the special guest. The President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, the President of Iran Hassan Rouhani, the President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the President of Tajikistan Emomali Rahmon and the President of Turkmenistan Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow attended the summit. The Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan Sooronbay Jeenbekov, the Prime Minister of Kazakhstan Bakytzhan Sagintayev, Deputy Prime Minister of Uzbekistan Ulugbak Rozukulov and the Ambassador from Afghanistan Omar Zakhilwal also attended the summit.

The last summit focused on the regional connectivity and the issues regarding energy, trade, infrastructure and transport. At the end of the summit 'The Islamabad Declaration' was issued focusing on the participation in trade, energy, transport, tourism, economy and infrastructure.

Council of Ministers elects the Secretary General of the Organisation from those candidates who are nominated by the Member Countries. The Secretary General takes his office for the tenure of three years and performs the responsibilities regarding all activities of the ECO.

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation: The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was founded on 8 December 1985. The SAARC Charter was signed in Dhaka while the Secretariat of the Association was established in Kathmandu on 17 January 1987. SAARC consists of seven Member States including Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. However, after the inclusion of Afghanistan in April 2007, the SAARC has eight member states.

According to the charter, the SAARC has the following objectives:

- Promotion of the welfare of the peoples of South Asia to improve their quality of life.
- Development in economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region.
- Enhance and strength the collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia.
- Contribute in mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's issues.
- Promotion of mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields in the region.
- Cooperation with other developing countries.

- Cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests.
- Cooperation with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

The Structure of SAARC is consisting of SAARC Summits, the Council of Ministers, Standing Committees, Programming Committees, Technical Committees, Working Groups and Action Committees. Human Resource Development and Tourism, Agricultural and Rural Development, Environment, Natural Disasters and Biotechnology, Economic Trade and Finance, Social Affairs, and Education, Security and Culture are the major areas of cooperation under the banner of SAARC. SAARC Agriculture Centre was established in Dhaka in 1889 while SAARC Energy Center has been working in Islamabad since 2006. In Colombo, Sri Lanka, a Cultural Centre was established in 2009 while Disaster Management Centre in India was founded in 2016. In Kathmandu, SAARC Tuberculosis and HIV / AIDS Centre was set up in 1992.

In SAARC, Pakistan has been playing a remarkable role for the sake of regional cooperation. Pakistan became the host of fourth (1988) and twelfth SAARC Summits (2004). Pakistan also was the host for nineteenth SAARC Summit in 2016. However, the SAARC remained unable to get the desired socio-economic development in the region. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation requires collaboration with other organizations for achieving the goals.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Pakistan became the _____of fourth (1988) and twelfth SAARC Summits (2004).
2. The Chinese _____ Foreign Minister Zhang Yesui attended the summit as the special guest.
3. The first OIC _____was adopted in 1972.
4. OIC is labeled as' The Collective Voice of The _____World'.
5. The summit of the Economic Cooperation Organisation takes place after _____years.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss Pakistan's relations with OIC, ECO and SAARC.
2. Highlight the role of Pakistan in regional and Muslim organisations.

9.4 PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

In this section of the Unit, Pakistan's diplomatic relations with other countries of the world are being discussed.

9.4.1 Pakistan China Relations

Pakistan came into existence on 14 August 1947 while Chine got independence on 1 October 1949. In the beginning of 1962 China expressed her wish for the demarcation of the Pakistan-China border. In the month of October the conflict between India and China

rose to its peak. However, both the countries settled the issue through an agreement in 1963.
In 1949, China started its journey under the leadership of Mao Zedong who was belonged to the Chinese Communist Party. Mr. Mao Zedong declared that Peoples Republic of China wishes to maintain diplomatic relations with all the other countries on the principle of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Pakistan supported China in September 1950 for the membership in United Nations. In next year, in the month of July Pakistan appointed her ambassador for China. Under a trading agreement in 1952, Rs. 97.2 million worth of cotton was supplied to China. Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO, in 1954 and 1955 respectively. SEATO and CENTO were the military agreements and Pakistan joined these agreements according to the wish of United States of America. It was serious issues for China as the cold war between USA and USSR was on the peak. China was against the Capitalist block of USA and in this way both the agreements may be considered against China. Pakistan assured China that her participation in the agreements was just for its protection from the aggression of India. China considered Pakistan's compulsions and during the Bandung conference in April 1955, Mr. Chou En-Lai said that 'Prime Minister of Pakistan told me that although Pakistan was party to a military treaty, Pakistan was not against China'.

On the other hand, Pakistan's participation in SEATO and CENTO was not acceptable for USSR. Pakistan already had made mistake in May 1950, when Liaquat Ali khan visited the USA instead of Soviet. India took advantage from the situation and gain the fully support of Soviet Union against Pakistan. Pakistan was succeeded to gain the blessings of America; however, Russia immediately declared that Kashmir was the integral part of India. Soviet also supported afghan elements for the creation of Pakhtoonistan, removing the tribal areas from Pakistan. However, China remained neutral in this regard although China was the collaborator of the Soviet Union.

Due to wisdom of Chinese leadership in those days, Pakistan-China closeness entered in the next decade. In early 60's Pakistan reshaped her foreign policy. In October 1962, Sino-India relations came to lowest ebb which resultant the war between both. Pakistan took advantage from the situation and succeeded to sign the China-Pakistan border agreement in March 1963. Just two months before, in January, both countries made an agreement which proved useful in trade and commerce, shipping and future trade relations. In July, the same year; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the foreign minister of that time told the parliament that China will come to help Pakistan if India attacks. This was noticed by the Bengali leaders that why China would come to Bengalis why not Pakistan and Punjab would come.

Pakistan and China reached to an agreement regarding airlines in August 1963. The objective of the agreement was to provide the air travelling facility to the public. however, the Pakistan-China friendship was disliked by USA as in the last month of 1963, George Ball (US under secretary of State) came to Pakistan to realize President

Ayub that China would be threat for South Asia; therefore, Pakistan should develop the relations with India.

He had the opinion that Pakistan's bent towards China may be harmful to Pakistan America relations but Ball could not impress Ayub. This was right decision of Ayub and due to it Pakistan assured China that third power would be unable to affect the Pakistan-China agreements. In mid of 1964, China provided interest-free loan to Pakistan worth of 60 Billion Dollars. The following year, in March 1965; Ayub Khan visited China along with Z.A. Bhutto. During next month, both powers signed an agreement regarding sea-transportation. The same year was fruitful for Pakistan as Chou En-Lai visited Pakistan thrice in a single year.

Before the war of 1965 in the month of April, China supported Pakistan regarding the clash of Rann of Kutch. In September when India attacked Pakistan, China supported us against Indian aggression. Beijing pressurized India through deploying Chinese army near Indian borders.

In January 1966, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan gathered at Tashkent, The Tashkent Declaration was signed on 10 January. The Indian Prime Minister died on the following day in Tashkent; the present day capital of Uzbekistan and former city of USSR. Pakistan assured Chinese interests by rejecting the USSR's offer for agreement regarding the Joint Asian Security. Pakistan rejected the Soviet proposals in Asia because it was against People's Republic of China.

In response to it, China provided the electrical equipment of almost one million rupees worth in early 1966. In the same year in the month of June, the agreement for the scientific and cultural exchanges was signed between China and Pakistan. In the same month China and Pakistan made an agreement through which China provided help to build up a "Heavy Machinery Complex" at Taxila near Rawalpindi.

As it has been discussed that Henry Kissinger visited China in 1971 with the provision of Pakistan's help; China showed more respect for Pakistan. However, America became disloyal to Pakistan. USA did not favour Pakistan against India during the war of 1971. On the other hand, China proved a good friend to Pakistani nation and carried on the reasonable help.

In February 1973, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto went to China while in the month of June, China's Foreign Minister came to Pakistan, and demanded India to release Pakistani prisoners of war. The Karakoram Highway was completed in 1978. The situation of International politics changed rapidly in the last month of 1979 when Soviet Union entered in to Afghanistan. Pakistan remained involve in the war for a decade and pro-America foreign policy was adopted against USSR in Afghanistan.

China supported Pakistan in the critical situations especially in defence and she extended her precious support for Pakistan. Pakistan succeeded in the establishment of Heavy

Industries at Taxila, Pakistan Aeronautical Complex and Ordnance Factories. In this regard, China and Pakistan celebrated 2016 as year of their mutual friendship.

Pakistan China friendship has been termed as the friendship of all-weather, time-tested, deeper than the oceans and higher than Himalayas, sweeter than honey, and lately, as strategic and stronger than steel. These expressions are not the simple words but involve the experiment of both nations since 1950s. Pakistan China friendship has been recently developing through China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and Gwadar deep seaport.

9.4.2 Pakistan India Relations

Pakistan came into existence on 14th August 1947 as a result of the partition of the British India. The creation of Pakistan was the result of untired efforts of the Indian Muslims. The Muslims struggled for their independence due to a number of political, economic and religious issues. The establishment of Pakistan was not accepted by the Hindus.

After the establishment of Pakistan, a variety of disagreements appeared between the both countries. The history of Indo-Pakistan relations is full of clashes as the conflicts between both started from the day of the independence. There was a huge disagreement between the two countries over the Kashmir issue. In October 1947, the Indo Pakistan war was started over the Kashmir dispute. When Pakistani tribesmen tried to enter in Kashmir, the Maharaja of Kashmir sought help from India. In May 1948, the soldiers of Pakistan Army had to fight on borders till the end of the year. In response to the war, Pakistan Army succeeded to achieve almost one third part of the Kashmir with the help of Kashmiri Mujahideen and tribesmen. At last, the United Nations arranged the ceasefire with the recommendations of referendum in Kashmir. However, still the Kashmir issue is unsolved and United Nations failed to hold referendum in the occupied Kashmir.

Negotiations between India and Pakistan also remained in progress side by side. Liaquat-Nehru pact was signed in 1950 between the both states. According to the agreement the refugees of the both sides had the permission to return to dispose of their properties, to gain their abducted women and the looted property. The rights of minorities were also recognised through the Pact.

Another matter of concern for Pakistan is the blockage of river water. The issue was solved to some extent through the Indus Water Treaty with the help of World Bank. The Treaty facilitated the moderate water distribution between Pakistan and India. The Indian Prime Minister came in Karachi in September 1960 to Sign the agreement with President Ayub Khan.

On 6 September 1965, India attacked Pakistan. President Ayub of Pakistan addressed to the nation and announced the war for defence. The War ended on 23 September 1965. The following year, on 10 January, President of Pakistan Muhammad Ayub Khan and the Prime Minister of India Mr. Lal Bahdaur Shastri signed an agreement at Tashkent.

According to the Tashkent Pact, both countries agreed to maintain their armies on pre-war positions.

With the beginning of next decade, in the East Pakistan, the internal situation became out of control, taking advantage to it, India once again attacked. Now the target was East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan. In response to the war of 1971, Pakistan was dismembered and Bangladesh came into existence. In the following year in July, President of Pakistan Mr. Zulfqar Ali Bhutto went India to see Mrs. Indira Gandhi (Prime Minister of India). An agreement was signed by both Prime Ministers called Simla Agreement.

According to the agreement it was decided that India will give more that 90,000 Pakistani prisoners to Pakistan. It was also decided that the both states will try to 'settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations'. In 1982, a new issue developed between Pakistan and India; it was the Siachen conflict. It was the great deal made by Bhutto with Mrs. Indira Gandhi. In the next decade, Indira Gandhi was assassinated on 31 October 1984 by his bodyguard. India blamed Pakistan for her murder and the situation was critical between two neighbours once again. Later on, General Zia-ul-Haq visited India suddenly to see the cricket match. He met Rajeev Gandhi, the son of Indira Gandhi and told him that Pakistan was not involved in the killing of Indira Gandhi. The tension changed into normal atmosphere to some extent. While General Zia-ul-Haq was about to leave India and saying good bye to Rajeev, Zia-u;-Haq addressed him: "Mr. Rajeev you want to attack Pakistan, do it. But keep in mind after this, world will forget Hilaku Khan and Changez Khan and will remember only Zia-ul-Haq and Rajeev Gandhi".

The next decade brought a new conflict with India. These years Indian had to face difficulties in Kashmir due to Mujahidin's violence in Kashmir against Indian army. On the other hand, the Kashmiries had been facing the Indian army's brutalism. The Indian army continued the killing the Kashmiries in bulk and the situation became worse. In May 1998, Pakistan tested its nuclear device in response to India nuclear weapons as Pakistan had been facing security threats. In mid 1999, Kargil conflict arose and Pakistan had to fight another war called Kargil War. Pakistan succeeded to achieve the target; however, Nawaz Sharif ordered Pakistan army to leave the area, it was due to pressure of the USA. It effected the internal political situation of Pakistan and Nawaz Sharif had to leave the office of Prime Minister.

With the beginning of new century, Pakistan tried to carry on bilateral relations with India. In May 2001, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee invited General Musharraf to visit India for negotiations. President of Pakistan wanted to maintain relations on bilateral basis. Therefore, he accepted the invitation and went to India on 14 July 2001. In the mean time, the international politics got completely change once again after the incident of 11 September 2001. Pakistan had no option except that to become the front line state in the

war against terrorism decided by America. On 13 December 2001, the Indian Parliament was attacked by the terrorist and India alleged Pakistan.

Pakistan became the host for SAARC Summit conference in January 2004 held in Islamabad. The talks started once again between the both countries. In 2006, the bus and railway travelling services initiated between two states. Later on, some trading and business activities restored for a short period.

In the last days of February 2019, Indian air fighters attacked Pakistan at Balakot. Later on the attacking aircraft was destroyed by Pakistan. However, once again Mr. Imran Khan, the prime minister of Pakistan expressed his wishes to maintain peaceful bilateral relations with India.

9.4.3 Pakistan Afghanistan Relations

Pakistan and Afghanistan are the neighbouring Muslim countries with 2252 km long common border which is called the 'Durand Line'. The Durand Line was the border between Afghanistan and the British India. However, after the partition of India, the Afghan government refused to accept the Duran Line as the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. This was not only our neighbour country but also Muslim state that cast her vote against Pakistan in the United Nations for the membership of Pakistan. It was the matter of concern for Pakistan as Afghanistan was the only country in Pakistan's opposition. Afghanistan was not ready to recognise the Tribal Agencies and the former NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) as the part of Pakistan. The geostrategic and demographic situation cannot be neglected in respect to the bilateral relations between two countries.

Afghan government exploited the Pakhtun issue as a strong tool against Pakistan before and after independence. The Khudai Khidmatgars rejected the former NWFP referendum in through which the concerned people joined Pakistan. According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Ghaffar Khan (famous as Bacha Khan) demanded separate independent state for the Pakhtuns. He argued in this regard that the Pakhtuns had their separate culture and identity like the Indian Muslims. However, the demand made by Khudai Khidmatgars was rejected.

In the early days of December 1947, the special spokesperson of government of Afghanistan came to Pakistan. At that time Quai-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah uttered his goodwill saying that, 'I desired the relationship between the two sister nations may be of the greatest and the most lasting friendship, and I hope that the two Governments will soon be able to settle and adjust, in a spirit of goodwill for the benefit of both, all those matters which require our immediate attention, and I do trust that the coming negotiations, that may take place, will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between our two countries which already exist'. The Afghan government did not agree with the Pakistan's offer for the development of cordial bilateral relations.

The negative attitude of Afghanistan developed the strained dealings with Pakistan. The Government of on the other hand maintained relation with India and on the other they opposed the military assistance for Pakistan by the United States. However, America neglected the Afghan resistance and continued providing arms to Pakistan.

To maintain friendly relations with Afghanistan, the then President of Pakistan Sikander Mirza and the Prime Minister of Pakistan Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy toured Afghanistan in 1956 and 1957 respectively. In response to these tours the King ruler of Afghanistan Zahir Shah and the Prime Minister Sardar Daud Khan visited Pakistan in 1958 and 1959. The tours of both nations' leaders cultivated the good relation on both sides to some extent. The afghan Prime Minister Daud Khan resigned from his office in March 1963.

The relations between both neighbours travelled towards brotherhood in 1965 after the Indian attack on Pakistan. Afghanistan supported Pakistan at this difficult time and Pakistan was able to focus its concentration on its defence as the state was relaxed from the Afghan border. In 1968, the King Zahir Shah visited Pakistan and was welcomed by Pakistan with enthusiasm. However, in the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, Afghanistan adopted the neutral policy.

The President of Afghanistan, Daud Khan assassinated in 1978. The following year, in Pakistan; the Prime Minister Zulfqar Ali Bhutto was executed in April 1979. In the last month of same year, Soviet Union entered in Afghanistan. The United States of America and Pakistan engaged themselves in guerilla war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The Afghani Mujahidin defeated Soviet Union with the help of United States and Pakistan.

The war remained in progress for a decade and a large number of Afghan Muhajreen crossed the Durand Line to take shelter. At last in February 1989, the Soviet Union announced to withdrawal from Afghanistan. In April 1992, the Afghanistan Mujahideen dismissed the government of President Najibullah in Kabul. However, the Mujahideen could not establish their government in all over Afghanistan as they had been fighting each other to get power. At last, one group of these Mujahedeen 'Taliban' came in power in 1996. They controlled a larger part of Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001. At that time the government of Pakistan also recognised the Taliban government in Afghanistan.

In 2001, after the incident of nine-eleven; the Pakistani government decided to be a front line state in the war against terrorism. In other words, it was the war against 'Taliban'. After the removal of Taliban government, Hamid Karzai became the President in December 2001. He also raised the border issue between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Karzai declined to accept the Durand Line as Pak-Afghan border. The militants from Afghanistan borders attacked a number of times on Pakistani posts and consequently thousands of Pakistani security forces and civilians lost their lives. It is also the matter of concern for Pakistani nation that millions of Afghan refugees took refuge in Pakistan. Certainly, the Afghan migrants were a huge burden on Pakistan's economy.

Recently, Afghan President Ashraf Ghani and Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan agreed to maintain good bilateral relations in a meeting in Islamabad in June 2019. Both leaders decided to cooperate for regional peace, pubic interest of the both nations and promotion of regional trade.

9.4.4 Pakistan Iran Relations

Pakistan and Iran are two neighbouring Muslim Countries. Pakistan shares her 909 kilometer geographical boundaries with Iran and the border line is called Goldsmith Line. Pakistan had founded cordial relations with Iran in the beginning. It was a fortune for both states that there was no boundary dispute; due to this, both counties came closer to each other. It was the first country to recognized Pakistan as an independent state. Iran also was the first one that opened its embassy in Pakistan. Iran fully supported Pakistan in the United Nations, to gain membership. In May1950, Shah of Iran Raza Shah Pahlavi, visited Pakistan and he was the very first king of any state who came to Pakistan.

Pakistan and Iran had no misconceptions and both states carried on their relations in friendly atmosphere. In 1955 and 1956, both countries joined SEATO and CENTO, while the joining of these agreements by the both powers was according to the wish of United States of America (USA) and in oppose to USSR. In the same decade Pakistan and Iran signed their agreements to extend the cultural relations between them. In the meanwhile an agreement was signed regarding the air transportation. The geographical boundaries between the both powers were settled accordingly in 1958. Pakistan and Iran had some concerns with USSR that was why both became closer to USA. Moreover, Pakistan and Iran had common interests; therefore, they maintained close relations with each other.

During the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, Iran fully supported to Pakistan at all stages. Pakistan was supported by Iran not only verbally or ethically but Iran also provided the air bases during the war and it was the peak of its sincerity with Pakistan. It was the time when super powers of the world strictly advised Iran not to support Pakistan. Despite of it, Iran continuously supplied arms to Pakistan. It was Iran that supported Pakistan once again in the war of 1971.

In 1972, Bhutto became the President and later on the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Bhutto had deep friendship with Shah of Iran. When Shah visited Pakistan in March 1976, Bhutto welcomed him with open arms. At this time, Shah of Iran said that '*we do not have to give any reasons for this friendship. It is normal, it is natural, it is in the interest of both countries*'.

It was the trust of both countries that Shah of Iran observed that Pakistan and Iran cannot be separated by any force. Iran also provided a notable financial assistance in the same decade. At the end of decade the political situation changed in both states, as Bhutto and Shah both were removed from the premiership and kingship respectively. In Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq assumed the power by removing Bhutto on 5 July 1977. In early 1979, Shah had to leave Iran in wake of the revolution when Ayatollah Khomeini became

the head of state of Iran. In this situation, Pakistani government welcomed the new revolutionary government of Iran.

That was why the bilateral relations of both countries remained in progress. After revolution the Iranian government changed its foreign policy. Pakistan preferred Iranian friendship due to its closed geographical and cultural relations. Another reason of its support was that Iran supported many times Pakistan.

Moreover, after the dismemberment of Pakistan Iran did not recognise Bangladesh as an independent state until Pakistan's recognition of Bangladesh. Iran and Pakistan not only remained the strategic partner but gathered on economic forums also. Regional Corporation for Development (RCD) was developed by Pakistan, Iran and Turkey in 1964 and renamed as the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) in 1985.

9.4.5 Pakistan-Saudi Arabia Relations

Pakistan and Saudi Arabia both are Muslim counties having close bilateral relations from the beginning. Although, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are not neighbours so, even then both are connected with each other through the Islamic bonds. In1953, King Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz visited Pakistan. He was very first Saudi Emperor to visit Pakistan. The government of Pakistan decided to settle a town on his name entitled 'Saud bad' near Malir in Karachi in response to heavy aid provided by the king for the settlement of refugees. In 1960, President Muhammad Ayub Khan visited Saudi Arabia and was warmly welcomed.

In April 1966, King Faisal came to Pakistan and said in his Speech in Karachi: *'If we have shown brotherly feelings and cooperation for this Islamic country, it is because this is the least of what our religion and belief demand from us'.*

The Saudi delegation was headed by King Faisal in the second Islamic Summit Conference in February 1974 held in Lahore. On this occasion he offered his Friday Prayers in the Badshahi Masjid of Lahore where thirty-nine heads of Muslim countries were along with him. King Faisal provided a huge amount for the construction of the Faisal Masjid in Islamabad. King Faisal was the great Muslim leader who had worked for Pan-Islamism. He was the close friend of Zulfqar Ali Bhutto and he helped him in various matters. Unfortunately, he was assassinated on 25 March 1975. The brother of King Faisal, King Khalid Abdul-Aziz then became the king.

Saudi Arabia announced the provision of $60 million to repair the Tarbela Dam in June 1980. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia also continued the strategic relations and economic cooperation. Both countries followed the Islamic concept of brotherhood and helped each other in various fields.

Saudi Arabia had been providing petroleum products to Pakistan while Pakistan exports a number of commodities to Saudi Arabia including meat, rice, fruits, spices, various types of chemical products and textile products in large quantity.

During the Indo-Pakistan Wars of 1965 and 1971, Saudi Arabia came to help Pakistan in economic and diplomatic levels. During the Afghan war under the leadership of General Zia-ul-Haq, both sates worked as allies against the communism. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia remained the active membership of the Organisation of Islamic Conference and have been working for the unity of Muslim Ummah. Saudi Arabia always supported Pakistan's stand on the Kashmir issue while Pakistan supported Saudi Arabia regarding the Palestine issue. Saudi Arabia opposed the creation of Bangladesh as it was the partition of Pakistan and the Muslims.

During the Persian Gulf War, Pakistan sent her troops in Saudi Arabia for the protection of holy places of the Muslim Ummah. Saudi Arabia also helped Pakistan on Pak-Afghan issues and supported the rule of Taliban in Afghanistan like Pakistan. After the nuclear testing when Pakistan became the victim of the economic sanctions by international community, Saudi Arabia stood with Pakistan. Saudi government announced to provide (per day) 50,000 barrels oil purely without any cost. per day aftermath of the 28th May 1998.

Saudi Arabia and Pakistan have bilateral relations and no one of them intervenes in each other's internal matters. Pakistan's nuclear success was also of great importance for Saudi Arabia. Pakistan's former Army Chief, General Raheel Sharif was appointed as the head of 39 nations' Islamic Military Alliance led by Saudi Arabia. Recently Saudi Arabia once again helped Pakistan in various projects when Imran Khan became the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

9.4.6 Pakistan and the United States of America

After the creation of Pakistan, President Truman of United States of America sent a message to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the first governor general of Pakistan. The presidential message expressed his desires as 'I wish to assure you that the new dominion embarks on its course with the firm friendship and goodwill of the United States of America". Mirza Abul Hassan Ispahani, the first ambassador of Pakistan to USA; told President Truman on 8 October 1947 that the Pakistanis are the offspring of great Muslim rulers from Central Asia. According to the New York Times published on 9 October 1947, President Truman replied that 'We stand ready to assist Pakistan in all appropriate ways which might naturally benefit our two countries and the world and we have profound hope for continuing peaceful and constructive collaboration between Pakistan, her sister dominion and other countries' .

Pakistan had decided in her early days to ally with capital block against the socialists. Pakistan tried to maintain friendly relations with the United States of America. Within the period of three years from 1950 to 1953, a number of Pakistani military civil leaders

visited USA including Sir Zafrullah Khan (Foreign Minister), Mr. Ikram-Ullah Khan (Foreign Secretary), Mr. Ghulam Muhammad (Finance Minister) and Mr. Sikander Mirza (Defense Secretary). The chief objective of these visits was to obtain the financial aids only. In May 1954, Pakistan signed the 'Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement' with USA. Pakistan became the member of SEATO and CENTO on the wish of USA in 1954 and 1955. The governments in Pakistan had been looking towards USA for the aid and help since early days. On the other hand, United States of America had shown a great interest to make relation with Pakistan.

The South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) was signed after a conference it Philippine's famous city Manila. The United Kingdom (U.K), Philippine, New Zealand, France, Thailand, Australia and USA were included in the SEATO. It was declared in this treaty that if any country was attacked by the enemy, all countries included in the agreement would help it. However, Pakistan was warned that the agreement will be useful for her in case of aggression by the communist countries. The choice of joining this agreement was decided by Sir Zafarullah Khan, the then foreign minister of Pakistan. In the very next year, the Baghdad Pact was signed on 24 February and was joined by two countries Turkey and Iraq. The agreement was signed in Baghdad, the city of Iraq and in the same year, Pakistan, Britain and Iran also joined the agreement.

It was an organisation for the promotion of political, military and economic goals. Due to various political changings in international politics, the United States of America invoked the 'Eisenhower Doctrine' as a justification and interceded in Lebanon. Except Iraq, all the other members included in 'Baghdad Pact' endorsed this intervention while Iraq announced to leave the Pact in 1959. In response to it, the Secretariat of the organisation was shifted from Baghdad to Ankara (Turkey). The remaining members changed its name as Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO).

In response to the SEATO and CENTO, United States presented almost $17.5 million military while $60 million economic aid to Pakistan. From 1954 to 1965, almost in the period of 11 years, the United States supplied Pakistan the military grant of at $ 619 million while the cash and commercial credits of $ 55 million. In the same period the sale of arms and weapons was on its peak. Pakistan proved herself as the faithful friend of United States, therefore, Pakistan's faithfulness was appreciated by America. However, during the War of 1965, Pakistan was looking towards America while the American government brought to an end that the involvement of United States in the War between India and Pakistan would not be in the national interest of USA. President L. B. Johnson stated that the war is a regional crisis and it would be better that Pakistan and India manage it by their own.

In 1971, India attacked on East Wing of the country. At this time Mr. Nixon the President of United States recommended Pakistan to accommodate rebelling in East Pakistan. He also offered India that US is ready to help her to solve the refugee crisis (Bengali Refugees). According to Jabeen and Mazhar 'Nixon wanted to preserve

Pakistan's integrity'. That was why US sent their nuclear aircraft carrier 'Enterprise' to the Bay of Bengal. Hennery Kissinger explained that the purpose of 'Enterprise' was to discourage India to attack on Pakistan's Western border. However, one of its objective was the realize China that the United States help their allies in the bad times. America could not help Pakistan at the time of its dismemberment. The war ended on 16 December 1971 and the Bangladesh came into existence.

After the dismemberment of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Prime Minister of remaining Pakistan. He tried to make the necessary arrangement for the integrity of Pakistan. In November 1972, Pakistan left SEATO. Pakistan tried to get help from CENTO but failed because the demand of Pakistan was rejected saying that it was against the USSR but not India. In 1979, the CENTO was dissolved due to great changes in the world politics.

During the period from 1972 to 1979, Pakistan-America relations could not develop due to Bhutto's policies. The relations between both states stayed at the lowest ebb. The United States imposed economic and the military sanctions against Pakistan. It was due to Pakistan's measures adopted for gaining the nuclear power. Bhutto was considered Anti-American Prime Minister of Pakistan by the United States.

After the execution of Bhutto, General Zia-ul-Haq became the president of Pakistan. The President of United States 'Jimmy Carter' offered economic and military aid to Pakistan worth US$400 million. General Zia-ul-Haq, the head of the armed forces rejected the offer and called it like 'peanuts'. However, the Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan became headache for the Pakistani government. That was why Pakistan accepted US$3 billion in economic and US$3 billion in military aid offered by the new President of United States 'Ronald Reagan'. The Soviet Afghan war remained in progress for a decade. During this period, Pakistan America relation remained pleasant. The United States also neglected the Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Another turning point in Pakistan-America relations came after the incident of 11 September 2001. General Pervaiz Musharraf had to join the war against terrorist due to United States Pressure. Although Pakistan had to lose thousands of lives in this war, however, Musharraf did it to save Pakistan as he had no alternate option. United States provided heavy financial assistance to Pakistan but a large number of terrorists entered Pakistan from Afghanistan. In the light of above it is concluded that the United States of America always used Pakistan for her own benefits.

9.4.7 Pakistan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

The diplomatic relations of Pakistan with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) founded on 1 May 1948. Initially, there was no dispute or controversial issue between the both states. At the time of independence of Pakistan in 1947, the balance of power was between two super powers; the United States of America and the USSR. The earlier one was the representative of the Capitalism while the later was the emissary of the

Socialism. Due to representing the two separate systems, both powers were involved in the Cold War. Unfortunately, Pakistan became a part of this Cold War when the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited United States of America (USA) form 3 May to 26 May 1950. The visit of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was taken serious by the USSR as the Prime Minister already had accepted the invitation of USSR but he cancelled the programme and visited USA instead of USSR.

Pakistan became the part of United States' game as signed various agreements an including SEATO and CENTO. In South Asia Pakistan was the exemplary ally of the United States against USA. It was unfortunate that Pakistan could not develop the bilateral relations with the USSR. Pakistan made angry to a super power to the pleasure of another one.

With the passage of time Pakistan established her relation with the USA and proved as the front-line state against the communism. Till 1956, Pakistan was the trustful ally of the United States. In 1959, Pakistan made another agreement with America to counter the USSR activities.

That was why, during the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965, Soviet Union helped India while the United States did not support Pakistan. After the war, Soviet Union carried on provision of arms to India with concessional rates. India used these weapons in the war of 1971 against Pakistan. After the dismemberment of Pakistan, Zulfqar Ali Bhutto became the prime Minister of Pakistan. Bhutto was communist mined and disliked by the United States. He visited Moscow in 1974 to carry on the bilateral relations. He was warmly welcomed by the USSR and a new period of bilateral relation started between the both states. On this occasion, the USSR sponsored for the Pakistan Steel Mill at Karachi. The mill was installed by USSR on her expenses. During the reign of Bhutto, the both countries maintained strong relation and the both countries took benefits due to mutual relations. A few months after the execution of Bhutto, Soviet Union invaded in Afghanistan and the Islamabad once again became a front line state against USSR.

At the midnight of 25 and 26 December 1991, the President of Union of Soviet Socialists Republic, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned from his post of president. He also announced the collapse of Union of Soviet Socialists Republic. USSR was dissolved into 15 independent Republics. This was of course, a peaceful end to a long, terrifying and sometimes bloody period in world history.

After the collapse of USSR, Pakistan established good relations with Russia. If we look post 11 September, Russia provided a great support to Pakistan. Pakistan's inclusion against the war of terrorism was highly appreciated by the Russia. In the reign of General Musharraf, in 2007; Pakistan-Russia Relations reactivated. Mikhail Fradkov, the Russian Prime Minister came to Pakistan for three days on official visit. It was the matter of pleasure for both powers as Mikhail Fradkov was the first Prime Minister of Russia who visited Pakistan after the collapse of USSR. General Pervaiz Musharraf and Prime

Minister Mr. Shaukat Aziz welcomed him and discussed the matters. The visit became fruitful with respect to developing bilateral relations between Pakistan and Russia.

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. In May 1954, Pakistan signed the 'Mutual Defence _____Agreement' with USA.
2. Pakistan joined CENTO in the year _____.
3. Saudi Arabia announced the provision of $60 million to repair the _____Dam in June 1980.
4. Mr. Nixon the President of United States recommended _____ to accommodate rebelling in East Pakistan.
5. During the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965, Soviet Union helped India while the United States did not support _____.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the history of India-Pakistan Relations in detail.
2. Highlight the relations of Pakistan with the Muslim states including Saudi Arabia and Iran.
3. Elaborate the history of Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. Why the relations between two neighbour Muslim countries could not develop?
4. Discuss Pakistan's foreign policy in the light of relations with USA and USSR.

ANSWERS OF THE SELF ASSESSMENTS

SELF ASSESSMENT No.1

1. Direction	2. National	3. Jinnah
4. Territorial	5. Human	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.2

1. Chief	2. Six	3. 54
4. Justice	5. Secretariat	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.3

1. Host	2. Vice	3. Charter
4. Muslim	5. five	

SELF ASSESSMENT No.4

1. Assistance	2. 1955	3. Tarbela
4. Pakistan	5. Pakistan	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bojang AS,(2018), 'The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations', Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs. Volume 6, Issue 4. 2018

2. Niloufer Mahdi,(1986), 'Sino-Pakistan Relations: Historical Background', Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 39, No. 4, Focus on: Sino-Pakistan Relations (Fourth Quarter 1986), pp. 60-68

3. Shahid M. Amin,(2007), *Pakistan Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*, Karachi: Oxford University Press.

4. Mussarat Jabeen & Muhammad Saleem Mazhar,(2011), 'Security Game: SEATO and CENTO as Instrument of Economic and Military Assistance to Encircle Pakistan', Pakistan Economic and Social Review, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Summer 2011), pp. 109-132

5. Naveed Ahmad, (1982) 'Pakistan-Saudi Relations', Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 35, No. 4, 51-67

6. M. Rafique Afzal,(1973, *Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab), 447-48

7. Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol II, 1177-81

8. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ail Jinnah, *Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan,* 1947-1948, pp. 65-66

9. Philippine Daily Inquirer / 12:06 AM May 28, 2017

10. Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press.

CONTENTS

Title ..... Page No

Introduction 341
Objectives 341
9.1 Objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy 342
9.2 The United Nations and its subsidiary organizations 346
9.3 Pakistan's Relations with the OIC, ECO (RCD), SAARC and Pakistan 350
9.4 Pakistan's relations with other countries 352
9.4.1 Pakistan China Relations 352
9.4.2 Pakistan India Relations 355
9.4.3 Pakistan Afghanistan Relations 357
9.4.4 Pakistan Iran Relations 358
9.4.5 Pakistan Saudi Arabia Relations 360
9.4.6 Pakistan America Relations 361
9.4.7 Pakistan USSR / Russia Relations 363
Bibliography 366



Department of Pakistan Studies
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad