

# Rethinking Pakistan AFFAIRS

This book contains a comprehensive and detailed information and knowledge, which is required for the students of Pakistan Studies at all competitive level. Not only this book will fulfill the demands of the students of CSS/PMS exams, rather it will guide candidates for the students of lectureship, graduation, bankers, or many more. In this book, I have given the through answers of the most important topics, which are usually asked in the papers of Pakistan Studies.

Though this is a concise book; I have also given an outline of every topic, which gives an edge over all other books of Pakistan Affairs. This book has been divided into various categories like evolutionary era of the Muslim in the subcontinent, the role of reformers and reforming institutions, freedom movement and post partition of Pakistan etc. This book also manifests the detailed information about the freedom movement of Indian Muslims from 1906 to 1947 and their struggle for the formation of Pakistan. Meanwhile this book also sheds light on the topics like Jinnah's vision of Pakistan, constitutional developments, causes of failure of democracy, Civil-Military Relations, Era of Islamization, economic, energy, social, agriculture and industrial problems and their solutions. This book will enhance not only our learning capacity; rather it provides an understanding the themes of Pakistan affairs.

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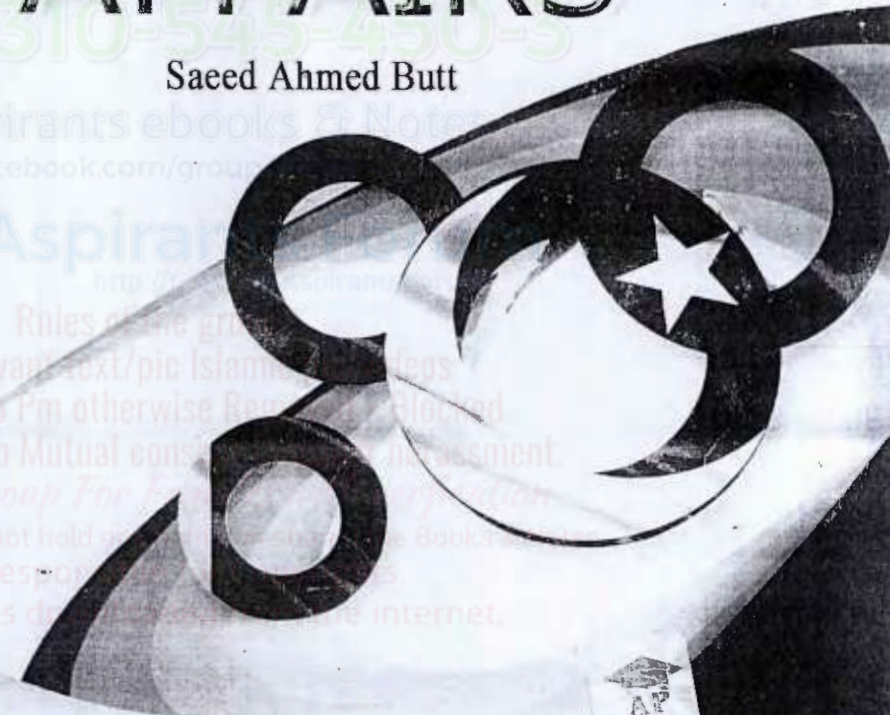
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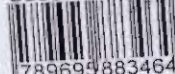
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## Rethinking Pakistan Affairs

Saeed Ahmed Butt

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## Preface to the Fourth Edition

It is a great pleasure for me to bring the fourth edition of the book with added chapters and updated knowledge, which shows that how the book is being appreciated by the students as well as the public. I have consumed about one year to update this manuscript and book. I also received various glorious reports and feedback about the book and the students also wanted to include the chapters regarding Pakistan relations with the leading countries of the world. Therefore I have included the required chapters so that the desire and thirst of the respected students may be fulfilled. This edition is also an outcome of the overwhelming response to the first, second and third editions of this book.

I have revised all the chapters and included the latest key studies in this book. Though many readers are familiar with the layout of the previous editions, but I have divided the whole book into five different parts which will also benefit the students at maximum level. I have tried my level best to fulfill all the necessary topics of Pakistan Affairs in this book. Taking a great help from the lectures of my greatest mentor and beloved teacher, *Mr. Irfan Waheed Usmani*, GC University Lahore, I have added all the relevant material from the students' assignments and books in this edition, therefore I personally pray them for their successes in future.

I hope this edition will be a great contributing factor in the success of its readers in all walks of life. At the end, I eulogize the advices and suggestions of Prof. Imtiaz Shahid in the compilation of this edition. He always stands with me like an elder brother to guide me in life.

Saeed Ahmed Butt

1<sup>st</sup> day of 2015



## Preface to the Third Edition

It has been nearly six months ago when the second edition of this book was published. As an author and compiler of this book, I received a lot of appreciation from the teachers, readers, critics, students, and scholars. Meanwhile I also received a number of the glorious reports from the students of Pakistan studies from CSS, PMS, History subjects and various schools of thoughts, who appreciate the care and clarity crafted into the pedagogy is a most gratifying feeling.

Encouraged by the overwhelming response to the first and second editions of this book, I have now brought out the third revised edition of the book.

During the last six months, I remained busy in my studies at libraries and elsewhere, so that I may be able to remove its shortcomings and increase its material in the third edition. I have tried my level best to use the enormous mass of matter for giving this edition either a thorough or fully developed book. Firstly, for this purpose, I have tried to give the maximum information in the minimum pages. Secondly I have put all the most important information and material in a very concise form, which I have derived from the antecedent, contemporary, and later literature, as only those who live near some great treasure-house of books are able to do, by seeing and comparing them together. In this edition, I have taken also taken help from the research articles and assignments of the students.

I have revised all the chapters and included the latest key studies in this book, so that the students may be benefitted at the maximum level. I have also added some new chapters and updated many of the existing chapters. Because many readers are familiar with the layout of the second edition, therefore I did not bring any change in it.

During the last months after this publication, I received a lot of suggestions and corrections for improving the third edition of this book. For this purpose, I am extraordinarily grateful. Though I have not followed these advices and criticism, but I always kept them in my mind to improve the standard of the upcoming edition of the book. So many people have helped me out that it is unfortunately no longer feasible to list all their names.

Saeed Ahmed Butt

23-09-2013

## Preface to the Second Edition

### *Appreciating the appreciators*

It has been nearly nine months since this book was published. Since authors often think of books as their children, I may liken the flood of appreciation from readers, students, and teachers to the glorious report cards a bright child brings home from school. Knowing that there are people who appreciate the care and clarity crafted into the pedagogy is a most gratifying feeling.

Encouraged by the overwhelming response to the first edition of the book, I have ventured to bring out the third revised edition of the book.

During the last six months that have elapsed since the publication of my little book, I have continued my studies at the libraries and elsewhere, so as to be able somewhat to correct its errors and expand its materials in a second edition. The enormous mass of matter at my disposal makes it impossible to do this either thoroughly or fully. What I have aimed at is, first, to give maximum information in minimum pages. Second, to put before all, in a concise form, the most important information to be derived from antecedent, contemporary, and later literature, as only those who live near some great treasure-house of books are able to do, by seeing and comparing them together. In this edition, I have taken also taken help from the research articles and assignments of the students.

All chapters have been revised and include the latest key studies. I have added some new chapters and updated many of the existing chapters. Because many readers are familiar with the layout of the first edition, I have tried to change it as little as possible.

Let me thank everyone who over the past months has provided me with suggestions and corrections for improving the first edition of this book. I am extraordinarily grateful. Although I have not always followed these many pieces of advice and criticism, I have thought carefully about them all. So many people have helped me out that it is unfortunately no longer feasible to list all their names.

I must not conclude without expressing my most sincere thanks to my critics and to the public for the leniency and consideration with which they have treated my adventure.

Saeed Ahmed Butt



### **Preface to the First Edition**

**T**his is a humble compiled attempt on my behalf for the aspirants of CSS/PMS and other competitive Examinations. This book also fulfills the needs of students who want to consult a book about the History of Pakistan, Freedom Movement etc at Graduation level and at the Masters Level. This book provides a path to the students, who remain worried about choosing a comprehensive book in which all basic requirements of Pakistan Affairs have been described. I have tried to explain all the necessary topics of Pakistan Affairs in this book. During the last four years, I remained busy to collect and compile material for this book. During the compilation of this book, I took great help from notes and lectures of my greatest mentor and beloved teacher, *Mr. Irfan Waheed Usmani*, GC University Lahore. In this book, I have given the outline and their explanations, which is the easiest way to understand the historical phenomenon and strategy how to attempt the questions of Pakistan Affairs in the paper.

I am especially thankful to my respected teachers, *Dr. Tahir Kamran, Dr. Farhat Mehmud, Syed Masood Raza Rizvi (Late), Dr. Ibrahim, Mr. Imran Bashir, Dr. Tahir Mehmood, Mr. Tahir Jamil, Mr. Hussain, Miss Farzana Arshad, and to my honourable colleagues Miss Huma Pervaiz, Mr. Nayyer Iqbal, Mr. Ayyaz Gul, Mrs. Saira* for making me able to understand the basic and analytical concepts of History. I owe great regard and respect to *Mr. Ibtisam Gul* and *Mr. Yawar Abbas*, great experts of Computer Science, who guided and helped me for final composing of this book. I am grateful to my friends and colleagues *Mr. Ahtsham Jan Butt* and *Mr. Noor Rehman*, who gave me their precious time to compile this manuscript. I am also thankful to my best friend, *Faizan Shuja Butt*, Advocate, who suggested me some useful amendments in the manuscript. I owe special thanks to my brothers; *Awais Butt, Asif Butt, Atif Butt, Kashif Butt, Nauman Butt*, who provided me help in accomplishing this task. Above all, I am thankful to Allah who, in His undoubted grace and mercy, sustained me in completing this compiled work.

**Saeed Ahmed Butt**

**Dedicated To,**

**My  
beloved and inspired  
Parents**



## First Part

### Evolutionary Era of Islam in Subcontinent

Evolution of Muslim Society

Mujadid Alf Sani

Shah Wali Ullah

Saiyid Ahmed Shaheed

Role of Sufis in Spread of Islam in the Sub-continent

Faraizi Movement

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## Evolution of Muslim Society

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Opinion of Aziz Ahmad
  - i. Indo-Arab Trade Relationship
  - ii. Expanding wave of Muslim conquest
  - iii. Organized form of Muslim Arrival
3. Factors for Emergence of Muslim society
  - i. Assimilative Capacity of Islam
  - ii. Fresh flow of new ideas
  - iii. Islamic teachings
  - iv. Great Appeal to down-trodden classes
  - v. Administrative System of Muslim Rulers
  - vi. Patronage of Muslim Rulers
  - vii. Role of Sufis
4. Conclusion

### Introduction:

The Advent of Islam in the subcontinent is a unique feature of the world, because it brought an interaction between the Arab Muslims and the Indians. This interaction was later led towards the formation of Indo-Muslim civilization, which brought many changes all over the world through their exchange of knowledge. In this way, this interaction was not a sudden event, rather it was a gradual process, taking place in many centuries. It assumed a great specific character assuming various such philosophical interpretative appeal, "Religion is a blend of revelations and indigenous culture."

## 2. Point of view of Aziz Ahmad:

Aziz Ahmad, a scholar, has manifested, in detail, three distinct phases about the coming of Muslims in the subcontinent.

### i. Indo-Arab Trade Relationship:

Before the emergence of Islam, Indians and Arabs had established economic ties and trade relationship. The Indian land had always remained popular for the spices and other raw materials. As we know that Arabs were a nation of merchants and traders due to their geographical nature, their economic life was dependent upon the trading activities, which they carried out throughout the world. It is because of their merchants activities, the Arabs knew the trade routes all over the world, which they had set for their merchant activities with the other countries.

As far as the Arab-Indian trade route was concerned, the Arab traders and merchants used to go to Yemen from the Indian ports, from Yemen to Syria through land, from Syrian ports to Egypt and then from Egypt to Southern Europe through shipping. The Indian products had their access to International market through Arabs. This trading contact between the Muslims and the Hindus was dated back before Islam.

Before the emergence of Islam, the Arab traders and community had settled along *Malabar*. As a community, they were also performing their religious creeds, socio-cultural, political and commercial practices. But after the arrival of Islam, those Arabs now converted into Muslims and began spending their lives according to the principles and guidance of Islam. Resultantly, Malabar became a center of Muslims' activities and started their obligations set by Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be upon Him) in social, economic, commercial and cultural life. Now those Arab temporary residences were converted into permanent settlements, which was an advent and beginning of Muslim culture in the subcontinent. Therefore, this pre-Islamic Indo-Arab trade relationship became an invisible force for the spread of Islam in the subcontinent.

### ii. Expanding wave of Muslim conquest:

During the time of Ummayyad dynasty, various Muslim generals like Musa bin Nusair, Tariq bin Ziad and Muhammad bin Qasim etc. were sent to various parts of the world for the spread of Islam. In this way, the Islamic empire witnessed many geographical changes during the Ummayyad period. During the period of Caliph Abdul Malik, Hajjaj bin Yousaf, Viceroy of Eastern Arabia, sent Mohammad bin Qasim for the conquest of Sindh. From Sindh to



Multan, Mohammad bin Qasim conquered the areas and established a direct contact between the Arab and Indian civilization. It was a direct land link between these civilizations. Later, Sindh remained for one hundred and fifty years (150) attached with the Arab civilization. During this period, it became "*Bab-ul-Islam*" (Door to Islam) for the people of subcontinent.

### iii. Organized Form of Muslim Arrival:

In the third phase, a conquest-cum-immigration movement was witnessed in the subcontinent. From the eleventh century to the sixteenth century, the Muslim influx came from the North Asia via Afghanistan. During the period of Mahmood Ghazni, Punjab became a part of Ghazna Empire. After an interval of about 160 years of Mahmood Ghazni arrival, Mohammad Ghauri established a small Islamic state and extended its boundaries towards the Central Asia. Meanwhile Iqbal-ud-din Khilji, a great Muslim general, conquered the areas of Bengal and Bihar and made it a part of early Islamic state in the subcontinent. The beginning of slave dynasty also provided an organized form of Muslim society, when Qutab-ud-din Aibak conquered the North India, Delhi and Lahore and extended the boundaries of the state and started to convert it into an empire. Later Sultans of Delhi like *Ghiyas-ud-din Balban*, *Ala-ud-din Khilji*, *Feroz Shah Tughlag*, *Mohammad bin Tughlaq* etc. also contributed their due role in the expansion of the Islamic empire. Later the Mughal rulers like Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzaib Alamgir rendered invaluable services for the strength of the Islamic empire in the sub-continent.

Of the thirty five Sultans belonging to five dynasties who sat on the throne of Delhi during a period of 300 years, nineteen were assassinated by Muslim rebels. In spite of rebellions, these kings were able to establish Islamic egalitarian society in the Sub-continent. During the Sultanate period, the achievements of Muslims are incomparable in the history. Their application of the principle of egalitarian society and preaching's of Islam had conquered a vast area in a short time. All the area between Delhi and Bengal had been conquered and by the first decade of the fourteenth century all the Sub continent had been conquered. Islamic rules and traditions had converted an unorganized and indecent society into an organized and peaceful society. Each and every field was highly influenced by Islamic culture, traditions and teachings. Under this Islamic influence there was tremendous development in each area. Whether it is economy, administration, culture, religion or social sector, Islam had changed the way of life and the system of administration.

The organized form of Muslim influx towards the sub-continent could be divided into two distinct episodes; Delhi

Sultanate (1206-1526) and the Mughal phase (1526-1857). The Delhi Sultanate phase was dominated by the Turko-Afghan elements, who maintained aloofness from the native population of India. But the Mughal period was dominated by the Persian-cum-Khurasani elements. They introduced the liberal policies, which resulted into the Indo-Muslim civilization. The Muslim Mughal rulers tried their level best to assimilate with the local population of India, so Akbar the Emperor brought the concept of Din-i-Ilahi and introduced such administrative structure in which Hindu Rajputs were given share in it. Resultantly, the policy of toleration became a catalyst for the consolidation of Islamic empire in the subcontinent. It is because of their impacts of policy of toleration that Muslims rulers over the Subcontinent for centuries.

### 3. Factors for emergence of Muslim society

Followings were the evolutionary factors, which gave birth to Indo-Muslim civilization in the subcontinent.

#### i. Assimilative Capacity of Islam:

In the subcontinent, Hinduism had a great capacity to absorb the cultural, religious, social values of any religion, but Islam and the Muslim resisted such type of assimilation in the subcontinent. Even Hinduism absorbed Jainism and Buddhism on the soil of the subcontinent. Hindus preserved and accommodated everyone on the Indian soil, but Islam gave a new vision about life. Due to this vision, the Muslims did not intermingle with the Hindus.

#### ii. Fresh flow of new ideas:

Islam gave fresh flow of new ideas in the rotten society of India. Hindus used to practice many gods. They were polytheistic, whereas the Muslims were the practicing of one God. They were monotheistic. Hindus promoted an unequal and in judicial system in India. In India, Hinduism favours the division of society into classes, but Islam does not divide life into watertight compartments such as divine, classes, temporal, material, spiritual etc. In Islam, there is no bifurcation between spirit and matter, church and state. They form a part of integrated whole. Islam maintains a balance between individualism and collectivism.

#### iii. Islamic teachings:

In India, there existed no such a religion, which could give answer to the basic questions of individuals. But Islam gave solution to all questions of life. Islam is an aggregate of collective teachings as provided by Quran and Sunnah. It aims at the development of



## 6 Rethinking Pakistan Affairs

society based on the injunctions of Islam. Islam is a universal religion and its message is not meant for any specific race, territory and community. It is enshrined in human values and caters for the requirements of all human beings.

### iv. Great Appeal to down-trodden classes:

The arrival of Islam in the subcontinent had a great appeal for the down trodden classes and sections of the Indian society, which were neglected and were considered unfit for administrative as well as other functions of the society. Hinduism was based on such a class system, consisted of the following classes i.e. *Brahmins, Vaish, Khashtaris, Shudras*. It favoured and provided privileges to the *Brahmins, Vaish, Khashtaris*, but neglected *Shudras* as a class. Having the majority population of India *Shudras* had no representation and voice in the socio-economic and politico-religious matters of India. Meanwhile Hinduism also annoyed the followers of other Indian religions like Buddhism and Jainism. Therefore the weakest sections of the Indian society were waiting for a saviour, who would safeguard their interests.

### v. Administrative System of Muslim Rulers:

The Muslim rulers ruled over the subcontinent for five centuries. During this era, they also patronized the Islamic practices and teachings in the empire. Education is a compulsory and almost religious component and key factor behind the propagation of Islam in the world. The Muslim government took keen interest was taken for the establishment of institutions. The Muslim rulers opened various educational institutions and madrasahs, which gave the Islamic teaching and learning to the Indian people. System of free education was developed and special grants and scholarships were presented to eminent teachers for increasing their interest for learning. The children of nobles were taught in their own houses by private "Maullims". Madrasahs were also set up by pious and public spirited rulers.

The Muslim rulers introduced the welfare state system in India, following the basic and essential principles of Islam like *Zakat, Fast, Sadqat* etc. All the sectors of the economy flourished including agriculture, industrial and commerce during the Muslim rulers.

### vi. Patronage of Muslim Rulers:

The defense of the empire by the Muslim rulers also played a decisive role for strengthening the Muslim society in the subcontinent. The Muslims wars against the enemies of empire are considered such wars in which they defended the sovereignty of the

Muslim empire. Through the successive military campaigns, Mahmood Ghaznavi, Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, Muhammad bin Tughluq etc. established the Muslim rule over the most of the Hindu areas of central and southern India by 1330. Particularly Muhammad bin Tughluq's brief rule and expansive empire permanently influenced southern India by encouraging Muslim settlement there. The Muslim rulers' steps against Mongols, Hindu Rajputs etc are also the contributing factor behind the formation and strength of the Muslim empire.

### vii. Role of Sufis:

In India, the Sufis and saints played very notable role in the propagation of Islamic teachings. There were four prominent orders of sainthood in India known as Nakshbandia, Suharwardia, Qadria and Chistia. During the Sultans of Delhi, the Sufis of Delhi and Multan spread the message of *Sulha-i-kul* (unitedness for all) irrespective of their religious dogmas and ethos. The prominent sufis at that time were *Shah Rukn-e-Alm, Shah Hamdam, Gasoo Daraz, Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Baha-ud-din Zikriya Multani, Fareed-ud-din Shakar Ganj (Pakpattan), Hazrat Usman Hajveri (Data Ganj Baksh), Sachal Sir Mast, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Shah Abdul Latif Bhatai, Mueenud-din Chisti, Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Mian Mir* etc. *Mujadid Alf Sani* and *Shah Wali Ullah* rendered valuable services for the reformation of Muslim society and provided a counterpoise against the *Din-i-Illahi* and the *Bhakti* movement. Their commendable role influenced the ruling authority at that time.

In an era of Delhi Sultanate, heaviest concentration of Muslim population was away from the metropolitan cities of Agra, Lahore and Delhi. This is a positive proof that Islam was not spread through political power. It was spread in these regions as a result of the peaceful missionary activities of "Ulema-i- Akram". They had later consolidated the power of Muslims in various parts of the country.

### 4. Conclusion:

The Advent of Islam in the subcontinent assumed a specific character, because it resulted into the formation of Indo-Muslim civilization. It was not a sudden change; rather it was a gradual process. This gradual process of Muslim arrival produced an Islamic society in the subcontinent. Later on the basis of separate religious entity, the Muslims raised their voice for a separate state for themselves.





## Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani (1564-1624)

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Early Life
3. Khilafat of Chistia and Naqashbandia
4. Diagnose the Evils of Muslim Society
5. Reformation of Muslim Society by Sheikh
  - i. Sending a Number of Disciples
  - ii. Opposition to Atheism
  - iii. Opposition to *Din-i-illahi*
  - iv. Rectification in mysticism
  - v. Sheikh Ahmad's letters
  - vi. Sheikh Ahmad and Two Nation Theory
  - vii. To settle differences between scholars and Mystics
  - viii. Propagation of Simple Habits
6. Influence of Sheikh Ahmad's Efforts
  - i. Propagation of Islam
  - ii. Powerful writings against Akbar
  - iii. Pioneer of Muslim self-assertion
  - iv. Sheikh influence upon the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir
  - v. Protagonist of Two Nation Theory
  - vi. Emphasis on Oneness of Allah (Tuheed)
7. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

“History itself is an evidence of the fact that whenever Islam came at any danger by agencies either from its enemies or from ideology; it was saved by such personalities who through their spiritual power not only saved it, but gave it a new life,” such is the story of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

### 2. Early Life:

Mujadid Alf Sani's real name was *Sheikh Ahmad Sirhind*. As a descendent of Second Caliph, Hazrat Umer (RA), he was a prominent disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billa. He took birth at Sirhind in East Punjab on June 26, 1564. He got his early education from Sirhind and Sialkot. In his childhood, he memorized Quran, Hadith, Tafsir and Ma'qul (philosophy). *Sheikh Ahmad* got spiritual training from Baqi Billa, who encouraged his tremendous spiritual activities. Baqi Billa bestowed Khalifat on him. He also predicted about Sheikh, “He will turn into a light which will illuminate the whole world.” He was the only person, who received khilafat from his father, *Sheikh Abd-al-Ahad* in two Sufi orders, *Chistia* and *Naqashbandia* orders. He died on 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1624.

### 3. Diagnose the Evils of Muslim Society:

Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi was the first person, who diagnosed the evils of Muslims society. He described the following evils, which were prevalent in the Indian society;

- a) Un-Islamic practices of Karamat under the Hindu influence
- b) Denying authenticity of Sharia as superficial and adoption of jurisprudence as only real knowledge
- c) Promotion of Rajputs and marriage with their daughters during the Akbar's era
- d) *Din-i-illahi* was a great danger to Islam and Akbar himself assumed the title of “Mujadid Azam” and “Imam-i-Adil”. This religious dogmatic system of Akbar greatly affected the beliefs of the Indian Muslims.

S.M. Ikram has rightly said about Shaikh Sahab, “Khawaja Baqi Billah's principal disciple, *Shaikh Ahmad* of Sirhind, was in many respects abler than his *Murshid*, and had been greatly embittered by Akbar's religious innovation.”<sup>1</sup>

### 4. Reformation of Muslim Society:

It was a great challenge for Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi to bring reforms in the Indian society. His objective was to purify the Indian Muslims from the un-Islamic practices, which had adopted by the Muslims with the passage of time.

#### i. Sending a Number of Disciples:

For the purification of Indian Muslim society, he sent a number of his disciples to various places of India. They spread such teachings in which the emphasis was made on the “*Ittihat-i-*

<sup>1</sup> Ikram, S.M., *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, (Oxford University Press, Karachi), p.179



*Sunnah*." During their sermons, they gave the examples of Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) and Shariat. They also stressed to follow Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) in their lives and worldly practices.

## ii. Opposition to Atheism and Polytheism:

Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi strongly opposed polytheism and Atheism and openly denounced its conception. Rather he started preaching of Tauheed (Oneness of Allah). In his letter to a Hindu *Hurvey Ram*, Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi wrote, "Ram and Krishan and such like personalities who the Hindus worship are the humble creation of God. They were born of their parents. Ram was the son of Jasereth. Laxmin was his brother. He was Sita's husband. When Ram could not protect his own wife, how could he help others? How can the creator and the creatures be considered as one."

## iii. Opposition to Din-i-illahi:

*Shaikh Ahmad* became very popular among the common masses, when he started ridiculing the *Din-i-illahi* introduced by Mughal Emperor, Akbar the Great. Through his forceful articles, he exposed its fallacy and also predicted its dangerous effects for the future generation.

## iv. Rectification in Mysticism:

*Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi* explained the fact that mysticism without Shariat was a misleading concept. He told the difference between *Wilayat* (Sainthood) and *Nabuwat* (Prophethood). In this way, he snatched a differing opinion regarding the sainthood and Prophethood and tried to rectify the un-Islamic practices in mysticism.

## v. Sheikh Ahmad's letters:

Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi wrote letters to the leading nobles of the Royal Court. These letters are known as "*Muktubat-i-Islam Rabani*". Through these letters, he addressed to the leading nobles like *Sheikh Farid*, *Khan-i-Khana*, *Sar-i-Jahan* and *Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana*.

## vi. Sheikh Ahmad and Two Nation Theory:

At that time, the concept of joint nationalism was prevalent under the Indian nobility and religious leadership. In order to save the Muslim separate identity, Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi advocated the exclusiveness and separatedness of the Muslims. He adopted a stern action against the Hindus. It shows he was the pioneer of Two Nation Theory in India.

## vii. Propagation of Simple Habits:

Wherever he sent his disciples, they stressed upon the Muslims for the adoption of simple habits in their lives. They revealed the importance of Namaz and Fast in Islam. **Mujadid Alf Sani** openly opposed *Din-i-illahi*, because he opined that, *Din-i-illahi* and Hinduism brought various heretical customs and practices in the Indian Muslim practices.

## viii. Sheikh influence upon Mughal Emperor, Jahangir:

Sheikh Ahmad achieved great popularity and influence among the masses. But on the advice of his Prime Minister, Jahangir, the Mughal Emperor, imprisoned him in the fort of Gwalior. The reason was that Sheikh did not perform the act of Sajda to Jahangir and refused on the plea that Islam did not allow to bow before the human beings. After two years, he was released.

## 5. Influence of Sheikh Ahmad's Efforts:

### i. Propagation of Islam:

The movement of Mujadid gave a new spirit and impetus to the propagation of Islam in the sub-continent. "Shaikh Ahmad became not only a champion of Islamic revival, but adopted a spirited, almost an aggressive, attitude towards non-Muslims and even those Muslims who did not belong to Sunni school."<sup>2</sup>

### ii. Powerful Writings Against Akbar:

He wrote powerful writings and criticized the religious dogmas introduced by Akbar in the shape of *Din-i-illahi*. He became very popular among the common masses due to propagation of his writings. He forcefully denounced the Akbar's policies by writing his letters. In one of his letters to his letters to *Sheikh Farid*, he wrote, "The monarch is to the world (state) as the heart is to the body. If the heart remains pure, it keeps the body as well pure. The purity or impurity of the state depends upon its ruler. You are aware of what the Muslims have suffered in the previous reign....in the previous (Akbar's) reign the infidels forced pagan practices on this Muslim land and the Muslims were prevented from observing their religious commandments."<sup>3</sup>

### iii. Pioneer of Muslim self-assertion:

He is considered the pioneer of Muslim self-assertion and started denouncing un-Islamic practices, which were prevalent among the Indian Muslims. His teachings bore fruit in the reign of

<sup>2</sup> Ikram, S.M., *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, (Oxford University Press, Karachi), p.179

<sup>3</sup> Quraishi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan* (Karachi, 2000), p.194



Aurangzeb. Some historians say that Aurangzeb was a disciple of *Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, the son and successor of Shaikh Ahmad. This cannot be verified, though the letters of the Khwaja contain a long epistle addressed to Prince *Aurangzeb Alamgir*.

#### iv. Impact of Sheikh upon Jahangir, Mughal Emperor:

The reason was that Sheikh did not perform the act of Sajda to Jahangir and refused on the plea that Islam did not allow him to bow before the human beings. After two years, he was released. Later Jahangir requested *Mujadid Alf Sani* to guide him in the matters of religion. So *Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani* became his Religious guider. On Mujadid advise, Jahangir constructed a magnificent mosque.

#### v. Protagonist of Two Nation Theory:

Due to his efforts, concept of Two Nation Theory got currency in the subcontinent. The prevailing period of Akbar showed that the concept of joint nationalism was going to be popular among the Indian nobility and religious leadership. In order to save the Muslim separate identity,

*Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi* advocated the exclusiveness and separateness of the Muslims. He stressed upon the Muslim self-assertion and started denouncing un-Islamic practices, which were prevalent among the Indian Muslims. He adopted a stern action against the Hindus. It shows he was the pioneer of Two Nation Theory in India. *I.H. Quraishi* mentions "Mujadid laid great stress on the wide and unbridgeable gulf between Islam and Hinduism."<sup>4</sup>

#### 6. Conclusion:

From the above mentioned discussion, it may be concluded, "Sheikh Ahmad was a courageous agitator and a revolutionary religious reformer. He wrote epistles of anti-Islamic activities carried on during the regime of Akbar. He campaigned for full-blooded enforcement of Shariah laws, through epistle of nobles, lectures and discourse to common man."

His movement became the symbol of unity. "Mujadid" according to Iqbal, "the call-back of Prophethood," became pioneer of religious movement. It was under the influence of the movement of Mujadid Alf Sani that the future movement of reforms and revival represented by *Shah Wali Ullah* and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan ultimately made this headway to the destination of Pakistan movement.



<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.194

## Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1762)

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Early Life
3. Vision or Strategy
4. Religious Services
  - i. Translation of Quran in Persian
  - ii. Efforts against Sectarianism
  - iii. Moderation
  - iv. Pruning of Sufism
  - v. Stress on Jihad
  - vi. School for Hadith
  - vii. Institutional Basis
5. Intellectual Services
  - i. Steps against Muslim Intellectual Stagnation
  - ii. Stress on Ijtihad
6. Political Services
  - i. Identification of causes of Muslim Decline
  - ii. Rising Power of Jats, Sikhs and Marhata
  - iii. Calling Ahmad Shah Abdali
  - iv. Political Consciousness through writings
  - v. Resistance for Muslim absorption in Hinduism
7. Social Services
  - i. Steps for *Fak-ul-Nizam*
  - ii. Message for realization of duties
  - iii. Step wise revolution
  - iv. Supporter of economic justice
  - v. Application of Quran
- \* 8. Impact of Shah Wali Ullah
  - i. Propagator of the Muslim Regeneration
  - ii. Dissemination of the true Spirit of Islam
  - iii. Steps against Sectarian Conflicts
  - iv. Founder of a Separate State



- v. Training of a galaxy of Scholars
  - vi. Influence upon Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
  - vii. Understanding of Quran
  - viii. Political uplift of the Muslims
9. Conclusion

## Introduction

*H. Quraishi* describes, "It was in the atmosphere of thickening gloom and growing desolation that the founder of the third school of thought *Shah Wali Ullah* flourished. He was one of the most original and constructive thinkers of the period with a clear appreciation of political realities."<sup>1</sup> *Shah Wali Ullah* made utmost efforts to construct the ideological foundation for the revivalism of Muslim identity and Muslim state.

*Shah Wali Ullah* rendered invaluable services for the social, political and religious regeneration of the Muslim society. He not only correctly diagnosed the ills of the Indian Muslim, but also produced effective remedies against the future malaise. The departure of Aurangzeb from the scene of Mughal Empire created havoc not only for the future of Mughal Empire but also for the future Islam and Muslims of India.

### 1. Early Life:

*Shah Wali Ullah* was born on 21 February 1703 in Delhi. His father *Abd-ur-Rahim* was held in high esteem for his learning and piety. He completed his formal education under the loving care of his father at the age of fifteen and was later initiated in the *Naqshbandiya silsilah*. Soon after, he was permitted to teach others at the *Madrasah-i-Rahimiyah*, established by his father.

After the death of *Abd-ur-Rahim*, *Shah Wali Ullah* continued teaching for twenty years. This was a critical period in the history of Muslims in the subcontinent. According to Allama Iqbal, he was the first Muslim "to find the urge of a new spirit in him." *Shah Wali Ullah* went to *Makkah* for pilgrimage in 1730 and achieved education from the best and the leading Muslim divines of the world. He died in 1762.

*I.H. Qureshi* describes that, "What he saw of the Muslim people there deeply affected him and the social, political and spiritual decline of the Muslims at home and abroad confirmed him

<sup>1</sup> I.H. Quraishi, *A Short History of Pakistan* (Karachi, 2000), p. 195

in his belief that it was high time to re-interpret Islam and popularize Islamic values amongst the Muslims."<sup>2</sup>

### 2. Vision or Strategy:

It was impossible for *Shah Wali Ullah* to remain indifferent, aloof and unaffected by the prevailing situation. So he pondered the prevailing situation of India and wanted "to carve out a straight way of knowledge and action out of the jungle of confused ideas and thoughts."

### 3. Religious Services:

*Shah Wali Ullah* observed that the prevailing Muslim degeneration was due to the fact that the Muslims had drifted away from Islam. So he rendered the invaluable services for the regeneration of the Muslims in the subcontinent.

#### i. Translation of Quran in Persian:

*Shah Wali Ullah* wanted to reorganize the society through the translation of Quran in a local language. Because he viewed that after the translation of Quran, the people would be able to understand the message of Allah, though it was considered an unlawful work viewed by some religious clerics. Therefore he translated Quran in Persian language.

In his famous book "*Fuz-ul-Harmin*", *Shah Wali Ullah* stressed for the utility of Quranic translation. A famous historian, *Waheed-uz-Zaman* wrote about him, he was "the only man who had done this and earned permanent gratitude among the Indian Muslims." It was due to the translation of Quran in local language that an extensive study of Holy Quran was begun in the subcontinent.

#### ii. Efforts against Sectarianism:

*Shah Wali Ullah* started efforts against the sectarianism. He opined that there would be no progress in the society if the harmful controversies between the Shias and the Sunnis on the one hand and squabbles between various classes of Sunnis on the other hand were not eliminated. He introduced his conception of "*Izalat-ul-Khifa*" and "*Khilafat-ul-Khulfa*", so a sense of balance could be restored among the both sects, Shias and Sunnis.

In his book "*Qurat-ul-Ain*", he propagated three common grounds like God, Quran and Prophet among the both sects. A famous historian and scholar, *I.H. Quraishi*, commented, "*Shah Wali Ullah* tried to reconcile basic differences amongst the different

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 195



sections of Muslims and he considered government as an essential means and agency for the regeneration of Muslim society."<sup>3</sup>

### iii. Efforts for Moderation:

*Shah Wali Ullah* tried to discard the path of extremism and introduced a balance between four schools of thoughts by the application of moderation school of thoughts. He also worked for bringing about a workable synthesis without showing any partiality for any one among the four schools of Sunni law. A prominent historian and scholar, *Waheed-uz-Zaman*, describes about his role, "His approach was so liberal that it was difficult to know as to which school of *Fiqh* he himself belongs." He also disapproved the blind adherence to the traditional school of law.

### iv. Pruning of Sufism:

*Shah Wali Ullah* wanted to shun the Islamic practices from its Greek overtone and Hindu growth, so that Islamic practices could be harmonized with the *Shariat*. He also resolved controversies between law and mysticism. He tried to reconcile controversies between Sufis and Ulemas about *Wahadat-ul-Wajud* and *Wahadat-ul-Shahud*.

### v. Stress on Jihad:

He opined that it was necessary for the Muslims to revive their habits of Jihad, so that the glory of Islam and that of the Muslims could be achieved. So he stressed upon the beginning of Jihad for the revival of their glorious past. *I.H. Quraishi*, a well-known historian and scholar, mentions, "To give up the life of ease, draw the sword and not to it till; distinction is established between true faith and infidelity, and the infidels are punished and they are rendered unable to raise their heads again."<sup>4</sup>

### vi. Foundation of Institutional Basis:

*Shah Wali Ullah* also established various schools and madaris for the Islamic learning. In this way, he took practical steps for the revival of Islamic learning by establishing the educational institutions. His step provided the basis of institutions basis for the Islamic education among the Muslims.

## 4. Intellectual Services:

*Shah Wali Ullah* played very notable role in creating the intellectual revolution among the Indian Muslims, so that the Muslims could enhance their prestige and revive their glorious past. For this purpose, he wrote 26 major works in Persian and 25 in Arabic languages respectively.

<sup>3</sup> I.H. Quraishi, *A Short History of Pakistan* (Karachi, 2000), p.198

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

### i. Steps against Muslim Intellectual Stagnation:

He recommended the application of *Ijtihad* as against *blind taqlid*. He observed that it was the need of intellectual revolution for the truly Islamic state. Under radically altered circumstances, he preached not to ignore the link between the past and the present. Rather his prime purpose was to renovate the traditional structure, not to abolish it.

### ii. Stress on Ijtihad:

*Shah Wali Ullah* opined that the Muslims had confined themselves to the teachings of just four caliphs and had neglected the concept of *Ijtihad*. A famous scholar and historian, *I.H. Quraishi* describes in his book, "*A Short History of Pakistan*", "Believing in the universalism of Islam, he wanted to interpret Islam in time and place."<sup>5</sup> He tried to address the intellectual query whether "conformity" was valid or "*Ijtihad*" was necessary. He developed a dialectic, Quranic in spirit and rational in approach.

## 5. Political Services:

*I. H. Quraishi* mentions, "The movement of *Shah Wali Ullah*, the first of its kind in the subcontinent, like similar movements in other Muslim lands, had its object to arrest the internal deterioration of the Muslim society and defending it against external encroachment. Essentially a theologian and a religious reformer, he had realized that if Islamic ideals were to be realized, some sort of a new approach was essential in face of the new confrontation."<sup>6</sup>

### i. Identification of causes of Muslim Decline

A well-known historian and scholar, *S.M. Ikram* describes, "He was the first Muslim who identified the causes of Muslim decline."<sup>7</sup> *Shah Wali Ullah* pointed out the following causes of the Muslim decline in the subcontinent;

- a) Incompetent rulers
- b) Lust for power
- c) Burden of taxation
- d) Feudalism
- e) Bankruptcy (plundering of property)

*Shah Wali Ullah* describes in his famous book, "*Hujjat-Ullah-il-Bilagah*", "Pressure on the public treasury which is due to the fact that the people have developed a habit of obtaining money

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p.195

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.197

<sup>7</sup> S.M. Ikram, *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (Oxford University Press, Karachi), p.183



from the exchequer without performing any corresponding duty....These people diminish the sources of other people's income and are a burden on the economy."<sup>8</sup>

- a) Licentiousness of nobility
- b) Depredation of non-Muslims
- c) Sectarian conflicts
- d) Heavy taxation upon peasants, merchants and workers

In his famous book, "*Hujjat-Ullah-il-Bilagah*", *Shah Wali Ullah* describes, the other issue of the widespread deterioration "is the heavy taxation of the peasants, merchants and workers and unjust dealings with these groups.....the prosperity of a state depends upon light taxes and reasonable and necessary appointments in the army and other departments."<sup>9</sup>

When asked as how to end was to be achieved he replied, "by discarding the outdated socio-political order". No other statesman or thinker had so carefully studied and so scientifically analysed the causes of the social and economic malaise as *Shah Wali Ullah* did."<sup>10</sup>

## ii. Steps against Rising Power of Non-Muslims:

*Shah Wali Ullah* had seen the horrors of Delhi successively by the Jats, the Sikhs and the Persians under Nadir Shah. The prospects of an interruption of the *Marhatas* had filled princes and people alike with fear and frantic efforts were made by some of northern rulers to form a league against the common foe.

## iii. Calling Ahmad Shah Abdali:

*Shah Wali Ullah* also took the responsibility to counter the Muslim decline. There was no leader strong enough whom everyone could trust and the Mughal emperor had neither the means nor the ambition to lead the opposition. Ahmad Shah Abdali was the only hope at such a juncture beyond the frontiers for a saviour and he seemed to be a good choice. *Shah Wali Ullah* made an appeal to him to intervene for the help to the Muslims of India. Therefore in 1761, Ahmad Shah Abdali, in response to *Shah Wali Ullah's* call, inflicted a crushing defeat on the *Marhattas* at Panipat and provided a great loss this constant threat to the crumbling Mughal Empire.

## iv. Political Consciousness through Writings:

He wrote about 50 books, trained a group of Ulemas, established several branches of his school at Delhi and prepared

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.196-197

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.197

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p.196

the ground for a wider and more effective dissemination of his ideas. His activities and writings spread political consciousness among the Muslims of the subcontinent.

*S.M. Ikram*, a famous and well known historian, describes that "*Shah Wali Ullah* wrote books on practically all the important Islamic subjects such as Exegesis of the Holy Quran (*Tafsir*), Traditions of the Holy Prophet (*Hadis*), Islamic Law, Islamic History, and Sufism. The books were all so marked by profound scholarship, balanced outlook, and the ability to appreciate and synthesize conflicting points of view, that they became standard text books in these branches of Islamic studies."<sup>11</sup>

## v. Resistance for Muslim absorption in Hinduism:

Every subsequent political, social and religious movement may be traced back to him and it was he who laid the emotional and intellectual foundations of the movement for national independence. In this way, he provided the basis for resistance for Muslim absorption in Hinduism. *Shah Wali Ullah* was a realist in his political thinking, "who had a clear insight into the intimate relations between ethics, politics and economics. He made a passionate appeal to all classes of the society to realise the danger which threatened them and prepare themselves to face it squarely."<sup>12</sup>

## 6. Social Services:

*Shah Wali Ullah* also uplifted the standard of the norms and values of the society in the subcontinent;

### i. Steps for Fak-ul-Nizam:

*Shah Wali Ullah* thought that the degeneration of the Muslims was due to the negligence of religious practices. *Shah Wali Ullah* proposed *Fak-ul-Nizam*, which meant full-fledged revolution. He observed that no progress would be made without reformation in the Muslim society.

### ii. Message for realization of duties:

*Shah Wali Ullah* addressed the rulers, nobles, Ulemas, traders and common men to recognize their duties and obligations. He told the rich, their wealth was futile, if it was not used for the purpose of Islam. He especially addressed to the three classes (a) rulers, (b) nobles and (c) army. *S.M. Ikram* describes that "besides a well-read and balanced scholar, he was a social reformer. He criticized the extravagant habits and other social iniquities which

<sup>11</sup> Ikram, S.M., *Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, (Oxford University Press, Karachi) p.181

<sup>12</sup> Qureshi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan*, p.198



had crept into Muslim society, and his work was carried on by his sons and grandsons."<sup>13</sup>

### iii. Step wise revolution:

In his famous book, "*Sarat-i-Mustaqeem*", he stressed for the adoption of reforms in the Indian Muslim society. While in his book, "*Tafhimat*", Shah Wali Ullah tried to reform the individual, then class and then the beginning of movement for the Islamic revolution.

### iv. Supporter of Economic justice:

He also advocated proper distribution of wealth and regarded economic justice as the first step for the ethical and social progress.

### v. Application of Quran:

He gave the message that the real subject of Quran was man, so man might ponder about his role in the progress of society. He also thought that no healthy and beneficial society could be produced without the application of spiritual and moral values of Islam.

## 7. Impact of Shah Wali Ullah

The efforts of *Shah Wali Ullah* had multidimensional impacts upon the Muslim community in the subcontinent.

### i. Propagator of the Muslim Regeneration:

It is said that *Shah Wali Ullah* is the propounder of the Muslim regenerated movement. He put the Muslims on a new track, which brought a major change in the religious thinking of the Indians particularly among the Muslims. He is also entitled as "*Imam-ul-Hind*".

### ii. Dissemination of True Spirit of Islam:

According to *S.M. Ikram*, "His writings breathe a spirit of goodwill and are completely free from bitterness not only against the minority groups within Islam but also against the non-Muslims. He did more than anyone else to spread the knowledge of true Islam amongst Muslims and make it a great spiritual and moral force."<sup>14</sup>

### iii. Steps against Sectarian Conflicts:

*Shah Wali Ullah* told and widened the scope of Islam from sectarian controversy to broader issue of nationalism. He wanted to abolish the sectarian conflicts and controversies among the Muslim population in India, so that unity could be maintained among them.

### iv. Founder of a Separate State:

A well-known scholar and historian, *Waheed-uz-Zaman* also recognized him greatest father and precursor of Pakistan, because of his concept of unity of Muslims and prospect of establishing an Islamic order. *Hafeez Malik* opines "He laid the foundation of religious-political philosophy which is still alive in Pakistan. In fact, he is to Pakistan as Martin Luther to Germany."

### v. Training of a galaxy of Scholars:

Shah Wali Ullah had four sons *Shah Rafi-ud-Din*, *Shah Abdul Aziz*, *Shah Abdul Ghani* and *Shah Abdul Qadir*. He trained a galaxy of scholars like *Shah Rafi-ud-Din*, *Shah Ismail Shaheed*, *Syed Ahmad Shaheed*, *Mulana Muhammad Ishaq*, *Shah Abdul Qadir*.

### vi. Influence upon Sir Syed Ahmad Khan:

Some historians claim that his religious message and writings impressed *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan* in the religious matters. And *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan* adopted his policy of toleration and tried to implement it in the subcontinent.

### vii. Understanding of Quran:

In the social and intellectual matters, *Shah Wali Ullah* translated Quran in Persian, which enlarged the understanding of Quran and its *tafsir*. This was his intellectual services for the regeneration of the Muslims in the subcontinent.

### viii. Political uplift of Muslims:

*Shah Wali Ullah* made efforts for the political uplift of Muslims of India. *Shah Wali Ullah* was responsible for awakening in the community the desire to regain its moral fervor and maintain its purity.

## 8. Conclusion

From the above mentioned discussion, it may be concluded that his teachings created awareness of the present dangers and what the future had for the Muslims of the subcontinent. "*Shah Wali Ullah's* position as a theologian and traditionalist is undisputed and unrivalled in the subcontinent."<sup>15</sup> His services and contributions made a live Muslim society and played his role for the regeneration of the Muslims in the sub-continent, "He lived in 18<sup>th</sup> century, but his outlook and approach to the problem of his age belongs to 20<sup>th</sup> century."



<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.181

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Qureshi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan*, p.197



## Saiyid Ahmed Shaheed (1786-1831)

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Early Life
3. Reformation for the Muslim Society
  - A. Religious Reforms
    - i. Beginning of Majaheedin Movement
    - ii. Foundation of *Sharia* State
    - iii. To revive the spirit of Islamic State
    - iv. Stress on Jihad
    - v. Adherence to *Sharia*
    - vi. Resolving the sectarian conflicts
    - vii. Raised the status of women
  - B. Political Services
    - i. Organization of the Society
    - ii. Renaissance of Islam
    - iii. Jihad against the Sikhs
    - iv. Strategy of Syed Ahmed Shaheed
    - v. Making of Alliances
    - vi. Attack on the Sikh rulers
    - vii. Necessity of *Ijtihad*
  - C. Social Reforms
    - i. Necessity of an Imam (Leader)
    - ii. Momentum of His Movement
    - iii. Enforcement of Shariah in Local affairs
    - iv. Collection of Tithe (Usher)
    - v. Strategy of Sayyid Ahmad
4. Causes of failure of his movement
  - i. Failure of coordination
  - ii. Direct conflict with the British
  - iii. Lack of proper funds
  - iv. No system of redistribution of *Ushr*

- v. Harsh Attitude of the Officials
- vi. Opposition of Muslim Pathans
- vii. Lack of modern military training & equipment
- viii. Sikh Conspiracies
- ix. Propaganda of Sikh leaders
5. Impacts
6. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

**S**aiyid Ahmed Shaheed occupies a unique position in the history of the subcontinent, because his practical struggle against the Sikh rulers gained currency throughout the subcontinent. His armed struggle revived the spirit of Jihad among the Indian Muslims. Through his struggle, he tried to bring socio-political revolution in the Indian society. His movement became a beacon of light for the Jehadi Muslims.

The time, in which *Saiyid Ahmed Shaheed*, was going to grow, when the Mughal rule in India had virtually ceased to exist. The Mughal Empire stretched barely beyond the present city of Delhi. The dominant powers of the time were the British Empire through the East India Company, which controlled most of the Northern India, the Marhatta Empire to the south, the Sikh Empire in the north-west and Kashmir, and hundreds of minor kings, maharajas and Nawabs in various parts of the land.

### 2. Early Life of Saiyyid Ahmed Shaheed:

He was the founder and leader of religio-political movement known as Mujahideen Movement. *Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi* was born on 24 October 1786 in Rai Bareli. He moved to Delhi at the age of eighteen and became the follower of Shah Abdul Aziz, son of Shah Wali Ullah. He received the necessary education during his stay at Delhi. He was very much influenced by the ideas and teachings of *Mujaddid-Alf-Sani* and with the principles of Shah Wali'ullah. He acquired essential knowledge of Qur'an and Persian.

In 1812, he joined the army of *Nawab Ameer Khan Toriak* in order to take part in Jihad against the British. During his stay in Mecca in 1821 after performing Hajj, he acquired knowledge of various Islamic Movements of the world and met with the great thinkers of Islam and got knowledge about the movements of Islam in the world. On his return to India, he devoted himself to the cause of Islam. *I.H. Qureshi* describes, "According to *Sirat-ul-Mustagim*, it was after this that he started to enroll disciples and two of the most famous of them were Maulawi Muhammad Isma'il better known as Shah Isma'il Shaheed, the nephew and Maulawi Abdul



Ha'i the son-in-law of Shah Abdul Aziz."<sup>1</sup> He became greatly impressed from this new system of thought for Islam. When he came back on 6 August 1823 to India, he devoted himself for the religious and social reformation of the Muslims and the preparation of Jihad.

#### A. Religious Reforms

The story begins, of all the places, in Rai Brelvi, a town in present day Uttar Pradesh, India and ends in the mountains of Balakot, a town in the far north of Pakistan. It is the story of a man named Syed Ahmed. He was a deeply religious man. He introduced many religious and social reforms for the Indian society. The movement of *Mujahideen* was aimed at the renaissance of Islam in India in the religious as well as political spheres. Due to his services, he became the founder of the "The Way of the Prophet Muhammad" (*Tariqah-i Muhhamdiyah*), a revolutionary Islamic movement.

##### i. Beginning of Mujahideen Movement:

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi began a movement known as "Mujahideen Movement" in the Northern part of India. This movement produced a renaissance and spiritual survival among the Muslims. Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi took his spiritual guidance from Shah Abdul Aziz and devoted himself in the preparation of the holy war. He commenced the movement in 1818 and organized this movement after coming from Hajj. The main objectives of the *Mujahideen* Movement were following:

- a) Preach the belief of Oneness of Almighty Allah.
- b) Revive the teachings of Islam.
- c) Prepare Muslims for spending their lives according to the teachings of Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).

##### ii. Foundation of Sharia State:

The basic purpose of *Mujahideen* Movement was to make Islamic government "should be based on Shariah that bound the Muslims into a single community." The purpose was to govern a Muslim state on the pattern of "Khilafat-i-Rashida".

##### iii. To revive the spirit of Islamic State:

His movement aimed to revive such a state, in which un-Islamic practices and ceremonies like preparation of *Halwa* and firework during Shab-i-Barat, unnecessary expenditures on the occasions of marriage, birth, ceremonial observances etc. were condemned.

<sup>1</sup> I.H. Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan* ( ), p.200

#### iv. Stress on Jihad:

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi laid a great stress on the importance of Jihad for the Muslims. He organized a force of Jihadi Muslims against the Sikhs. Therefore he tried to abolish the Sikh domination in Punjab and N.W.F.P, so that the Islamic values and traditions could be revived.

#### v. Adherence to the 'Sharia':

Syed Ahmad believed in religious and social agenda that had come down to him through his spiritual lineage. Seeking a return to an imagined original Islamic purity, he preached adherence to the 'Sharia' (Islamic law) rather than mystical union with God. He rejected the compromises of faith discernible in established 'Ulema' (religious leaders). He defended monotheism (tauhid) and denied innovation (bid'at).

#### vi. Resolving the sectarian conflicts:

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi made utmost efforts to resolve the conflicts between Shia and Sunni. He also taught the Muslims the message for brotherhood and equality and spread the teachings of Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).

#### vii. Raised the status of women:

Saiyyid Ahmed Shaheed put great emphasis on the importance of women as an important portion of the population. He raised the status of women in the Muslim society.

#### B. Political Services

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi introduced many reforms for the political uplift of the Muslim society in the subcontinent.

##### i. Organization of the Society:

The Islamic state was to be organized by a 'Khilafat -e-Khasa and a 'Khilafat Amma'. The former is conceived as a spiritual super-authority regulating the affairs of the latter, which may be equated with temporal rulers and chiefs. Society was composed of various occupational groups, soldiers, and artisans, traders and agriculturalists as well as the 'Ulema', 'Sufia' and members of aristocracy, whose performance of their duty kept society in equilibrium.

##### ii. Renaissance of Islam:

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi tried to bring the spirit of renaissance among the Muslims of the subcontinent. Therefore, he enforced the Islamic laws in those areas, which were controlled by Syed Ahmed Shaheed and his followers.



iii. *Jehad against Sikhs:*

As far as the political aspect is concerned, his movement was directed against the Sikh rulers. In Punjab and North West Frontier Province, these Sikhs used to interfere in the religious practices of the Muslim. Therefore, he planned a holy war (jihad) against the Sikh rulers.

iv. *Strategy of Syed Ahmed Shaheed:*

Syed Ahmad's strategy was to defeat the Sikhs at Balakot and then march on to Kashmir next door. His starry-eyed optimism is evident from one of his last letters which he wrote to the Nawab of Tonk in India as a gesture of support and sympathy, who was housing Syed Sahib's two wives as guests on his estate.

v. *Making of Alliances:*

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi took steps like visits to far-flung areas. For this purpose, he came to Sindh in 1826 and sought help from Syed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagara. He sent a strong contingent of his staunch followers called "Hurs" for the help of Syed Ahmed Shaheed. Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi left his family under the protection of Pir Pagara and proceeded towards Jihad without any worry about his family.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi reached *Nowshera* after passing through Afghanistan, the Khyber Pass and Peshawar in December 1826. He visited the *Gwalior, Tonk, Ajmer, Panipat, Karnal, Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan*. Syed Sahib tried to enter into alliances with the local chiefs and khans, often unreliable, to gain their support for his Jihad. He managed to raise an "army" of mujahideen, who engaged in a few skirmishes with the Sikhs and also launched night raids on a few towns, notably *Akora Khattak* and *Hazro*. "His choice of NWFP as a launching pad for the jihad was based on the assumptions that it was predominantly a Muslim area bordering on another Muslim state, Afghanistan, which its people had a reputation of being good warriors, and they were unhappy with the Sikh rule and ready to take up arms against them."

He received dedicated support from the people during his visit for his cause. *Shah Ismail Shaheed* and *Abdul Hai* in the NWFP and *Keramat Ali, Inayet Ali, and Velayet Ali* from the Central Province also joined him in his Movement. *I.H. Qureshi* describes that "He appears to have been well supplied with recruits and money from Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Bihar through a remarkable organization"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I.H. Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan*, p.200

*Shah Ismail Shaheed* along with six thousand followers also joined Syed Ahmed in his Jihad against evil forces. *Syed Ahmed Shaheed* toured different areas around Delhi and Punjab, where number of his followers joined him. The first battle against the Sikhs was fought on December 21, 1826 near Akora. The Sikhs were defeated. The second battle was fought at Hazro. It was also won by the Muslims. These victories inspired a number of Pathan tribes to join Jihad Movement. The number of Mujahideen rose to 80,000. Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi was given the status of "Amir-ul-Momineen".

vi. *Attack on the Sikh rulers:*

With the help of his Mujahideens, he made an attack on the Sikh forces in 1826. The leader of Sikh forces, *Budh Singh*, was defeated in the war and many Sikhs were also killed. With his movement, Peshawar was captured in 1830.

vii. *Necessity of Ijtihad:*

Personal reasoning (Ijtihad) was necessary to deal with new and unforeseen events. Importantly, *Syed Ahmad Brelvi* was exposed due to his interpretations of the nature of society and relation between religion and state, which shows that he was influenced by the teachings of *Shah Waliullah*. Monarchy, as opposed to the early elective tradition of Islam and the cessation of 'Ijtihad' had much to do with prevailing state of affairs.

C. *Social Reforms*

Syed Ahmad Shaheed also performed the role as a protagonist for the social uplift of the Muslims in the subcontinent through his preachings:

i. *Necessity of an Imam (Leader):*

"It was accordingly decided by all those present at the time, faithful followers, sayyids, learned doctors of law, nobles and generality of Muslims that the successful establishment of 'Jihad' and the dispelling of disbelief and disorder could not be achieved without the election of an 'Imam'".

ii. *Momentum of His Movement:*

This moment of religiously inspired unity attracted the allegiance of *maliks*, shareholders and even the governors of Peshawar. But the illusion was soon shattered when, during the next clash with Sikh troops, at the south of Akora, the Peshawar rulers withdrew their support and *Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi* and his followers had to take refuge in the northern hills of Peshawar. In their fine details, the events of these years revealed a fragmented *Yusufzai and Mandanr* support for Sayyid Ahmad's movements.



**iii. Enforcement of Shariah in Local affairs:**

Social concerns, and a combination of pressure and support from Sikh generals and Peshawar governors, forced a range of local decisions, while presenting new opportunities. In 1829 at the peak of his local influence, Sayyid Ahmad obtained agreement that the khans and general public would administer their principalities according to the laws of the Shariat and would give up the customary practices.

**iv. Collection of Tithe (Usher):**

The decisive moments for Sayyid Ahmad brought many changes in the economic system of the subcontinent. He had also attempted to collect the Islamic tithe (usher) of ten per cent of crop yields. For getting the Usher, he even took steps against the reluctant Khans. Such steps antagonized the local chief of *Hoti* at *Mardan* and who then formed a power alliance with *Sultan Muhammad*, Governor of Peshawar. The union was defeated and the Islamic reformers finally occupied Peshawar.

**v. Strategy of Sayyid Ahmad against British:**

Syed Ahmed understood that it was not possible to fight the British. They were better organized, better equipped and in firm control of most of the northern India. He, therefore, decided to emigrate to what is today the NWFP in Pakistan and wage a jihad from there. After beating the Sikhs in the NWFP and Kashmir, he imagined, he could then take on the British.

**4. Causes of failure of his movement**

Following were the causes of decline behind his movement in the subcontinent:

**i. Failure of coordination:**

This expedition was failed due to lack of coordination and organization of the Afghans. The movement failed due to the absence of effective organizational management among its architects and their allies throughout the subcontinent.

**ii. Direct conflict with British:**

This movement also brought the Mujahids into direct conflict with the British. The death of Saiyid Ahmed however inspired Muslims to fight the War of Independence. The fire of Shaheed against British was the continuous source of anxiety for the British for more than sixty years. In this way, it is said that the

Muslim national movement in subcontinent was also the inspiration of *Saiyid Ahmed Shaheed*.

**iii. Lack of funding:**

This movement lacked proper funds against the established government which had a lot of funds and wealth. Due to their lack of funds, the followers of *Syed Ahmed Shaheed* could not purchase the modern weapons, so they might put stiff resistance against the Sikh government. This lacking of fund ultimately resulted into the failure of Mujahideen movement.

**iv. No system of redistribution of Ushr:**

The followers of Syed totally ignored the economic side of the Islamic state. Syed Ahmad and his followers collected the *Ushr* from the citizens, but there was absence of any redistributive system of this wealth among the people of new Islamic state.

**v. Harsh Attitude of Syed's Officials:**

The officials, sometimes, adopted very stern action to continue the practice of marrying the widow girls, which broke the centuries-old practice that widow girls were not remarried. Their stern steps for the implementation of this practice annoyed the native people.

**vi. Opposition from the Muslim Pathans:**

The steps of Syed were openly opposed by the Muslim Pathans than by the Sikhs. He would use more energy, skill and time to face the Muslim rivals. Therefore he had to face stiff resistance from their co-religionists.

**vii. Lack of Military training:**

The soldiers of the Mujahideen movement were not well-equipped and well-trained as compared to the soldiers of the Sikh forces, trained by the French generals. Therefore the soldiers could not compete with the forces of the Sikhs.

**viii. Sikh Conspiracies:**

The movement of the Holy war was initially very successful but soon conspiracies began against Syed Ahmed, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1780-1839) bribed *Sardar Yar Mohammad* and his brother *Sultan Mohammad Khan* to plot against the Khilafat of Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi. The disloyalty of the tribal leaders disheartened him. He made Balakot as its new headquarters. He started his struggle from Muzaffarabad. Here a tough fight started between the Mujahideen and the Sikhs. The Muslims fought with heroism but



Syed Ahmed and his right hand companions were martyred on 6th May 1831.

Hari Singh was the governor of Kashmir and NWFP at the time, representing Maharaja Ranjit Singh who sat in Lahore. He was a clever and ruthless administrator. His forces under the command of Sher Singh lay in wait at Muzaffarabad. Some of his contingents had already moved to occupy the hilltop, known as Mitti Kot, overlooking the town of Balakot.

#### ix. Propaganda of Sikh leaders:

Sikh leaders created a venture against him and declared his reforms as non-Islamic practices before Pathans. The Sikh propaganda was successful. In 1831, he and his followers were routed by a Sikh force at Balakot. He along with some of his Mujahideen died.

### 5. Spiritual Influence of Sayyid Ahmed Shaheed

#### i. Influence of Titu Mir:

Titu Mir made Narkelbaria, a village near Calcutta, the centre of his activities. He was not a member of Faraizi Movement nor he did he belong to Haji Shariatullah or Dudhu Mian but he had the same thought for the Muslims of India. Under the spiritual influence of Saiyid Ahmed Shaheed, he devoted himself to revive the past glory and status of Muslims in the Sub-continent. He was inspired by the doctrine of *Saiyid Ahmed Shaheed* for the War of Independence.

#### ii. Kindled a Flame of Freedom:

In short, The Mujahideen movement of Syed Ahmed failed in Balakot, but this movement kindled a flame of freedom in sub-continent. The political work of Syed Ahmed Brelvi was carried on later by Willayat Ali of Patna. When the British captured the Punjab then a battle was fought again against the British. Thus the Jihad movement of Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi was ended after several wars like this for independence.

#### iii. Similarity between Wahabi and his movement:

I.H. Qureshi describes that, "Saiyid Ahmad's movement as well as some of those which stemmed from it came to be compendiously designated as Wahhabi Movement, because of certain similarities between them and the teachings of 'Abd-ul-Wahab of Najd.' These movements were aggressively Muslim and

emphasized the fact of the Muslim community of the subcontinent being a religio-political entity."<sup>3</sup>

#### iv. Foundation of A Rebel Colony:

I.H. Qureshi describes that, "The fire that Saiyid Ahmad Shahid had lit continued to be a major source of anxiety for the British more than sixty years. After his death, Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali assumed the leadership of the movement. A rebel colony of the remnants of his followers was established at Sitana."<sup>4</sup>

#### v. Rejection of Innovations (Bid'ah):

His followers upheld the doctrine of *tawhid* (the oneness of God). He is called as Syed Ahmad Bareilvi because he used to live in Rae Bareli. They rejected *bid'ah* (innovation) but unlike Saudi Wahhabis accepted Sufism and features of mystical Islam such as the belief in the intercession of the saints and the strict following of a school of jurisprudence. He is thought by some to have anticipated modern Islamists in his waging of jihad and attempt to create an Islamic state with strict enforcement of Islamic law.

#### vi. Momentum of other Revolutionary Movements:

The Islamic challenge to an expanding Sikh empire gained momentum in late 1826 when Sayyid Ahmad Shah arrived in Peshawar valley. He was accompanied by numerous disciples and supported by a highly developed network of personal friends and partisans spread across northern India organized to recruit and dispatch men and financial aid. Sayyid Ahmed was a direct spiritual descendant of the Delhi Sufi scholar Shah Waliullah (1703–1762), through his disciple Shah Abdul Aziz (1746–1824).

#### vii. Making of anti-imperialist coalition:

Sayyid Ahmad successes and failures revealed the various conflicting interests and the contradiction that fragmented the anti-imperialist coalition. His story illustrated how in this era even popular religious idealism could not supersede Peshawar valley elite political networks linked to imperial patronage and able to appeal, across class and power divides, to customary social practices and ethnic ties



<sup>3</sup> I.H. Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan*, p.201

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.200



## Role of Sufis in Spread of Islam in the Sub-continent

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Preaching of the Sufi Saints in India
  - i. Message of Sulha-i-kul (untidiness for all)
  - ii. Humanitarian
  - iii. Propagation of Sound Character
  - iv. Voice for the Human Rights
  - v. Evils of the Hindu caste system
  - vi. Great Appeal to down-trodden classes
  - vii. Liberating mission of Islam
  - viii. Custodians of religion
  - ix. Role of the *Khanqahs*
3. Types of Silsalahs
4. Famous Indian Sufis and Saints
  - i. Hazrat Sheikh Ismail Bukhari
  - ii. Hazrat Ali Hujweri (Data Gunj Bakhsh)
  - iii. Khawaja Moin ud Din Chishti
  - iv. Hazrat Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki
  - v. Khawaja Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakar
  - vi. Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya
  - vii. Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaryia
  - viii. Sheikh Rukn-ud-Din Alam
5. Conclusion

### Introduction:

“The heaviest concentration of Muslim population in East and West Pakistan was away from the metropolitan cities of Delhi, Agra and Lahore. This is positive proof of the fact that Islam was not spread through political power. It spread in these regions as a

result of the peaceful missionary activities of the Sufis. Sufism was a great spiritual movement in Islam which sought mystic realization of God.”<sup>1</sup>

Sufism is the heart of Islam on the soil of the subcontinent. Sufis have not been confined to any ethnic group. In the Ghaznavid period, important spiritual figures *Hazrat Sheikh Ismail* and *Hazrat Ali Bin Usman Hujweri*, (Data Ganj Bakhsh) arrived in the subcontinent, which spread Islamic light. Sufism became organized, and adopted a form and institution in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. The two great pioneers in this field were Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and Hazrat Shahab-ud-din Suharwardi. By introducing the system of '*silasila*' which was a sort of order, and *khankha*, a lodge or hospice, they invested the movement with a sense of brotherhood and provided it with a meeting place.

In India, the Sufis and saints played very notable role in the propagation of Islamic teachings. There were four prominent orders of sainthood in India known as *Nakshbandia*, *Suharwardia*, *Qadria* and *Chistia*. During the Sultans of Delhi, the Sufis of Delhi and Multan spread the message of *Sulha-i-kul* (unitedness for all) irrespective of their religious dogmas and ethos. The prominent Sufis at that time were *Shah Rukn-e-Alm*, *Shah Hamdam*, *Gasoo Daraz*, *Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki*, *Baha-ud-din Zikriya Multani*, *Fareed-ud-din Shakar Ganj* (Pakpattan), *Hazrat Usman Hajveri* (Data Ganj Bakhsh), *Sachal Sir Mast*, *Lal Shahbaz Qalandar*, *Shah Abdul Latif Bhatai*, *Mueenud-din Chisti*, *Nizam-ud-din Auliya*, *Mian Mir* etc. *Mujadid Alf Sani* and *Shah Wali Ullah* rendered valuable services for the reformation of Muslim society and provided a counterpoise against the Din-i-Ilahi and the Bhakti movement. Their commendable role influenced the ruling authority at that time.

### 2. Preaching of Sufi Saints in subcontinent:

Islam was spread in the entire Indo-Pakistan sub-continent through the efforts of the Sufis. A famous well-known scholar, *S.M. Ikram*, describes in his book, '*The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*' that the goodwill and the humanitarian attitude of the Sufis did not denounce other religious practising people and creeds, rather they offered the spiritual training to the people.

*I.H. Qureshi* describes in his book '*A Short History of Pakistan*', "Sufism appealed to the religious because of its insistence upon a deeply emotional attachment to God. The Sufis

<sup>1</sup> I.H. Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan* (university of Karachi, Karachi) p.160



set an example of piety, of indifference to riches and power, of service to the spiritually starved and the materially unprivileged, of a deep sympathy for the mass of the people and of saintly behaviour. Their influence, therefore, was widespread and many turned to them for the satisfaction of their spiritual yearning.<sup>2</sup> Following were the preaching of the Sufis, which they spread in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

#### i. Message of Sulha-i-kul:

During the Sultans of Delhi, the Sufis of Delhi and Multan spread the message of *Sulha-i-kul* (unitedness for all) irrespective of their religious dogmas and ethos. "These Sufis were men who practised goodwill towards all human beings, and did not denounce other creeds, or vilify their founders, but were content to offer spiritual sustenance according to their lights to those who came to them."<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the Sufis were able to spread the message of unity for all religions irrespective of their different religious dogmas.

#### ii. Concept of Humanitarian:

The spread of Islam in the subcontinent is the story of the untiring efforts of the numerous saints and Sufis who dedicated their lives to the cause of the service of humanity. The Sufis' love for suffering humanity spread the message of Islam through their principle of unity for all. Their prime object was the realization of Islamic principle for the respect of humanity irrespective of the religious creeds of the people. *S.M. Ikram, a prominent historian and scholar*, describes that "Muslim saints established centres from where Islam spread to different parts of the subcontinent, but proselytism was never their sole or even main occupation. They led holy and ascetic lives, and brought spiritual enlightenment to all Hindus and Muslims alike. They were as much interested in reclaiming a Muslim sinner from sin, as in bringing a polytheist to the worship of one God."<sup>4</sup>

#### iii. Propagation of Sound Character:

The Sufis and saints stressed upon the adoption of sound character, which was visible in their teachings and preaching. Though poverty and other worldly necessities obstructed their efforts, but they remained adamant for the adoption of sound

<sup>2</sup> Qureshi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan* (university of Karachi, Karachi) p.190-191

<sup>3</sup> Ikram, S. M., *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (Oxford University Press) p.171-172

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p 173

character. A prominent historian and scholar, *S.M. Ikram*, describes that "These saints had great influence over the public, and the worldly rulers found it expedient to show deference to them. At some places the Pirs used to redress public grievances, but normally Sufis kept away from the worldly affairs."<sup>5</sup> The saints succeeded and the secret of their success was their strength of character and courage of conviction that were selfless and devoted to a cause.

#### iv. Voice for Human Rights:

The Sufis message became a breathing space for the down-trodden classes, who had no human rights in the subcontinent. Even their rights were being enjoyed by the privileged classes of Hinduism. In this way, the down trodden classes had no been any human rights, because these rights had been denied by their co-religionists. "Many of their listeners, that is to say, the untouchables, had no right to spiritual education in Hindu India, and were only too glad to meet men of religion interested in their souls.... Sufis were able to work in an atmosphere of goodwill.

#### v. Evils of Hindu Caste System:

In the subcontinent, Hinduism was based on such a class system, consisted of the following classes i.e. *Brahmins, Vaish, Khashtaris, Shudras*. It favoured and provided privileges to the *Brahmins, Vaish, Khashtaris*, but neglected *Shudras* as a class. Having the majority population of India, *Shudhras* had no representation and voice in the socio-economic and politico-religious matters of India. Therefore, the Muslim conquerors experienced the evils of the caste system among the Hindus, but the Sufis spread the message of "This iniquitous system divided the Hindus into mutually exclusive classes of whom the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas monopolised all privileges relegating the majority to an inferior position. In particular, the *Shudras* and the Untouchables were deprived of all dignity and suffered from the most irritating disabilities. To these suffering millions, Islam brought a message of hope-a message of complete equality of men."<sup>6</sup>

#### vi. Great Appeal to Down-Trodden Classes:

The arrival of Islam in the subcontinent had a great appeal for the down trodden classes and sections of the Indian society, which were neglected and were considered unfit for administrative as well as other functions of the society. In the subcontinent, Hinduism also annoyed the followers of other Indian religions like

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Qureshi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan* (university of Karachi, Karachi) p.161.



Buddhism and Jainism. In India, *Buddhists, Jainists* and *Shudras* were the neglected sections of the Indian society. These sections of the society had no representation in the social, economic, political and religious matters of India. Therefore the weakest sections of the Indian society were waiting for a saviour, who would safeguard their interests.

#### vii. Liberating Mission of Islam:

The Sufis, because of their simple and unassuming way of life, their devotion to the love and worship of the Almighty God and their love for suffering humanity, were eminently fitted to fulfil their humanitarian and liberating mission of Islam. They were men of loft character and started coming to the subcontinent in large numbers in the wake of Muslim conquerors, although some of them came even before the military conquest.

#### viii. Custodians of Religion:

Muslim dynasties rose and fell but Islam as a unifying force sustained the Muslims throughout the centuries. S.M. Ikram mentions in his famous book, *"History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan"* that after the devastation of Khurasan and Western Iran by the hands of the Mongols, "the thousands of Muslim theologians, saints and missionaries migrated to India to escape the Mongol terror."<sup>7</sup> The Muslim saints and Sufis preserved the Islamic beliefs and tenets. In this way, the Muslim Sufis played a dominant role as custodian of religion. "Whereas in the capital cities, where the upper class of Muslim society lived, the Ulema were the custodians of religion, in the most obscure places among the masses, the Sufis worked most assiduously, generation after generation, not only to preserve the inner spirit of Islam among the Muslims but also to win thousands of converts from the down trodden Hindu masses."<sup>8</sup>

#### ix. Role of Khanqahs:

The importance of the *Khanqahs* cannot be refuted in the propagation of Islamic learning in the subcontinent. These *Khanqahs*, established by the Sufis, were ordinarily situated in solitary places which provided ideal atmosphere for meditation as well as a refuge for the visitors. Resultantly, the visitors used to take benefits by spending their lives with the company of the Sufi saints.

<sup>7</sup> Ikram, S.M., *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, (Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore), p.251

<sup>8</sup> Qureshi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan* (University of Karachi, Karachi) p.160

The *Khanqahs* were maintained either out of permanent endowments or charities from the local people.

#### 3. Types of Silsalahs:

In India, the Sufis and saints played very notable role in the propagation of Islamic teachings. There were four prominent orders of sainthood in India known as *Nakshbandia*, *Suharwardia*, *Qadiriya* and *Chistia*. The *Qadiriya* order was founded by *Shaikh Abd-ul-Qadir Gilani* of Bagdad (1077-1166). In the fifteenth century, *Ni'mat-ul-lah* and *Makhdoom Muhammad Jilani* introduced in the subcontinent. *Shaikh Da'ud Kirmani*, *Shaikh Abu'l-Ma'ali* of Lahore, *Hazrat Mian Mir* and *Mulla Shah Badakhshi* were some of the most renowned and notable *Qadiri* saints, who rendered invaluable services for the propagation of Islamic teaching.

Meanwhile the *Naqshbandiyah* order was called after *Khawajah Baha-ud-din Naqshband*. The *Suharwardia* order named after *Sheikh Najid-ud-din Abd-ul-Qahir Suharwardi* was popularized in the subcontinent by *Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya* of Multan. The *Chistiyah* order founded by *Khawajah Abu Ishaq Shami* was brought to the subcontinent by *Khawajah Muin-ud-din Ajmeri*.

During the Sultans of Delhi, the Sufis of Delhi and Multan spread the message of *Sulha-i-kul* (unitedness for all) irrespective of their religious dogmas and ethos. The prominent Sufis at that time were *Shah Rukn-e-Alm*, *Shah Harndam*, *Gasoo Daraz*, *Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki*, *Baha-ud-din Zikriya Multani*, *Fareed-ud-din Shakar Ganj* (*Pakpattan*), *Hazrat Usman Hajveri* (*Data Ganj Baksh*), *Sachal Sir Mast*, *Lal Shahbaz Qalandar*, *Shah Abdul Latif Bhatai*, *Mueenud-din Chisti*, *Nizam-ud-din Auliya*, *Mian Mir* etc. *Mujadid Alf Sani* and *Shah Wali Ullah* rendered valuable services for the reformation of Muslim society and provided a counterpoise against the *Din-i-Ilahi* and the *Bhakti* movement. Their commendable role influenced the ruling authority at that time.

In the course of time, the Sufis organized themselves into *Silsilahs* (orders) and established *Khanqahs*. After the fall of Bagdad, when the Muslim political power was at its lowest ebb, the Sufis took upon themselves the great task of revitalizing Muslim society through an organized spiritual discipline.

#### 1. Hazrat Sheikh Ismail

Sheikh Ismail was the first missionary, who began preaching Islam in Lahore in 1005 A.D. He used to deliver '*khutbas*' every Friday at which thousands of Hindus embraced Islam. He preached during Ghaznavid rule. He came to Lahore from Bukhara which was the great centre of Muslim culture at that time. He was treated as the first missionary of Islam in Lahore. He was an



accomplished commentator of the Holy Qur'an. He died in the year 448 A.H.

## 2. Hazrat Ali Hujwiri (Data Gunj Bakhsh)

Ali Hujwiri is both al-Hasani and al-Husayni Sayyid. His father is al-Hasani Sayyid and his mother is al-Husayni. Abul Hasan Ali bin Usman Al-Hujwiri Al-Jullabi Al-Ghazanwi was born in Ghazni (Hujwir) where his family had settled and the members of which were passionate for devoutness and learning. He was known as Ali Al-Hujwiri Al-Jullabi, Al-Ghazanwi because he lived for a long time in Hujwir and Jullab, the two suburbs (Mazafat) of the city of Ghazni located in Afghanistan. In spite of Hazrat Ali bin Usman Al-Hujwiri's popularity and deep reverence; coming across his life biography is very much tortuous. Much of his life history and thought came from his own authentic.

Hazrat Sheikh Ali Bin Osman Hujwiri came during the time of Masud Ghaznavi and was highly successful in converting large number of Hindus to Islam. He is reported to have converted Rai Raju, a Hindu General of the Ghaznavid to Islam. He was descendent of Hazrat Hussain (RA). He travelled in many Islamic countries and finally came to Lahore and established a monastery in 1053. He lived there for thirty six years and spread Islam with zeal and dedication.

Ali Hujwiri studied Sufism under Abu 'I-Fadl Muhammad, who was a student of Abu 'I-Hasan al-Husri. Abu 'I-Fadl Muhammed bin al-Hasan was well-versed in *tafsir* and *riwayat*. Ali Hujwiri traveled far and wide through the Indus to the Caspian Sea. Among the countries and places which he visited were Adharbayajan, the tomb of Bayazid at Bistam, Damascus, Ramla, and Bayt al-Jinn in Syria. In Khursan alone he is reported to have met 300 Sufis. Al-Hujwiri was associated with the most well-known Sufi orders in the subcontinent, such as the Qadiri, Suharwardi, Naqshbandi and the Junaidi orders. Hujwiri belonged to the Junaidia school of Sufism, founded by Junaid Baghdadi, a major Sufi saint of Baghdad. Hajwiri is also viewed as an important intercessor for many Sufis. *Moin-ud-din Chisti Ajmeri*, a chief saint of the Chishti order, stated that an aspiring murid (disciple) one who does not (yet) have a murshid (spiritual-master), should read Ali Hujwiri's book *Kashf al-Mahjub*, as that would be (temporarily) enough for his spiritual guidance. He settled for some time in Iraq where he had a short experience with married life.

Al-Hujwiri was a contemporary of al-Qushairi. During his travels, he met with many eminent Sufis, and saw and felt the slow transformation of Sufism from simple asceticism and adoration of God to a highly developed theosophical cult considerably influenced

by pantheistic ideas. He is the link between Mysticism as it developed in Persia and Khurasan, and the form it took in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Al-Hujwiri came to Lahore under orders from his *Pir* as successor to Shaikh Husain Zanjani at a time when as a result of irruption of the Seljuks on one side and the rising tide of Hindu resistance on the other, the Ghaznavid Empire began to dismember rapidly, and life in Ghazni itself was disrupted. The saint had to leave Ghazni in difficult circumstances, leaving his books behind. According to *Faw'id-ul-Fu'ad*, Ali Hujwiri reached Lahore at night and in the morning found the people bringing out the bier of Shaikh Husain Zanjani whom he replaced in Lahore.

Although a Sunni Hanafi, Hujwiri's theology was reconciled with the concept of Sufi annihilation. However he strenuously campaigned against the doctrine that human personalities can be merged with God, instead likening annihilation to burning by fire which allows the substance to acquire fire like properties while retaining its own individuality. He also was a great upholder of the Sharia and rebuffed the idea that outward observances of Islam are not important for Sufis. Hujwiri believed that individuals should not claim to have attained "marifat" because it meant that one was prideful, and that true understanding of God should be a silent understanding. Ali-Hujwiri is said to have died on the twentieth of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal 465 H.E, but the date, the month and year are all conjectural. Most early writers agree on 455 H.E. as the year of his death, on the basis of the various chronograms.

## 3. Hazrat Khawaja Moin ud Din Chishti:

After two hundred years of the Ghuri rule, the general conversion to Islam began on a sizeable scale in the 13th century. Probably the most widespread and influential of the Sufi orders in the Sub-continent of India, the Chishti order was introduced into India by Khawaja Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti, popularly known as Hazrat Gharib Nawaz which means the "*Helper of the Poor*". He was born in about 1142 in Seistan in Central Asia, and was descended from both Imam Hasan and Imam Hussain. He studied the traditional Islamic sciences of the Qur'an and the recorded actions and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the universities of Bukhara and Samarqand. However, his yearning for the inner knowledge led him to establish a close association with Khawaja Uthman Herwani, a Chishti Sufi master from the Nishapur region of Kurasan in Persia. He served this spiritual master devotedly for twenty years, accompanying him on many travels throughout Central Asia and Arabia. After going on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and visiting the tomb of Muhammad (PBUH) in Medina, he was asked to establish



Islam in India. After spending forty days in spiritual retreat next to the tomb of Sheikh Hujwari (d. about 1075) in Lahore, Sheikh Chishti made his way to India.

*Hazrat Gharib Nawaz* was about fifty, when he travelled via Multan and Delhi until he arrived in Ajmer in Rajasthan which he made his base. He is said to have married twice, although he had previously remained celibate. One of his wives came from a Muslim background, while the other was of Hindu origin, and both gave him children. In Ajmer, he devoted most of his time to guiding serious seekers of self-knowledge, and to dispelling the ignorance of the orthodox Muslims by awakening a higher consciousness of the reality of Islam in them. He also inspired many Hindus to purify their own devotional practices, and there is no doubt that many people's hearts turned to Islam because of the example which he himself set. Some historical accounts state that forty thousand families accepted Islam at his hand.

*Sheikh Muin-ud-Din Chishti* died in 1236. His teaching was quite simple and basic, and he preached in a manner that was universal rather than purely dogmatic. He taught that the highest form of devotion was nothing other than 'feeding the hungry, providing clothes for the naked and helping those in distresses'. He described the qualities that endear man to Allah as being 'river-like generosity, sun-like affection and earth-like hospitality'. The proof of the universality of *Hazrat Gharib Nawaz's* message and his role as a teacher is that today, as throughout all the centuries since his death, his tomb in Ajmer is visited by innumerable Muslims and countless thousands of Hindus who acknowledge his high spiritual station.

#### 4. *Khawaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki:*

*Khawaja Bakhtiyar Kaki* was an eminent disciple of *Moin-ud-din Chishti*. He established his Khanqah in Delhi during the rule of Sultan-al-Tamash during Delhi sultanate. Sultan gave him a hearty welcome and requested him to stay in palace. Sultan also presented him the title of "Sheikh-ul-Islam", but *Khawaja Bakhtiyar Kaki* refused to accept this title. He always remained himself aloof from the association with the kings and the courts. However with his teachings, he distinguished himself as the "Kalifah of Sheikh Moin-ud-din". His Khanqah soon became a centre of spiritualism and Islamic learning. He died in 634 hijri.

#### 5. *Khawaja Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakar:*

*Sheikh Farid-ud-din Ganj Shakar* was born in 1173 when Punjab was going through great crossroads. As a disciple of

*Khawaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki*, he belonged to the Chishti order of mysticism. When *Baba Farid* was a few years old his mother taught him his prayers. The boy asked her what was gained by prayer. His mother replied Sugar. Accordingly, she used to hide some sugar under his prayer-carpet, and, when he had finished his prayers, draw it forth, and give it to him as a reward of his devotion. One day his mother forgot to put the sugar but after prayers, there was sugar under the carpet. From that day on, *Bibi Miriam* started calling his son *Shakar Ganj* (Treasury of Sugar).

At the age of sixteen years, he went to Hajj and stayed in the house of *Abdul Rahim Ansari*. After coming back to Punjab, *Baba Farid* was sent to *Khawaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki* at Delhi to learn theology. *Qutb-ud-din* finding *Baba Farid* deficient in scholarship sent him to the shrine of *Abdul Shakur* of Sarsa, near Delhi to finish his education. After passing through the most rigorous spiritual discipline, he settled at Hansi and then moved to Ajodhan, the present Pakpattan. Through his missionary efforts, thousands of people embraced Islam in Multan division and the adjoining areas. *Sheikh Farid* made *Pakpattan* a great centre of Sufi thoughts. He always used his language that was Punjabi spoken by common people. Emperor *Nasir-ud-Din* had a great respect for him. He died in 1265 AD at Pakpattan. "No saint has excelled *Ganj Shakar* in his devotion and penitence."<sup>9</sup>

#### 6. *Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulliya:*

*Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulliya* is considered the greatest Sufi master of medieval India. He took birth in Bada'un in North India in 1238 into a family whose genealogy traced back to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and who had originated from Bukhara. He studied the sciences of Islamic Law in order to qualify as a judge, but in about 1257 was inspired to travel to Ajodhan to visit *Sheikh Farid' ud-Din Ganj Shakar*, the most celebrated Chishti spiritual master of that time. He became the close follower of this spiritual master and on his third and final visit Ajodhan *Sheikh Farid' ud-Din* designated him as his successor. He advised him to continue with his studies of the Qur'an and Islamic jurisprudence, alongside his supererogatory prayers and the pursuit of the Sufi sciences, and to devote him to whichever finally won the upper hand.

*Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din* eventually settled down in Ghiyaspur near Delhi. There he established his Sufi sanctuary which became a focal point for the spiritual renewal of the lives of the people of Delhi.

<sup>9</sup> Qureshi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan* (University of Karachi, Karachi) p.163



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He personally led a life of celibacy and asceticism. He and his close followers subsisted on unasked for charity which they distributed every day to the neighbouring poor, so that by the end of each day they had nothing stored up for the next day. His simple, basic teaching attracted people from all walks of life, including members of the sultan's family and his court. *I.H. Qureshi* describes, "Like all other Sufis of his order, Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din not only avoided all connections with the royal court but also disliked royal visits to his khanqah. It appears from a perusal of a his life and activities that was chiefly concerned with building up the character of the Muslim people and training up a band of Sufis who were responsible for the propagation of Islam in Bengal."<sup>10</sup> Under the leadership of *Sheikh Nizam' ud-Din Aulliya*, the Chishti Order had a great impact on the lives of the people of Delhi, and after his death in 1325, it spread throughout the rest of Indian Sub-continent.

### 7. Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaryia:

Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaryia was the founder of the Suharwardi order in the Sub-continent. He was born near Multan in 1182-3 AD. He travelled in many Islamic countries. He was settled in Central Asia. But because of the invasion of Mongols he took refuge in Multan. He took his spiritual education from Shehab-ud-din Suharwardi. He established his Khanqah in Multan and taught Sufi discipline. His spiritual teaching spread over Multan, Sindh and Baluchistan. Many Hindus including chiefs from Sindh, Multan, and Lahore accepted Islam at his hands. He also performed a lot of social welfare duties. He died in 1262. According to one of his biographers, Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaryia also stayed for sometime in the frontier region (Peshawar) in solitude and many Hindu including chiefs from Sindh, Multan and Lahore accepted Islam at his hand and became his disciples."<sup>11</sup>

### 8. Sheikh Rukn-ud-Din Alam:

Sheikh Bahauddin was succeeded by his son Sheikh Sadr-ud-Din as the head of Suharwardi order in Multan. But he died in his early age. He was succeeded by his brother *Sheikh Rukn-ud-Din Alam*. He was known as Rukn-Alam. He was the popular saint during Delhi Sultanate. He had seen different sultanate Periods. He was popular saint during the rule of Khalji and Tughluq. He died in 1335 at the age of 88. Besides its religious importance, the mausoleum has a unique architectural value. Its dome is considered to be the second largest in the world. His shrine is called the

Makhdoom of Multan and they have thousands of disciples in southern Punjab and Sindh.

There were also many other famous saints who devoted their life to the cause of Islam and for the inhabitants of Sub-continent. Sheikh Sharf-ud-Din (Bu Ali Qalandar) of Panipat and *Sheikh Usman (Lal Shabaz Qalandar)* of Sindh devoted their life for the cause of Islam.

## Conclusion:

From the above mentioned discussion, it can be concluded that Islam was spread in the sub-continent due to the invaluable services of the Muslim Sufis and Saints. It is also the negation of the impression that Islam was spread on the swords, as the most of the Non-Muslims believe. The Sufis set an example of piety, of indifference to riches and power, of service to the spiritually starved and the materially unprivileged, of a deep sympathy for the mass of the people and of saintly behaviour. Evils of the caste system in Hindu region, human inequality, lack of morality, women disrespect and social disorders were at their extreme in the subcontinent. These Muslims *Ulema* and Sufis proved to be the torch bearers for the inhabitants of Sub-continent.



<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p.163

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.164



## Faraizi Movement

### Outline

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11. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

The Faraizi movement occupies a great significant place in the Muslim history of the subcontinent in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Through his efforts, *Haji Shari'at Allah* tried to awaken the Muslims of Bengal from the sound sleep. His Faraizi movement had the objectives to disband the un-Islamic customs and practices from the prevailing practices, which were going on amongst the most miserable Muslim people particularly the farmers and the artisans. He requested them to practise strictly the principles of faith and rules of *Shariah*, and to refrain from Hindu practices. This movement was mainly religious and social in character.

At this time, the condition of the Bengali Muslims in the Sub-continent was very miserable. The British policy of distrust and oppression towards the Muslims rendered them economically and educationally crippled; and the oppression of the *zamindars* made their lives unbearable. *Haji Shari'at Allah* awakened the Muslims of Bengal by initiating the Faraizi Movement. He started his movement among the most depressed section of the Muslim society; the farmers and the artisans. He called upon the people to discard un-Islamic practices and customs, and to act upon the commandments of faith, the "Faraiz", or duties. He requested them to observe strictly the principles of faith and rules of *Shariah*, and to refrain from Hindu practices. This movement was mainly religious and social in character.

### 2. Concept of Faraizi Movement:

The basic purpose of this movement was to turn Muslims towards fulfilling their fundamental Islamic duties of offering prayers, fasting, performing Haj and obligation to pay Zakat. Therefore this movement was named as Faraizi Movement.

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### 3. Objectives of the Movement:

Following were the objectives of the *Fraizi* movement;

- i. Develop better understanding of religion among its followers in order to enable them to resist Un-Islamic practices.
- ii. Promote a sense of unity and comradeship among its followers so that their rights might be protected and provide them protection from the influences of Hindu landlords.
- iii. Establishment of an Islamic government and to declare India as *Dar-ul-Harb*.

Though in the narrow sense, it turned out to be an organization for enforcing the obligatory religious duties but its exponents explained the term in broadest sense to include all religious duties enjoined by Quran and Sunnah.

### 4. Teachings of the Movement:

- i. The main objective of the Faraizi movement was to implement and impose the mandatory religious duties ordained by Allah. According to Haji Shariatullah, it is the responsibility of the Faraizis to assimilate every religious duty legislated by the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet.
- ii. *Haji Shariat Ullah* was deeply shocked by the improper beliefs and behaviour among the Muslims in India. His message to the Muslims was to purify the religion and he called for a return to *faraiz* (the obligatory duties of Islam), specifically the profession of faith (*kalimah*).
- iii. He urged the Muslims to attend daily prayers (*salat* or *namaz*), fast during Ramadan (*sawm* or *rozah*), pay the poor tax (*zakat*) and also go to pilgrimage to Mecca (*Haj*).
- iv. The Faraizis strongly condemned the worship conducted at the shrines of various Islamic saints, rituals connected with the birth of a child or with circumcision and also the intense wailing at ceremonies to honour the Shiah heroes, *Al-Hasan* and *Al-Husain*.
- v. The Faraizi Movement, essentially a religious reform movement had emerged forth during the 19th century, founded by Haji Shariatullah by the Bengali Muslims. The term Faraizi has been deduced from 'farz', standing for compulsory and mandatory duties ordained by Allah. The Faraizis are, thus, those bunch of men whose only objective is to implement and impose these mandatory religious duties. The promoter and initiator of the Faraizi Movement, Haji Shariatullah, however had represented

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the term in a different light and sense, implying to assimilate every religious duty ordained by the Quran as well as by the Sunnah of the Prophet.

### 5. Exponents of Fraizi Movement:

Apart from Haji Shariatullah, Dudu Miyan, Abdul Ghaffar (*Naya Miyan*), Syed ud-din Ahmed (youngest son of Dadu Miyan) and Rashid-ud-din Ahmed (*Badshah Mian*) were the prominent leaders of the Faraizi movement.

### 6. Role of Haji Sahriat Ullah:

"The first person who stirred his countrymen by resuscitating the dormant spirit of their faith was *Haji Shari'at Allah*."<sup>1</sup> He took birth in 1780 in Bengal in the village (*Banderlakola*) of Shamail, Faridpur district. He was the son of an ordinary farmer. He received his early education at Calcutta and Murshidabad, and left for Hijaz with his teacher Maulana Basharat Ali. At the age of eighteen, Shariatullah left Bengal to study Arabic literature, Islamic jurisprudence and Sufism in Mecca and al-Azhar University in Cairo. "While he was in Arabia, he was influenced by Wahhabi doctrines preached by Sheikh Muhammad Abd-al-Wahhab, and he began to teach some of them on his return to the people of his native district."<sup>2</sup> He stayed at Arabian land from 1799 to 1818 and got his religious education. He was a good Arabic scholar and an impressive debater. "For several years *Haji Shari'at Allah* quietly propagated his ideas in the villages of his native districts, encountering much opposition and abuse, but attracting a band of devoted adherents. Gradually he was recognized as a pious and sincere man."<sup>3</sup>

### Contributions of Haji Shahriat Ullah:

Haji Shahriat Ullah made great contributions for the uplift of Indian society;

#### i. Denouncement of Superstitions:

He denounced all the superstitions, which had emerged among the Muslims due to living with the Hindus jointly for the centuries. He wanted to eliminate all such superstitious practices from the Bengali Muslim society.

<sup>1</sup> Ikram, S.M., *History of Muslim civilization in India and Pakistan*, p.550

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.551

<sup>3</sup> Qureshi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan*, (University of Karachi, 1988), p.202



## ii. Elimination of Corrupt beliefs:

*Haji Shari'at Allah* also began efforts for the elimination of corrupt beliefs and practices which had been developed by long contacts with Hindu polytheism. For this purpose, he took steps like spreading awareness among the Muslims by educating them about such beliefs.

## iii. Condemnation to Bid'at (unlawful innovation):

After returning home in 1820, he started a campaign to eliminate from the Bengali Muslim society various traditional practices (*riwaj*) which he considered contrary to the teaching of the Qu'ran. Such *riwaj* included the worshipping of the shrines of *pirs* or saints, participation in the *ratha yatra* or Purana inspired religious processions of the Hindu community, the planting of a banana tree around the residence on the occasion of the first menstruation of a girl, and so forth. These practices, often described as *shirk* (idolatry) and *bid'at* (unlawful innovation), were the objects of Shariatullah's condemnation.

## iv. Cleansing Muslim community from evils:

The attempt of *Dadu Miyan* was to cleanse the Muslim community from 'syncretistic indulgences' of rural Bengal was not possible unless Islam was made relevant to the agrarian society.

## v. Fatwa of Declaring India as Dar-ul-Harb:

His chief innovation was that he declared India under the British government as *Dar-ul-Harb*. He also forbade Muslims to observe their Friday prayers. He also said that it was unlawful for the Muslims to perform their prayers on the Indian soil (*Dar-ul-Harb*). The spreading of his new creed alarmed the Hindu landlords of Bengal, which provided a sense of dignity to the Muslims of the Bengal region.

## vi. Efforts for the uplift of Muslims:

*Haji Shari'at Allah* was living in such time, in which he was observing the Muslim decline and deterioration in Bengal. He had an urge that if the Muslims would perform their duties and obligations, then the decline of the Muslims would be obstructed.

## vii. Strict Observance of Shariah Rules:

*Haji Shari'at Ullah* requested the followers of the Fraizi movement to observe strictly the principles of faith and rules of Shariah. Even the followers would also practise the rules of Shariah in their day lives.

## 7. Role of Dadu Miyan:

Born in 1819 in a village of Madaripur district, *Mushin al-Din Ahmad* was popularly known as *Dudu Miyan* and was the only son of *Haji Shari'at Ullah*. *Dadu Miyan* took his primary education from his father and then at the age of twelve, he traveled to Mecca for further studies. *Dudu Miyan* spent about five years at Makka for schooling. At the age of 19 he was called back on account of his father's illness. He never achieved the levels of scholarship attained by his father, but *Dudu Miyan* very soon proved himself an active leader; able to create an effective organizational structure for Faraizis in their struggles and reform movements with opposing party and the landlord-planter set of Bengal. It was a very critical moment of serious argument of the Faraizis with the landlords, European indigo planters, conventional Ulama and the Sabiqi or the non-Faraizi Muslim society. These communities began to attack the Faraizis individually as well as in collected groups, in which the government supported them. Though less learned than his father, he was youthful, energetic and astutely diplomatic. For all practical purposes, he inaugurated an age of his own in the hapless rural society of Faridpur.

### i. Organization of Fraizi Movement:

*Dadu Miyan* was not so much scholarly and well-read person but also showed his organizational skills in the organization of the fraizi movement. Among his various remarkable works, the most famous one was the organization of "Fara'izin". Administratively, he divided the Bengal into different circles and appointed many Khalifahs in different regions. Those Khalifahs would keep him informed about everything in their jurisdiction. He also structured a volunteer group of clubmen (lathial) and provided them regular training. This khilafat system possessed both religious as well as political functions, which were manifested in its practices. Meanwhile *Dudu Miyan* would directly control the representatives of the Faraizi Khilafat system. He organized the three grades of khalifahs;

- i. the Uparastha Khalifah,
- ii. the Superintendent Khalifah
- iii. the Gaon Khalifah

*Dudu Miyan* organized the Faraizi settlement into smaller units, consisting of 300 to 500 families and decreed a person known as Gaon Khalifah would look after this unit. Further ten or more such units were also placed together into a circle under a Superintendent Khalifah. The Uparastha Khalifahs had to act as consultants and



experts to the Ustad and would stay back with the company of Dadu Miyan at Bahadurpur, the headquarters of the Faraizi movement.

The Gaon Khalifah represented himself as a community leader, who had to perform many functions like the religious teaching, implementation of religious duties, preservation of prayer-hall, looking after the morals of the members of khalifa system and dispensation of justice. He also possessed a Maktab for teaching the Quran and other elementary lessons to the children. The chief functions of the *Superintendent Khalifah* were to supervise the measures like the actions of the Gaon Khalifahs, to look after the well-being of the Faraizis in his jurisdiction, to propagate the fundamentals of religion etc. The *Superintendent Khalifah* would also act as a Court of Appeal against the decisions of the Gaon Khalifahs. In all religio-political affairs, the decisions of Dadu Miyan were considered to be the final and his court would also act as ultimate Court of Appeal.

## ii. Opposition Against Zamindars:

He acquired great influence amongst the Muslim peasants and craftsmen of Bakerganj, Dhaka, Faridpur and Patna districts. He organized the peasantry class against the landlords, and this organization gradually developed into a socio-economic programme which became the dominant feature of Faraizi movement.

## iii. Opposition to imposed taxes:

Dadu Miyan vehemently opposed the taxes imposed upon the Muslim peasants by the landlords. Even some taxes were of the religious nature like taxes for the ceremonies of *Kali Poja* and *Durgah Poja*. He asserted the equality of all men and performed many social works for the welfare of poor. He allowed the peasant community to pay only revenue taxes imposed by the government. The step he took for the welfare of poor made him more popular and more determined.

## iv. Steps for cow slaughtering:

The Zamindars had banned the cow slaughtering, which is the one of the basic fundamentals of Islamic obligations. Dadu Miyan asked his adherents not to adhere to this ban. Though this Muslim attitude resulted into strain relations among the both communities of the subcontinent, but it contributed a lot towards the revivalism of the basic fundamentals of Islam.

## v. Voice against Caste System:

Dadu Miyan also raised voice against the caste system in the subcontinent. He strictly forbade his adherents not to follow this

Hindu practice of caste system. Rather he opined that Islam preaches Equality among the Muslims.

## vi. Struggle Against Indigo planters:

During the rainy season, the best indigo lands were irrigated, which remained submerged for two to three months. The cultivation of indigo was, therefore, more confined to the low-lying *char* lands, which the planter constantly looked for. The planters invariably selected these lands for the cultivation of indigo. Another type, *aus*, was sown after the first shower of spring season. Consequently the crops of indigo and rice became the rival products for cultivation on the soil. Even the feudal lords compelled the peasants to sow the indigo after the first shower.

As these lands were appropriated by the planters, the tenants and the *goalas* (herders) could not avail themselves of this grass for their cattle. This meant a great frustration for the Bengal peasants and *goalas*, who not only held their cattle as a means of livelihood, but also looked on them as members of their families. The Faraizis responded to these challenges with well-developed strategies, ranging from the formation of unions to outright violence. For this purpose, the Faraizis also sought alliances with the Hindus. Within their own Muslim community, the Faraizis resorted to Islamic signs and symbols to build up a collective strategy for resistance. During the widespread resistance against indigo cultivation in the late 1850s, the government was forced to scale down the power of the indigo cultivators and the cultivation of the plant in Bengal.

## vii. Steps against Vices:

Dadu Miyan also raised voice against all the vices of society like superstition, impure Islamic beliefs and immorality. Rather the Faraizi movement inculcated the egalitarian values among the members of the society. They also tried to check immorality which was prevailing at that time in the society.

## viii. Administration of Justice:

Dadu Miyan settled disputes, administered justice and punished Hindu, Muslim or Christian who dared to bring suits in the adjoining Munsif's court without first referring matters to him. With the help of his core-khalafat organization, he took care of all the quarrels of the people in the rural society and settled their disputes, summoned and tried the culprits in the khalafat courts and enforced the judgments efficiently. He even traditionally imposed a verbal injunction against referring any case of the disagreement to the government courts without the permission of the Faraizi Khalifahs.



on constraint of ensuring non-availability of witness for or against the case.

#### ix. Policy of Aggressive Resistance:

The work of Dudu Miyan was, therefore, larger than that of his father. He had gathered more followers around him, which encouraged him to radicalize the idea of peasants' rights as well as to take up a policy of aggressive resistance instead of passive mobilization. He brought forward before the peasantry the idea of God's sovereignty on earth by proclaiming that the earth belonged to God, and that no one other than the lawful government had the right to lord over or impose taxes on it. With Dudu Miyan, thus, the Faraizi creed was transformed into a full-fledged agrarian movement.

#### x. Revivalism of Panchayati System:

For guaranteeing the second objective, he had resurrected the traditional system of local government (Panchayat) under Faraizi headship. To face the opposition party, the Faraizis effectively revived the traditional self-governing organization of panchayet system, for minimizing conflict in the countryside, to check and control local disputes by good-will compromises and negotiation. For methodical and victorious operation of the panchayet, he took precautionary measures.

#### xi. Proprietorship of land:

Following the socio-economic policies of his father, Dudu Miyan acknowledged equality and brotherhood of mankind. For this purpose, he introduced the doctrine of the proprietorship of land as due to the labor. He believed that the land belongs to the tiller. This attracted the attention of all the downtrodden peasantry and irrespective of religion and caste all peasantry followed his ideals and supported him in the Faraizi movement.

### 8. Strategy of the Fraizis:

We can attribute the success of Faraizi movement to the Bengal environment in different ways. Firstly, the Faraizis had found a place in the *chars* and forests to earn their livelihood in a flexible way unlike the regimentation in the older places under the landlords. Secondly, in terms of political strategy, they had developed the slogan '*langol zar, zami tar*', which signified their fundamental anchorage to land. Thirdly, the Faraizis used waterways of the region in their favour to establish communication, mobilize supporters and facilitate marketing.

### 9. Impacts of the Faraizi Movement:

The Faraizi movement has deeply left impacts over the society of Bengal.

#### i. Muslim Religious Revivalism:

The Fraizi movement deeply affected the religious life of the Bengali Muslims. This movement spearheaded the religious revivalism among the Bengali Muslims.

#### ii. Fulfillment of the Puritanical spirit of Islam:

The Fraizi movement also fulfilled the aspirations of East Bengali Muslims for achieving their puritanical thrust for Islam. This movement gave them a catalyst for thinking about their religious practices.

#### iii. Great boost to the Panchayati system:

This movement gave great importance to the *Panchayati* system in East Bengal. In this way, it also brought many changes in the lives of the local people in East Bengal. This Fraizi movement also popularized the justice system based on the local customs in the Fraizi villages.

#### iv. Mobilization of the Muslim Peasantry:

The Fraizi movement brought a spirit of mobilization among the Muslims in the East Bengal. This movement inculcated consciousness and awareness among the peasants for their legitimate rights.

#### v. Beginning a wave of Peasantization:

In the highly volatile circumstances, Shariatullah's call for resistance to undue taxes imposed by the zamindars was enthusiastically greeted by both poor peasants and weavers. Shariatullah reportedly had command over about 12,000 weavers who met the threat of unemployment in the traditional textile industry by engaging in agriculture. Within a short period, therefore, Shariatullah not only appeared to be a spiritual saviour, but also someone who, in 1837, was accused by some zamindars of setting up a kingdom like Titu Mir. It was the beginning of a wave of peasantization.

### 10. Reasons behind the Failure of Faraizi Movement

#### i. Inflexibility of the Rigid Leaders:

The rigidity of the leaders of the Fraizi movement was the major reason behind the decline of the Fraizi movement. The attitude of the Fraizi leaders created misunderstanding among the



common people. This puritanical hinge was also against the psyche of the common people, which led to the differences between the ordinary people and the leadership of the Fraizi movement.

## ii. Conspiracies of European and Hindu Zamindars:

Another cause behind the decline of the Fraizi movement was the beginning of the conspiracies introduced by the European planters and the Hindu Zamindars. Certain British policies like the introduction of Permanent Settlement System made the position of Hindu Zamindars well-entrenched in Bengal.

## iii. Reaction to British Policies:

By the turn of the 20th century, the government itself, by dint of superior methods of collecting information of interior landscapes and properties, seems to have obtained a relatively clearer knowledge of the fluid and peripheral ecological regime in which the Faraizis flourished. Since the state could now more confidently ensure its presence in the interior of the delta, the benefit of peripheral wilderness, in which the Faraizis had flourished, ceased to be available.

## iv. Lack of Military force:

On account of its non-violent nature and adoption of peaceful ways, the Fraizi movement lacked the military resources and organization, which could implement their agenda through force.

## v. Deterioration of Water regime:

The deterioration of the water regime as reflected in water-logging or abnormal flooding also resulted in the decline of an autonomous peasant production pattern upon which the agrarian economy and the Faraizi mobility depended. The Faraizi communication and mobilization network was entirely built up along the waterways of eastern Bengal. The headquarters of the movement were so connected with different rivers that it was quite easy for the Faraizis to move across the entire Eastern Bengal. The death or fluvial weakness of the river system caused problems of navigation which might have resulted in the displacement of the indigenous network of information gathering and political mobilization.



## Second Part

### (Freedom Movement)

- Sir Syed Ahmed Khan & Aligarh Movement
- Dar-ul-Islam Deoband
- Nadwat-ul-Ulama, Lucknow
- The Two Nation Theory (Muslim Separation)
- Ideology of Pakistan
- Partition of Bengal
- Simla Deputation (1906)
- All India Muslim League (December 1906)
- Minto-Morley Reforms 1909
- Lucknow Pact (1916)
- Montague Chelmsford Reforms (1919)
- Khilafat Movement
- From Delhi Proposals to Nehru Report
- Jinnah's Fourteen Points
- Allahabad Address (1930)
- From 1st Round Table to Communal Award
- The Government of India Act 1935
- Congress Ministries (1937-39)
- **LAST PHASE OF MUSLIM STRUGGLE FOR**
- Lahore Resolution (1940)
- Cripps Mission (1942)
- Quit India Movement to Simla Conference
- Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) & 3rd June Plan
- Third June Plan
- Radcliff Award
- Life of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and his Role
- The Role of Ulema and Mashaikh in the Pakistan Movement



## Sir Syed Ahmed Khan & Aligarh Movement

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Early Life
3. Challenges after War of Independence 1857
4. His Strategy
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### 1. Introduction:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was one of the towering and epoch-making personalities of Muslim South Asia. He was endowed with the qualities of head and heart, pen and mind. He was a versatile genius like a great Muslim educationist, scholar, social reformer, political leader and ideologue who rendered invaluable services for the regeneration of the Muslims of sub-continent. Sir Syed's views and deeds were resulted into a forceful movement known as Aligarh movement.

### 2. Early Life:

The Muslim socio-religious movement in India and was led by Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Sayyid Ahmad Khan was born into a prestigious family of Delhi and spent his childhood in and out of the Mughal court. He studied Arabic and Persian according to the older pattern and also studied the work of Shah Wali Ullah. Though he did not receive a religious education, he demonstrated the personality more akin to a courtier or government official than to an Ulama. Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed that the future of Islam rested with the fortunes of Muslims, particularly those residing in northern India. He started to attract others with his writings and soon founded a variety of public forums for spreading his ideas. He soon became a prominent leader of the Muslim community as well.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed that the dilemma of the Muslims in India laid in an education that disseminated elements of English knowledge within the Islamic context. Aiming at solving this dilemma, he planned to open an educational institution that would educate the Muslims properly. He established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh in June, 1875 and soon, the contribution of Aligarh to the educated Muslim elite took on an increased significance. The main objective of Sayyid Ahmad Khan behind founding the institution was to prepare the Muslims to serve the Quam and also to supply educated, honest, public-spirited leaders able to work with the English government and to protect the Muslim community.

The Aligarh movement was actually an educational movement with a view to purify Islam and it marked a sharp break with previous attempts to purify Islam and return it to its past glory. The vision of the movement was to create an administrative elite class that would govern in cooperation with the British rather than focus its attention on the Ulama.

The aims and objectives of the Muslim socio-religious movements were different from each other. While, some of the movements were aimed at purifying the religion, there were a few that tried to establish an Islamic state that would follow a sanctified form of Islam and also reestablish the religion to its proper position.

### 3. Challenges after War of Independence 1857:

The greatness of a personality can only be gauged in reference to his age and time and the challenges he faced and his response to those challenges. After 1857, the Muslims of India were a wretched lot. British had blamed Muslims for mutiny and they tried to enfeeble Muslims in such a way that they never rise again. The British systematically suppressed Muslims and this fact was



acknowledged also by Nehru. **Nehru said, 'the heavy hand of British fell more heavily upon Muslims than Hindus.'** But a well-known author of the book, "The Formative Phase of Pakistan" **Khalid Bin Saeed** describes the conditions of Muslims with this opinion, 'Muslims were not only defeated in their outlook but also sulky.'

Sir Syed had to rustle against two forces, one was British who were arch rivals of Muslims and were ready to crush Muslims. Other element he had to rustle against was his co-religionists. Muslims were under the influence of orthodox religious leaders. These Ulema were very conservative and they doubted every effort of British to be against themselves. *Sir Syed* had to wrest power from Ulema and to persuade Muslims to learn English to move forward in newly introduced system of government.

#### 4. Strategy of Sir Syed Khan:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan made education the corner stone of his strategy. He erected the whole super structure on education. As his biographer **Graham** wrote that his motto was. "Educate, educate, educate"

#### 5. Objectives:

The prime objective of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the education. And he wanted that education was to be disseminated through interaction with the British government. Following were the objectives enunciated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan:

- To remove misunderstanding between the British and the Muslims.
- To keep Muslims away from the agitational politics.
- Protection of the rights of the Muslim and their interests

#### 6. Services of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan played a very commendable role and performed many notable services for the regeneration of Muslim society after the War of Independence (1857).

##### A. Political services

##### i. Rapprochement between British and Muslims:

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan began a policy of rapprochement between the British and the Muslims. In '*Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*' (Causes of Indian Revolt), Sir Syed courageously and bravely blamed the British for the mutiny (War of Independence). He tried to stultify the impression that Muslims were rebel. He wrote the book

'*Loyal Mohammadans of India*', in which he highlighted the services and contributions of those Muslims who remained loyal to the British during the War of Independence (1857).

Sir Syed Ahmed also wrote '*Tareekh-e-Srkashi-e-Bunar*.' He got published 502 copies of 'causes of Indian revolt' for the members of the House of Commons and British Parliament. Sir Syed was cognized of the facts that the rapprochement was not possible until the religious animosity was not curtailed between crescent and cross. He tried to remove the bitterness between two religions. He wrote, '*Tabeen-ul-kalam*', which was Tafseer of Holy Bible. In this book, he wrote that Bible was divine book and tried to bring commonalities between Bible and Quran.

Sir Syed also wrote, '*Risala-e-Ahkam-e-Tam-e-Ala-e-Kitab*', in which he proved that Christians were people of the revealed Book and it was allowed religiously to marry and dine with the Christians.

Sir Syed engaged the British in his educational reform movement e.g. he made Duke of Argile a patron of scientific society. Lord Lytton inaugurated Aligarh School. Early principals of Aligarh School and College were all English. He also established 'British Indian Association' with British. The Aligarh College received huge grants from the British government.

##### ii. Advice to the Muslims:

Sir Syed believed that unless Muslims abstain from politics British will continue to suppress them and they will incur British wrath. He realized that British had come to stay in India and it was not possible for Muslims to overthrow British. Therefore, Sir Syed was against any agitaional politics. He opposed Central Mohammadan Association of Syed Amir Ali. He instead tried to divert Muslim energy towards the acquisition of education. Sir Syed believed that education will bring more concerted pursuits. He believed that if Muslims will continue to agitate it will reinforce British misconception against Muslims.

##### iii. Preservation of Muslim Identity:

For the preservation of Muslim identity, Sir Syed took following steps:

##### a. Opposition of Indian National Congress:

Sir Syed opposed congress because it was an exclusive Hindu party. The Indian National Congress expounded the nation of one nation theory and demanded jobs on the merit, but Muslims disagreed on both fronts. The Muslims believed that they are a



separate nation and are different from Hindus in religion, culture, tradition, language and customs. The Congress demand of jobs on merit was repudiated by Sir Syed. He opined that Muslims were less in number and were also backward in education, and social outlook, therefore the jobs must be given to Muslims in proportion of their population.

#### **b. Establishment of Separate Platform for Muslims:**

Sir Syed advised Muslims not to participate in the politics, but he provided Muslims with certain forums to raise their demands and grievances e.g. Mohammadan Educational Conference, British-Indian Association, and Indian-Patriotic Association etc.

#### **c. Separate Ideology for the Muslim Bourgeoisie:**

Sir Syed expounded the separatist ideology for Muslim bourgeoisie. This became the fountainhead of new awakening in Muslim *salariat* and middle class.

#### **iii. Supporter of Two Nation Theory:**

Sir Syed was the first person who explained the two-nation theory in unambiguous terms. He was the first person, who for the first time addressed the Muslims of India as a 'Qaurn', an Urdu word which can be paraphrased as 'Nation'.

By explaining the Two Nation Theory, Sir Syed laid the foundation of Muslim separatism in India. It was the same foundation on which Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah subsequently built the edifice of the Muslim nationalism and demanded a separate sovereign state of Pakistan. According to M.S. Jain, 'Sir Syed transformed the Muslims into a nation.'

#### **iv. Saviour of Urdu language:**

The Aligarh movement saved Urdu from extinction and despite the backing of the British, Hindi failed to replace Urdu mainly due to the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed and his colleagues.

#### **B. Educational Services:**

##### **i. Patronizing Muslims towards Modern Education:**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan believed that if the Muslims did not get modern education, they would lose social prestige and advancement. It was only through imparting education to Muslims that they would abstain from agitation and extremism, only vehicle for development was education. At the beginning, Sir Syed was in favour of vernacular education but in later years, he believed that all Muslims would receive English and occidental education.

#### **ii. Foundation of educational Institutions:**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan provided a number of institutions for the purpose of education:

- Madrassah Muradabad (1859)
- Ghazipur Madrassah (1862)
- MAO Aligarh School (1875)
- MAO College (1877)
- Mohammadan Educational Conference (1886)

Moreover, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan also employed his journals and magazines for this purpose.

#### **iii. Foundation of Mohammadan Educational Conference:**

This conference was established in 1886 'to extend the scope of Aligarh's activities.' Sir Syed believed that only education could not be sufficient for the needs of Muslims. This educational conference was made with huge perspective. The Mohammadan Educational conference proved to be a national platform for Muslims of India and acted as a forerunner of Muslim League.

#### **iv. Establishment of Scientific Society:**

The Scientific society was a tool and agency of education the Muslims of India. More than 800 books on different subjects were translated by this society in Urdu.

#### **V. Sir Syed as scholar:**

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan used his pen and stature for educational cause. In this contact, he was able to convince 'Hunter Commission' regarding the Muslim grievances. In 'Tehzib-ul-Ikhlaq' and 'Aligarh Institute Gazette (AIG)', most of the essays were written by Sir Syed himself.

#### **vi. Gathered a galaxy of intellectual:**

It was the magnetic personality of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that he attracted around him a number of intellectuals and literati like Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Waqar-ul-Mulk, Shibli Nomani, Maulvi Zaka ullah, Theodore Beck, Morison, Syed Mahmood etc. These scholars provided a huge impetus to the political, social, economic and cultural reawakening among the Muslim populace.

#### **C. Social Services:**

##### **i. Tehzib-ul-Ikhlaq as source of enlightenment:**

Sir Syed brought about great social reforms through his journals and writings. Most of the articles written in these journals



were the personal contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. *Tehzib-ul-Ikhlaq* also served as an agency of modernity as it oriented leadership through certain novel themes. It was Sir Syed who for the first time tried to differentiate between culture and civilization. He wrote forceful articles about culture and civilization 'in Urdu language. He tried to reform the attitude of the Muslim society and he was inspired by the British Journals like 'Tetlor' and 'Spectator.'

## ii. Consciousness against the established practices:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan through his writings tried to awaken the social consciousness against the prevalent ills of the society. He wrote forceful articles against prejudices, superstitions, dogmatism and conservatism.

## D. Religious Services:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was a devout Muslim. He tried to bring Muslim unity through religious unity and harmony. He wrote famous book, 'Khutbat-e-Ahmadiya' in rebuttal to the allegations of William Muir's book 'The Life of Muhammad.' Sir Syed translated 'Khutbat-e-Ahmadiya' in English. This translation was rendered by Wakeel Ahmed Hasan Tonkuri.

Another religious service of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan is that he was the first Muslim scholar of sub-continent who tried to interpret religion on the basis of rationalistic criteria in order to make it acceptable to the inquisitive minds of the younger generation. He attempted to synthesize religion and science. He believed that there was no contradiction between the 'Word of God' and 'Work of God.' By 'Word of God', he meant Quran and by 'Work of God', he pointed to the application of Quranic laws in the universe. Sir Syed also attempted to lessen the rift between Sunnis and Shias and he wanted the Muslims to forge internal cohesion to resist the external onslaught.

## 7. Impacts:

Sir Syed played invaluable services and contributions for the Muslims in the subcontinent. This movement had great consequences upon the coming generation of the Indians.

### A. Political Impacts:

#### i. To bridge gulf between British and Muslims:

The first impact of Aligarh movement was that it brought rapprochement between British and Muslims. A well-known scholar and historian, *Khalid Bin Saeed*, opines that what point of time and

when the British Muslim relation revived, but that it was in between 1870s and 1880s that the British attitude towards Muslims changed.

#### ii. Promotion of Muslims' rights:

Aligarh movement protected Muslims from the wrath of British and Hindus. It provided Muslims with rightful position in the Indian environment. Sir Syed vehemently opposed the congress demand for jobs on merit and demanded quota for Muslims. Sir Syed was first person to demand separate electorates for Muslims. He defended Muslims' point of view before Hunter Commission (an Educational Commission) Sir Syed also defended the cause of Urdu language.

#### iii. Aligarh as Nursery of Leaders:

Aligarh produced a generation of Muslim leaders who rendered invaluable contributions for the regeneration of Muslim society and worked for the uplift of the Muslims in the domains of political, social and economic life. *Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Zafar Ali Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb, Abdul Rab Nishtar, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan* etc. were the people who emerged from the platform of Aligarh movement. Some leaders of Indian nationalist movements were also produced by Aligarh. Dr. Ansari, Dr. Mehmood of Bihar, Dr. Sherwan and, for a brief period of time, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan) remained students of Aligarh. **Stanley Wolpert** highlighted the role of Aligarh and opines in an article on Sir Syed that, "Aligarh cricket fields and common rooms served as a breeding ground for the foundation of Muslim League."

#### iv. Basis for Muslims organization:

Aligarh unified the Muslims of India and it transformed their outlook and served as a national platform in the absence of any political party. Mohammadan Educational Conference provided as a platform from where the issues of national importance were deliberated and debated. Even the Indian Muslim League took its birth from the session of Mohammadan Educational Conference.

#### v. Forerunner of Pakistan Movement:

The Aligarh leaders also served as an asset for Pakistan movement. It refined the main proposition and particles of Pakistan movement. It was through the efforts of Aligarhians that the Pakistan movement was carried forward to its logical conclusion. Aligarh students played a pivotal role in the historic success of Muslim League in 1945-46 election. In view of its services, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah described **Aligarh** as 'Artillery of Pakistan Movement.'



**vi. Successful Step Against Muslim Decline:**

Aligarh was able to arrest the tide of decline of Muslim society within a generation. It rid Muslims of dependency and unfettered them from the clutches of slavery. Aligarh movement succeeded in making the concept of progress a focal point for the ideology of Muslim nation.

**vii. Saved Urdu language:**

During Urdu-Hindi controversy, Aligarh resolutely defended Urdu. During the first phase (1867) of Urdu-Hindi controversy, it was Sir Syed who was able to convince the British not to replace Urdu with Hindi in UP in official courts and offices. During the second phase, when Urdu was supplanted by Hindi by the instruction of Anthony MacDonald, it was *Mohsin-ul-Mulk* and his colleagues who came to defend the language rights of Muslims.

**B. Educational Impacts****i. Formation of Institutions:**

Aligarh movement laid the institutional basis for Muslim advancement. Aligarh institutions served as a vehicle of national progress and prosperity for Muslims. The Aligarh brought about educational renaissance for the Muslims and became visible emblem of Muslim awakening in sub-continent.

**ii. Doors of material prosperity:**

Aligarh produced an educational Muslim salariat class, which was capable of making Muslims compatible for jobs and the economic opportunities under British dispensation/ system. In this manner, Muslims were able to compete with Hindus in educational, social, political and economic fields.

**iii. Provided the core of Educated Muslims:**

According to an estimate, around 68% of Muslim students getting higher education in Indian colleges and universities were of Aligarh.

**iv. Emergence of Educated Class:**

The Aligarh was instrumental in the rise of educated bourgeoisies among Muslims. This class started competing with the Hindu Bourgeoisie class in all walks of Indian life.

**C. Social Impacts****i. Reform of Muslim Society:**

Through '*Tehzib-ul-Ikhlaq*' and '*Aligarh Institute Gazette*', Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was able to reform the Muslim society. He

raised voice against the social evils prevailing in Muslim society. Superstitions, dogmatism, conservatism, prejudices were discouraged. Sir Syed wrote article in the favour of women emancipation and encouraged modernity by refuting backwardness.

**ii. Transformation of Social outlook:**

The Aligarh movement made the Muslims aware of modernity and permeated modernizing influence in the Indian society. It also transformed Muslim outlook towards the British and British also introduced reforms for the preservation of Muslim rights.

**D. Religious Impacts****i. Adjustment of Islamic values with modernity:**

It was through the Aligarh movement that Sir Syed Ahmed tried to present Islam in such a manner as to respond to the challenges of the modern times. The rationalistic interpretation of Islam was a means towards the restoration of Islam and conformity with the modern requirements.

**ii. Transition between medieval & modern period:**

The Aligarh movement was a transition between the medieval and modern period of India. Different scholars like Moulvi Chirag Ali, Ghulam Ahmed Pervaiz, and Moulvi Ahmed Ali Lahori, were inspired by Sir Syed's vision of Islam and tried to interpret Islam in the light of modern requirements.

**E. Cultural Impacts****i. Introduction of Western culture:**

The Aligarh movement became an instrument for the introduction of western culture to Muslims. The Aligarh acquainted Muslims with the use of dresses, cuisines, etiquettes and foods etc.

**ii. Tradition of Bilingualism:**

The Aligarh movement produced a generation of Muslims which was well versed in two languages, Urdu and English. This generation dominated the Muslim polity, society and economy during the initial years of independence. It played a pioneering role in the consolidation of national interest of Pakistan.

**iii. Urdu as Medium of instruction:**

The Aligarh movement gave a new diction to Urdu and introduced a new style of Urdu journalism, which was simple and free from ornate verbosity.



### Criticism

#### a. Production of Slavish Mentality:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan produced slavish mentality and produced a generation that was loyal to the British. Aligarh movement failed to sow the seeds of anti-imperialist attitude. The salariat class was only interested in jobs and showed empathy to freedom and resistance.

#### b. Emergence of Salariat Class:

Aligarh movement produced the English speaking persons, who captured the jobs and resulted into a salariat class. Later this class transformed into Anglicized persons and indulged into the administrative affairs of the British state apparatus.

#### c. Mitigated the Jehadi Spirit:

The Aligarh movement dampened and suppressed Jehadi spirit, it failed to inculcate Jehadi tradition among the Muslims. On the other hand, Deoband movement kept Jehadi spirit alive.

#### d. Religious apologetic Attitude:

The Aligarh movement defended Islam in apologetic exposition unlike Allama Iqbal.

#### e. Educational Objective Remained Unfulfilled:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan failed to translate his vision into reality as Aligarh movement never arrived the vision of Sir Syed, i.e. "Science is our left hand, philosophy is right hand and Crown of Kalima is our head." Aligarh movement despite its rhetoric went too far in modernity.

#### f. Limitation of Syed's philosophy of cooperation:

I.H. Qureshi opines that Aligarh movement was meant for short term objectives and it ignored the long term objectives. "Uncritical acceptance of western values could not provide firm foundation for nationhood."

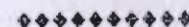
### 8. Conclusion:

The enormity of Sir Syed's contribution cannot be denied. Aligarh movement stood also a movement of ideas and changed the Muslim's social, political and cultural outlook. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan spearheaded the Aligarh movement which led to the Muslim renaissance. Though the movement was educational in nature, it had impacted all the areas of the Muslim life. The movement was

not bereft of the political considerations. Sir Syed Ahmed kept Muslims away from agitation and politics and diverted Muslims towards modern pursuits. Not only did Sir Syed advise the Muslims to avoid from participation in the agitational politics, but he established many institutions in the subcontinent. These institutions served various aims and objectives. His educational and political work also contributed and enforced his idea of separate Muslim state and gave birth to separate ideology. It was Sir Syed who gave idea of Two Nation Theory and alienated an educated class which was inclined towards separation.

The Aligarh movement prohibited Muslim from joining Congress and it despised many policies and stance of Congress. Quota in jobs, separate electorate for Muslims of India, presented the nations of two nation theory. Aligarh movement proved to be national in terms of character, impact and influence. Aligarh covered all aspects of Muslim life.

Sir Syed is one of the great luminaries of Muslim India. Shareef-ul-Mujahid has highlighted that Sir Syed is father of nation in following context: in terms of issues framed and laid down the propositions. Sir Syed set and defined the objectives and direction of Muslim politics and advised them to keep aloof from politics. They should oppose congress and abandon agitational politics.





## Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Factors for Establishment
  - i. Post-1857 Period
  - ii. To counter missionaries
  - iii. Opposition against Western education
  - iv. Demand of Leadership
3. Foundation of *Dar-ul-loom Deoband*
4. Contributions
  - i. To counter Arya Samaj
  - ii. Popularity of Muslim Religious Training
  - iii. Establishment of network
  - iv. Anti-imperialist consciousness
  - v. Preservation of Ideology
  - vi. Galaxy of scholars
  - vii. Dissemination of Religious knowledge
  - viii. Translation of Quran in Urdu
  - ix. Expansion of Press
  - x. Creation of jobs
  - xi. Revival of Jihad spirit
  - xii. Growth of Religious political parties
  - xiii. Voice for the rights of women
5. Services
  - i. Social Services
  - ii. Religious Services
  - iii. Political Services
6. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

**D**ar-ul-Uloom Deoband occupies a unique significance and importance in the Muslim educational system. It rendered invaluable services for the establishment of Muslim

knowledge based on theology. *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* followed the traditions of *Shah Wali Ullah* in the subcontinent. It was established because of the invasion of western culture and missionary activities of the Christianity and Hinduism.

### 2. Factors for Establishment

#### i. Post-1857 Scenario:

The post-1857 period witnessed rapid changes in the subcontinent. Due to these rapid changes, the Muslim *ulemas* realized the fact that a big center would be founded for the protection of Islamic religious learning and Muslim ideology.

#### ii. To counter missionaries:

The post-1857 period gave a space to the Christian missionaries in the subcontinent. Therefore the Christian Missionaries were going to be a danger to the existing religions like Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism etc. of the subcontinent.

#### iii. Opposition against Western education:

The British administrators introduced such education system in which the Islamic learning was completely ignored. Muslim education system was replaced by the English Western education system, because the Muslim education was being deprived of state patronage.

#### iv. Demand of Muslim clerics:

After the War of Independence (1857), the Muslim leaders realized that Muslims would not be able to fight against the overwhelming power of British. Therefore, they decided to capture the minds of Muslims by teaching them in the mosques.

### 3. Foundation of *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband*:

The *Dar-ul-loom* was established under a shady tree of open courtyards in the old mosque of Chatta on 30 May 1866. It stood for achieving the definite religious and political objectives in the subcontinent. The main objective of *Maulana Qasim Nanotvi* was to make the fort of Islamic learning and Deoband would be a center in the continuation the mission of *Shah Wali Ullah*, who was their religious mentor and his works were their textbooks. Its teachers were selfishness.

### 4. Contributions:

A famous European scholar, *Ian Talbot*, has quoted the statement of Barbara D. Metcalf about the contributions of the Deoband, "The Deoband Movement was the most influential



revivalist movement because of the strength of its educational institutions and use of the new opportunities to circulate its ideas.<sup>1</sup> Followings were the contributions of the Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband;

**i. To counter Arya Samaj:**

When the Hindus started the Shuddhi movement to convert the Muslims to Hinduism, therefore, Dar-ul-Uloom took immediate and effective measures to counter this movement. For this purpose, one of its teachers known as *Maulana Meerak Shah* opened a center of learning at Agra. They also made arrangements for teaching the *Sanskrit* language to the Muslim students, therefore they could understand the first-hand knowledge of Hinduism. The *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* sent 50 preachers and opened twenty preaching centers in the areas where conversions were taking place.

**ii. Popularity of Islamic Education:**

*Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* served the Muslims after the War of Independence (1857), because it popularized the Muslim religious education at that time, when it was losing its ground in the subcontinent.

**iii. Establishment of Madrissa network:**

The *Dar-ul-Uloom* provided basis for the establishment of religious centers in every corner of the subcontinent. It established a link with the other *Madressahas*, and this *Madressaha* network disseminated the Islamic education and Islamic learning among the students.

**iv. Spread of anti-imperialist consciousness:**

The *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* adopted an anti-imperialist attitude towards the British. They strongly supported the pro-Ottoman policy since its beginning and they maintained their policy of friendship and alliance towards the Ottoman Empire.

**v. Preservation of Muslim Ideology:**

The Ulemas of *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* established a center known the *Dar-ul-Ifta*, which provided the religious, social and economic guidance to the Muslims under the guidance of *Mufti Azeez-ur-Rehman*. The fatwa issued by *Dar-ul-Ifta* dealt with all sorts of problems ranging from day to day problems to the socio-economic ones.

**vi. Production of Galaxy of scholars:**

The Ulemas of *Dar-ul-Uloom* produced various well-known scholars and *Mashaikhs*. The glorious services of *Maulana Qasim Nanotvi*, *Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani*, *Mufti Mohammad Shafi*, *Maulana Zafar Ali Thanvi* etc. rendered invaluable services for the renaissance and revivalism of the Muslims in the subcontinent.

**vii. Dissemination of Religious knowledge:**

The Ulemas, scholars and intellectuals of *Dar-ul-Uloom* produced ten to twelve thousand books on Quran, its explanation and interpretation, *Ahadees*, Islamic jurisprudence, mysticism, literature, history and books on the life of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).

**viii. Translation of Quran in Urdu:**

*Maulana Mahmood Hassan* translated Quran in Urdu language, which is considered a masterpiece of Urdu literature. The *Dar-ul-Uloom* made Urdu as a popular medium of instruction. It became an instrumental in establishing Urdu as communicative language among the Indian students.

**ix. Expansion of Press:**

The *Dar-ul-Uloom* provided opportunities to the scholars and Ulemas for the publication of their works. They were encouraged and persuaded to print their scholarly and religious books, which had serious contributions towards the religious, social and cultural matters of the Muslims. Resultantly, the *Dar-ul-Uloom* gave rise to Muslim nationalism through the media and press.

**x. Creation of jobs:**

The *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* created employment opportunities to the religious scholars and Ulemas, who could take jobs in the religious, social and cultural institutions. In this way, the *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* reduced the unemployment in Ulemas.

**xi. Revivalism of Jihadi spirit:**

The *Dar-ul-Uloom* revived the *Jehadi* spirit through its teaching and publications, which could be witnessed in the *Reshmi Romal* movement and the *Khilafat Movement*.

**xii. Growth of Religious political parties:**

During the *Khilafat Movement*, the Ulemas of *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* formed a religious political party known as *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind*. They strongly supported the preservation of the

<sup>1</sup> Ian Talbot, *Pakistan A New History* (Oxford University Press, 2012) P.41



Ottoman Empire and they maintained their policy of friendship and alliance towards the Ottoman Empire at this critical time. At the dawn of Pakistan movement, the Ulemas of *Dar-ul-Uloom* were divided into two groups. Meanwhile Ashraf Ali Thanvi wholeheartedly supported the All India Muslim League and its demand of Pakistan.

### xiii. Voice for the rights of women:

The *Dar-ul-Uloom Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* laid emphasis on the women rights of inheritance. It also stressed upon the marriage of the widows. It also eradicated all such practices from the society, which were repugnant to Islam.

## 5. Services:

### i. Social Services:

The *Dar-ul-Uloom Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* laid emphasis on the women rights of inheritance. It also stressed upon the marriage of the widows. It also eradicated all such practices from the society, which were repugnant to Islam. The *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* created employment opportunities to the scholars and Ulemas, who could take jobs in the religious, social and cultural institutions. In this way, the *Dar-ul-Uloom* reduced the unemployment in Ulemas. Meanwhile the *Dar-ul-Uloom* provided basis for the establishment of religious centers in every corner of the subcontinent. It established a link with the other *Madressahas* and this *Madressaha* network disseminated the Islamic education and Islamic learning among the students.

The *Dar-ul-Uloom* provided opportunities to the scholars and Ulemas for the publication of their works. They were encouraged and persuaded to print their scholarly and religious books, which had great contributions towards the religious, social and cultural matters of the Muslims. Resultantly, the *Dar-ul-Uloom* gave rise to Muslim nationalism through the media and press.

The *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* adopted an anti-imperialist attitude towards the British. They strongly supported the pro-Ottoman policy since its beginning and they maintained their policy of friendship and alliance towards the Ottoman Empire. The *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* became the torch bearers of modernism and renaissance in the Muslim society of the subcontinent.

### ii. Religious Services:

The *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* popularized the Muslim religious education at that time, when it was losing its ground in the subcontinent. The *Dar-ul-Uloom* produced various well-known

ulemas, scholars and *Mashaikhs*. The glorious services of *Maulana Qasim Nanotvi*, *Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani*, *Mufti Mohammad Shafi*, *Maulana Zafar Ali Thanvi* etc. played invaluable services for the Muslim renaissance and revivalism in the subcontinent. The Ulemas, scholars and intellectuals of *Dar-ul-Uloom* produced ten to twelve thousand books on Quran, its explanation and interpretation, *Ahadees*, Islamic jurisprudence, mysticism, literature, history and books on the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). *Maulana Mahmood Hasan* translated Quran in Urdu, which is considered a masterpiece of Urdu literature.

The *Dar-ul-Uloom* revived the *Jehadi* spirit through its teaching and publications, which could be witnessed in the *Reshmi Romal* movement and the Khilafat Movement. The Ulemas of *Dar-ul-Uloom* established a center known the *Dar-ul-Ifta*, which provided religious, social and economic guidance to the Muslims under the guidance of *Mufti Azeez-ur-Rehman*. During the Khilafat Movement, the Ulemas of *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* formed a religious political party known as *jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind*. Their strongly supported the preservation of the Ottoman Empire and they maintained their policy of friendship and alliance towards the Ottoman Empire at this critical time.

### iii. Political Services:

The rapid changes took place in the subcontinent after War of Independence (1857). Now the Muslim ulemas realized the fact that a big center would be founded for the protection of Islamic religious learning and Muslim ideology. This realization was also because of the spreading of the Christian missionaries in the subcontinent. Now the Christian Missionaries were posing serious threat to the existing religions like Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism etc of the subcontinent.

The *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* adopted an anti-imperialist attitude towards the British. They strongly supported the pro-Ottoman policy since its beginning and they maintained their policy of friendship and alliance towards the Ottoman Empire. At the dawn of Pakistan movement, the Ulemas of *Dar-ul-Uloom* were divided into two groups. Meanwhile Ashraf Ali Thanvi wholeheartedly supported the All India Muslim League and its demand of Pakistan.

## 6. Conclusion:

The *Dar-ul-Uloom* occupies a significant position in the Muslim world, because its services and contributions are countless for the revivalism and renaissance of Muslim spirit. Even *Allama Rashied Raza of Jammia Al-Azhar* remarked in 1913, "Had he not



visited the school he would have returned to Egypt in deep dejection.....India still had maintained the high standard of teaching of Islam."<sup>2</sup>

### **Comparison between Aligarh & Deoband Movement**

The comparison between Aligarh and Deoband movements showed their convergence as well as divergence towards their aims and objectives;

#### **1. Agenda of Formation:**

The Aligarh Movement was a materialistic movement. Firstly it stressed upon the economic improvement then the political development for the Muslims. It de-emphasized the religious and spiritual education. Deoband movement favoured religion and spiritual regeneration of the Muslims.

#### **2. Opinion towards Jihad:**

The Aligarh Movement did not include Jihad in its syllabus, while Jehadi spirit was a prime priority of Deoband Movement.

#### **3. Policy towards British patronage:**

The Aligarh Movement was relied on the aid patronage by the British. They pleased British government by employing the British administrators and educational staff. While Deoband Movement was neither acquired any aid nor staff from the British.

#### **4. Clash of objectives:**

Aligarh Movement was liberal, but it had also religious touch. Sir Syed said, "Crown of Kalma would be on our head, science in right hand and philosophy in left hand." Deoband Movement was more rigid in the religious domain.

#### **5. Approach towards Muslim Separatism:**

Both, Aligarh and Deoband, movements promoted Muslim separatism, but both had difference over geo-political and the concept of *Quam*.

#### **6. Approach towards Religion:**

Aligarh Movement gave new religious discourse based on reason and logic, which led to modernity. But Deoband Movement

only promoted just one sect. They issued *fatwas* against the other sects of Islam.

#### **7. Lack of Intellectualism:**

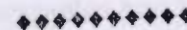
Both, Aligarh and Deoband, movements failed to contribute substantially in intellectualism. Aligarh created, what *Hamza Alvi* has described the Salarial class. But the *Deoband* Movement produced Maulvis and Imams etc.

#### **8. Lack of Academic Achievements:**

Both, Aligarh and Deoband, movements failed to get academic achievements like Nadwa movement. Aligarh movement alone was apolitical, while Deobandis declined to acknowledge the importance of scientific education.

#### **9. Foreign Policy Approach:**

The Aligarh Movement followed the policy of British to Indian politics and to the world affairs, rather the Deoband Movement. The Deoband Movement strongly supported the preservation of the Ottoman Empire and they maintained their policy of friendship and alliance towards Ottoman Empire at this critical time.



<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Saeed, *Trek to Pakistan* (Lahore, 2009), p. 409



## Nadwat-UI-Ulama, Lucknow

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Factors behind the formation
  - i. British Civilizational dominance
  - ii. To counter Christian missionaries
  - iii. Opposition against the Western education
  - iv. To bridge the gap between the old and the new
  - v. Failure of Arabic Institutions
  - vi. Deficiencies in syllabus of Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband
  - vii. Introduction of modern requirements
  - viii. Protection of Spiritual Learning
3. Establishment
4. Aims and objectives
5. Services
  - i. Popularity of *Al-Nadwa*
  - ii. Basis of intellectuals
  - iii. Expansion of Muslim Press
  - iv. Blend of Old and New
  - v. Rightful Place to Arabic language
  - vi. Intraction with the Muslim world
  - vii. Causes behind the Muslim decline
  - viii. Answers to Islamic History
  - ix. Translation of Quran in English Language
  - x. To allow the Friday Prayers
  - xi. To counter Shuddhi movement
  - xii. Islamic law of inheritance
  - xiii. Introduction of religious education
  - xiv. Holding of an exhibition
  - xv. Galaxy of scholars
6. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

**N**adwat-ul-Ulma movement is one of the most important episodes in the Muslim revivalist movements of the subcontinent. It was organized against the British civilizational dominance over the Muslims, against missionary activities and the decline of the Muslim society in the subcontinent.

### 2. Factors behind the formation of Nadwat-UI-Ulama

#### i. British Civilizational dominance:

The post 1857 period manifested a different type of scenario in the subcontinent, in which not only the political change was occurred, rather it also brought various changes and upheavals in the Indian life. The beginning of the eighteenth century saw the political and cultural dominance of the European civilization over the sub-continent.

#### ii. To counter Christian missionaries:

A very strong and powerful government on the Indian soil also began the patronization and encouragement of the Christian missionaries in the subcontinent. They propagated the Christian faith and religion and tried to impose it on the Indians.

#### iii. Opposition Against Western education:

The British administrators introduced such education system in which the Islamic learning was completely ignored. Muslim education system was replaced by the English Western education system, because the Muslim education was being deprived of state patronage.

#### iv. To bridge Gap Between Old and New:

One of the most significant gaps of these movements was the missing synthesis between the old and the new requirements. It attempted to bridge the gulf between the old and the new ideas and tried to establish a synthesis of thoughts about the knowledge system in the subcontinent.

#### v. Failure of Arabic Institutions

The Arabic institutions had the same outdated syllabus which could not meet the contemporary requirements. Logic philosophy, rhetoric and other such rotten and useless branches of knowledge were being painstakingly taught in these institutions. The teaching of Quran and Hadees was not given adequate time and importance.



#### vi. Deficiencies in syllabus of Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband:

A number of intellectuals associated with Dar-ul-uloom Deoband severely condemned the teaching of philosophy and other such outdated subjects. In this educational system, the capabilities of the students were washed away in religious disputes, sectarian debates and logical argumentations and philosophical discussions. The Dar-ul-Uloom completely ignored History, geography, science as subjects of learning in the syllabus.

#### vii. Introduction of modern requirements:

History, geography, science and other such modern sciences describe about the causes of the rise and fall of nations. Those subjects also deal with collective thought and new interpretations of religion to face the current situations and problems, but such subjects were being completely ignored. Instead of demonstrating generous open-heartedness and encouraging freedom of thought, the religious scholars were involved in petty disputes and debates about those minor issues, which had nothing to do with the actual human life. Many of these scholars declared their rivals to be non-believers. Trivial issues became incentives for heated debates, ugly disputes and prolonged lawsuits.

#### viii. Protection of Spiritual Learning

A number of movements were launched to strengthen the faith of the Muslims by enlightening them about their own cultural and spiritual heritage and demonstrating the evils of an alien philosophy.

#### 3. Establishment:

Keeping all these facts, Maulana Muhammad Ali Mungeri decided to create a permanent council of intellectuals and scholars during a meeting held at Madrasa-e-Azam in Kanpur on 22-24 April 1894. The aim of this council was brood over the drawbacks, evils and flaws which had appeared among the Muslims, especially in their educational system, and to find effective remedies to improve the situation.

Moreover, it was also assigned the task of discussing and suggesting practicable means of uniting the Muslims. It brought on one platform the leading Ulama of every school of thought. Besides the Hanfi Ulama, Maulana Ibrahim Aravi and Mohammad Husain Batalvi from among the Ahl-e-Haddes and Moulvi Ghulam Hasnain from among the Shia Mujahid participated in the session. In this way, Nadwat-ul-Ulma came into being. The following aims and

objectives were set before this new institution. In this way, Nadwat-ul-Ulama came into being.

This movement began with the reformation and improvement of the syllabi of religious institutions. The Darul Uloom was formally inaugurated at Khatoon Manzil Lucknow on September 26, 1898. The foundation-stone of its new buildings was laid by the lieutenant-Governor of U.P., Sir James Meston on November 28, 1908.

#### 4. Aims and Objectives:

The following aims and objectives were set before this new institution.

- i. Introduction of fundamental and far-reaching reforms in the syllabi of Islamic studies and preparation of a new syllabus.
- ii. Producing such scholars who, besides being well-versed in all the aspects of Quran and Sunnah, should also be fully acquainted with the contemporary problems, challenges and requirements. They should also be aware of modern thought.
- iii. Promoting the feelings of unity and brotherhood among the Muslims.
- iv. Propagation of Islamic teachings and making the non-Muslims, especially the Hindus, aware of the merits of these teachings.

#### 5. Services:

##### i. Popularity of Al-Nadwa:

Under the editorship of Maulana Habeeb-ur-Rehman Sherwani and Maulana Shibli, the Nadwa-tul-Ulma brought its magazine entitled **Al-Nadwa** in 1904. **Al-Nadwa** became one of the well-known magazines full of knowledge and research.

##### ii. Basis of intellectuals:

All the associates of Al-Nadwa became the well-known intellectuals and writers; they started their writing with this magazine. This magazine introduced a large number of those people, who in the long run became prominent artists, journalists, scholars and literary figures.

##### iii. Expansion of Muslim Press:

The writers, intellectuals and auditors of various Muslim press started their writing skills from the Nadwa-tul-ulma. Abul Kalam Azad, Abdullah Imadi, Maulana Shibli Nomani etc. were the



leading figures in the Muslim press, who were attached with the Muslim press.

#### iv. Blend of Old and New:

It acquainted the modern educated class with the religious and intellectual achievements of Islam and made the Ulemas to accept the new trends of thought and current problems.

#### v. Rightful Place to Arabic language:

Nadwa-tul-Ulma popularized the taste for using Arabic language as a living and spoken language and gave it a rightful place in the curriculum and the entire educational system.

#### vi. Interaction with the Muslim world:

In order to strengthen ties with rest of the world, bilateral visits were arranged and sincere efforts were made to improve cultural and literary ties. As a result, eminent personalities of the Muslim world including Mufti Amen-ul-Hussian, Muhammad Ali Sluba Pasha etc. visited Nadwa. The Nadwa also started a monthly Arabic magazine *Al-Zia* in 1931.

#### vii. Causes behind the Muslim decline:

It was essentially a religious movement which concluded that the main cause of the decline and downfall of the Muslims was their deviation from religion and alienation from the true religious education. Scholars had the central role to play in this movement which was of an intellectual and literary nature.

#### viii. Answers to Islamic History:

The literary scholars and Ulemas of Nadwa-tul-Ulma published such material, in which answers to the objections against the Islamic History were given. Due their efforts, the confusion of the readers evaporated after reading their published material.

#### ix. Translation of Quran in English Language:

Nadwa-tul-Ulma started efforts for the preparation of a comprehensive and authentic English translation of the Quran, so that the English speaking people could understand the message of Allah. They also reviewed scholarly the existing translations of this Holy book.

#### x. To allow the Friday Prayers:

Nadwa-tul-Ulma started campaigns against the British that the Muslim government employees would be allowed to offer their Friday prayers.

#### xi. To counter Shuddhi movement:

Nadwa-tul-Ulma also took effective steps to check the menace of Shuddhi. When Shuddhi became rampant in 1908, Maulana Shibli toured Jahanpur. The teaching of Sanskrit was arranged at the Nadwa and Maulana Shibli re-compiled and published the book "*Hifazat-e-Isha 'at-e-Islam*". In 1923, Masood Ali Nadwi made incharge of the practical steps to counter harmful effects of Shuddhi.

#### xii. Islamic law of inheritance:

Nadwa-tul-Ulma prepared and enacted the Islamic law, which gave a practical solution about the problems of the inheritance.

#### xiii. Introduction of religious education:

Nadwa-tul-Ulma made efforts for the introduction of religious education and Islamic studies in government schools of the subcontinent.

#### xiv. Holding of an exhibition:

A special achievement of Shibli, scholar of Nadwa-tul-Ulma, was the holding of a unique exhibition at Banaras during a meeting of the Nadwa. Royal decrees, rare manuscripts, pictures, coins and other such objects were displayed at the exhibition. Furthermore, the books of Persian literature and those of other subjects were arranged in a manner which depicted their gradual evolution.

#### xv. Galaxy of scholars:

Nadwa-tul-Ulma can rightly be proud of those countless students who later on acquired immortal fame. Some of them are Sayyid Suleman Nawdi, Abdus Salam Nadwi, Shah Moin-ud-din, Najeef Ashraf, Moulvi Abu Zafar and Maulana Abul-Hasan Ali Nadwi etc.

### 7. Conclusion:

Form the above mentioned discussion, it may be concluded that Nadwat-ul-Ulma tried its best to counter the political and cultural dominance of the European civilization over the sub-continent. It took various steps for highlighting the activities of Christian missionaries. As a natural reaction, this movement was launched to strengthening the faith of the Muslims by enlightening them about their own cultural and spiritual heritage and demonstrating the evils of an alien philosophy.



## Comparison between Deoband & Nadwa Movement

### 1. Agenda of Formation:

Both the Nadwa and Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband movements were founded against the dominance of British over the Muslims, against the British missionary activities and the decline of the Muslim society in the subcontinent.

### 2. Attitude towards Congress:

The Deoband movement gave the idea of Muslim-Hindu joint struggle against the British, so that the British would be sent back to England. On the other hand, the Nadwa believed in the unity of the Muslims and the Nadwa leaders were against the politics of All Indian National Congress.

### 3. Policy towards English Education:

The Nadwa Movement encouraged the English education along with Islamic teaching. On the other hand, the Deoband movement only appreciated religious teachings based on Quran, Hadith and Fiqah.

### 4. Attitude towards Progressive Trends:

All the efforts of Nadwa did help ulema to retain their hold on the Muslims. However, the compromise they made hardly aided the new progressive trends in Islam; but their new approach certainly gave them a new lease of life.

### 5. Importance of both movements:

Nadwa being a compromise between the two systems never gained the popularity and importance which Deoband had in religious circles and Aligarh acquired in modern education. However, Dar ul Musaniffin (Academy of Authors) established by Nadwa played important role in the field of research and published a large number of books and valuable literature on Islam.

### 6. Attitude towards Change:

The Nadwa movement tried to fill the gap between the past and present circumstances. Therefore the Nadwa tried to incorporate the modern branches of knowledge in its syllabus. While the Deoband movement was based on the centuries back knowledge system of the Muslims, which did not fulfill the existing needs of that time.

### 7. Areas of Interest:

A number of intellectuals associated with Dar-ul-uloom Deoband severely condemned the teaching of philosophy and other such outdated subjects. In this educational system, the capabilities of the students were wasted in religious disputes, sectarian debates and logical argumentations and philosophical discussions. The Dar-ul-Uloom completely ignored History, geography, science as subjects of learning in the syllabus. While the Nadwa movement tried to incorporate the modern subjects in its curriculum.

### 8. Role in Freedom Movement:

The students of Nadwa movement spread in the subcontinent and worked for the establishment of a separate state for the Muslims. On the other hand, the ulemas of the Deoband movement remained the supporter of Congress motives in the subcontinent. Meanwhile Ashraf Ali Thanvi whole-heartedly supported the All India Muslim League and its demand of Pakistan.

### 9. Creation of jobs:

Both the Nadwa and Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband provided employment opportunities to the religious scholars and Ulemas, who could take jobs in the religious, social and cultural institutions. In this way, both the movements reduced the ratio of unemployment among the religious scholars and the Ulemas.

### 10. Approach towards Religion:

The Deoband Movement only promoted just one sect. They issued *fatwas* against the other sects of Islam. Meanwhile the Nadwa movement tried to create homogeneity among the sects of Islam. Even the foundation of Nadwa was made with the suggestion of scholars belonging to diverse religious sects of Islam.





## The Two Nation Theory (Muslim Separation)

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Concept of a nation
3. Nation in the Indian Context
4. Historical Evidence
  - i. Religious Difference
  - ii. Political Difference
  - iii. Cultural Difference
  - iv. Economic Difference
5. Evolutionary Factors
  - i. Hindu exclusiveness and Muslim separateness
  - ii. Clash of two processes of revivalist movements
  - iii. Impact of British rule (British Policy of Divide and Rule)
  - iv. Introduction of British institutions
  - v. Congress' Anti-Muslim policies
  - vi. Apprehensions of Muslim Salariat class
  - vii. Role of personalities
  - viii. Role of Historical dynamics
6. Significance of Two-Nation Theory:
  - i. Basis of Indian identity
  - ii. Political consciousness
  - iii. Conceptual dynamics to Pakistan movement
  - iv. Basis of ideology
  - v. Smashed the myth of common nationality
  - vi. Provided solution for the communal problem
7. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

**M**uslim political movement revolved around two nation theory in the subcontinent. It provided conceptual dynamics to Muslim political movement. By this two nation theory we mean; "India had never been an abode of a single nation rather it was inhabited by more than two nations, and among those Hindus

and Muslims were quite separate and distinct nations. On account of their art, architecture, traditions, sense of participation, both nations were separate."

### 2. Concept of a Nation:

Nation as a political concept is quite simple to define, "Any group of people diverse or homogeneous, is a nation if it has established a state or for whatever reason, have desire for statehood."

According to this definition too, the Muslims of India qualified to be a nation. They had not established a state but they had a desire for statehood. According to Renan, a French philosopher, "Nation is a soul, a spiritual principle... there are two things that constitute this soul. One is past, the other is present. One is possession of rich heritage of past memories, the other is the present consist the desire to live together, the will to prescribe the worthy and undivided inheritance which has been handed down." In Islam, the concept of nationhood is quite ideological. In Islam nation is based on religious and ideological unity. Even this subjective concept of nationhood is accepted by Western philosophers. According to Hertz, "Consciousness is a prerequisite for nationhood. There would be no nation without consciousness of nationhood." It means consciousness unites the people about a single cause and event. **According to Iqbal**, "Nation is nothing, but unity of thought and this unity of thought is provided by religious ideology."

### 3. Nation in Indian Context:

Hindus and Muslims lived in the subcontinent for centuries, but they did not mix up with each other. The consciousness of two nationhood existence may be traced as far back as 1000 years when it was first observed by **Al-Beruni in his book, Kitab-ul Hind**, "Muslims and Hindus are two different nations."

#### i. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Two Nation Theory:

This nationhood was further highlighted by Mujadid Alif Sani and Shah Wali Ullah. But the credit goes to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who expounded Two Nation Theory in its present form. Sir Syed for the first time addressed the Muslims of India as a '**Qaum**' as Urdu word which can be translated in nationhood. During the Urdu-Hindi controversy (1867). Sir Syed told Shakespeare, "It is not possible for Hindus and Muslims to progress as a nation. I am convinced both these nations will never join wholeheartedly in anything." Sir Syed Ahmed Khan expressed Two Nation Theory (TNT) more vocally in 1882 in Ludhiana. He said, "Remember, a nation is



nothing unless it is a nation in the real sense of the word. All the individuals joining fold of Islam constitute a nation of Muslims as long as they practice and follow their beloved religion, they are a nation...remember you have to live and die by Islam. It is by keeping up Islam our nation is a nation."

## ii. Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Two Nation Theory:

This concept of nation was further expounded by Sir Agha Khan, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, but it was Iqbal who expounded two nation theory quite unambiguously. In 1930, Iqbal said, "We are 70 million, far more homogenous than any other nation in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only people who can fittingly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation and which Islam has given you as a free gift."

Iqbal delivering address on Pan-Islamism, said, "Muslims should unequivocally declare that they regard themselves as a nation, separate from other nations in India and like to two as such. They desire to co-exist as a separate cultural entity." Iqbal also said, "I am fully convinced that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a separate homeland as they cannot live with Hindus in the United India." Iqbal said, "I would like to see Punjab, N.W.F.P. Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state." In his letter to Jinnah in May 1937, Iqbal wrote, "The enforcement and development of Sharia and Islam is impossible without Muslim state or states."

## iii. Quaid-i-Azam and Two Nation Theory:

But the most emphatic exposition of Two Nation Theory (TNT) is found in Jinnah's speeches and statements. He expounded Two Nation Theory in such a detail and with such an effect that the most Muslims and Hindus came to believe in its truth. On 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 1941, addressing to Punjab MSF, he said, "We are a nation and a nation must have a territory. Nation does not live in the air, it live on the land. It must govern land and it must have a territorial state that is what we want to get." On 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1940, Jinnah said, "The problem of India is not inter-communal, it is international one and must be treated as such....Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation. They must have their homeland, territory and their state. We wish to live in peace with our neighbors as a free and independent people."

In September, 1944, in a letter to Mr. M.K. Gandhi, he wrote, "We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two

major nations by any definition and test of a nation. We are a nation of 100 million and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportions, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitude and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life." While Mr. Jinnah also said that, "Ideology of Muslim League would be Islam." Mr. Jinnah opined, "Hinduism and Islam are not religion in strict sense of word but are, in fact, different and distinct social order and it is a dream that they can ever evolve a common nationality." Mr. Jinnah observed "Hindus and Muslims belong to two different philosophical-cum-social order, customs, religions and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine. Indeed, they belong to two different civilizations, which are based merely on conflicting ideas and conceptions."

## 4. Historical Evidence:

There existed deep religious, political, social and economic differences between Muslims and Hindus and these differences couldn't be bridged over despite living for 1000 years side by side

### A. Religious Difference:

#### Ideological context:

In ideological context, Hindus and Muslims were diametrically opposed to each other in their religion. Stanley Wolpert wrote in his book 'India', "Hindu polytheism presents a most striking contrast to Islam monotheism than any other religion in the world." Islam was a divine religion, Hinduism is a manmade religion. Islam is an iconoclastic religion.

#### Practical context:

The bitter experience of Congress rule amply demonstrated that Hindus wanted to establish Ram Raj and Muslims apprehended that, their religious liberty would be eroded under Hindu rule.

### B. Political Difference:

Islam was essentially a democratic faith, whereas Hinduism with its class system favored a minoritarian rule. Islam favored majoritarian rule. Hinduism with its caste system, established that the right to rule was reserved for two upper classes, 'Brahmins and Khastries.'

Muslim feared that they would be subjected under the tyrant rule of Hindus. This provided the rationale for separate electorate and independence.



**C. Economic Differences:**

Islam was a proletariat faith. It abhorred concentration of wealth in few hands, it encouraged fair distribution through zakat and sadaqat whereas Hinduism was essentially a capitalistic religion. Hindus worshipped Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth. Usury was a chief source of income for Hindus. Hindus discriminated Muslims in jobs and tried to close all avenues of employment for Muslims.

**D. Social Differences:**

Hindus and Muslims belonged to different social structures. There is no difference of class system in Islam whereas Hindu social system was based on class system. The social difference was so stark that both nations did not intermingle even after 1000 years.

**5. Evolutionary factors of Two Nation Theory :****i. Hindu exclusiveness and Muslim Separateness:**

Both Hindus and Muslims tended to maintain their exclusive identity and couldn't be assimilated in each other when Muslims were in power, Hindu maintained their identity. Muslims being minority in India never intermingled with Hindus and preserved their separateness. Even when both nations were placed under tyrannical British rule it failed to produce sensible fusion between them.

**ii. Clash of Two Processes of revivalism:**

According to Professor Shareef ul Mujahid, the two nation theory further moved on as a result of clash of two processes of revivalism in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. Arya Samaj, Rama Krishna mission, Deo Samaj, Pratna Samaj were Hindu revivalist movements. Jihad movement, Aligarh movement, Himayat-e-Islam movement are Muslim revivalist movements.

**iii. Impact of British rule:**

British rule established administrative and political unity in India and thus created a strong sense of nationalism. Moreover, under the British rule, Indians were oriented towards the discourse of nationalism. It resulted into the mix of two sub-nationalism i.e. Muslim nationalism and Hindu nationalism. British rule created a realization that Indian had lost power and it instilled among Indian a sense of anti-imperialism which further provided impetus to Muslim separatism. British introduced new channels, avenues and instruments to articulate nationalist identity such as print capitalism culture.

**iv. Introduction of British institutions:**

Muslims deeply apprehended the transplantation of British representative in India on westminster model, British model. Under the electorates the Muslims thought that they would be placed under majoritarian rule of Hindus. Sir Syed Ahmad said that it should be like dice game in which one player has four chances and other has one.

**v. Congress' Anti-Muslim policies:**

Congress proved to be a completely antithetical to Muslim interests. Anti-Muslim policies of India National Congress espoused the cases of Hindus. It favoured one nation theory whereas Muslims demanded that there are two nations in India.

**vi. Role of Hindu Militant Organizations:**

Shudhi, Sangh Sangthan and Hindi Mahasba were the Hindu militant organizations. Shudhi was meant to forcibly throw Muslims out of India and try to reconvert Muslims to Hinduism. Sangthan imparted military training to Hindus. These also produced Blasphemous literature in 1920s and 30s to defame Islam and widened gaps between two nations.

**vii. Role of Personalities:**

Mujaddad Alf Sani, Shah Waliullah, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Iqbal, Mohsin ul Mulk and Muhammad Ali Jinnah played a pivotal role in enlightening Muslims about the separate identity and galvanized them to realize them as a separate nation from Hindus.

**viii. Cultural Factors:**

The use of cultural symbols further contributed to the rise of two nation theory. Urdu-Hindi controversy, row over cow slaughter also added fuel to fire.

**ix. Role of Historical Dynamics:**

Anti-Muslim policies of Indian National Congress, role of Hindus during the partition of Bengal, withdrawal of support by Gnadhi during Khilafat Movement, rejection of Muslim demands in Nehru report, Congress' anti-Muslim role during Round Table Conferences, atrocities of congress ministries, opposition to Pakistan demand during Round Table Conferences, atrocities of congress ministries, opposition to Pakistan demand during 1940s contributed to the rise of two nation theory.



**6. Significance of Two Nation Theory:****a. Basis of Individual Muslim Identity:**

The Two Nation Theory provided the basis of individual Muslim identity in the subcontinent. It made the Muslims realized that they were aloof from the Hindus in the socio-economic, cultural, religious and political domains of life.

**b. Evoked political consciousness:**

The Two Nation Theory gave a separate entity to the Muslims in the subcontinent. Resultantly, they started organizing themselves for taking political representation in the political system of British India. They made a separate political party known as All India Muslim League for the protection of Muslim interests and rights.

**c. Conceptual Dynamism to Pakistan movement:**

The Two Nation Theory provided not only a separate entity to the Muslims rather it also gave the conceptual dynamism to a separate state. This movement for separate state is known as Pakistan movement.

**d. Directed the Muslims towards their Destiny:**

The Two Nation Theory directed a straight way towards their destiny and that destiny was based upon a separate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent.

**e. Basis of Ideology of Pakistan:**

Two Nation Theory laid the foundation of the ideology of Pakistan, because the both (Two Nation Theory and ideology of Pakistan) are based upon the Islamic principles.

**f. Smashed the Myth of uni-nationalism:**

The Two Nation Theory smashed the myth of uni-nationalism. It emphasized that subcontinent was not consisted of Hindus only, rather it was comprised of various nationalities belonging to various religions and ideologies. And the Hindus and the Muslims were the two distinct and separate nations.

**g. Solution of Hindu-Muslim problem:**

The Two Nation Theory gave a practical solution to the long awaited and unresolved issues among the Hindus and the Muslims. This theory provided a basis for creating awareness among the Muslims for a separate state.



## Ideology of Pakistan

**Outline**

1. Introduction
2. Significance of Ideology
3. The Main components of the Ideology of Pakistan
  - i. Islamic Ideology
  - ii. Universalism of Islam
  - iii. Humanism
  - iv. Islam is complete code of life
  - v. Two Nation Theory
4. Interpretation of Ideology of Pakistan
5. Ideology in the Light of Founders' perception
6. Evolution of Ideology of Pakistan
7. Evolutionary factors of Ideology/ Why Pakistan was created:
  - i. Ideological conflicts
  - ii. Impact of revivalist movements
  - iii. Impact of British rule
  - iv. Role of Muslim personalities
  - v. British representative institutions and Muslim apprehensions
  - vi. Cultural factors
  - vii. Desire for formation of a separate state
  - viii. Historical factors
  - ix. Pan-Islamic consciousness
  - x. Role of Muslim press
  - xi. Sagacity of Jinnah's politics
  - xii. Role of Congress ministries
  - xiii. Impact of 2<sup>nd</sup> World War
8. Significance of Ideology of Pakistan
9. Difference between Ideology and Two Nation Theory



## 1. Introduction:

Ideology assumes unique significance in the creation of Pakistan. Pakistan came into being as a result of movement which was inspired by ideology of Pakistan. Ideology of Pakistan provided main rationale behind Pakistan movement *raison d'être* (reasons for existence).

### Meaning of Ideology:

Ideology is comprised of two words, 'ideas' and 'logos' which means system of ideas. The term 'ideology' gained popular currency after the publication of **Karl Marx's** book 'German Ideology'. The term ideology was coined by a French philosopher **Dsetutt Dedtracy**. He described ideology as 'a science of ideas with a mission.' In general sense, ideology refers to a set of ideas, programme of life, system of collective thoughts.

## 2. Significance of Ideology:

Ideology plays an important role in nation building. It is considered as one of the important factors among the subjective factors of nationhood. Ideology plays a binding role and it unites people belonging to various races, ethnic stocks & backgrounds around a single platform. Ideology provides self-consciousness of being one and the worth of ideology depends upon people's commitment to it. This significance of ideology is also acknowledged by western philosophers as well e.g. Hertz. He considers the presence of consciousness as a pre-requisite for a nation. He has defined nation in these terms. **"There could be no nation without sufficient degree of consciousness."**

This consciousness is provided by ideology. In Islam, the concept of ideology is entirely different from western conception. Islamic concept of nationhood is essentially ideological. Islamic ideology plays a unifying function, it gives Muslim self-consciousness of being one, Iqbal defined nation in terms of unity of thoughts.

## 3. The Main components of the Ideology of Pakistan:

The creation of Pakistan was the outcome of ideological nationalism evoked by two nation theory and Pakistan came into being as an independent state. It consists of two components:

### a. Islamic Ideology:

Islamic ideology is the aggregate of collective teachings of Islam as provided by Quran and Sunnah. It aims at development of

society based on the injunctions of Islam. The salient features of Islamic ideology are:

### b. Universalism of Islam:

Islam is a universal religion and its message is not meant for any specific race, territory and community. Rather this religion is the religion of all humanity.

### c. Humanism:

It is enshrined in human values and caters for the requirements of all human beings. Islam always stresses upon the adoption of humanistic values rather than individual characteristics in the society.

### d. Islam is complete code of life:

Islam does not divide life into watertight compartments such as divine, temporal, material, spiritual etc. In Islam, there is no bifurcation between spirit and matter, church and state. They form a part of integrated whole. Islam maintains a balance between individualism and collectivism.

### e. Two Nation Theory:

Hindus and Muslims are separate nations. India has never been an abode of a single nation, rather it was always inhabited two or more nations and among them Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations. Two Nation Theory provided conceptual inspiration behind Pakistan movement and Muslim struggle and ideology of Pakistan was based on two nation theory. With the passage of time, Two Nation Theory evolved into ideology of Pakistan.

## 4. Interpretation of Ideology of Pakistan:

Ideology of Pakistan means that Pakistan was created as a state in which Muslims would be provided with every opportunity to preserve their 'Separate Cultural Identity.'

The creation of Pakistan was the outcome of the desire to enable Muslims to order their lives according to the teaching of Quran & Sunnah. Mother interpretation of ideology of Pakistan is that it was created to provide complete freedom and religious liberties to Muslims. A conducive environment in which Muslims could implement the collective teachings of Islam. Pakistan was created as a laboratory where we could experiment.

Ideology of Pakistan in its true sense may be equated with Islam. Ideology of Pakistan is another name of Islamic Ideology.



## 5. Ideology in the Light of Founders' perception:

### Allama Iqbal:

Allama Iqbal was elected as president of 'All India Muslim Conference' in March 1932. He said, "We should infuse Islam in our individual and collective life, which might become helpful for a strong country." Allama Iqbal said about Pan-Islamism: "Muslims should unequivocally declare that they regard themselves as a nation, separate from other nations in India, and they like to live as such. They desire to exist as a separate cultural entity"

**Jinnah:** In March, 1940, M.A Jinnah said, 'Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation. They must have their homeland, territory and a state. We wish to live in peace with our neighbours as a free and independent people.'

In 1941, Jinnah declared that the ideology of Muslim League would be Islam. On 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 1941, Jinnah said, 'We are a nation and a nation must have a territory. Nation does not live in the air, it lives on the land. It must govern land and it must have a territorial state that is what you want to get.'

## 6. Evolution of Ideology of Pakistan:

The evolution started when first non-Muslim embraced Islam in India. According to **Prof. Munawar Mirza**, this quotation of **Quaid-e-Azam** can be said in these terms, "The conversion of first Muslim was insignificant. What was significant was that it gave birth to a new ideology which was to survive, individuals die but ideologies do not."

The evolution of ideology of Pakistan started in real sense in 19<sup>th</sup> century under the realization of British subjugation. This realization resulted into two response, the Islamists and Ulama declared India as 'Dar-ul Harb,' 'an abode of war' and vowed to transform it into 'Dar-ul-Islam.' So the traditionalists' desire was to purge India of all Un-Islamic influences.

The other response came from modernists in their quest for establishment of territorial state despite Islamic ideology. The modernist desire took the shape of demand for establishment of a state. For instance, Iqbal while addressing Aligarh students in 1910 said, "Islam is a state." In 1915, **Ch. Rehmat Ali**, while addressing Bazm-e-Shibli declared that, "Northern India is Muslim and we will transform it into a Muslim state." In 1930, **Iqbal** provided a geographical basis to this conception in his famous Allahabad Address. He identified the areas where the proposed Muslim state

was to be created. In 1933, **Ch. Rehmat Ali** coined the term "Pakistan."

This demand received further impetus with the popularity of partition proposals in 1930s. Thus, The Two Nation Theory evolved into a specific ideology till 1940s.

## 7. Evolutionary factors of Ideology

- Ideological conflicts
- Impact of revivalist movements
- Impact of British rule
- Role of Muslim personalities
- British representative institutions and Muslim apprehensions
- Cultural factors
- Desire for formation of a separate state
- Historical factors
- Pan-Islamic consciousness
- Role of Muslim press
- Sagacity of Jinnah's politics
- Role of Congress ministries
- Impact of 2<sup>nd</sup> World War

## 8. Significance of Ideology of Pakistan:

### i. Basis of a separate state:

The concept of ideology of Pakistan provides a basis for the establishment of a separate state.

### ii. Crushed the myth of uni-nationalism of united India:

As the concept of ideology of Pakistan is based on the concept of the Two Nation Theory, therefore it crushed the myth of uni-nationalism in the United India.

### iii. Beacon of light for the state of Pakistan:

The doctrine of the ideology of Pakistan has proved a beacon of light for the state of Pakistan. It was projected in the constitutional framework of Pakistani state.



## 9. Difference between Ideology and Two Nation Theory:

- The Two Nation Theory started in 7th century, whereas ideology took birth in 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- The Two Nation Theory is the basis of ideology of Pakistan, not vice versa.
- The Two Nations Theory is the basis of Muslim nationhood; ideology is the basis of statehood.
- The Two Nations Theory provides with the rationale of 'united against Hindus' whereas ideology provided with the rationale of 'United for Pakistan.'
- The Two Nations Theory ended in 1947 after the creation of Pakistan, whereas ideology still exists in Pakistan's context and has intricate the state.



## Partition of Bengal

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Causes of partition of Bengal
  - i. Administrative inconvenience
  - ii. Limited sources of communication
  - iii. Linguistic difference
  - iv. High rate of crime
  - v. Lack of Educational facilities
  - vi. No progress in Eastern districts
3. Partition Plan
4. Muslim's Response
  - i. Muslim numerical advantage
  - ii. Widened the Muslim prosperity
  - iii. Free from Hindu restraints
  - iv. Political uplift
  - v. Need of Muslim organization (AIML)
  - vi. Hindu Response
  - vii. Reaction from Hindu capitalists
  - viii. Loss of the Practice of Hindu Lawyers
  - ix. Loss of political domination
  - x. Reaction of Hindu Press
5. Annulment at Delhi Coronation Darbar
6. Results and Effects
7. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

Perhaps nothing illustrates so well the validity of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's reading of the Hindu mind as the agitation against the partition of Bengal. The act of Curzon administration plunged the country into deep and fearful



internal strife and brought the two communities into open hostility, fuelling the Muslims out of their political lethargy.

## 2. Causes of partition

There are various causes behind the partition of Bengal into two parts;

### a. British Administrative inconvenience:

Bengal with an area of 189000 square miles, embracing the population of about 86 million was too unwieldy to be administered efficiently by one lieutenant governor. He could not make even a tour of the whole province when it needed. Its huge size made Bengal difficult for running administration.

### b. Limited sources of communication:

It was difficult for the British government to establish an organized network of communications all over the province. Particularly in the East Bengal, the communication network was based on primitive system. Now it could not survive according to the modern requirements of the age.

### c. Linguistic difference:

There was a great linguistic difference between the population of the Eastern and western parts of Bengal districts. The Bengali language spoken in the Eastern Bengal was known as Muslamani. While the Western people considered superior as compared to those of the eastern Bengal.

### d. High rate of crime:

Consisting of the large territory and having the huge bulk of population, the crime rate was very high in the united Bengal. It had become impossible for the British Police to control the criminals and anti-social elements. Police had become virtually almost non-existent.

### e. Lack of Educational facilities:

The British allocated minimal funds for the education sector of East Bengal. This meager allocation of funds could not provide any fruitful impacts over the people of East Bengal. Resultantly, East Bengal had become a victim of shameful government apathy.

### f. No progress in Eastern districts:

In the united province of Bengal, the British utilized all welfare funds in the Western districts of Bengal. They had no allocation and funds for the opening of new projects and programmes in the eastern zone of Bengal. Resultantly, the East

Bengal lacked progress and prosperity as compared to the western Bengal.

### g. No Trade for East Bengal:

The Export trade of Assam was hampered because Calcutta authorities were indifferent from the needs of Chittagong port and there was an urgent need to take the matter out of their purview. The raw material was produced in the East Bengal, while the factories were situated in the West Bengal. *Dr. Abdul Hamid* said about the partition of Bengal, "If it had not been attempted by Curzon, it could not be delayed much longer after him."

## 3. Partition Plan:

In 1905, the provinces of Bengal and Assam were reconstituted so as to form two provinces of manageable size. Bengal had a population of 54 million with 42 million Hindus. East Bengal and Assam was the other province with the population of 18 million Muslims and 12 million Hindus. Decca was made its capital. It consisted of 106650 square miles.

## 4. Muslim's Response:

It received a favourable response from the Muslims. Though the Muslims never made a demand for partition of Bengal, but it was beneficial for Muslims in many respects.

### a. Muslim numerical advantage:

The new province had a population of 31 million with 18 million Muslims having numerical superiority over the Hindus.

### b. Widened the Muslim prosperity:

This partition provided a hope to widen the prosperity of the Muslims as a community in Bengal. In this way, this British step grew the possibility of Muslim brighter economic life. It was hoped that they would get rid of the hundred years of exploitation by the Hindu Capitalists, who were controlling the entire economic life of the united Bengal.

### c. Free from Hindu restraints:

The Muslims hoped that their status would be raised in society as they were in numerical strength. They hoped that they would be free from the restraints of Hindu society.

### d. Political uplift:

The partition would result in the political uplift of the Muslims in Bengal. Now they would be able to secure jobs and representation in the government institutions.



**e. Need of Muslim organization (AIML):**

The events following the partition of Bengal strengthened the desire of the Muslims to organize themselves politically as a separate community. The birth of All India Muslim League on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1906 came as an expression of that desire.

**5. Hindu Response:**

The Hindus did not like this partition, as it dealt a death blow to their monopolies and exclusive hold on economic, political life of the whole Bengal. Hindus called it as a deliberate attempt of the British government to disrupt the national solidarity and Bengali nationalism. They termed **Lord Curzon** as the upholder of the British official policy of "Divide and Rule".

**a. Reaction from Hindu capitalists:**

Partition of Bengal had brightened the possibility of the betterment of the Muslims. The Hindu capitalists wanted to continue the exploitation of the Muslims.

**b. Loss of the Practice of Hindu Lawyers:**

Hindu lawyers opposed partition. They thought that the new province would have its separate courts, thus their practice would be affected.

**c. Loss of political domination:**

After the partition of Bengal, Hindus did not want to share their power with the Muslims in the subcontinent. They perceived that partition of Bengal meant they would lose their political dominance over the whole province. So they did not want to lose their political hold over the United Bengal.

**d. Reaction of Hindu Press:**

The Hindu press was not different from that of the Hindu advocates. Hindus had their monopoly over the whole press of the province. They were afraid that newspapers would be established in the new province.

**6. Annulment at Delhi Coronation Darbar:**

King George V announced the annulment of Bengal at Delhi Coronation Darbar on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1911. *Prof. Shafiq-ur-Rehman* said, "The most settled of the all the settled facts was unsettled by the announcement by the King at Delhi".

**7. Results and Effects:**

The partition of Bengal had serious consequences upon the Indian subcontinent.

- i. The Congress and Hindu reaction towards the partition of Bengal made the Muslims convinced that they would not want Muslim representation in the Indian administrative structure. The Hindus had no courage to face the Muslim prosperity.
- ii. *Nawab Salim Ullah* says, "The partition of Bengal bestowed new life and new image to the Muslims."
- iii. The Muslims developed self-confidence in them and were on the way of gradual progress. It proved that Congress did not care for any community except Hindus.
- iv. The annulment of the partition of Bengal proved that in future, Muslims would have to fight for their rights alone.
- v. The thinking of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan "Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations" proved correct.

**8. Conclusion:**

It may be concluded that the partition of Bengal exposed the Hindu mentality towards the Muslim representation in the British administrative system. It also illustrates the opinion of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan towards the Hindu mind. The annulment of the partition of Bengal only satisfied Hindu urge, but it provided nothing to the Muslims. Though this partition was never a demand of the Muslims, but this British step provided many benefits to the Muslims as a community.





## Simla Deputation (1906)

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Background/ Factors
  - i. Death of Sir Syed Ahmed
  - ii. Rise of Hindu Nationalism
  - iii. Results of 1892 elections
  - iv. 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of Urdu Hindi Controversy
  - v. Anti-partition Movement against the Partition of Bengal
  - vi. Coming of Liberal Party to Power in England (1905)
  - vii. Morley's Budget Speech (20 July, 1906)
3. Formation of Simla Deputation
4. Features/ demands of Simla Deputation
5. Demands
6. Reactions
7. Significance
8. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

**S**imla deputation is regarded as a landmark in the history of modern Muslim India. It marked the beginning of Muslim political movement in India. Simla deputation provided great impetus to Muslim nationalism. For the first time, Hindu Muslim conflict was lifted to the constitutional plan.

### 2. Background/ Factors:

#### i. Death of Sir Syed Ahmed:

Muslim politics followed the path devised by Sir Syed for almost a quarter of a century. Sir Syed had advised Muslims to

eschew politics as long as he was alive he safeguarded the rights and interests of Muslims. But his demise in 1898, created a vacuum. There was no body left to step into his shoes and Muslims were lacking any other personality to organize Muslims. Muslims were left with no other option but to enter politics.

#### ii. Rise of Hindu Nationalism:

With the passage of time, Indian nationalistic politics assumed anti-Muslim hues as it was evident from anti-Muslim role played by B.G Tilak, Balpal Lai (Lala Lajpat Roy, Bipan Chandra Pal). These nationalist Hindus used cultural symbols like Shiwa Jee cult and Gan Pati festivals to evoke Hindu passion and sentiments against Muslims. This nationalism received further impetus by the rise of INC, which proved to be an exclusive Hindu party.

#### iii. Results of 1892 elections:

In 1892, Indian council elections were held and for the first time, elective principle was introduced in India. These actually were nominations in which the government gave representation among the provided list of members. These elections were held on the basis of joint electorates, therefore, no Muslim representative could be elected. Muslims grew suspicious about the repercussions of the transplantation of Western representation model in India. (West minister model)

#### iv. 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of Urdu Hindi Controversy:

On 18<sup>th</sup> April, 1900, U.P Governor Anthony MacDonnel declared Hindi as second official language in UP. This aroused Muslim concerns and apprehensions and they realized that they had to enter politics to safeguard their rights.

#### v. Anti-Bengal partition Movement:

After the partition of Bengal, Hindus launched a vilification campaign against Muslims of Bengal. This also became one of the factors behind the formation of Simla deputation.

#### vi. Coming of Liberal Party to Power in England:

In 1905, Liberal Party came to power in England and its coming to power presaged more sweeping democratic reforms in India. Now Lord Minto was appointed as Viceroy and John Morley as Secretary of State for India. Minto was a constitutionalist and he had been serving as Governor General of Canada, a self-governing dominion. Their appointments aroused great expectations among the Indians that a new dose of reforms would be introduced. Muslims feared that these reforms would be



based on joint electorates, so they presented their demands to Lord Minto.

#### vii. Morley's Budget Speech:

On 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1906, Morley made a budget speech in the House of Commons. It foreshadowed the transplantation of western representative in India as per British model. Morley later instructed Viceroy Minto to look into the prospects of new democratic reforms. Minto established a committee comprising members of the Governor General's executive council. This committee is known as 'Arnold Committee.' These developments awakened Muslims from slumber and galvanized their activity behind the formation of Simla deputation and Muslim League. Dr. Razi Wasti is of the view that Muslims had awakened in 20<sup>th</sup> Century and Simla Deputation was outcome of this awakening.

### 3. Formation of Simla Deputation:

Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk took serious notice of these developments of Morley's budget speech. The other dignitaries of Muslims were Nawab Ismail Khan, Khwaja Yousaf Shah, Hassan Bilgarami, Nawab Ali Choudhry. They diverted Muslim attention towards that issue. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote letter to Archbold, principal of Aligarh college on 6<sup>th</sup> August. In this letter, he expressed the desire that Muslims wanted to see Viceroy Lord Minto. Mohsin-ul-Mulk asked Archbold to keep contact with Dunlop Smith, Secretary of Governor General Minto. He contacted Dunlop Smith and wrote back to Mohsin-ul-Mulk on 10<sup>th</sup> August in which he told that Viceroy was willing to see Muslim deputation. After receiving Viceroy's positive response, they started preparation for the formation of deputation.

For this purpose, a meeting of Muslims was held in Lucknow on 15-16 September. During this meeting, its address was prepared by Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Imad-ud-Din, Syed Hassan Bilghari. Simla Deputation comprised of 35 members. It included Muslims representatives from all over India. The prominent members of Simla Deputation included Sir Agha Khan who also headed the delegation. Others included Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Waqar-ul-Mulk, Nawab Salim ullah Khan, Sir Adámjee Pir Bhai. The deputation met viceroy on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1906.

### 4. Features/Demands of Simla Deputation:

The address of Simla Deputation was extremely moderate in tone. It complimented British rule which brought freedom of worship and personal liberty. The deputation criticized the system of

representation in municipalities, district boards and legislative council and dwell deeply on problems of Muslims as a community.

### 5. Demands:

The Simla deputation presented the following charter of demands to the Governor General:

- a. The Muslims should be given the right to vote under separate electoral system.
- b. The Muslims should be given representation in the Imperial Legislative Council in excess of their population.
- c. Electoral system should be given preference over nomination system as far as possible.
- d. The Muslims should be given their due share in the gazetted and non-gazetted cadres assorting to a specific proportion.
- e. The Muslims should be appointed as the Judges of High courts as well as Chief courts.
- f. Seats should be reserved for Muslims on the senates and syndicates of various universities.
- g. Financial help should be given for the setting up of a Muslim university.
- h. The Muslims should be given representation in the Executive council of Governor General.

This address ended on the note of loyalty to British Raj. Viceroy's response to the deputation was non-committal but it was extremely sympathetic. Viceroy agreed with the deputation's opinion that the scheme of electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure, if it aimed at granting personal enfranchisement, regardless of beliefs and traditions of communities living in India. Viceroy told the Muslims that their rights and interests would be preserved.

### 6. Reactions:

Hindu politicians and writers referred to the demands of Simla deputation with contempt. Writers tried to lessen the importance of Simla deputation. Amrit Bajar Patrika commended that it was not an All India deputation rather it was engineered by interested officials. Congress leaders called it the beginning of unending Imperial policy of divide and rule. Those Hindu leaders described it as a ploy-scheme. Some of the Hindus termed it as a 'command performance.'



Muslims, by and large welcomed the Simla deputation. Syed Ameer Ali described it as most important declaration made by Viceroy of India after Lord Ripon of 1882.

## 7. Significance:

- i. First formal demand of separate electorates on the basis of two-nation theory.
- ii. For the first time, Hindu-Muslim conflict was lifted to the constitutional plane.
- iii. It began the Muslim political movement in India.
- iv. The demands of Simla deputation were to be considered the Magna Carta of Pakistan movement.
- v. Lord Minto accepted the Muslim demand of separate electorates.
- vi. A well-known scholar, Dr. Razi Wasti mentions in his book, "Political Triangle in India" – its fiscal and inevitable consequence was the partition of India and emergence of Pakistan.
- vii. **Jamil-ud-din Ahmad** describes in his book, "Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement", "The new generation that was coming out of the Aligarh College or was influenced by the spirit of the Aligarh Movement was imbibing a national consciousness. They were becoming alive to their duty to strive for an honourable place for their nation in the larger political life that was opening out in the country."<sup>1</sup>
- viii. For **Syed Ameer Ali**, it contained and carried two fold significance; a) beginning of the Muslim Politics and b) the attitude of the British policy towards the Muslims.
- ix. It remained focal point of Muslim politics in the subsequent years.
- x. It gave great impetus to Muslim nationalism in India.
- xi. Its various demands were accepted.
- xii. It made possible the survival of Muslims in India.
- xiii. **Abdul Hamid** describes in his book, Muslim Separatism in India, "The acceptance of the deputation's demand proved to be a turning point in the history of the sub-continent. Its final and inevitable consequence was the partition of 1947."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jamil-ud-din Ahmad, *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement* ( ), p. 2  
<sup>2</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India*, p. 75-76

## Simla Deputation as Command Performance

"The Hindu press of Calcutta subsequently started a smear campaign against the sponsors of this deputation which only served to consolidate the Muslims."<sup>3</sup> Accompanying the Simla Deputation, Muhammad Ali, called it a "command performance" in his presidential address to the Coonda Congress of 1923. This may be a piece of brilliant rather than accurate phrase-making, for in that very context he also says: "From whatever source the inspiration may have proceeded there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated. In the common territorial elections the Muslims had certainly not succeeded in securing anything like adequate or real representation."<sup>4</sup>

He further observes, the British systematic administrative pro-Muslim policies are "untenable. No imperialism is conscious-stricken. The British may have been partial to Muslims here and there, but they never hesitated to reverse their plans when it suited their interests."<sup>5</sup>

Even if the deputation was a command performance, the deputations did not make a dictated demand. They got an opportunity to voice a grievance from which they had suffered for long. Hindu writers usually refer to the Simla Deputation with contempt, for they saw it as just one of the many symptoms of the anti-national and unpatriotic proclivities of the Indian Muslims. *Mr. Lal Bahadur* typifies this attitude when he says "the evidence in this respect (of its being a command performance) is so overwhelming that any attempt at its refutation would be altogether useless."<sup>6</sup>

This overwhelming evidence adduced by him consists, first, of Archbold's letter to Mehdi Ali noticed; secondly Archbold's letter written to an unnamed correspondent saying that he had taken a leading part in the whole affair, that he was in possession of much interesting and relevant correspondence and that it was not his place to publish what he remembered about it; and thirdly the fact that Archbold was at Simla when the College was in session. Archbold's letter to Mehdi Ali has been examined already. His own testimony about his great role in the transaction and his reluctance to speak on the subject does not justify the verdict that Lal Bahadur has based on undisclosed evidence.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 75-76

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 76

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 76

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 76



Moreover, Archbold's criticism of Aligarh leadership may have been prejudiced for the circumstances in which he was made to leave Aligarh were far from flattering, and this may have resulted in his later references to the institution and its associates being oblige and uncomplimentary. Finally if it had been associated with Aligarh and its affairs, he would have realized that Aligarh had its long vacation in the rainy season and that it was usual for Principals of M.A.O. College to spend this period at Simla.

A close study of the whole affair suggests that the deputation represented the early stirring of a national consciousness. It forestalled and, therefore, weakened the conflict between the Muslims and the Government which actually developed after 1911. In that case the Muslims might well have launched a struggle on their own initiative. In this particular instance, success was achieved before the struggle had started and this created the unfortunate impression that the Government was fighting the political battle on behalf of the Muslims. The idea was assiduously propagated by the Hindu Press and, tragically enough, some important sections of the Muslims could not rid themselves of such a comforting and reassuring notion.



## All India Muslim League (December 1906)

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Factors Leading to the Establishment of AIML
  - i. Death of Sir Syed
  - ii. Rise of Hindu Nationalism
  - iii. Elections of 1892
  - iv. Resurgence of Urdu Hindi Controversy
  - v. Anti-Muslim Agitation against Partition of Bengal
  - vi. Role of Muslim Press
  - vii. Coming of Liberal Party to Power (1905)
  - viii. Morley's Budget Speech (20<sup>th</sup> July, 1906)
  - ix. Simla Deputation
  - x. Miscellaneous Factors
3. Establishment of AIML
4. Objectives of AIML
5. Organization and Structure
6. Change of Creed
7. Factors Responsible for Change in creed of AIML
  - i. Disillusionment with British
  - ii. Anti-Muslim Policies of British
  - iii. Annulment of Partition of Bengal (12<sup>th</sup> December, 1911)
  - iv. Invasion of Turkey by Balkan States (1911-1912)
  - v. Radical Change inside AIML
  - vi. Role of Jinnah

### 1. Introduction:

**T**he establishment of League is considered a milestone of Muslim politics in India. It marked a real beginning of true Muslim political struggle in 20<sup>th</sup> century. It paved way and



played a vital role in spear-heading its final destination i.e. Pakistan. It also played a remarkable role in relying the Muslims around a single platform.

## 2. Factors Leading to the Establishment of AIML:

Following are the factors behind the establishment of All India Muslim League (AIML):

### i. Death of Sir Syed:

Muslim tried to avoid politics during the time of Sir Syed, but they joined politics after his death due to the necessity of events. Muslims had to enter politics at the turn of the century.

### ii. Rise of Hindu Nationalism:

The second factor that forced Muslims to enter politics was rise of Hindu nationalism. This nationalism was expounded by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Roy, Bipin Chandra Pal. Bal Gangadhar Tilak wrote a series of articles against cow slaughter and presented Shiwa Jee, a notorious anti-Muslim warrior, as a hero. He introduced Gan Pati festival. These were the symbols of heightened, anti-Muslim posture and took the tinge of Muslim enmity.

### iii. Elections of 1892:

The results of 1892 elections resulted in Muslim reawakening. For the first time, elective principle was introduced at council level in India and in these elections no Muslim representative could get elected. This aroused the apprehension among Muslims that if this unabated system of elections would be continued, Hindu majority rule would be established and Muslims would be subjected to perpetual subjugation based on West Minister Model.

### iv. Resurgence of Urdu Hindi Controversy:

Syed Raza Ali is of the view that, "The seeds planted by Mc Donel on April, 18, 1900, slowly got firm roots in ground and in six years appeared in the form of a plant." Establishment of Indian National Congress came into being in 1885 and walked for one nation theory. It Bypassed Muslim and joint elections, jobs on merit were demanded by Congress. Muslim realized that they need to have a separate political party. Urdu-Hindi controversy was the main motive behind the creation of AIML because Muslims realized that their interests could not be safeguarded without a party.

In 1900, some 3,000 Muslim delegates assembled in Lucknow. It was the first political meeting of Muslims since 1857. Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Waqar-ul-Mulk were forerunners of the AIML. On account of the government opposition, a political party could not be established because government had threatened to stop grant-in-aid to the Aligarh Institute.

### v. Anti-Muslim Agitation Against Partition of Bengal:

Though Bengal was partitioned on the basis of administrative reason, but Hindus started a vilification campaign against the Muslims. Amid this movement, Muslims badly felt a need for a political party to counterpoise Congress propaganda.

### vi. Role of Muslim Press:

Various Muslim newspapers like *Paisa Akhbar*, *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, *Pioneer*, *Shifa-ul-Mulk*, *Asrar-e-Jadeed*, *Qul Qul*, *Zulqarnain*, *Al-Azeem*, *Urdu-e-Mualla* sowed a realization among its readers a sense of political awareness. Ali Raza contended that Muslims would come to politics. In this support of growing demand of a political party, *Nawab Ismail Khan*, *Mohsin-ul-Mulk*, *Molvi Mehdi Hassan* wrote forceful articles.

### vii. Coming of Liberal Party to Power:

In 1905, Liberal Party won the elections in England and appointed Lord Minto as Viceroy and John Morley as Secretary of State of India. The appointment of Minto and Morley presaged the introduction of more democratic reforms in India. This lifted the expectations of Muslims regarding the prospective changes based on the principle of joint electorates.

### viii. Morley's Budget Speech:

John Morley made his famous speech on 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1906 in House of Commons. This speech foreshadowed the transplantation of Western representative institutions in India. This development awakened the Muslims from deep slumber and compelled them to action. Minto established an 'Arandal Committee' in order to implement new reforms. Amid this backdrop, Mohsin-ul-Mulk and other Muslim dignitaries now proceeded to raise the demand for separate electorate at higher level by arranging a meeting with Viceroy.

### ix. Simla Deputation:

Simla Deputation met Viceroy on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1906 and demanded the solution of certain issues by presenting them to Viceroy. Viceroy assured the deputationists of sympathetic



consideration but there was no guarantee that Viceroy would abide by his commitment, therefore, Muslims deemed it necessary to establish a political party in order to maintain and constantly pressurize the Viceroy to accept the demands raised by Simla deputation. So this proved to be the immediate cause behind the establishment of AIML.

#### Miscellaneous Factors:

K.K. Aziz, in his book, '*The Making of Pakistan*', considers four factors to be crucial for the creation of AIML.

- One belief expounded by Sir Syed that Muslims were a separate entity.
- The Hindu character of Indian National Congress.
- Muslims' desire to have their own exclusive electorates for all representative institutions.
- Political awakening among Muslims was in direct proportion to the spread of education.

*Mati-ur-Rehman* attributed the establishment of League that it was neither a Mushroom growth, nor it was a creation.

### 3. Establishment of AIML:

After Simla deputation, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sir Agha Khan, Nawab Salim Ullah Khan showed intention of making a political party for Muslim interests e.g. Syed Ameer Ali stressed the need for the establishment of a separate political party. Nawab Salim Ullah Khan proposed that the name of political party should be, 'All India Muslim Confederacy.' This must be deliberated after the session of AIMEC in December in Dhaka. This demand of Nawab Saleem was opposed by Hindu newspaper, 'Bengali,' which said that AIML reminds us of Khalsa confederacy.

On 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1906, AIMEC session was held and after the session a separate meeting was held by delegates. Some 3,000 Muslim delegates met under the president ship of **Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk** and decided to establish AIML. The resolution for the establishment of AIML was moved by **Nawab Salim Ullah Khan**, seconded by **Hakeem Ajmal** and supported by dozens of delegates.

### 4. Objectives of AIML:

The resolution which was moved for the establishment of AIML stated there objectives which are as follows:

- To foster a sense of loyalty towards the British government among the Muslims.
- To look after the political interests of Muslims.
- To bring about a better understanding between Muslim and other communities.

### 5. Organization and Structure:

The membership of League was limited to just 400 members. A central committee was established, which was later remained 'council of AIML.' Its executive body comprised one president, 6 six vice presidents, one secretary and two joint secretaries. The central committee (council) was to elect president for each annual session. During 1908-1919, there were two permanent presidents, **Sir Agha Khan (1908-1912)** and **Raja Sahid of Mehmoodabad till 1919**. After 1934, AIML elected its presidents annually. During 1908-1933, 7 secretaries served AIML. From 1936, **Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan** became secretary and held this office till 1947.

- April 1907, Pune Muslim League was established by **Maulvi Rafiuddin**.
- In November, 1908, Madras Muslim League was established.
- In 1909, AIML was organized at district level in Deccan. In the same year (1909) Bombay Presidency Muslim League was established.
- In October, 1909, East Bengal Muslim League was established.
- On December, 01, 1907, Punjab Muslim League was established.

### 6. Change of Creed:

On 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1913 Jinnah proposed to change the creed of Muslim League. Now, a fourth objective was added to its already three existing objectives and that was: To attain suitable self-government for India under the aegis of British.

### 7. Factors Responsible for Change in creed of AIML:

#### i. Disillusionment with British:

##### a. Anti-Muslim Policies of British:

Muslims grew increasingly disillusioned towards the British on account of anti-Muslim policies of British. Now, the British began supporting anti-Muslim forces against the Turkey (Ottoman Empire). Kanpur Mosque tragedy, delay in elevating the status of Aligarh



College to university by government also created a rift between Muslims and British.

#### **b. Annulment of Partition of Bengal:**

The British accepted the demand of Indian National Congress and the Hindus for the annulment of the partition of Bengal on 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1911, which dashed the Muslim feelings for self-determination in the Indian subcontinent.

#### **ii. Invasion of Turkey by Balkan States (1911-1912):**

In Turkish-Balkan war, British openly sided with anti-Turk forces which infuriated Muslims. Muslims sent twenty three members medical delegation to Turkey under **Dr. Ansari**. It comprised of 4 doctors, and 6 dispensers. 19 out of 23 members went to Turkey on their own expenditure.

#### **iii. Radical Change inside AIML:**

Central office of AIML was shifted from Aligarh to Lucknow; was a more congenial place for political activities. Other changes were:

- a. All India Muslim League reduced the age limit for its members from 25 to 21 years.
- b. All India Muslim League reduced the membership fee from Rs. 25 down to Rs. 20, and provided an opportunity for the new members that the membership fee could be paid in installments.
- c. Emergence of new cadres of leadership which was known as young group and Aziz Mirza was appointed as new Secretary. These young people were more nationalist.
- d. In 1912, Ameer Ali resigned as President of London Muslim League, Sir Agha Khan resigned as Permanent President of AIML. Mohsin-ul-Mulk died in 1907.

This change of old guard was changed and replaced by new nationalist cadre which could cooperate with Hindus.

#### **Role of Jinnah:**

Jinnah insisted that AIML political objectives should be highlighted and AIML should change its creed. Its objectives became identical with those of Indian National Congress. Now Jinnah joined League.

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## **Minto-Morley Reforms (1909)**

### **Outline**

1. Introduction
2. Factors
  - a. Process of constitutional Reforms
  - b. Political Awakening
  - c. Voice of National Congress
  - d. Establishment of Representative Government
  - e. Reaction against the Partition of Bengal
  - f. Formation of All India-Muslim League
  - g. Lord Minto's efforts for Indian support
3. Features
  - i. enhancement of Indians in Governor General's Executive Council (GGEC)
  - ii. Right of Separate Electorate
  - iii. To broaden the powers of Imperial Legislative Council
  - iv. Right to ask supplementary Questions
  - v. Right to move Resolution
  - vi. Enhancement of members in the provincial council
  - vii. Inclusion of SP Sinha in Viceroy Executive Council
4. Significance
5. Conclusion

### **1. Introduction:**

**T**he Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 occupy a great significant position in the constitutional history of the sub-continent. The British introduced these reforms to lessen the severity of the Indians particularly the Hindus, which was a result of reaction



against the partition of Bengal. The Minto-Morley Reforms was another step on the part of the British Government towards the establishment of a representative government in India.

## 2. Factors:

Following were the factors and causes behind the announcement of Minto Morley Reforms in 1909.

### a. Process of constitutional Reforms:

The constitutional process was started by the British with the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1861. Similarly the British also passed an Act in 1892, but these Acts could not produce fruitful results for the Indians. In order to fulfill the thirst of the Indians, the British introduced the Reforms of 1909.

### b. Voice of Indian National Congress:

All India National Congress started to criticize the British constitutional reforms package. They also raised voice for more democratization and more Indian representation in the representative institutions. Their voice for the Indians spread consciousness among the Indians.

### c. Political Awakening:

Various factors like making of Indian National Congress, failure of the British Reforms of 1861 and 1892, partition of Bengal and Hindu reaction against it, formation of Muslim League, the Universities Act and steps of Lord Curzon provoked the feelings of Indian. Now the Indians became convinced that the British would give them their rights of citizenship in their state.

### d. Establishment of Representative Government:

The British government wanted to redress the grievances of Indians against the British, because Partition of Bengal aggrieved the major section of the population. Therefore the British government made an attempt to for the establishment of representative government in the subcontinent.

### e. Reaction against the Partition of Bengal:

Some historians claimed that "Minto-Morley reforms were introduced to bring an end to the agitation against the partition of Bengal."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Saeed, *Trek to Pakistan* (Pakistan, 2009), p.111

## f. Formation of All India-Muslim League:

The Establishment of All India Muslim League and its activities spread consciousness among the Muslims of the sub-continent. Now they became aware for the protection and preservation of their rights.

## g. Lord Minto's efforts for Indian support:

After becoming Governor General in 1905, Lord Minto tried to win the support of Indians particularly the Hindus, Muslims and moderates Indians. At that time, the Hindus launched a forceful agitation against the partition of Bengal. In order to get their support, he began to say that more representation would be given to the Indians in the British representative institutions.

## 3. Features

### i. Enhancement of Indians in GGEC:

The British government enhanced the members of the Governor General's Executive Council and it was increased to sixty (60). It was a step for creation of an Assembly within an assembly.

### ii. Right of Separate Electorate:

Under the Reforms, the British government gave the right of separate electorate for the Muslims.

### iii. To broaden the powers of Imperial Legislative Council:

The British broadened the powers of Imperial Legislative Council. They were given powers about the budget and resolutions regarding the tax rules and regulations.

### iv. Right to ask supplementary Questions:

Under the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the British gave a right to the members for asking supplementary questions, but the departmental inquiries were free to answer immediately to those questions.

### v. Right to move Resolution:

Under the Reforms, the British gave a right to the members of the Imperial Legislative Council for moving of a resolution. But it gave also made the Council President to disallow debate over any portion of the resolution.

### vi. Enhancement of members in the provincial councils:

The British also enhanced the number of Additional members in the provincial councils and it was increased to four.



**vii. Inclusion of SP Sinha in Viceroy Executive Council:**

The Reforms of 1909 made an Indian, S.P. Sinha, as member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. This step was strongly criticized in the British administration. Sayyid Ali Imam was later appointed as the Indian successor in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

**4. Significance:****i. Welcome from the Moderate Circles:**

In the moderate circles of India, the Minto-Morley Reforms were welcomed. Like Gokhale said in the Imperial Legislative Council, "My Lord, I sincerely believe that you and Lord Morley have saved the country from anarchy and chaos."<sup>2</sup>

**ii. Non-satisfaction of the hard liners in Congress:**

The Minto-Morley Reforms failed to satisfy the hard liners of the Congress party. They believed that a huge difference was existed between the Minto-Morley Reforms and the John Morley's Dispatch (1908). They demanded that this difference could be resolved.

**iii. Disqualification of the rebellious accused for Elections:**

The Minto-Morley Reforms disqualified those persons, who were blamed for acting against the British and those were called the rebellious elements. They were not allowed to contest the elections.

**iv. Welcome from the Muslim League:**

The All India Muslim League welcomed these reforms. A resolution was passed in the Delhi session of the League in 1910 which offered cooperation with Government for the success of the scheme.

**v. More representation for Indians:**

Under the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909, the British began to accommodate the more representation of Indians in the representative institutions.

**vi. Indians democratic training:**

The British tried their best to train the native people of India under the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. This attempt failed to give adequate political training.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.115

**vii. System of Indirect elections:**

Under the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909, the British introduced a system of indirect elections in the country.

**viii. Introduction of Limited Franchise:**

Under the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909, the British introduced a limited franchise and gave limited voting right to the Indians. At some places, the number of voters was not more than nine or ten.

**ix. Councils Merely As Consultative in nature:**

Under the Reforms, all the councils were only consultative in nature. They had the only power for criticizing and asking about the policies of the Government. For instance, the members of the Legislative Council did not show any interest in the Council activities.

**x. Step for Constitutional Evolution:**

Despite all the criticism and drawbacks, the Minto-Morley Reforms paved a way for a decided step forward for the constitutional evolution of Indian sub-continent.

**5. Conclusion:**

The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 occupy a great significant position in the constitutional history of the sub-continent. Through these reforms, the British lessened the severity of the Hindus, who began revolts against the partition of Bengal.





## Lucknow Pact (1916)

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Factors / Background
  - i. Change in Muslim Politics in the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Decade of 20<sup>th</sup> Century
  - ii. Emergence of new Educated leadership
  - iii. Rise of new Brand of Journalism
  - iv. Efforts for Hindu Muslim Unity
  - v. Role of Muslim League London Branch
  - vi. Change in Muslim League Creed
  - vii. Role of Liberal Leadership
  - viii. Jinnah's efforts
  - ix. Outbreak of the First World War
  - x. Scheme of 19
3. Lucknow pact – other developments leading to the Pact
4. Features of Lucknow Pact
5. Significance/ Impact:
6. Criticism
7. Conclusion – End Note

### 1. Introduction:

**L**ucknow pact is regarded as a milestone in the political constitutional history of India. It is regarded as high watermark of Hindu Muslim unity. It is most illuminating document Hindu-Muslim Unity. It was first and last pact concluded between Congress and League on the contentious issue of the separate electorate.

### 2. Factors / Background:

Lucknow Pact was not a result of an accident but rather it was expression of sentiments of unity and cooperation which were

developing since the beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century since 1912 between Hindus and Muslims.

### *i. Change in Muslim Politics in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Decade of 20<sup>th</sup> Century:*

With the beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Muslim politics underwent change and this was outcome of various factors such as annulment of partition of Bengal, Kanpur Mosque tragedy, delay in elevating of Aligarh College to university standard, pathetic and deplorable conditions of Muslims in Balkan, Russian invasions in Mashad etc. These factors caused Muslims to be disillusioned from the British and they realized that they had to forge the policy of creed of loyalty towards British.

### *ii. Emergence of new educated leadership:*

The new leadership started talking in new idiom and raised anti-imperialist slogans in line with the popular sentiments. This new period was heralded by *Waqar-ul-Mulk*. In Muslim League, the progressive elements started to rise. *Mirza Aziz* became secretary of AIML and admission fee to League was decreased and age limit was also reduced for membership of AIML.

### *iii. Rise of new Brand of Journalism:*

It was evident from the popularity of new Muslim press such as *Comrade*, *Al-Hilal*, *Hamdard*, *Zamindar* and various journalists like *Moulana Mohammad Ali Johar*, *Shoukat Ali*, *Abul-Kalam Azad*, *Zafar Ali Khan* started open criticism of government. They gave new bent to Muslim Indian nationalistic sentiments.

### *iv. Efforts for Hindu Muslim Unity:*

Since 1910, the Muslim leadership started new efforts for unity. Now they realized that in order to get more and more rights, Hindu – Muslim unity is inevitable. In 1910, *Hakim Ajmal Khan* in his inaugural address of AIML session expressed these sentiments of Hindu-Muslim unity. Even some British supported this initiative. Congress patron, Sir William Waddenberg started negotiations with Congress leaders for this purpose. Amid this background, Calcutta Unity Conference was convened which was participated by 60 Hindu and 40 Muslim delegates. Though this conference remained inconclusive, but it certainly was a big initiative towards Hindu-Muslim unity.

### *v. Role of Muslim League London Branch:*

The Muslim London Branch in its annual report of 1912 contained suggestions to overcome Hindu-Muslim differences. London Muslim League branch proposed the establishment of



representative boards of two communities in order to resolve the communal issue. It proposed that Muslim would stop cow slaughter and Hindus would stop interfering in Muslim prayers. These efforts changed the Hindu mentality and Hindus became particularly sympathetic towards the Muslims. These sympathies were expressed in Congress meetings. For instance, Congress sympathized with Balkan Muslims. In December, 1912, an annual session of Congress was held at Bankipur, which was presided by Holker, he expressed his grief over the plight of Balkan Muslims.

#### **vi. Change in Muslim League Creed:**

Congress's attitude had become sympathetic but British cold shoulder towards Muslims had forced the AIML to change its creed. On 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1913, in Muslim League Lucknow session, League changes its creed and added fourth objective in its programme:

**4<sup>th</sup> Objective:** *Attainment of self-governance under the aegis of British.*

This change in creed paved the way for Lucknow pact and their stance altered and diverged towards one end of unity. Muslim politics drew closer towards the nationalistic aspirations.

#### **vii. Role of Liberal Leadership:**

Another factor that paved way for Lucknow pact was liberal leadership. At that point of time, both Congress and AIML were dominated by liberal elements and espoused the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. These included Gokhalie, S.P. Sinha, Barrister Mazhar-ul-Haq, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Jinnah, Mojmadar, Anne Besant, Hakim Ajmal Khan. It was said that Lucknow pact is the last act of liberal leadership. Now the leadership was ready to take initiative for Hindu-Muslim unity as well as for unconditional cooperation with British.

#### **viii. Jinnah's efforts:**

Jinnah's inclusion in League cemented the Hindu-Muslim unity. Jinnah forced AIML to change the policies of League. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Jinnah was member of both parties. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay describes in his book, *From Plassey to Partition*, "The anti-Congress and pro-government attitude of the Muslim League was also changing with the induction of younger men, like Muhammad Ali, Wazir Hasan or Abul Kalam Azad into its

leadership. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was brought in and became a bridge between the League and the Congress."<sup>1</sup>

#### **ix. Outbreak of First World War:**

In 1914, the war increased the realization among the Indian leaders that it was a right time to press joint demands before the British government, because the British badly needed the Indian support for achieving the motives set during the War.

#### **x. Scheme of 19:**

In September, 1916, 19 members of Imperial legislative council presented a draft, which called for introduction of further constitutional reforms. It included Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Jinnah. It was for the first time that it happened.

#### **3. Lucknow pact -- other developments leading towards the Pact:**

Both parties decided to hold their annual session at the same place and during same period. It was for the first time in the history of India that Congress and League held their annual session in December, 1915 in Bombay. Muslim League session was presided by Barrister Mazhar-ul-Haq and Congress session was presided by S.P. Sinha. In these sessions, both parties established committees for joint constitutional pact. These committees met on Nov, 1916 in Calcutta and jointly prepared a scheme. This scheme was passed by both parties in their annual session in Lucknow in Dec, 1916. All India Muslim League session was presided by M.A. Jinnah, while Indian National Congress session was presided by Amika Charan Mojmadar.

#### **4. Features of Lucknow Pact:**

- Followings were the important aspects of the Lucknow pact:
- i. The Hindus agreed to the right of separate electorate for the Muslims, for the first and last time.
  - ii. The Hindus conceded that the Muslims would have one third representation in the Imperial Legislative Council.
  - iii. A weightage formula was proposed under which the Muslims would get less representation than their population in the legislative council in those provinces, where they were in majority but more in provinces where they were in minority.

<sup>1</sup> Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition* (2004) ,p.298



- iv. It was decided that no non-official member would present any bill, resolution or a part of it, related to another nation in any elected body if three fourth of the members of the affected nation opposed it.
- v. It was demanded that the members of the Imperial Legislative Council be increased to one hundred and fifty (150) and four-fifth (4/5) of its members be directly elected by the public. The president of the Council be elected by the members themselves and not selected by the government. It was proposed that total members of the legislative councils of larger provinces should be one hundred and twenty five (125) and that of the smaller should be from fifty (50) to seventy five (75).
- vi. It was demanded that members of the central and provincial legislative councils be given the right to move adjournment motions.
- vii. It was demanded that the control of the Secretary of State and that of the government of India over the provincial governments be curtailed to give them more autonomy. Nobody from Indian Civil Services should be made either the governor or head of the Provincial governments.
- viii. It was demanded that all the members of the councils should have the right to ask supplementary questions. Till then only the questioner himself had this right to do so.
- ix. All sources except customs, post and telegraphs, salt, opium and railways could be transferred to the provincial government.
- x. The council of the Secretary of State for India be disbanded and two Assistant Secretaries may be appointed to assist him instead; one of them must be an Indian. Besides, the salary of the Secretary of the State must be disbursed from the British exchequer instead from the Indian treasury.
- xi. Half of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor General must be Indian who should be elected by the members of the Imperial legislative council.
- xii. The same method should be adopted for the members of the Executive Council of the governors.
- xiii. Judiciary must be separated from the executive and no officer should be delegated with judicial authority.

### 5. Significance:

The Lucknow Pact occupies a unique significance in the constitutional history of the subcontinent.

- i. **Jamil-ud-din Ahmed**, describes in his book, "*Early phase of Muslim Political Movement*", "In the dismal history of Hindu-Muslim relations in the subcontinent, the Lucknow pact was the only bright spot."<sup>2</sup>
- ii. A firm foundation was laid for the political advancement of Muslims.
- iii. The way was also opened for joint efforts by Hindus and Muslims for the attainment of the goal of self-government.
- iv. This was first and last pact concluded on the issue of separate electorates which had remained an irritant in Hindu-Muslim relations. This irritation was removed and resolved through Lucknow Pact.
- v. A great success for League as Congress conceded all the important Muslim demands crucial for Muslims.
  - a. Congress accepted the Muslim separate existence as a nation.
  - b. The weightage formula of this pact also secured the Muslim seats in Muslim minority provinces. Lucknow pact also accepted League as a separate representative organization of the Muslims.
  - c. This pact created conclusive environment for the launching of joint anti-imperialist movement against the British.
- vi. Under the impact of this pact, the subsequent years witnessed the movements which jointly launched by the Hindus and the Muslims. For instance, Rowlett Act agitation, *Jallianwala Bagh incident agitation* and Non-cooperation movement.
- vii. It carried great constitutional significance in future for many developments.

It had great impact on subsequent constitution making efforts e.g. Government of India Act recognized the principle of responsible governments though in a defective manner at provincial level in form of principle of diarchy. Similarly, the scheme of representation of Muslim community in the central and provincial legislatures as embodied in Lucknow pact was generally followed in Montague Chelmsford reforms.

### 6. Criticism:

#### i. Muslim advantages:

The Muslims got representation in excess to their population where they were in minority but it did not make

<sup>2</sup> Jamil-ud-din Ahmed, *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement*, p.23



government in their provinces. In Punjab, Muslims had to surrender one tenth (1/10) of their seats. In Bengal, Muslims got one quarter of seats. Muslims were never in a position to form a government and remained in minority. Muslims agreed to forge a quarter of seats which they were entitled on the basis of population.

### ii. Weightage formula:

These effects were felt after the elections of 1937 and 1945 as League encountered more difficult implications forgotten in new zeal of formation of a united front against British and of presenting a joint statement of demand.

### iii. Lack of a representative form of government:

The pact did not solve the fundamental and difficult problem of representative government in a heterogeneous population. The pact did not provide for ministries responsible to legislatures. The pact gave elected majorities much great power to obstruct government without being in position to replace these governments.

### iv. Criticism of Allama Iqbal, Ch. Khaliq uz Zaman and Syed Noor Ahmed:

Iqbal was not happy with the Lucknow pact and expressed his displeasure at the pact in later years. He contended that the pact could only be proved successful if it was intended to join one nation. If its aim was to express two nations, this plan was a failure.

Syed Noor Ahmed was of the view that it was an attempt to bring together two separate extremes of Hindu Muslim nationality. It proved momentarily successful but these could not be sustained in the long run.

Similarly, Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman also criticized the Lucknow pact and branded it a product of political inexperience of Muslims. He was of the view that it saved the seeds of partition of Bengal and Punjab.

### 7. Conclusion -- End Note:

The Lucknow pact failed as the spirit of cooperation behind the pact was dried out. It could not be sustained. Therefore, the euphoria of Hindu-Muslim unity ended in smoke as enshrined in Lucknow pact. On 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1940, Jinnah explained the real spirit behind the Lucknow pact. He said: "Lucknow pact was signed on the fundamental principle of two separate entities."



## Montague Chelmsford Reforms (1919)

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Factors
  - i. Indian Rejection of Self-rule
  - ii. Franchise problem for Women
  - iii. Racial discrimination
  - iv. Episode of First World War
  - v. Indirect Method of Election
  - vi. August Declaration
3. Features
  - i. Enhancement for Indians in Governor General's Executive Council (GGEC)
  - ii. Formation of Bicameral Legislature
  - iii. Division of Legislative work
  - iv. Enhancement in the powers of Assembly
  - v. Separate Electorate for the Muslims
  - vi. Salary of the Secretary of the State
  - vii. Setting of a commission after ten years
4. Significance
5. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 occupy great significance in the constitutional history of the subcontinent. Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 was a British attempt for the fulfillment of Indian demand for self-government.



## 2. Factors

Following are the factors behind the introduction of Montague Chelmsford Reforms in Indian subcontinent;

### i. Indian Rejection of Self-rule:

The British rejected the Indian demand of self-rule. But political developments in India brought awareness and consciousness among the Indians. The movement for self-government had gathered momentum in India in the wake of First World War. But now the Indian demand for the self-rule became more vigorous.

### ii. Franchise problem for Women:

The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 provided a very limited franchise and voting right to Indian women, which was unfair and undemocratic attitude on behalf of the British government. In order to give democratic rights to the women, it had become necessary to introduce another reform package for the Indian people.

### iii. Episode of First World War:

During the First World War, the Indians argued that if Britain was fighting for the survival of democracy, why was it hesitant to allow democracy to flourish in India. They also asserted that if British claimed itself to be the champion of freedom, why was it reluctant to grant freedom to India.

### iv. Indirect Method of Election:

The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 provided indirect method of elections, in which the British their space for intervening and choosing the Indians according to their own will.

### v. August Declaration:

On 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1917, the British Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montague announced, "The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration of gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."<sup>1</sup> This announcement was known as "August Declaration" in the history of India.

<sup>1</sup> Saeed, Ahmad, *Trek to Pakistan* (Lahore, 2009), p.139

## 3. Features

### i. Enhancement for Indians in (GGEC):

The number of Indians in the Governor General's Executive Council (GGEC) was increased to three.

### ii. Formation of Bicameral Legislature:

A bicameral central legislature was formed, consisting of the Indian Legislative Assembly (Lower House, 145 members) and the Council of State (Upper House, 60 members). The Indian Legislative Assembly had 145 members, elected for a term of three years, whereas the Council of State had 60 members, would elect for a term of five years.

### iii. Division of Legislative work:

Legislative work was divided into central and provincial subjects. The central subjects included defence, foreign affairs, customs, relations with Indian States, telephone, currency and railway. Those subjects were known as central subjects. Provincial subjects would consist of local self-government, public health, education, irrigation and agriculture.

### iv. Enhancement in the powers of Assembly:

According to the reforms 1919, the number of the Assembly members was also enhanced. The members now had the right for moving any resolution in the Assembly.

### v. Separate Electorate for the Muslims:

The British maintained the right of separate electorate for the Muslims, as their right was conceded by the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909.

### vi. Salary of the Secretary of the State:

According to the Reforms of 1919, the Secretary of the State would now get salary from the British exchequer. Now he would not take any salary from the Indian exchequer.

### vii. Setting of a Commission after Ten years:

It was also decided that a commission would be formed after ten years. This commission would assess the possibilities of success or failure of the reforms and propose for further improvements in the reforms.



**4. Significance:**

Under the Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the British introduced the Dyarchy system which was failed due to prevailing conditions in India like the episode of Jalianwala Bagh, hostile attitude of British towards the Turkey, the Khilafat Movement and Non-Cooperation etc. Meanwhile the British gave enormous powers to the governors, which destroyed the essence of the parliamentary form of the government. Dr. Qalb-i-Abid mentions "The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms brought some major changes in the administration of British India; beginning of a responsible government was therefore made in the eight provinces."<sup>2</sup>



## Khilafat Movement

**Outline**

1. Introduction
2. Background – Factors
3. Objectives
4. Aspects of Khilafat Movement
  - a. Establishment of various organizations for the cause of Khilafat
  - b. Khilafat Day/ Khilafat conference
  - c. Non-cooperation Movement
  - d. Khilafat Delegation
  - e. Khilafat Committee Bombay, 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1919
5. Causes of Failure of Khilafat Movement
6. Impacts of Khilafat Movement:

**Positive Side:**

- i. Beginning of Muslim Popular Politics
- ii. Joint Hindu-Muslim First and last movement
- iii. Muslim anti-British Consciousness
- iv. Great boost to Muslim nationalism
- v. Emboldened the Muslims
- vi. Political Training to Muslims
- vii. Great Mobilizing Impact
- viii. Popularity of Muslim Journalism
- ix. Combined support of Orthodox and Moderate Elements
- x. Drew Ulema and Students towards Politics
- xi. Impact on Pakistan Movement

**Negative Side**

- i. Adventure in Altruism
- ii. Disastrous Consequences of Hijrat Movement

<sup>2</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Struggle for Independence* (Lahore, 1997), p.53



- iii. Provided an Opportunity to Gandhi
  - iv. Era of Communal Antagonism
  - v. Consequences of Involvement of Ulema and Students in Politics
  - vi. Islamization of Indian Politics
  - vii. Muslim League remained Dormant
  - viii. Collapse of Hindu Muslim unity
7. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

**K**hilafat movement assumes great importance in the first quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century. It marked the real beginning of popular politics of Muslims. This movement is also significant in the context that it was the first and last movement launched jointly by Hindus and Muslims after the abortive war of independence (1857). Its failure had great repercussions for Hindu-Muslim relations.

### 2. Background – Factors:

- Indian Muslim support to Turks in the War of Tripoli in 1911
- Start of First World War and Turkey's decision
- Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh in 1919

### 3. Objectives:

- i. To maintain the institution of Khilafat.
- ii. To preserve the sanctity of Holy Places.
- iii. To protect geographical and territorial integrity and sovereignty of Turkey.

### 4. Aspects of Khilafat Movement:

#### a. Establishment of various organizations for the cause of Khilafat:

Majlis-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba was set up on Decemebr 3, 1919.

Almost 15 thousand Muslim assembled in Bombay and made a Khilafat Committee Bombay under Seth Jan Mohammad Chottani as its president, on 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1919.

In a public meeting under the auspices of this Bombay Khilafat Committee, it was decided to set up a nation-wide organization known as the All India Khilafat Committee – 5<sup>th</sup> July,

1919. Seth Chottani and Moulana Shaukat Ali were appointed the president and secretary respectively.

#### b. Khilafat Day/ Khilafat Conference:

All India Khilafat Conference was held on November 23-24, 1919, which was presided over by Moulvi A.K. Fazl-ul-Haq. Moulvi A.K. Fazl-ul-Haq in the presidential address emphasized the need to seek cooperation from the non-Muslims.

### 5. Khilafat Delegation:

In December 1919, both the Congress and the Khilafat Committee held their meetings simultaneously at Amritsar. It coincided with the release of Moulana Mohammad ali from jail who went straight to Amritsar to participate in the deliberation. It was decided to constitute a delegation committee comprising Moulana Mohammad Ali, Syed Hussian, Sayyid Suleman Nadvi, Sheikh Musheer Hussian Kidwai and Moulvi Abul Qasim. Moulana Mohammad Ali was to head the delegation while Hassan Mohammad Hayat was appointed as its secretary. Moulana Mohammad Ali was to present the Muslim point of view on political matter while Suleman Nadvi was to explain the Muslim conception of Khilafat from religious point of view. The delegation prepared a charter of demands to be presented to the British it contained the following demands:-

- a. That the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of the Muslims should be kept as the sovereign ruler of an independent state comprising of Constantinople, Thrace, Anatolia and Armenia.
- b. The area of Hijaz, Syria, Palestine and Iraq which had the holy places of Islam should be protected from the rule of the non-Muslims.
- c. Spade work should be initiated to pave way for independence of India, without which it was impossible to protect the Islamic countries.

The delegation held a meeting with the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, which proved useless as he was not impressed by the arguments of delegation.

### 6. Non-cooperation Movement:

The leaders of the Khilafat Movement realized that a new strategy should be adopted to reinvigorate the zeal and zest for freedom among the general populace. With this objective in mind they decided to launch a movement of Non-Cooperation. An



extraordinary meeting of Jamiat-ul-Ulma-i-Hind was convened on September 6, 1920 at the end of which the **fatwa of Tark-e-Mawalaat** was issued. The Fatwa comprised the following injunctions;

- a. Disassociation from all executive and legislative councils.
- b. Boycott of courts
- c. Boycott of all such government schools and colleges which received government grants
- d. Relinquishing of all honorary offices and magistracy
- e. Renouncing government titles
- f. Resigning government posts

#### Hijrat Movement:

During this period, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and Moulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahali issued a **Fatwa**, which declared migration from India desirable for the Muslims of India after First World War. Immediately after the Fatwa was issued; Nazims were appointed in every city and a central office was set up in Delhi which was known as **Khuddam-ul-Muhajreen**.

In the beginning the movement became so strong that even the Non-cooperation Movement paled before it. About thirty thousand Muslims left for Kabul by the second week of August 1920. For their selfish motives, the Hindus of Peshawar and Mardan urged and encouraged the Muslims to migrate to Kabul. So they started buying their lands and property at throw-away price. In the beginning, the Afghan government welcomed the Indian Muslims according to a well-thought policy. Later on, considering her limited resources in the face of an advancing huge tide of refugees, it closed down its frontiers.

On the other hand, the refugees who had succeeded in entering Afghanistan soon became disgusted with the miserable conditions there and started to trundle homeward. Thousands of Muslims suffered innumerable difficulties while returning from Afghanistan. In the words of I.H. Quraishi, the **Hijrat Movement** did not have the potential to produce constructive results. Its only result was that the sincere and zealous people who responded to the call of Hijrat enthusiastically suffered severe hardships.

#### **Mopilla Revolt: (Malabar District in Madras)**

Mopliars were ethnic Arabs, extremely religious and emotional by the temperament. The Tour of Moulana Mohammad Ali and Gandhi made more aggressive towards the cause of protection of the Khilafat as an institution.

#### **V. Causes of Failure of Khilafat Movement:**

- i. Khilafat movement is considered as an adventurism in alteration according to Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi. It had nothing to do with ground realities but it was more of a frenzy emotional movement.
- ii. It was not realized by Khilafat movement that the slogans of non-cooperation and Khilafat were not compatible. Muslims were supporting Khilafat cause, whereas Hindus were supporting non-cooperation movement to shake the foundations of British rule. Khilafat was an international question and how could the Muslims of India raise and solve this question without any power and influence? How could Muslims force the British to resolve this issue by launching a movement from the Indian soil?
- iii. Hijrat movement proved to be a great disaster and it had a demoralizing effect on the Muslims. Some 30,000 Muslims migrated to Afghanistan after selling their houses, cattle and properties.
- iv. M.K Gandhi's withdrawal of support from the Khilafat movement after the incident of Chora Chori proved to be a colossal blow to the movement.
- v. Allegations and charges of embezzlement in Khilafat fund also stigmatized the cause of the movement.
- vi. The British encountered the movement very effectively and tacitly.
- vii. In 1923, Mustafa Kamal Pasha replaced the Khalifa and in 1924; Mustafa eliminated the institution of Khilafat. Turkey was declared a Republic. This was the *raison detre* for the failure of Khilafat movement.
- viii. Sane elements and leaders like Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Fazal-e-Hussain, Mian Shafi, Sir Wazir Hassan were absent in the Khilafat movement and they did not support the Khilafat movement.

#### **Impacts of Khilafat Movement; (Its Debit and Credit side)**

##### Positive Side:

##### **a. Beginning of Muslim Popular Politics:**

Khilafat movement marked the end of an era of drawing room politics and the politics of supplication. Muslim political movement took a popular turn and this was the phase of involvement of masses in politics. So, it marked the beginning of popular Muslim politics.



### b. Joint Hindu-Muslim first and last movement:

Khilafat movement also marked the high water mark of Hindu-Muslim unity. The unity of Hindu-Muslims reached its zenith during the Khilafat movement after the war of independence of 1857. Abdul Hamid describes in his book, *Muslim Separatism in India*, "Gandhi and Ali brothers met with phenomenal success during their whirlwind tours of the country, preaching non-cooperation. The courts of law became empty and the people carried their disputes to arbitration boards which sprang up throughout the country, while judges and magistrates sat idle. The government revenues from litigation dropped seriously."<sup>1</sup>

### c. Muslims' anti-British Consciousness:

Khilafat Movement cultivated anti-Imperialist traditions, among the Muslims. Previously, Muslim politics had followed the path of Sir Syed Ahmed which was constitutionalism and of loyalty towards the British. But this time, the Khilafat Movement proved to be a visible departure from this old path.

Abdul Hamid describes in his book, *Muslim Separatism in India*, "The Khilafat Movement carried political awakening to large masses of Muslims. Its hostility to the British rule was far more uncompromising than that of the Congress. Their temporary confluence infused a new life into India's freedom movement."<sup>2</sup>

### d. Great boost to Muslim nationalism:

Khilafat movement was inspired by the Pan-Islamism cause i.e. protection of Khilafat institution. It went a long way in strengthening the spirit of nationalism among the Muslims of South Asia.

### e. Emboldened the Muslims:

Khilafat movement changed the Muslims outlook and emboldened them to challenge the British might irrespective of the consequences. As this movement was dominated by Muslims, so it encouraged them to fight for their rights and interests.

### f. Political Training to Muslims:

This Movement oriented Muslims towards modern politics; particularly it imparted important political training towards the agitational politics and street agitations.

<sup>1</sup> Hamid, Abdul, *Muslim Separatism in India*, (), p. 147

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 150

### g. Great Mobilizing Impact:

Various scholars have pointed towards the mobilizing impact of Khilafat movement. Gail Minawit wrote in his book that the Khilafat Movement mobilized all sections of society, women, labourers, youth, old, ulemas and students.

### h. Popularity of Muslim Journalism:

Khilafat movement resulted into the popularity of Muslim journalism. It is evident from the fact that the circulation of various Muslim newspapers such as *Comrade*, *Hamdard*, *Al-Hilal*, *Zamindar* increased manifold. This journalism was inspired by the themes of Pan-Islamism and anti-imperialist ideology and views.

### i. Combined support of Orthodox and Moderate Elements:

Khilafat movement was a unique one in Indian context that it drew support from extremist and moderate alike. Both elements vehemently supported the Khilafat movement on one hand, Khilafat cause was espoused by leaders like Ali Brother and Congress nationalists, on the other hand, the moderate elements in India like, Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Agha Khan etc. were writing forceful articles in the support of Khilafat movement.

### j. Drew Ulema and Students towards Politics:

Khilafat movement drew Ulema and students towards politics. I.H Qureshi in his book '*Muslim Community in Sub-Continent*' has pointed out the fact that this movement brought two important sections of Muslims into politics and both were critical for the agitational potential."

### k. Impact on Pakistan Movement:

This movement gave a great impact on Pakistan movement as it imparted political training to Muslims towards anti-imperialist policies. It trained new cadre of leadership for Pakistan movement. Moreover, the Khilafat movement exposed Hindu psyche which immensely contributed towards strengthening of Muslim belief towards Muslim separation and their exclusive identity.

### Negative Side

#### i. Adventure in Altruism:

Khilafat movement was an emotional frenzy movement launched by over sentimental leaders. It miserably failed to achieve its objectives. I.H Qureshi is of the view that the Khilafat movement was an adventure in altruism.



**ii. Consequences of Hijrat Movement:**

Hijrat Movement proved to be a great disaster. It resulted into miseries and displacement of thousands of people who left for Afghanistan but Afghan government did not rehabilitate them. They had to return in utter despair. In this process, thousands of people perished and lost their properties.

**iii. Great Opportunity for Gandhi:**

When Khilafat movement started, Gandhi was a new entrant in politics. He desperately sought Muslim support so he sympathized with Muslims to entice their support, hence he supported Khilafat movement. During the Khilafat movement, he became most popular leader of India and once he achieved that popularity, he withdrew his support on a very flimsy point that this movement had turned violent.

**iv. An era of Communal Antagonism:**

The collapse of Khilafat movement resulted into the period of outbreak of Communal riots, worst ever in the history of India. These communal riots strained Hindu-Muslim relations and the era of communal harmony came to an abrupt end.

**v. Involvement of Ulema and Students In Politics:**

I.H. Qureshi has pointed out that involvement of Ulemas and students in politics had a negative impact and a negative input function in the post partition Pakistan politics. And it was during the Khilafat movement that the ulema and students found in roads to the politics.

**vi. Islamization of Indian Politics:**

A well-known scholar, Mubarik Ali is of the view that Khilafat movement brought Islamization of politics in India. Now the Indian Muslims began to assess the issues on the basis of criteria of religion rather than secular approach. **Abdul Hamid** describes in his book, *Muslim Separatism in India* "the concord between the divines and the Congress proved lasting. The Ulema had arrived in the field of politics to stay and did not retire even when the ashes of the Khilafat movement had cooled down. Thus they became the nucleus of various nationalist Muslim organizations which basked in the Congress sunshine in the thirties and early forties. On the one hand, they stood for a resurgent Islam and on the other they owed

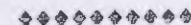
allegiance to the Congress whose ideals were, in almost every respect, antithetical to theirs."<sup>3</sup>

**vii. Dormant Muslim League:**

Another negative impact is that during the Khilafat movement Muslim League remained a dormant party and the popularity of Indian Muslim League was shadowed by the rising population of All India Khilafat Committee.

**viii. Collapse of Hindu Muslim unity:**

The withdrawal of the Gandhi support had negative consequences for the Hindu-Muslim unity. The communal harmony gave way to era of dissension and disagreement. The dream of Hindu-Muslim unity shattered for once and for all.



<sup>3</sup> Hamid, Abdul, *Muslim Separatism in India*, (), p.152



## From Delhi Proposals to Nehru Report

### Outline

1. Delhi Proposals
2. Simon Commission
3. Nehru Report (1928)
  - i. Complete Emancipation for India
  - ii. Strong Central Government
  - iii. Rejection of Muslim representation demand
  - iv. No Separate Electorate for Muslims
  - v. Introduction of Reforms in N.W.F.P. & Baluchistan
  - vi. Separation of Sindh from Bombay

In Delhi proposals, Jinnah admitted to forge the Muslims' right of separate electorates and emphasized to present strong opposition to the British government. Muslims had proposed that both the communities would collaborate their efforts to make their own government in subcontinent. But in 1923, Nehru rejected these proposals and gave his own points. Meanwhile the disillusionment of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* increased.

### Simon Commission

The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms (1919) had stipulated that after ten years, the British government would again go into the question of Indian constitutional progress. But the political situation in India forced the British government to amend the Section 84-A of the Act and the words "at the expiration of ten years" were replaced by "within". On 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of a Statutory Commission which

consisted of Sir John Simon (chairman), Viscount Burnham, Baron Hartshorn, Richard Lane-Fox and Clement Attlee.

The most important work of the commission was to evaluate the political conditions of India for the introduction of constitutional reforms. This Commission had no Indian member, so the Congress and a group of Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah boycotted it. While the other group of League led by *Mian Muhammad Shafi* wanted to meet with the Simon Commission. A Large scale of agitations erupted against the Simon Commission. The people gave them welcome with hostility and received with slogans, "Simon go back, Simon go back." The Commission's detailed report was rejected by the both parties of India, Congress and the Muslim League.

### Nehru Report (1928)

When the Simon Commission faced severe criticism from the political parties of India and from the public, Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, gave a challenge to the Indians in the British parliament. Resultantly, the Indians leaders convened a meeting in which it was decided to form a committee for the formation of future constitution of India. *Moti Lal Nehru* was made the president of this committee. Other members were *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*, *G.R.Pardhan*, *M.R.Jaikar*, *N.A.Joshi*, *Sir Ali Imam* and *Shoaib Quraishi*. Nehru Committee put forward the following proposals for the future Indian constitution.

#### i. Complete Emancipation for India:

The Nehru Report advanced an idea for the complete emancipation of India, in which the Indian would do self-rule.

#### ii. Strong Central Government:

The Nehru Report proposed for the introduction of unitary form of government in India, in which the central government would be the most powerful as compared to the provinces. In this way, Muslim demand for autonomy to all provinces was out rightly rejected by the Nehru committee.

#### iii. Rejection of Muslim representation demand:

The Nehru Report rejected the Muslim demand for one third seats in the central legislature and opined that the Muslims were less than one-fourth of the total population of India. *Shoaib Quraishi*, Muslim member of the committee, did not support this idea and openly opposed it.



**iv. No Separate Electorate for Muslims:**

The Nehru Report out rightly rejected the demand of separate electorate for the Muslims, which was accepted by the Hindus at the time of Lucknow Pact. The Nehru Report claimed, "Since separate electorate awakens communal sentiments, therefore, it should be scrapped and joint electorate should be introduced."<sup>1</sup>

**v. Separation of Sindh from Bombay:**

The Nehru Report demanded that Sindh should be separated from the Bombay, but it also gave a proposal for making a financial responsible and autonomous region.

**vi. Introduction of Reforms in N.W.F.P. & Baluchistan:**

The Nehru Report also demanded that a constitutional package should be introduced in the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan like the other provinces of India.

"A constitutional scheme of reforms (Nehru report) which was acceptable to the Hindu *Mahasabha* was produced by the Congress leader with the help of liberals to the disgust of Muslims.....who openly rebelled against it. The incident shows that organized communalism can confuse and overwhelm professing nationalism."<sup>2</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Ahmad, Saeed, *Trek to Pakistan*, (Lahore, 2008) p.189

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India* (p.199

## Jinnah's Fourteen Points

**1. Introduction:**

**M**r. Jinnah had strong desire for the Hindu-Muslim unity. But his thinking started to change when the Hindus refused to accept his basic demands like adequate and effective representation of Minorities in the provinces, separate electorate, full religious liberty etc. The Nehru Report exposed Hindu mentality. Congress proved to be a Hindu body. Moulana Muhammad Ali Johar rejected Muslim demands to please Congress (Hindu Mahasaba). Therefore, Quaid-i-Azam put forward his famous constitutional programme which ensured not only the Muslims' rights, rather it also ensured the protection of the minority rights in their respective provinces.

**i. Form of Constitution:**

The form of the future constitution should be federal with all the residuary powers vested in the provinces, the Central Government to have the control only of such matters of common interest as may be guaranteed by the constitution.

**ii. Provincial Autonomy:**

Uniform measure of autonomy shall be guaranteed to all provinces.

**iii. Representation of the Minorities:**

Adequate and effective representation should be given to all the minorities in all the assemblies and all other elected bodies of the country and no effort should be made by any territorial redistribution to reduce the majority of a community in a province to minority or even equality.

**iv. 1/3<sup>rd</sup> Muslim Seats in Central Legislature:**

At least, one third (1/3<sup>rd</sup>) seats in the central legislature should be reserved for the Muslims.



**v. Separate Electorate:**

The representation of the communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided that it should be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

**vi. No Territorial Redistribution For Muslims:**

Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in Bengal, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab.

**vii. Full Religious Liberty:**

Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association, and education should be guaranteed to all communities.

**viii. Method for passing the bill:**

No bill or resolution nor any part thereof, should be passed in any legislative or elected body, if three-fourths of the members of a community directly affected by that bill or resolution oppose it.

**ix. Separation of Sindh from Bombay:**

Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.

**x. Introduction of Reforms in N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan:**

Reforms should also be introduced in the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

**xi. Adequate Muslim share in jobs:**

Provision should be made in the constitution giving the Muslims an adequate share with other Indians in all the services of the state and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

**xii. Safeguards for the Muslim culture:**

The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the state and by self-governing bodies.

**xiii. Formation of Cabinet:**

No cabinet, either Central or Provincial should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim ministries of at least one-third.

**xiv. States approval for amendment in the constitution:**

No change or amendment should be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian federation.

**Significance of Fourteen Points**

The importance of the fourteen points has been given below.

**a. Minimum Charter of Muslim Demands:**

Jinnah's fourteen points proved to be a minimum charter of Muslim demands which Muslims wanted to see incorporated in any constitution whether framed by Hindu or Muslims. The points were so ingeniously drafted that these covered all the demands ranging from form of government of India to establishment of new Muslim provinces and liberties to minorities.

**b. A constitutional document:**

It ensured the protection of rights not only of Muslims but minorities as well.

**c. Divided forces were united:**

Fourteen points brought unification among Muslim factions of League. It resulted into the unification of Jinnah League and Shafi League though temporarily as it was supported by the Muslims representative.

**d. Established Jinnah's credentials:**

The fourteen points established Jinnah's credentials as the representative leader of Muslims. These points firmly established the Leagues representative credentials.

**e. Great act of statesmanship of Jinnah**

The Fourteen Points Great act of statesmanship of Jinnah overshadowed the popularity of all the rivals of the League i.e. All parties Muslim Conference threatening to Challenge the representative position of AIML.

**f. Focal point of Muslim Politics in 1930s:**

They became basic rock of Muslim Politics of 1930s. all those meetings and moots relating to Hindu and Muslim failed, where they were negated. Therefore, these became main plank of Muslims strategy in 1930s.



**g. Great Constitutional Significance:**

Simon Commission report kept the Muslims thinking to express their rights and feelings in the documented form. In Round Table conferences, Britain government considered the 14 points for the framing of 1935 Government of India Act. The federal principle was accepted though in a defective manner. Sind was separate from Bombay. Right of separate electorate was accepted. Reforms were introduced in NWFP. The right of separate electorates was accepted for Muslims as well as the question of religious liberty. Minority issue was dealt with up to some extent.

**h. "Parting the Ways":**

"The failure of the Congress to accept Jinnah's 'fourteen points' and his amendments to the Nehru Report were significant turning point along the way to the partition of India. It was 'the parting of the ways.'"<sup>1</sup>

### Comparison between 14 points and Nehru Report

**Introduction:**

Both the Fourteen Points and the Nehru report were great acts of ingeniously drafted by their framers. These documents were of great constitutional significance for Hindus and Muslims. Nehru Report was the first full-fledged constitution framed by the Indians, whereas 14 points contained minimum charter of Muslim demands which the Muslims wanted to see incorporated in any constitution, whether framed by Government of Britain or Indians.

**Similarities:**

These documents were similar on the following grounds:

**i. Constitutional framework:**

Both demanded constitutional rights, civil liberties and political freedom for the Indian people.

**ii. Separation of Sindh from Bombay;**

Both demanded separation of Sind from Bombay. But Nehru report supported the separation of Sind from Bombay conditionally that Sind proved economically viable.

<sup>1</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Struggle for Independence* (Lahore, 1997), p.66

**iii. Nature of Nehru Report and Fourteen Points:**

The nature of both Nehru Report and the Fourteen Points was political and constitutional.

**iv. Introduction of reforms in NWFP:**

Both demanded the introduction of reforms in NWFP and Baluchistan.

**Dissimilarities:****a. Form of Government:**

Both Fourteen Points and the Nehru Report demanded the federal form of Government, but Nehru report demanded unitary form (strong center) as well.

**b. Nature of Central Government:**

Nehru report supported strong center as it vested residuary powers in the hands of centre where as 14 points demanded that these powers should be vested to the provinces.

**c. Question of Muslim Representation:**

Nehru report offered one fourth ( $\frac{1}{4}$ th) Muslim representations in the centre, whereas 14 points demanded one third ( $\frac{1}{3}$ <sup>rd</sup>) (33%) representation in the centre.

**d. Minority Rights:**

Fourteen Points accorded great significance to the issue of protection of rights of minorities whereas Nehru report altogether ignored it.

**e. Method of Election:**

*Quaid-i-Azam* demanded in the Fourteen Points the right of separate electorates for Muslims, whereas Nehru report stated the system of communal elections should be done away with.

**f. Muslim Seats in Punjab:**

In the Fourteen Points, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah* demanded that the seats should be reserved in Punjab and Bengal as per population, Nehru report opposed it.

**g. Different Background:**

Both had different backgrounds. Nehru report was presented in reaction to Brinckenhead challenge. He was secretary



of State for India, whereas 14 points were drafted in reaction to Nehru Report.

#### h. Constitutional nature of Nehru Report and Fourteen Points:

Nehru report comprised full-fledged constitutional documents, whereas 14 points were only proposed amendments which Muslims wanted to see incorporated in any constitution whether framed by British or Hindus.

#### i. Representation of Nehru Report and Fourteen Points:

Nehru Report accommodated just the Hindu point of view and interests, whereas Fourteen Points espoused the rights of all the minorities as well besides highlighted the Muslim cause.

#### Conclusion:

From the above mentioned discussion, it may be concluded that both the Fourteen Points and the Nehru occupied great constitutional significance for the Hindus and Muslims in the constitutional history of the Sub-continent. Indians framed the first constitution known as the Nehru Report, whereas Fourteen Points contained the minimum Muslim demands for their protection and safeguards. The Muslims only wanted that the constitution makers, either by the Government of Britain or the Indian, would incorporate these demands in the future constitution.



#### Keys to Success

# Advanced Everyday Science

(Subjective)

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## Allahabad Address (1930)

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Historical Background
3. Salient Features
4. Significance
5. Critical Reaction
6. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

Allahabad Address was a monumental address delivered by Allama Iqbal. It was a virtual output of separate state for the Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. It occupied a great significance and impact on the partition proposals. This address gave great boost to the Muslim nationalism.

### 2. Background:

In 1930, Allama Iqbal was invited to preside over the annual session of All India Muslim League. On 29 December 1930, Iqbal delivered his monumental address, which became the most significant document in Muslim history of India. It was a different address from the usual addresses delivered on such occasions. He made analytical and scientific study of problems in his philosophical style and propounded his own solutions, which guided political thinking and activity of the Muslims.

### 3. Salient Features:

- i. Allama Iqbal began his address with a survey of political situation in India in a highly philosophical manner. He firstly diagnosed the ills and then gave solutions for prevailing ills of the Indian polity.
- ii. He theoretically expounded the main principles of Muslim polity and stressed about the need of religion in Muslim concept of nationalism.



- iii. Allama Iqbal negated the Western concept of nationalism. According to the Western notion, religion is private matter of any individual, so it should not be combined with the polity of state. But he opined that there was no bifurcation in Islam between spirit and matter. According to Islam, he proposed, all are integrated in a compact structure, so the destiny of Muslims is linked with Islam.

In 1930, Allama Iqbal said, "We are 70 million, far more homogenous than any other nation in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only people who can fittingly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation and which Islam has given you as a free gift."

Iqbal delivering address on Pan-Islamism, said, "Muslims should unequivocally declare that they regard themselves as a nation, separate from other nations in India and like to two as such. They desire to co-exist as a separate cultural entity." Iqbal also said, "I am fully convinced that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a separate homeland as they cannot live with Hindus in the United India." Iqbal said, "I would like to see Punjab, N.W.F.P. Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state."

#### 4. Significance:

##### i. Successful solution for Modern nationalism:

Allama Iqbal attained the status of farsighted scholar and visionary leader, who successfully resolved the dichotomy between territorial nationalism and pan-Islamism.

##### ii. Exposition of Two Nation Theory:

Through his address, Allama Iqbal became an exponent of Two Nation Theory, which later became the hall mark of the movement for the Muslims of the subcontinent.

##### iii. Idea of separate homeland for the Muslims:

As a visionary leader, Allama Iqbal proved his credentials of farsighted representative of the Muslims in the subcontinent, because he gave the idea of separate homeland for the Muslims.

##### iv. Clarity of Iqbal:

For the first time, a clear-cut idea was emanated from the personality of Iqbal.

##### v. Far-sightedness of Iqbal

\* His address was based on the reality, because it showed the farsightedness of Iqbal.

##### vi. Spirit of Pakistan:

Iqbal's address contained the very spirit of Pakistan.

##### vii. Feasible solution for Hindu-Muslim conflict:

Through his address, Allama Iqbal provided a feasible solution for the Hindu-Muslim conflict, but the Hindus did pay any heed to this peaceful solution for the Hindu-Muslim unity.

##### viii. Great impact for Muslim nationalism:

Iqbal's Allahabad Address gave great impetus to the Muslim nationalism, which made the Muslims realized for a common cause. It was a notion of separate state for the Muslims.

#### 5. Critical Reaction:

After the hostile reaction to his proposals, Allama Iqbal gave explanation to Edward Johnson and Raghieb Ahsan that his proposals are about a "federation within a federation".

His personal views were not the official policies of Muslim League. His conception became more conspicuous during the last phase of Pakistan movement. Meanwhile Allama Iqbal did not mention Bengal in his proposed state for the Muslims of the subcontinent.

#### 6. Conclusion:

In the beginning, Iqbal's views were criticized at that time, because the All India Muslim League was officially adhered to the Fourteen Points of Mr. Jinnah. But the later circumstances showed that Iqbal's address is in itself a manifestation of his farsightedness and accuracy. According to *Mukhtar Zaman*, "The Allahabad Address definitely contains the spirit of Pakistan if not its name. This very spirit infused by Iqbal was penetrated into the political consciousness of the Muslims within ten years and reinvigorated it."





## From 1st Round Table to Communal Award

### Outline:

1. First Round Table Conference
2. Gandhi-Irwin Pact
3. Second Round Table Conference
4. Third Round Table Conference
5. Communal Award

### First Round Table Conference:

In order to confront and convince the political parties of India, the British government decided to hold a Round Table Conference. Therefore its first session was started in London on 12<sup>th</sup> November, 1930. Except Congress, all Indian political parties participated in the conference. The Congress party wanted to enforce completely Nehru Report as the future constitution of India. The Muslim leaders like Mr. Jinnah, Mohamamad Ali Jauhar, Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Shah Nawaz, Ch. Zafar Ullah and Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah participated in the conference. At the conference, approval of a federal form of government, separate electorate for the Muslims, cooperation of princely states for the formation of All India Federation, Sindh as a separate administrative unit and formation of responsible governments in the provinces were the most important decisions. It was ended on 19<sup>th</sup> January 1931.

### Gandhi-Irwin Pact:

The failure of Congress Civil Disobedience Movement exposed its popularity in the eyes of the British. In order to get dignity among the British eyes, the Congress realized the British that no constitutional framework would be workable without the

approval of the Congress. So Lord Irwin held talks with Gandhi. The agreement between Gandhi and Irwin was signed on 5<sup>th</sup> March, 1931. According to this pact, Federation was to be created, that ordinance promulgated in connection with the civil disobedience movement would be withdrawn; that pending prosecutions would be withdrawn (except in case of violence); that prisoners would be released; and that fines would be remitted. The Congress agreed to call off its Civil Disobedience Movement immediately. The Congress would attend the upcoming Second Round Table Conference.

### Second Round Table Conference:

It was started on 7<sup>th</sup> September, 1931 in London and lasted till 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1931. The important participants of the Conference were *Gandhi, Allama Iqbal*. While Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar died by the time when the conference was started. During the Conference, Gandhi adopted a stern attitude against the Muslims and tried to give impression that India was a single state and Indians were to be considered a single nation irrespective of the followers of the different religions. He also remained adamant about not giving any rights to the minorities. Due to Gandhi's stubborn attitude, all the minority groups passed a resolution for their rights and concluded at an agreement and this conference was failed without producing any results. But this conference exposed the mentality of Gandhi and Nehru because of their voice for uni-nationalism in Indian subcontinent.

### Third Round Table Conference:

It began on 17<sup>th</sup> November, 1932 and lasted till 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1932. Gandhi and Jinnah did not participate in the Conference. The third Round Table Conference could not resolve the long-standing issues between the Hindus and the Muslims. It proved a mere formality. An unbridgeable gulf was now widened between the both major communities of India. This conference proved a farce.

### Communal Award:

When the British efforts failed to make a future constitutional package for the Indians, they published their own scheme known as Communal Award. According to this award, separate electorate for the Muslims and for the other minorities was accepted by the British. *Ramsay Macdonald* also made a promise to recommend to the British Parliament the substitution for the government's decision of any agreed solution reached by the Indian leaders themselves. It failed to give Muslim an overall majority of



seats in the Legislatures of Punjab and Bengal. In the Punjab, the Muslims were given 47.6% as against a population proportion of 56.5% in Bengal where the Muslims formed 56% of the total population; they received about 48% of the total provinces. It reduced the Muslim majority in Bengal and Punjab, which was unacceptable to Muslims. The Award failed to satisfy all the three main communities.

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## The Government of India Act 1935

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Historical Background
3. Features
  - i. Formation of All-Indian Federation
  - ii. Nature of the Central Assembly
  - iii. Powers of the Governor General
  - iv. Nature of Federal Court
  - v. Abolition of Indian Council
4. Significance
  - a. Indian expectations unfulfilled
  - b. Enormous Powers to the Governors
  - c. Discriminatory attitude towards States
  - d. League Reaction
  - e. Congress Dissatisfaction
5. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

The Government of India Act, 1935 had a great constitutional significance in the history of the subcontinent. It provided such a system in which the provincial autonomy was given by the British. Meanwhile it also ensured the protection and participation of all minorities in the electoral process of India.

### 2. Historical Background:

Indians had increasingly been demanding a greater role in the government of their country since the late 19th century. The Indian contribution to the British war effort during the First World War meant that even the more conservative elements in the British political establishment felt the necessity of constitutional change, resulting in the Government of India Act 1919. That Act introduced a novel system of government known as provincial "dyarchy", i.e.,



certain areas of government (such as education) were placed in the hands of ministers responsible to the provincial legislature, while others (such as public order and finance) were retained in the hands of officials responsible to the British-appointed provincial Governor. While the Act was a reflection of the demand for a greater role in government by Indians, it was also very much a reflection of British fears about what that role might mean in practice for India (and of course for British interests there): The experiment with dyarchy proved unsatisfactory. A particular frustration for Indian politicians was that even for those areas over which they had gained nominal control, the "purse strings" were still in the hands of British officialdom.

The intention had been that a review of India's constitutional arrangements and those princely states that were willing to accede to it. However, division between Congress and Muslim representatives proved to be a major factor in preventing agreement as to much of the important detail of how federation would work in practice.

Against this practice, the new Conservative-dominated National Government in London decided to go ahead with drafting its own proposals (the white paper). A joint parliamentary select committee, chaired by Lord Linlithgow, reviewed the white paper proposals at great length. On the basis of this white paper, the Government of India Bill was framed. At the committee stage and later, to appease the diehards, the "safeguards" were strengthened, and indirect elections were reinstated for the Central Legislative Assembly (the central legislature's lower house). The bill duly passed into law in August 1935. As a result of this process, although the Government of India Act 1935 was intended to go some way towards meeting Indian demands, both the detail of the bill and the lack of Indian involvement in drafting its contents meant that the Act met with a lukewarm response at best in India, while still proving too radical for a significant element in Britain.

### 3. Features of the Act of 1935

This Act had the following features:

#### i. Formation of All-Indian Federation:

According to the Act of 1935, the powers were divided into the federal, provincial and concurrent subjects. Under this act, the Central Government dealt with the affairs of defence, religious, financial and tribal affairs. The remaining powers were given to the ministries. Meanwhile the system of Dyarchy was also abolished. However, the degree of autonomy introduced at the provincial level was subject to important limitations: the provincial Governors

retained important reserve powers, and the British authorities also retained a right to suspend responsible government.

#### ii. Nature of the Central Assembly:

This Act also provided a bicameral legislature, consisting of the Indian Legislative Assembly (lower house) and the Council of State (upper house).

#### iii. Powers of the Governor General:

The Act also enhanced the powers of the Governor General, which gave him a distinctive position in the constitution. He had the following powers like the financial credibility of the federal government, maintenance of law and order in India, safeguarding of the legitimate rights of the minorities, protection of the public servants and their rights, checking the discriminatory taxes against the British goods and protection of the Indian States. In the matters like to appoint and sack the Council of Ministers, to issue the ordinances, to summon and adjourn the session of the Central Legislature and to dissolve the Assembly, interference in the provincial matters, to send back the already approved bills to the assemblies for further discussion, he was not bound by any authority.

In the defence, religious and tribal affairs, he had to act as their in charge. He had the appointing authority for the counselors for administering these affairs. Similarly he had powers for the appointment and dismissal of the President of the Assembly. He also had vast financial powers like his necessary consent for levying the taxes and his eighty percent budget control of the country.

#### iv. Nature of Federal Court:

This Act also introduced a Federal Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and six judges. The Federal court would also advise the Governor General in the matters of the constitution.

#### v. Abolition of Indian Council:

The Government of India Act 1935 abolished the Indian Council. Rather it gave enormous powers to the Secretary of State for the appointment of advisors.

### 4. Significance:

#### a. Indian expectations unfulfilled:

The Act of 1935 was an outcome of the prolonged discussion and debate about the representation of the Indians in any future constitutional process. But it could not fulfill the



expectations of Indians, because it did not transfer powers and representation to the Indians.

### b. Enormous Powers to the Governors:

The Act of 1935 gave enormous powers to the Governor-General and the provincial governors. In the real sense, the governors had complete control over the federal and provincial legislatures in the matters of law-making.

### c. Discriminatory attitude towards the States:

Under the act, a discriminatory attitude was adopted against the states. The Indian states representatives would be nominated by the rulers, rather to be elected. It was an undemocratic practice in the matter of states.

### d. League Reaction:

The League opined that it would create more obstruction and hindrance in giving a complete responsible and representative government to the Indians. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* expressed about the Act of 1935; it was "thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable."<sup>1</sup>

### e. Congress Dissatisfaction:

The Congress declared that the following Act was not acceptable to the Indians, because it deprived them of their rights in the matters of economic and political life of India. **Pandit Nehru** called it a machine without engine.

### 5. Conclusion:

The Minto-Molrey Reforms were introduced to bring an end to the agitation against the partition of Bengal. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms was an attempt to heal the wounds inflicted upon the Indians during the Khilafat Movement and in the Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. The 1935 reforms came as a relief package following the Civil Disobedience movement of the Congress in 1930. **Dr. Qalb-i-Abid** describes, "This Act (with a few amendments) served as the working constitution for Pakistan for nine years and of India for three years."<sup>2</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Saeed, *Trek to Pakistan* (Lahore, 2009), p.231

<sup>2</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Struggle for Independence* (Lahore, 1997), p.74-75

## Congress Ministries (1937-39)

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Atrocities of Congress Ministries
  - i. Congress conspiracies against All India Muslim League (AIML)
  - ii. Hindu steps for the erosion of Muslims identity
  - iii. Economic Exploitation
  - iv. Religious interference
  - v. Eruption of Communal Violence
3. Muslim Reaction
4. Resignation of Congress Ministries
5. Impacts of Congress Ministries
  - i. Deep sense of insecurity among Muslims
  - ii. Muslim Aloofness from Hindus
  - iii. Exposition of Hindu Mentality
  - iv. Great Impetus to Muslim Nationalism
  - v. Transformation in the Outlook of Jinnah
  - vi. Popularity of Pakistan Demand
  - vii. Change in the mentality of Muslim Provincial Leaders
  - viii. Emergence of Jinnah as an Undisputed Muslim leader
  - ix. Importance of Indian Muslim for the British
6. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction:

The establishment of Congress Ministries was a unique episode in the modern political history of the subcontinent. For the first time, the responsible form of government was established under Britain rule. and for the first time, Indians were able to form their own government. But the Congress rule was not



free from controversies. This rule was marked by the Congress discrimination and atrocities against the Muslims. It proved to be a turning point in the history of Hindu-Muslim co-existence. Congress ministries had defining role in the alienation of Muslim India from the yoke of Hindu India.

## 2. Atrocities of Congress Ministries:

### Congress conspiracies against All India Muslim League (AIML)

Congress started its efforts to destroy All India Muslim League (AIML) in the subcontinent.

#### i. Refusal to form government coalition with league:

Congress refused to form the coalition governments with the All India Muslim League in the provinces of the subcontinent.

#### ii. Humiliating conditions for AIML in UP:

UP as a province had a great importance due to four factors; like the citadel of Mughal glory, development of Hindu culture due to Hindu-Muslim social intermixture, and the home province of Nehru. **Ahmad Saeed** wrote in his book, "*Trek to Pakistan*", "It was commonly and popularly believed that agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims in this province was bound to throw its shadow on the whole of the subcontinent."<sup>1</sup> In the U.P. Legislative Assembly, the number of elected Muslim members was sixty six (66). Therefore **Maulana Abul Kalam Azad**, the President of the All India National Congress, wrote a letter to Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman about the formation of coalition government. But this letter had the following conditions;

- The UP Muslim League Parliamentary Party ceased to exist.
- The existing members of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly shall become a part of the Congress Party.
- These new members of the Congress would abide by the code of conduct prepared by the Working Committee of the Congress.
- The Muslim League Parliamentary Board would be dissolved and the League would not be put up its own candidates in any future elections.

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Saeed, *Trek to Pakistan* (Lahore, 2009), p.234

- In the event, the Congress Party deciding on resignation from the Ministry or the Assembly seats, the new members would follow suit.

The All India Muslim League, therefore, rejected these terms and a pure Congress ministry was formed in the United Provinces.

#### iii. Congress Role for toppling Muslims Government in Assam:

Congress played a major role in the fall of **Sir Saad Ullah** government in Assam. **Khalid bin Sayeed** mentions about the remarks of Sir Harry Haig, Governor of UP, "The enthusiasm of the masses for Congress Raj melted imperceptibly into idea of Hindu Raj, which were certainly prevalent throughout the Province. These ideas were deeply resented by the Muslims, who were invincibly determined not to be ruled by the Hindus."<sup>2</sup>

#### iv. Nehru's Mass contact campaign:

Nehru and the Congress leaders started to establish the direct link with the Muslims. They tried to remove their "narrow mindedness" and prejudice against the Hindus. Though they offered ministries to the Leaguers, but they had to sign unconditionally. Meanwhile Congress also hired the services of *Maulvis* to create split among the Muslims.

#### v. Hindu steps for erosion of Muslims identity:

##### i. Educational policies:

Immediately after coming to power, the Congress declared a *Tri-colour* flag (**Taranga**) as the national flag and *Band-e-Matram* as national anthem. During the Congress rule, a *Wardha Educational Scheme* was prepared. This scheme declared co-education and teaching of music as compulsory. Five new books for students were prepared under the serial title of New Book. The publication of books described and propagated that all the religions were genuine and, therefore, there was no need to follow any particular religion for salvation.

Similarly in Behar and Central Provinces (CP), a new scheme was started known as *Vidhya Mandar Scheme*. The Muslims were supposed to study Hindi or *Marhati* language. The Muslims rejected such proposals and started agitation in front of the secretariat at **Nagpur** in January, 1939. Its main purpose was to prepare the generation of the Muslims devoid of knowledge and insensitive to their past cultural glory, civilization and religion. The

<sup>2</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1947* (Oxford University Press, 1978), p.85



educational policy of the Congress was aimed to put an emphasis on the uni-nationalism of the Indians. The Muslim students were persuaded to bow before the portrait of Gandhi.

## **ii. Economic Exploitation:**

The Congress Ministries adopted very discriminatory policies towards the Muslims in the subcontinent. Now the doors of employment opportunities for the Muslims were closed by the Congress Party. This attitude of the Congress was resulted into economic exploitation for the Muslims.

## **iii. Religious interference:**

The Congress ministries started religious interference in the congress governed provinces. They prohibited the cow slaughtering and introduced the criminal laws against the defiant of this rule. But such steps were against the religious beliefs and practices of the Muslims.

## **iv. Eruption of Communal Violence:**

During the Congress governed provinces, communal riots started between the Muslims and the Hindus. Till August of 1939, there had been 57 communal riots with 11100 casualties.

## **3. Muslim Reaction:**

The All India Muslim League (AIML) tried to cope up situation through constitutional wars and tried hard to find rapprochement with Hindus. In 1938, AIML passed a resolution and asked Congress to address the major grievances of Muslims. But Congress paid no heed to it. The All Indian Muslim League (AIML) was forced to change its creed and *Quaid-e-Azam* presented *Pir Pur Report*, *Shareef Report* etc.

## **4. Resignation of Congress Ministries:**

The Congress resigned on the pretext that Britain inducted army in Second World War without the approved consent of Congress and representative institutions. In subcontinent, the All India Muslim League observed 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 1939 as 'Day of Deliverance'.

## **6. Impacts of Congress Ministries:**

### **i. Deep sense of insecurity among Muslims:**

According to Mr. **Abdul Hameed**, the Congress rule aroused a deep Muslim suspicion that Hindu can never be their friends and it went a long way in shaping their future course of action i.e. secession from India.

### **ii. Muslim Aloofness from Hindus:**

The Congress ministries shattered all the dreams of united India and Hindu Muslim unity. Now the Muslims became thoroughly alienated from India and became disillusioned from the policies of Congress. It is evident from the rising popularity of League during by polls.

### **iii. Exposition of Hindu Mentality:**

The Muslims realized that the Congress could never be sincere to Muslims. The Hindus wanted to establish Ram Raj in Indian Congress ministries. This rule created among the Muslims a realization that the rule of Congress was a trailer and once they occupied power, what they would do to Muslims. The Congress would reduce the Muslims to the perpetual minority, groaning under the yoke of tyrant majority.

### **iv. Great Impetus to Muslim Nationalism:**

The Congress rule reinforced Muslim belief in their exclusive identity. This led to tow – nation theory and specific ideology i.e. ideology of Pakistan.

### **v. Transformation in Outlook of Jinnah:**

The Congress Ministries brought a paradigm shift in the strategy of Jinnah. In the beginning of Congress rule, Jinnah was willing to form coalition ministries with the Congress and cooperate with it, but during the rule of Congress, Jinnah became champion of Muslim and Pakistan cause. He started his campaign and emerged as a secessionist Muslim leader.

### **vi. Popularity of Pakistan Demand:**

It was during the Congress rule in 1938 that Sind Assembly passed a resolution in favour of Pakistan. In 1938, Jinnah instructed the Muslim leaders to look into various partition proposals and reports were prepared on his instructions. A report was prepared in February, 1940 and presented to Jinnah. The proposal was laid open for discussion during the 27<sup>th</sup> annual session of AIML which was held between 22-24 March which is known as Lahore Resolution.

### **vii. Changing mentality of Muslim Provincial Leaders:**

Those Muslim leaders like *Moulvi Fazal Haq*, *Sir Sikandar Hayat*, *Sir Saadullah Khan* felt the fear of the dominance of Congress and joined the cadres of Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah. It was their confidence from the provincial Muslim leaders, which they showed upon the leadership qualities of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*.



**viii. Emergence of Jinnah as an undisputed Muslim leader:**

During this period, Jinnah rose as an undisputed Muslim Leader. He emerged as the sole spokesman of Leagues, his popularity tremendously increased. In 1938, at Patna session of League in 1938, *Mian Feroz-ud din* raised the slogan of *Quaid-e-Azam*, and he was bestowed with the title of *Quaid-e-Azam* during This was also synchronized in the change of Jinnah's cap and *shairwani*, a typical Muslim dress which symbolized that he had changed his role from champion of Hindu-Muslim unity to the champion of Muslim separatism in India.

**ix. Importance of Indian Muslim for British:**

The sudden reaction of resignation of Congress ministries created a vacuum which was eventually filled by Muslims. Now British realized the importance of Muslim India as it needed Muslim support for their war efforts. Therefore, British realized that there were not two parties, but three parties, Hindus, Muslims and British. This change in British outlook is also evident from the British policies in 1940s as all their deals for Hindu Muslim question gave substantial weightage to the Muslim demands. August offer, Cripps Mission, Cabinet Mission, 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan were the examples of it.



## LAST PHASE OF MUSLIM STRUGGLE FOR PAKISTAN

### Lahore Resolution (1940)

**Outlines:**

1. Introduction
2. Background
  - a. Hindu-Muslim Cleavages
  - b. Disillusionment of Muslims
  - c. Apprehensions of Muslim Salariat in united India
  - d. Popularity of Partition proposals
  - e. Atrocities of Congress Ministries
  - f. Desire for a Separate Muslim Homeland
  - g. Desire for the preservation of Muslim cultural identity
  - h. Outlook of Second World War and resignation of Congress Ministries
  - i. Jinnah's Sagacity
3. Features
4. Reaction
5. Significance/ Impacts
  - a. Establishment of an independent state
  - b. Beginning of Pakistan Movement
  - c. Beginning of the end of Administrative unity of Entire Subcontinent
  - d. A sense of identity for Muslims



- e. Only peaceful solution of Hindu Muslim Conflict
- f. Protection of minorities rights
- 6. Conclusion

## 1. Introduction:

**L**ahore Resolution is regarded as a milestone in the Muslim political movement of subcontinent. It is also considered a milestone in the history of the subcontinent. It marked the beginning of Pakistan movement. Never in the history of world a resolution consisting mere 40 words had change the destiny of a nation, Lahore Resolution did this miracle. Lahore Resolution was passed on the 27<sup>th</sup> annual session of AIML.

## 2. Background:

### i. Hindu-Muslim Cleavages:

The Hindu Muslim cleavages reached to the point that they defied any solution. All the suggestions given by the Muslims were rejected by Congress. Muslims were left with no other option but secession. The only peaceful solution was the separation of country.

### ii. Disillusionment of Muslims:

Till 1940, Muslims had been thoroughly disillusioned from Hindus. The bitter experience of Congress Ministries and Hindu Mentality had been exposed and that the Hindus wanted to create Ram Raj in India. Hindus wanted to subjugate Muslim under their tyrannical rule. Nationalist Muslim leaders turned into separatist e.g. Jinnah, Iqbal etc.

### iii. Apprehensions of Muslim Salariat in united India:

According to Hamza Alvi, Muslim salariat class was fearful of domination of salariat class of Hindus. Hindus were far ahead of Muslims in education and social development. Muslims lagged behind Hindus. Under his fear, salariat of Bengal, Punjab, NWFP and Sind got together under the banner of AIML. This proved to be the economic rationale behind the creation of Pakistan.

### iv. Popularity of Partition proposals:

Though the solution of Hindu Muslim conflict had been proposed from 19<sup>th</sup> century, but these proposals received huge impetus in 1930s and 1940s and attracted popular response. The famous novelist and journalist Abdul Haleem Sharar (1860-1926) was the first notable and prominent Muslim intellectual who made

this proposal in his weekly journal Mohazab. Wilait Ali Bamboog wrote in Gupshup about a separate country for Muslims in Northern India.

Kheri Brothers proposed the partition of India into a Muslim and Hindu India. They were attending the Stockholm Conference of Socialist International in 1917. In 1933, Ch. Rehmat Ali coined the term 'Pakistan' in a pamphlet 'Now or Never.' It demanded a separate Muslim state.

In 1939, Dr. Zafar ul Hasan and Dr. Afzal Hussain Qadri presented a proposal called 'The Problems of Indian Muslims and their Solution'. This scheme also popularly known as 'Aligarh Scheme,' and proposed the partition of country into three completely independent and autonomous states. There came about 170 proposals from 1858 to 1940 to divide India.

### v. Atrocities of Congress Ministries:

Congress rule created a deep sense of insecurity among Muslims which led to the creation of Pakistan. Congress ministries produced an unbridgeable gap between Hindus and Muslims.

### vi. Desire for a Separate Muslim Homeland:

Muslims feared that their cultural identity might be threatened. In order to save their culture, Muslims endeavoured to carve out a separate homeland where they would be able to practice their religion, culture freely and openly e.g. Urdu was under threat and Muslims wanted to preserve it.

### vii. Outlook of World War II and resignation of Congress Ministries:

This was a colossal blunder on the part of Congress and provided Jinnah with a pretext that Muslims want a separate homeland. Muslims constituted about 52% of the Indian army and WW-II could not be continued without Muslim support. Jinnah played his trump card and made it clear to the Hindus that there are three parties in India; Hindus, Muslims and British.

### viii. Jinnah's Sagacity:

Jinnah's sense of timing, that he realized that the Muslims had been alienated from Hindus and British needed Muslim support in the Second World War.



**3. Features:**

The resolution stated, "no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the geographically contiguous units in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.....Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests.....In other parts of India where the Muslims are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities.....for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights."<sup>1</sup>

In his presidential address the Quaid alluding to the religious and cultural differences between the Hindus and Muslims said, 'The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry, not inter-dine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, different episodes. Very often the hero of one is the foe of the other and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.'

**4. Reaction:**

The Hindu leaders and the Hindu press started a tirade against the Resolution the very next day. 'Partap', 'Bande Matram', 'Milap', 'Tribune' and other Hindu newspaper called it as the Pakistan resolution. It was done in spite of the fact that the word 'Pakistan' was not used anywhere in Lahore resolution. The daily Tribune called the Pakistan scheme unacceptable and horrible. Hindustan times and Modern Review termed it as the ingenuity of

the most ingenious constitution mongers will be unable to divide India.

*Statesman* wrote, 'It is a revolutionary proposal but those who are willing to oppose it, must study it before criticizing it. They must understand that the League has seriously presented it; therefore, it cannot be ignored as a mere fanciful dream.'

**5. Significance/ Impacts:****i. Establishment of an independent state:**

It was through the Lahore Resolution that Muslim India committed itself to the establishment of an independent state as its final goal. All the internal differences of Muslims came to an end and they started efforts to create a separate homeland.

**ii. It marked the beginning of Pakistan Movement:**

A political movement turned into Pakistan movement when Muslim League adopted Lahore Resolution as its main motto. Now Pakistan movement got public imagination in Muslim majority provinces. In 1937, AIML won only 2 seats whereas in 1946, it set record victory in Punjab. AIML won about 90% in centre and 100% in provinces.

**iii. Beginning of Ending Administrative unity of Entire Subcontinent:**

The administrative unity had been established by Muslims and British further cemented it with 8 years from 1940-1947, Pakistan was created and Muslims paved way for the end of administrative unity of sub-continent.

**iv. A sense of identity for Muslims:**

It provided a sense of direction to the Muslims. AIML was transformed into a movement when it adopted Lahore Resolution as a slogan. Lahore Resolution assured Muslims not only a physical protection within a separate state, but also secured them a political survival as a community. Now, Muslims were free to shape their destiny according to the genius of people.

**v. Only peaceful solution for Hindu Muslim Conflict:**

It afforded only peaceful solution to the age old unresolved Hindu Muslim Conflict.

**vi. Protection of the Minorities rights:**

The Lahore Resolution not only protected the rights of the Muslims in the subcontinent. Rather it also pleaded the case for the protection of minority rights.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, 2003), p. 38



**6. Conclusion:**

Lahore resolution is regarded as a milestone in the Muslim political movement of subcontinent. Its mere 40 words made it a *magna carta*. It also provided a mechanism upon which the provinces were given hope that future form of government would be based upon autonomy. It marked the beginning of Pakistan movement. Never in the history of world a resolution consisting mere 40 words had change the destiny of a nation, Lahore Resolution did this miracle. "The resolution later created considerable confusion and misunderstanding. Those Bengali leaders, who felt after partition that the Center, dominated by West Pakistanis, was not looking after the interests of Bengal, claimed that the original Lahore Resolution visualized two independent Muslim states, one of West Pakistan and the other of East Bengal."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1947* p.114

## Cripps Mission (1942)

**Outline**

1. Introduction
2. Background / Factors
3. Salient Features of Cripps Proposals
4. Congress Rejection
5. League's Rejection
6. Congress Reaction
7. Significance
8. Conclusion

**1. Introduction:**

Cripps Mission occupies a unique significance in the political constitutional history of India. These proposals marked a wide departure from the previous British stance of maintaining strict control over Indian possessions rather it symbolized a gradual shift towards Liquidation of British authority. These proposals are also, significant in context of giving implicit recognition to the demand of Pakistan.

**2. Background / Factors:**

The following factors necessitated the arrival of Cripps Mission.

**i. British Need of Indian Support:**

British wanted to break the stalemate in Indian politics as they needed full-fledged Indian support during the World War-II. This desire was the main rationale behind August offer.



**ii. Japanese intervention:**

Japanese forces stood at the gates of India and the political atmosphere deteriorated. It was removed that a discontented India might fall to Japan like a ripe apple.

**iii. British effort of Muslim Appeasement:**

British also wanted to appease Muslims as Muslim constituted a substantial proportion of its fighting force.

**iv. Indian Hope after the Atlantic Charter:**

With the signing of the Atlantic charter many Indians hoped that the principles underlying the charter would be applicable to Indians but also the British Prime Minister Mr. Churchill made it clear in the House of Commons on September 9, 1941 that at the Atlantic meeting 'we had in mind primarily the states and nations of Europe now under Nazi yoke.' The extension of self-government in the British dependencies was a separate matter. But the entry of Japan into war radically charged the whole situation. The 'Indian Problem' could no longer be ignored or postponed. The US Government, particularly, President Roosevelt was reported to be putting pressure on British government for securing India's real cooperation and support in the war effort.

When Britain felt the ground slipping from under her feet she hurried a messenger of peace to India with the promise of independence after the War.

- a. At the end of the War a new constituent assembly would be formed to frame the future constitution.
- b. Its members would be elected on the basis of proportional representation by the members of the lower house of the provincial assemblies.
- c. State would also be represented in the constituent assembly.
- d. The constitution prepared by this assembly would be acceptable to the British Government.
- e. A treaty would be concluded between the Assembly and His Majesty's Government. It would resolve all the issues and problems that would crop up at the time of the transfer of power from Britain to the people of India.
- f. All the Promises made to the religious minorities would be honored in these accords.
- g. During the war and until the new constitution could be framed India was to be governed by a composite (a primary Congress League) cabinet within the existing constitution. His Majesty's

government was to bear the responsibility for the central of the defence of India.

On March 11, 1942 four days after the fall of Rangoon, the British Prime Minister Mr. Churchill made an important announcement regarding the British Government's new move to resolve the Indian deadlock. He declared 'The crisis in the affairs of India arching out of the Japanese advance has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life. He referred to the British promise of granting Dominion status to India in the August Offer of 1940. It was decided that Sir Stafford Cripps the Lord Privy Seal and the leader of House of Commons would proceed to India as soon as possible to explain the British proposals through personal contact and consultation with the Indian leaders.

Cripps arrived in Delhi on March, 22, 1942. He held meetings with Quaid-i-Azam, Jawaharlal Nehru, Abdul Kalam Azad, Sir Sikandar Hayat, Maulvi Fazlul Haq, B.R. Ambedkar, V.D. Savarkar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The mission realized its draft declaration on 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1940. It was embodied in the following main points.

**3. Salient Features of Cripps Proposals:**

- i. Complete independence would be granted to India at the end of the War.
- ii. His Majesty's Government undertook and the enforcement of newly framed constitution.
- iii. It vested the right of secession in the provinces and permitted non-acceding provinces to frame a union of their own.

**4. Congress Rejection:**

- i. Congress wanted an immediate defecto and de jure transfer of power. They were demoting the immediate setting up of a so called national government.
- ii. The acceptance beforehand the novel principle of non-accession for a province was a severe blow to the conception of Indian Union — and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces.
- iii. Divided opinion.

**5. League's Rejection:**

- i. Not in line with the basic principles and desire of league.
- ii. Proposed assembly Muslims would get ¼ seats — all important issues would be decided by majority vote —



Muslim would be left with no option but to surrender to the dictates of the majority.

## 6. Congress Reaction:

Nehru called it belated and depressing and said that the principle of self-determination was unduly circumscribed. Gandhi was shocked at the 'criminal' and 'sinful' prospect of partition. Mr. Gandhi described the British proposal as 'a postdated cheque on a crashing bank.'

The Muslims felt that the proposals relating to the future were unsatisfactory; no useful purpose would be served in discussing the details of the interim government.

Quaid-i-Azam called these proposals very unsatisfactory and asserted that they amounted to taking the Muslims to gallows. "The proposals have aroused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions especially with reference to Pakistan scheme which is a matter of life & death for Muslim India."

Quaid-i-Azam admitted that the only positive aspect of the plan was that for the first time the British Government had agreed in. Although provinces were given right to secede from the union but the proposals didn't lay down the method and procedure to implement the provisions.

## 7. Significance:

Despite its shortcomings the Cripps Mission proposals were a definite advance in context of overall proposals so far made. "It was also laid down in the Draft Declaration which Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him that the British Government was particularly concerned about the problem of protecting the rights of racial and religious minorities in a free India."<sup>1</sup>



## Quit India Movement to Simla Conference

### Outline

1. Quit India Movement
2. Wavell Plan
3. Gandhi-Jinnah Talks
4. Simla Conference

In order to put pressure upon the British, the Congress launched a movement known as Quit India Movement. The Congress wanted to get immediate independence, so that the League's claim for a separate state could be obstructed. Quaid-i-Azam called this movement a black mailing of the Congress. Even this movement showed the frustration and disappointed step of the Congress. Amery Commented, "Congress seems to be going in the wrong direction under Gandhi's influence...we should show no hesitation in jumping firmly on any one of them, from Gandhi downwards, who deliver really mischievous speeches....we should not hesitate to take most extreme steps."<sup>1</sup> The British government took stern action and put Gandhi and other leaders behind the bars. Resultantly the movement failed absolutely, producing nothing.

### Wavell Plan

In March 1943, Lord Wavell came to India as a new Viceroy. He declared that his prime object was the winning of war; the Cripps offer was still open; and the Congress should withdraw its policy of non-cooperation which was hindering India's progress."<sup>2</sup> Being a military commander, he announced his famous Wavell plan. In the plan, it was announced that he would set up a new executive council in which an equal representation would be given to the Muslims and the Hindus. Meanwhile they would have achieve 5

<sup>1</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1947* (Oxford University Press, 1978), p.119

<sup>1</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Struggle for Independence* (Lahore, 1997), p.143

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.145



seats out of the total 14 ministries. The other ministries would be given to Hindus, low caste Hindus, Sikhs and Parsis.

### Gandhi-Jinnah Talks

Those talks started on 19<sup>th</sup> September 1944 in Bombay and lasted till 24<sup>th</sup> September 1944. Gandhi wanted to convince that Jinnah would shun his claim for separate state for the Muslims. Rather Indians are a single nation. But Quaid did not concede any claim of Gandhi and those talks failed without producing any fruitful results. "Why did Jinnah agree to hold these talks when he probably knew that nothing concrete or useful would emerge from these discussion? The answer lay in the great tactical and political victory that Jinnah snatched from these talks. For the first time, it was clearly and publicly recognized that here were two leaders, Gandhi representing the Hindus, and Jinnah representing the Muslims, meeting, as it were at the summit, to resolve the political deadlock in India. The image of himself and the Muslim League as the sole representative of Muslim India that Jinnah was so assiduously trying to establish in India and abroad assumed a concrete shape after these talks and a precedent once established was duly followed in subsequent talks."<sup>3</sup>

### Simla Conference

After the end of Second World War, a conference was summoned by Lord Wavell on 24<sup>th</sup> June 1945. Mr. Jinnah demanded that all the five members of the Executive Council should be included from the Muslim League in the proposed Interim Central Government. But the Viceroy remained adamant on his opinion that one member would be a non-Leaguer. *I.H. Quraishi* describes about the failure of the Simla Conference, "The Simla Conference failed on account of the refusal of the British government and the Congress Party to recognize the Muslim League as the only representative organization of the Muslims."<sup>4</sup>



<sup>3</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1947* (Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 126

<sup>4</sup> Quraishi, I.H., *A Short History of Pakistan* (Karachi, 2000) p.220

## Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Factors
  - i. To bridge the political deadlock
  - ii. League's victory in elections of 1945-46
  - iii. Growing rift between Congress and AIML
  - iv. Mutiny in the Indian Navy
3. Appointment of Cabinet Members
4. Main Features of Cabinet Plan
5. Hindu Reaction
6. Muslim Response
7. Acceptance of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah
8. Conclusion
9. Third June Plan
10. Important Points of the Third June Plan
  - i. Non-Muslim Majority Province
  - ii. Partition of Punjab
  - iii. Partition of Bengal
  - iv. Holding of referendum in N.W.F.P
  - v. Option for the states
  - vi. Option for Baluchistan
  - vii. Option for Sylhet

### 1. Introduction:

The Cabinet Mission Plan was a remarkable event in the history of world, having the seeds of separate Pakistan. This Plan was a device of British imperialism to reconcile the irreconcilable. It was an attempt to bury the concept of Pakistan deep under the debris of Indian nationalism and united India.



**2. Factors:****i. To bridge the political deadlock:**

The international situation and socio-political scenario was "full of expectations and unrest. Freedom was in sight, but the hands that reached out for it grappled with each other in conflict. Strife between the two major communities-Hindus and Muslims-was mounting."<sup>1</sup> So the British wanted to bridge the political deadlock among the Indian communities.

**ii. League's victory in elections of 1945-46:**

In the elections of 1945-46, the All India Muslim League (AIML) gained a remarkable victory. This League victory made the British convinced that the rejection of League future demands would be impossible. This success also shattered the Congress claim of sole national political party of Indians.

**iii. Growing rift between Congress and AIML:**

After the Congress ministries resignation, the rift between the Muslim League and the Congress was growing day by day. Having a different political agenda, manifesto and voting representation, both the parties were playing their political cards parallel to each other.

**iv. Mutiny in the Indian Navy:**

In February, 1946, there was a mutiny in the Indian navy, though it was quickly suppressed. There were also strikes at air force stations, and disaffection was spreading in the army. The trial of some officers of the Indian National Army was started in the Red Fort at Delhi. So the Congress and the League "made heroes of those whom the British indicated as traitors."<sup>2</sup>

**v. Announcement of Lord Attlee:**

The British Prime Minister of Labour Party, Lord Attlee stated in the House of Commons in this way, "We are mindful of the rights of the minorities and that minorities should be able to live free from fear. But we would not allow any minority to place a veto or obstruct the advance of the majority." it pleased the Congress. To discuss the constitutional issues with the Viceroy and the Indian political leaders, the Mission consisted of A.V. Alexander, Pethick Lawrence and Stafford Cripps. This Mission arrived in India on March 24, 1946. But the Quaid refuted the misconception of Attlee,

"We are not a minority, we are a nation and it is our birth right to get the right of self-determination."

**3. Main Features of Cabinet Plan:**

"On 16<sup>th</sup> May, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy published a statement containing their own solution of the constitutional problem. The focal point of their plan was the preservation of the single state, which the British had laboured to build up. On administrative, economic and military grounds they rejected the proposal for two independent sovereign states."<sup>3</sup>

**Long Term:****i. Formation of Indian union:**

A union of India would be made, embracing both British India and Indian states, dealing with defence, foreign affairs and communications, having powers to raise the necessary finances.

**ii. Provincial Division:**

Provincial division would be introduced into three groups: Group A was the Hindu majority provinces, consisting of Bombay, Madras, U.P., C.P., Orissa and Bihar. Groups B and C would be the Muslim majority provinces, consisting of provinces in Group B: Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP and in Group C: Bengal and Assam.

**iii. Residuary powers for Provinces:**

Residuary powers would be vested in the provinces.

**iv. Reserved Seats for Provinces:**

In the election of the Constituent Assembly, seats would be reserved for each province according to its population.

**v. Majority decisions:**

Issue in the legislature would require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority to form Groups with the Executives and the Legislatures.

**Short Plan:****vi. Formation of interim government:**

An interim government would be set up in which all the portfolios would be handed over to the Indians.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, 2003), p. 53

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, 2003), p. 47



#### 4. Hindu Reaction:

By announcing this plan, Congress expressed a great delight. Pandit Nehru's newspaper commented, "The Pakistan of Mr. Jinnah's conception receives a state burial in the document submitted by the Cabinet Mission." They never agreed to the partition of India. The Hindu press also criticized this plan. The Hindu newspaper "Observer" commented, "Congress can well afford to welcome a plan which comes down on its side by ruling out at the Muslim dream of Pakistan."

The Mission rejected the demand for Pakistan, so Congress endorsed it. The Indian Press like *Partap* also asked Congress to reject it. M.K. Gandhi stated that plan was only an "appeal" and "advice". Nehru denounced the proposed groupings and amendments in it by Congress according to its will.

#### 5. Muslim Response:

*Nawa-i-Waqt* in its editorial, "The League's Correct Decision" wrote "By accepting the Mission plan, the League would be able to move a step forward towards the final destination of Pakistan."

The *Daily Tribune* mentioned, "Mr. Jinnah had acquired the spirit of Pakistan."

#### 6. Acceptance of Quaid-i-Azam:

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah stressed on 22 May, "We still believe that partition is the only solution to the constitutional problems of India." Muslim League Council approved both the long term and short term sections of the plan after passing a resolution.

Quaid decided to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan for a number of reasons.

Firstly, this plan had the "basis and foundation of Pakistan" in the shape of sections B and C.

Secondly, Quaid did not want Congress to monopolize the formation of government at the center, which the Congress was striving from 1940, Cripps Mission in 1942, during the Simla Conference of 1945 and their talks with the Cabinet Mission, 1946. British were keen to form a national government at the center to make things complicated for the Muslims. The setting up of an interim government was its example. So Quaid sought an "assurance" from the Mission that League would form the

government if it was the only part to accept its plan. This assurance made him to accept the plan.

Thirdly, Quaid knew well that some proposals in the plan were not, and could not be acceptable to Congress like the "grouping clause."

Fourthly, as a constitutionalist Quaid was convinced that it was too cumbersome, too un-widely, too much out of touch with the realities of Hindu-Muslim politics. He knew better the foreign affairs, defence and communications, the role of executive and legislature and the role of advisory Committee. He knew that this scheme was impracticable. By accepting, Quaid put both the British and the Congress on the defence and indeed exposed their lack of sincerity and purpose. Quaid's decision was a bold tactical move.

Fifthly, by accepting the plan, Quaid knew well that it was unworkable not easy to run administration with the realities of Hindu-Muslim politics.

#### 7. Conclusion:

On Congress refusal to interim government, the Mission backed out from its words, to go ahead even if one of the parties refused to accept the plan, ignored the League's offer of cooperation and declared the project of interim government to have failed. Direct action of League forced Congress to accept the plan.





## Third June Plan

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Third June Plan
3. Important Points of the Third June Plan
  - i. Non-Muslim Majority Province
  - ii. Partition of Punjab
  - iii. Partition of Bengal
  - iv. Holding of referendum in N.W.F.P
  - v. Option for the states
  - vi. Option for Baluchistan
  - vii. Option for Sylhet

### 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan

On 20 February, Attlee announced that the British Government intended to transfer power by a date not later than June 1948, that Wavell would be succeeded by Mountbatten in March 1947 who would be entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India. For the partition of India, the Government of British approved a plan known as 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan in the history. It was a culminating stage of the partition of the subcontinent.

### Important Points of the Third June Plan:

The 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan was an elaborate one. It covered the whole of the subcontinent. The government took final decision to divide into two independent states. The principle of partition was approved. It had the following characteristics

#### i. Non-Muslim Majority Province:

C.P., U.P. Orrisa, Bombay, Madras and Bihar were non-Muslim majority provinces. All these provinces were to be included in Bharat.

#### ii. Partition of Punjab:

The decision was taken to partition Punjab province into two halves. The Muslim majority areas would go to Pakistan and non-Muslim majority areas to Bharat respectively. A commission would be constituted to demarcate the boundaries of Punjab between Pakistan and India.

#### iii. Partition of Bengal:

The principle approved for Punjab was also approved for Bengal. The decision was taken to partition Bengal province into East Bengal and West Bengal. East Bengal was pre-dominantly Muslim majority area while Hindus were in majority in West Bengal. A Boundary Commission would be constituted by the British government to demarcate the boundaries of Bengal between Pakistan and India.

#### iv. Holding of referendum in N.W.F.P:

The people of NWFP had to decide their fate by referendum. They could either join Pakistan or India.

#### v. Option for the states:

There were above six hundred states in the subcontinent where Nawabs and Rajas had sovereign rule in their respective states. Each state was given the right to join Pakistan or India, keeping its geographical position and special circumstances in view.

#### vi. Option for Baluchistan:

Baluchistan had not been given the status of a full-fledged province. It was decided that Shahi Jirga and Municipal Committee Quetta would decide the future of Baluchistan by the majority votes of their members.

#### vii. Option for Sylhet:

Sylhet was one of the districts of Assam. A large majority of the district was Muslims. The people living in the District, Sylhet had to decide their own future through a referendum. They had to opt for Pakistan or India.

Dr. Qalb-i-Abid describes in his book "Muslim Struggle for Independence", while delivering speech in his broadcast of June 3,



1947, Jinnah said, "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 use to consider whether the plan....should be accepted...as a compromise or a settlement....the All India Muslim League Council expressed their dissatisfaction with the proposal to partition the Punjab and Bengal, and stated that the Council cannot give its consent to a such a partition...However they decided to accept the fundamental principles of the plan as a compromise. The League accepted the plan because it appeared the only possible solution in circumstances."<sup>1</sup>



## Radcliff Award

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Background
3. Proposals for making a Commission
4. Formation of two commissions
5. Announcement of Punjab Award
6. Announcement of Bengal Award
7. Criticism

### 1. Introduction:

**R**adcliff Award occupies a unique position in the Indian history. It was a culminating stage of the partition of India. It was a final extension of the third June Plan. Its final recommendations were full of controversies. It was comprised of various conspiracies and territorial injustices from start to end.

### 2. Background

In the Third June Plan, no final demarcation of Bengal and Punjab were formulated. According to the Indian Independence Bill, Governor General had to constitute a Boundary Commission. The terms of the Commission were as follows: "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."<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Proposals

There were various proposals for the demarcation of Punjab and Bengal provinces. Like the proposals either of the demarcation

<sup>1</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, Muslim Struggle for Independence (Lahore, 1997), p.223

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Saeed, *Trek to Pakistan* (Lahore, 2009), p.340



under United Nations or the demarcation under Law Lords of Privy Council and Demarcation under a Judge was reviewed. But after a long discussion, Redcliff was appointed as supreme Arbitrator. Redcliff came on 8 July 1947 and met with the Indian leaders and constituted Two Boundary Commissions. The Punjab Commission comprised of *Justice Din Mohammad*, *Justice Muhammad Munir*, *Justice Mehr Chand*, *Justice Sardar Teja Singh*. And the Bengal Commission consisted of Justice S.A. Rehman, Justice Abu Saleh Muhammad Ikram, Justice C.C. Yesvas, and Justice *Bejan Kumar Mukerjee*. Later developments showed that Redcliff was under the influence of Mountbatten. Till 8<sup>th</sup> August, he completed the demarcation, but announced on 17 August 1947. *Christopher Beaumont*, Personal staff member of Mountbatten, wrote in his diary, "During 9 to 12 August, award was changed." Quaid-i-Azam himself vehemently opposed the idea of partitioning the Punjab and Bengal.

#### 4. Announcement of Punjab Award:

The total area of Punjab was 99089 square miles, having a population of 28418819 people. In all, Muslims had a number of 16217242 out of the total population. The province comprised of 29 districts and five commissioners, namely Ambala, Jullundur, Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi.

Four districts like Jullundur, Ferozpur, Gurdaspur and Ambala were handed over to India, which were having the Muslim majority population.

Gurdaspur had four tehsils like Batala, Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Shakar Garh in which only Pathan kot was the Hindu majority area, but the other three tehsils were consisted of Muslim majority population. Batala was the Muslim industrial town, but Batala, Gurdaspur and Pathankot were transferred to India, but Shakar Ganj was given to Pakistan. The excess to Jammu Katwa road which was the only link between Gurdaspur and Batala, was given to India, which allowed India a safe passage to Kashmir. In order to appease Sikhs, Amritsar was handed over to India. But as a whole, it was a Muslim majority area. Jullundur, which was consisted of two tehsils Jullundur and Nikodar, were transferred to India.

In United India, Ferozpur housed an important Indian army arsenal. Ferozpur district, which was situated at the East of Sutluj River in which Ferozpur and Zirra head works were located, were also awarded to India. It was the only way to irrigate West Punjab.

The natives of these areas were thinking that they were going to intermingle with Pakistan. The award was to be announced on 9 August, but it announced on 17 August 1947. So this award was an unjust.

#### 5. Announcement of Bengal Award:

In Bengal, Calcutta as its capital had great importance, because it was the only major port. It was also the biggest commercial, industrial, commerce and education center. Calcutta's entire development was based on the toils of the Muslim peasants of Bengal. Hence, Calcutta was handed over to India. Secretary to Governor of Bengal, "If Calcutta was given to India; East Bengal would be a rural slum." India and Pakistan were separated by 1000 miles of land territory; hence the importance of sea communications between Calcutta and other cities could not be ignored. Sardar Patel said, "If Calcutta is gone, then India is gone."

Murshadabad and Nadiya would be transferred to Pakistan, but it did not happen. Parts of Jaysore, of Malda and Daniyaj Pur were given to West Bengal, India. In Assam, two majority areas of Muslims, Badarpur and Karim Ganj, were also transferred to India. Sylhet was given an option for referendum for the selection of either for India or for Pakistan. Though she opted for East Bengal, but it was given to India. According to this award, total area of about 6000 square miles was given to India, consisting of approximately 3.5 million people.

#### Incomprehensible (Puzzling)

- i. The transfer of Ferozpur was started by the British government. On 11 August 1947, a telegraph was sent to the Governor of Punjab in which it was ordered him to exclude Ferozpur from Pakistan.
- ii. The map of Redcliff was not following the river course, it divided the irrigation system into two parts like Pakistan and India. It gave head-works to India and canals to Pakistan. Personal Staff members of *Mountbatten*, *George Abel* and *Ian Scot*, said, "Mountbatten influenced Redcliff to change the plan." Head-works of River Ravi and Sutluj were given to India.
- iii. About 6000 square miles and 3.5 million people were transferred to India.
- iv. *Shareef-ud-din Peerzada* wrote, "He was interested in delimitation, not in demarcation."



## Why Perverse (determined to do wrong)?

Following were the reason due to which we may declare that the British were determined to do wrong for future state of Pakistan:

- i. Mountbatten deliberately undermined the Muslim interests because Jinnah refused Mountbatten to make him as Governor General of Pakistan and gave him ultimatum "to make future of example." During the press conference on 4 July 1947, Mountbatten said, "it may lose you the whole of your assets and future of example."
- ii. During the press conference in Delhi on 4 June 1947, Mountbatten quoted the wrong figures. According to the figures, the whole of Gurdaspur would be transferred to Pakistan. As he quoted its Muslim population was about 50.4%, while the remaining was the non-Muslims.
- iii. Mountbatten visited Kashmir twice times within a 'shorter span of time and urged Maharaja to "stay independent." Mountbatten expressed Maharaja, "that Kashmir only to India if Gurdaspur to India." In his personal diary of Maharaja of Kashmir, he quoted, "All road links of Kashmir were given to India." *Alaister Lamb* wrote in his book "Kashmir, A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990" that, "Why Britain were interested for Kashmir to India because of two dominion states India bigger to protect British important interest against any threat."
- iv. India would become strategically strong in the region to counter Russian Communism, because the Great Britain was indulged in Russo-phobia.
- v. It is said that Calcutta and Ferozpur were the pre-decided areas. Khosla commented, "Both for the strategic and the point of view of irrigation it will be the most dangerous to let Ferozpur to go to Pakistan."
- vi. The last minute changes were also done in the award like Zirra.
- vii. Sardar Patel, spilling dream in Indian Parliament in 1949, "we agreed to Dominion states in return of assurance of Calcutta, Gurdaspur to Landacen, Kashmir to India."

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦

## Life of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and his Role

### Jinnah's Early Life and Role in India's Politics (1876-1920)

- Born on 25 December 1876 and died on 11 September 1948
- Jinnah means in Arabic "wing as of a bird or army" born a Shi'te Muslim Khoja and disciple of Ismaeli Agha Khan
- Jinnah and Gandhi shared a single mother-tongue Gujrati
- Jinnah's father *Jinnah Bhai* married *Mithibai* of his own community and moved from Kathiawar to Sindh to seek his fortune
- Jinnah was enrolled as a student in the *Muslim Anjuman-i-Islam or Gokal Das Tej Primary School* in Bombay
- Enrolled in *Sindh Madressa and Christian Mission High School* on Lawrence Road in March 1892.
- After his marriage with *Emibai*, he arrived in London and was admitted in Lincoln Inn.
- Completed law degree in 1896
- During his stay in London, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah* used to visit the House of Commons to listen to the speeches and debates of the British Parliamentarians.
- He was highly influenced by Indian National Bombay's Parsi Deadbeat Noaraji
- Enrolled as a barrister in Bombay's High Court on August 24, 1896 and his friends introduced him as acting advocate general
- Rejected the separate electorate formula on the grounds of the principle that India was one nation
- In 1910, he elected as a Muslim member from Bombay of the Imperial Legislative Assembly
- The **Wakf (tax exempt Muslim endowments) Validating Bill** was introduced by him and brought him closer to the Muslims



- He refused to join Muslim League as he thought that its objectives were not high enough. He said that he was "proud to belong" to the Congress Party. The amendment in League brought him into it in 1913.
- In 1919, he resigned from the membership of the Imperial Legislative Council as a protest against the **Rowlett Act**.
- In 1916, he became President of the Muslim League. Due to his efforts, the Lucknow Pact was signed in 1916. This was the first time that the Congress recognized the Muslims as a separate nation by accepting the right of separate electorate. Later he became the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" and "Advocate of Hindu Muslim Unity".
- On the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity, he said, "I would therefore appeal to my Hindu friends to be generous and liberal and welcome and encourage other activities of Muslims even if it may involve some sacrifice in the matter of separate electorates."
- The Islamic name given to his wife, *Ratten bai*, was *Marium* and gave birth to Jinnah's only child daughter, Dina.
- There were two Jinnahs- the Jinnah of 1920s and the Jinnah of the late 1930s and of the forties (1940s). During the twenties, his object was to reach a Hindu-Muslim settlement on the basis of an acceptable compromise. In the late thirties and forties, when his approach failed, he adopted a seemingly rigid attitude and negotiated from a position of considerable strength, which was based on the political power that he had mobilized.

### His Politics during 1920s and 1930s

- In 1917, one sees him trying to persuade Montague, the Secretary of State of India, to release Ali brothers, because they were innocent men.
- It is also known that in 1919, before the joint Select committee on the Government of India Bill, he declared, "Nothing will please me more when that day when all distinction between Hindus and Muslims would have disappeared."
- In 1920, he bitterly opposed the Civil Disobedience Movement in support of the Khilafat Movement launched by Gandhi. He made efforts to bring about a compromise between the Government and Gandhi, the idea was to stop the certain activities on both sides.
- In the All India parties Conference in 1925, Jinnah said, "I have not come to say what *Mussalmans* want. We have

come to sit as co-workers. Let us put our heads together not as Hindus or *Mahomedans* but as Indians."

- His opposition to separate electorate is too well-known to need any documentation. But when he found that Muslim fears of being swamped by the Hindu majority both in the Muslim majority states as well as the Muslim majority provinces were genuine, he agreed to advocate their cause.
- In December 1928, before the All Parties National Convention, he pleaded for the adoption of what he regarded as moderate proposals under which Muslims would be given 1/3<sup>rd</sup> representation in the central legislature and that the residuary powers would be vested in the provinces. This rejection by Congress also questioned Jinnah's representative capacity as a spokesman of the Muslims. Jinnah took this to heart, "he had tears in his eyes as he said, '*Jamshed* this is the parting of the ways.'"
- During the twenties and early thirties, Jinnah genuinely believed that through a process of mutual accommodation and adjustment of claims and demands, Hindus and Muslims could come to an understanding and thus facilitate the advancement of their country towards responsible government.

### Political Strategy during 1930s and 1940s

- During 1929-34, there took place in Jinnah's thinking what we have characterized as even agonizing reappraisal of the entire situation in India and the new role that he could play in it.
- "Politics means power and not relying only on cries of justice or fair-play or goodwill."
- "Honourable settlement can only be achieved between equals, and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other, there is no solid ground for any settlement."
- "I say the Muslim League is not going to be an ally of anyone, but would be the ally of even the devil if need be in the interests of Muslims." Mr. Jinnah paused for a moment and then continued, "It is not because we are in love with imperialism; but in politics one has to play one's game as on the chess-board."
- *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah* revitalized and reorganized the Muslim League. He strengthened his position and organizational structure of League, but tried to weaken the position of his opponents by drawing maximum advantages from the wrong moves they made.



- He would mislead his opponents and induce them to make wrong moves as a result of which they would weaken themselves and strengthen his position. He never allowed himself to be embroiled in a conflict or struggle out of which he and his organization would emerge weaker.
- Jinnah-Sikandar Pact meant in the short run to achieve the long-term objective.
- Congress leaders refused to take Muslim League representative in Congress cabinets in Hindu majority provinces, which made alienated Muslims in rural and urban areas and enabled Muslim League to mobilize Muslim support. Jinnah attacked the Congress by describing the policy and actions of the Congress provincial governments as deliberately designed to persecute and oppress the Muslim minority.
- The Congress resignation led Muslims to celebrate "**Day of Deliverance**" on December 22, 1939. Congress resignation and the imprisonment of congress leaders provided full opportunity to Jinnah to build his prestige and that of the League by getting the support of strong and influential provincial political leaders, traditional land-owning classes of Punjab, students, Ulemas, Pirs and sajjada nishins. In this way, he left no option for the British, but to woo non-congress parties in the country, especially the League, the second largest part
- During the Lahore Resolution and the August Offer (1940), he emerged as a sole leader of the Muslims.
- Cripps Mission (1942), the All India Muslim League emerged as a principal political force.
- Gandi-Jinnah talks enhanced the position of Muslim League and his prestige
- Simla Conference failed because he would not agree to a non-League Muslim being included in the Executive Council
- In the Elections of 1945, League stood as a sole representative body of Muslim India, having 460 out of the 533 Muslim seats in the central and provincial assemblies. 87.6% of the total Muslim votes cast in central assembly and 74.7% in the provincial assemblies as compared to an insignificant 4.4% in 1937 elections.

#### Statements and views about Mr. Jinnah

- **Lady Wavell** said, "Mr. Jinnah was one of the handsomest men I have never seen; he combined the clear-cut, almost Grecian features of the West with Orient Grace of Movement."

- **Sir Agha Khan** said, "Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mahatma Gandhi-Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of them, in my view, outshone him in strength of character and in that almost uncanny combination of prescience and revolution which is statecraft."
- **Lord Pethick Lawrence**, the former Secretary of State for India, said, "Gandhi died by the hand of an assassin, Jinnah died by his devotion to Pakistan."





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## **The Role of Ulema and Mashaikh in the Pakistan Movement**

### **Outline:**

1. Introduction
2. Historical Background
3. Role in Reshmi Romal Movement
4. Role of Ulemas in the Khilafat Movement
5. Role of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi
6. Role of Jamiat-ulema-i-Hind
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23. Support from Brelvi school of Thought



## Introduction:

**B**efore the making of Pakistan, there were various schools of thought who supported the idea of Pakistan. The Ulema and Mashaikh of the Indo-Pak subcontinent played an active role in promoting the Pakistan Movement. Their contributions and achievements cannot be forgotten in the history of the Pakistan Movement. The Ulema belong to Chishtia, Qadria, Naqshbandia and Soharwardia and their followers actively supported the two-nation theory which led to Pakistan Resolution. The prominent names amongst them are Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Allama Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni, Maulana Muhammad Ibrahim Siakoti, Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sirhandi, Amin-ul-Hasanat, Pir Sahib of Zakori Sharif, Pir Jamaat Ali Shah, Maulana Sanaullah Amratsari, Maulana Rasheed Ahmad Ghangohi, Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanotavi, Haji Zaman Ali Shaheed and a lot of others. A British administrator, Sir Malcolm Darling, describes the religious sentiments of the common people with these words, "The peasantry, almost to a man, confess themselves the servants of the one true God and of Mohammad his Prophet, but in actual fact they are the servants of landlord, money-lender, and pir. All the way down the Indus from far Hazara in the north to Sind in the south these three dominant men's fortunes; and though they are found in greater or less degree all over the province, nowhere are they so powerful."<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Historical Background:

In fact, the role of Mujadid Alf Sani cannot be ignored in the introduction of Two-Nation theory, which laid the foundation stone of Pakistan Movement. The struggle started by Mujadid Alf Sani also kept alive, after the death of the Aurangzeb Alamgir, and this movement was launched by Shah Wali Ullah. In the first half of the 19th century, Shah Abdul Aziz intensified it and made it widespread. Later on Shah Ismail Shaheed and Syed Ahmad Shaheed converted it into the Jihad Movement for the establishment of an Islamic state in the sub-continent. They fought against the Sikh ruler of the Punjab and were martyred while fighting in the valley of Balakot in quest to establish the Will of God. With the passage of time, the idea of the demand of Pakistan was creeping in the minds of the Indian Muslims at that time when constitutional struggle for the liberation of the sub-continent had been started. The important question which beset the minds of the Indian Muslims was that after the departure of the British what type of government would be

<sup>1</sup> Khalid bin Sayyid, *Formative Phase of Pakistan*, p.202

started in India? With the passage of time, this question had become more and more significant and it dominated the minds of the Indian Muslims. But the native Hindus always tried to temporize the matter by saying: after departure of the British it would be settled through mutual agreement, but first of all the British should be ousted. The Hindus wanted to leave the matter as such and unsettled before the departure of the British, because they knew that, after the independence, they would outnumber the Muslims and put them at their mercy. But the Muslims never wanted to be dominated by the Hindus. They always wished to have a respectable place in the future set up of the country with due regard to their legitimate rights and religious sentiments.

## 3. Ulemas' role in Reshmi Romai Movement:

After the war of 1857, some of the Ulema established religious institutions for the religious teaching so that they could prepare the younger generation to protect the cause of the faith. Some of the Ulema had started underground movement for the political and national awakening of the Muslims. First World War broke out in 1914 and the Muslims were promised by the British government to protect the Holy places of the Muslims but after the War Holy places were not protected. So the Muslims of the sub-continent started a movement. The main objective of the movement was to compel Britain to restore the status of the Sultan of Turkey who was recognized as a Khalifa of the Muslim World. Under these circumstances, Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan made a revolutionary plan to outset the British rulers from the sub-continent. This plan came to be known as "Silk Hankerchief Movement".

## 4. Role of Ulemas in the Khilafat Movement:

The Muslims of the sub-continent started Khilafat Movement under Majlis-i-Khilafat which became the effective movement of the Muslims. Almost all prominent Ulema like Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Hasarat Mohani, Maulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahal, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni, and Maulana Hassan Ahmad Madni joined it. At that time Ulema had no political platform. Now they felt that they must guide the Muslims under the light of the principles of Islam in their religious and political matters. The Ulema of Deoband had organized a platform "Jamiat-ul-Hind" in 1919 through a resolution of Khilafat Committee with the following objectives: To guide the followers of Islam in political and non-political matters from religious point of view. To defend on Shariat grounds, Islam, centres of Islam (Holy places of Islam and the seat of Khilafat). Islamic rituals and customs, and Islamic nationalism against all odds injurious to them. To establish and protect the general religious and national rights of



the Muslims. To organize the Ulema on a common platform. To organize the Muslim community and to launch a program for its moral and social reform. The result of the cooperation of the Ulema was that the Khilafat movement became very widespread and popular with the Muslims masses. The period of the Khilafat was also an era of Hindu-Muslim unity.

### 5. Role of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi

Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi played a great contribution for the spread of message for a separate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent. For this purpose, a delegation was sent by Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi in 1938 to the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah about the cause of the principles of Islam. So the anti-Congress Ulema decided to support the Muslim League in the light of the teaching of Islam. The All India Muslim League passed the following resolution in its meeting on 4th of December, 1938 at Delhi. In every province and district where the spiritual influence of Ulema could be utilized for the purpose, brief Fatwas and manifestoes should be issued on behalf of Ulema, in which the Muslims warned against joining the Congress and the disadvantages from religious point of view of any association with the Congress should be clearly and emphatically explained to them. These Fatwas should be published under the authority of AIML through the agency of the local League in the language of each province and district. (Pirzada, 1947). With the passage of time, the Ulema at the sub-continent decided the cause of Pakistan.

### 6. Role of Jamiat-ulema-i-Hind:

During the stormy days, both the communities, Hindus and Muslims were dominated by the only thought of driving out the British from India. The Jamiat Ulma-i-Hind decided to cooperate with the Hindus unconditionally, to achieve this objective. But there was a group of Ulema who did not like the Jamiat to give unconditional support to the Congress. As a result of this controversy among Ulema, the Jamiat was split into two groups. The pro-Congress Ulema were led by Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni who launched a campaign of propaganda against the Muslim League. The anti-Congress Ulema disassociated themselves from the Jamiat and remained aloof from the Congress movement.

### 7. Formation of Masha'ikh Committee:

In 1940, The All India Muslim League now began gaining the support of all important groups and factions of the society in Indian subcontinent for attaining their ultimate goal of separate state. Therefore a Masha'ikh Committee was made, consisting of eminent *mashaikh* and *pirs*. Following religious leaders were the

members of this Committee like Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Pir Jamat Ali Shah, Khwaja Nazimuddin of Taunsa sharif, Makhdum Raza Shah of Multan etc. In 1940, All India Muslim League (AIML) appointed a committee of the leading Ulema and prominent thinkers of Islam to prepare a draft of the system of government for it. The committee consisted of such a galaxy of stars as Syed Suleman Nadvi, Maulana Abu Aalam uddoodi, Maulana Azam Subbani, and Maulana Abdul Majid Daria Abadi. (Chiragh-1960). In 1942, All India Muslim League (AIML) declared that government of Pakistan would be based on principles of the Quran and Sunnah. The Ulema who had kept themselves aloof from the Congress movements decided to support it. They played a very vital role in strengthening Pakistan Movement....The prominent names amongst the pro-League Ulema were *Maulana Ashraf Ali*, *Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani*, *Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani* and *Mufti Muhammad Shafi*. At that time, the need of an organization of pro-League Ulema was felt to support the cause of the Pakistan Movement.

### 8. Formation of Jamiat-ul-Ulema Islam:

Therefore, in a big gathering of Ulema, in October 1945 at Calcutta, Jamiat-ul-Ulema Islam was formed which proved a big landmark in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. Due to the participation of Ulema in the Movement, the objectives of Pakistan Movement became more and more clear and their followers joined it for the achievement of Pakistan. With the passage of time, some more Ulema decided to join Jamiat-ul-Ulema Islam and its branches were established all over the country.

### 9. Support in the Elections of 1945-46:

It was very much hard and difficult for League to get the support of Pirs and Ulemas during the elections campaign of 1945-46. A highly respected leader like Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani provided his full-fledged support to the Muslim League election campaign. He defended Quaid-i-Azam against all the attacks and allegations of Ulemas and declared that Quaid-i-Azam's "integrity was irreproachable."<sup>2</sup> (p.203 Formative Phase of Pakistan) he exhorted the Muslims to vote for Muslim League because it was fighting for the establishment of a Muslim State in which there would be a possibility of establishing a government based on Islamic law and traditions. The opponents of the League were enemies of Islam and the true interests of Muslims...."Any man who gives his vote to the opponents of the Muslim League, must think of ultimate consequences of his action in terms of the interests of his nation

<sup>2</sup> Khalid bin Sayyid, *Formative Phase of Pakistan*, p.203



and the answers that he would be called upon to produce on the Day of Judgement."

### 10. Defence for the Muslim Leaders of Muslim League:

As regards the charges that the Muslim League leaders, not being devout Muslims, were not likely to work for the establishment of an Islamic Government in Pakistan, Maulana Shabbir Usmani said that if these charges were true, it was all the more important that all sincere and God-fearing Muslims should join the League in order to transform its character. Not being a politician, he did not realize that the powerful Westernized groups inside the League would not allow the Ulema or other religious groups to change its ideology, for such a change would result in their group losing power in the League. Maulana Shabbir Usmani's technique was to compare present Muslim politics with the political conditions of Muslims during the Prophet's time. Dealing with the argument that after the formation of Pakistan, Muslims in India would live under the domination of a hostile Hindu Government, he pointed out that the Prophet had migrated from Mecca to establish an Islamic State in Medina and had left behind infirm and old Muslims in Mecca.

### 11. Role of Mufti Muhammad Shafi:

Mufti Muhammad Shafi joined Jamiat-ul-Ulema Islam and became the member of the central working committee. He went all out in support of the Pakistan Movement. Mufti Muhammad Shafi started a movement with pen in favour of Pakistan and wrote a number of pamphlets and issued a Fatwa (religious decree). He had conviction that the establishment of Pakistan is inevitable. Besides contributing through his writing, he made extensive tours of the sub-continent to motivate the Muslims in favour of Pakistan. His speech and statement took the Muslims by storm everywhere he went. His great efforts to counter influence in N.W.F.P. on the eve of the referendum of 1947 are unforgettable.

### 12. Role of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani:

In the elections 1945-46, Jamiat-Ulema Hind decided to support the Congress which had rejected the demand of Pakistan and stood for united India. During this critical juncture, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani along with his companions gave an unflinching support to the League and pleaded in favour of the Quaid-i-Azam against all opposition which had been directed by the nationalist Ulema. He publically announced his complete and irrevocable faith in the honesty and integrity of the Quaid-i-Azam. He also warned the common Muslims against the designs of the Congressite Ulema. In the elections of 1945-46, All India Muslim

League had a very tough time in NWFP, where "Khan Brothers" were in power in the province. The Congress won the elections in N.W.F.P., and succeeded in forming the provincial government led by Dr. Khan Sahib. At the time of the partition of the subcontinent, referendum was held in N.W.F.P. The Ulema and Mashaikhs put the whole weight at their support and force in the balance of League. The Quaid-i-Azam specially sent Allama Shabbir Ahmed Usmani to N.W.F.P. in support of the League. He along with Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif and Pir Sahib of Zakori Sharif intensified the activities in support of the Muslim League. They made strong tour of the province and tribal areas to mobilize the support of the Muslim masses for Pakistan. Their earnest efforts succeeded in paving the way for a landslide victory of the League. The referendum was held on 17 July, 1947 and 289,244 votes were cast in favour of joining the New Constituent Assembly as against 2,874 for continuing with existing Indian Constituent Assembly. 3. (Qureshi 1969 ).

### 13. Contributions of Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni:

The Ulema and Mashikh played a stupendous role, in this victory which is worth writing in golden letters in the annals of the struggle for Pakistan. Another referendum of the same type was to be held in Sylhet, Bengal which was under personal influence of Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni who usually passed the month of Ramzan in Sylhet. This area, in fact was under the personal influence of pro-Congress Ulema. Their influence could only be countered through the Ulema of the same stature and size. Moreover, in Sylhet, "The Muslims were faced with a serious handicap, for through". They formed 60.7% of the population. They had only 54.27% votes of the total electoral role. 4 (Nadvi 1976) The AIML choice, to counter the influence of pro-Congress Ulema fell on Maulana Zafar Ahmed Usmani. Maulana was very popular amongst the Muslims of Bengal and Assam on account of his learning, piety and candidness. He toured Sylhet and spent the Holy month of Ramzan and explained the importance and need of Pakistan for the Muslims. He worked hard to organize them and generate support for Pakistan. Thus the systematic and organized campaign of the league in which Maulana Zafar Ahmed Usmani along with other Ulema played vital role, resulted in a decisive victory for her. The voting was 239, 619 for separation and joining East Bengal 181,0 4 1 against separation.

### 14. Role of Pir Jamat Ali:

The most prominent name among the Ulema was Pir Jamat Ali Shah who had millions of followers in the country. He was a staunch supporter of the Aligarh Movement for which he contributed Lakhs of Rupees. In spite of his old age and weak health Pir Jamat



Ali Shah toured throughout the country to get the support of AIML and Pakistan. After the passage of Lahore Resolution he gave an all-out support to the Quaid-i-Azam for the achievement of Pakistan. He made intensive tours of the country to generate support for the AIML. He advised his followers to work for the AIML and emphatically declared that he would not lead the funeral prayers of any devotee if he had not participated in the Pakistan Movement in any capacity. 7 (Naw-i-Waqat). Pir Jamat Ali Shah supported AIML during the elections 1945-46. His sincere campaign in the election of 1945-46 resulted in grand success of AIML candidates. He attended All India Sunni Conference held in Benaras on 30th April, 1946 and passed the following resolution.

### 15. Holding of All India Sunni Conference:

The session of All India Sunni Conference fully supports the demand for Pakistan and declares that Ulema and Mashaikhs belong to Ehl-Suniat-Wal-Jamat will make every possible sacrifice for the establishment of an Islamic government. They take it as their responsibility to establish a government according to the Islamic jurisprudence based on the Holy Quran and Sunna. In this conference some nationalist Ulema criticised the Quaid-i-Azam. Pir Jamat Ali Shah defended him by saying, "Think of Jinnah Sahib whatever you like, but I say that Jinnah Sahib is Waliullah. 8 (David 1988). Pir Jamat Ali Shah previously led Masjid Shaheed Movement for which the Muslims had given him the title of "Amir-i-Millat". During referendum in 1947 in NWFP he also visited the province and mustered his support for AIML. While presiding over a session of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam Punjab, Pir Jamat Ali Shah said, "Both the Government and the Congress should carefully note that the Muslims have shaken off their lethargy now stand awakened they have determined their goal of Pakistan, and no power on earth could fail the Pakistan Movement. 9 (Raees 1966).

### 16. Role of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif:

The credit of making the Pakistan Movement a success goes to Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif. He joined All India Muslim League (AIML) in 1945. When Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers were trying to fail the Pakistan Movement, thousands of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif followers worked for promoting the cause of Pakistan Movement. In N.W.F.P., a secret meeting of Mashaikh of NWFP and Punjab, was held at Peshawar in 1945. This meeting was arranged by Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif. In this meeting, he said that Pakistan was the only source of honour and freedom for the Muslims of Indo-Pak sub-continent. He appealed to Mashaikh to join the Muslim League. He also attended All India Sunni Conference and spoke continuously for two and a half hour and

made the following historical announcement. "I have made it clear to the Quaid-i-Azam that if at any stage he deceived the Muslims or tried to introduce in Pakistan a system other than Islam, Mashaikh and his followers would not accept his leadership" (Riaz-ul-Haq 1980). In the referendum of NWFP he convinced the people to cast their votes in favour of Pakistan. The invaluable services which he rendered to the AIML during the referendum in NWFP would never be forgotten.

### 17. Role of Shamasul-Ulema Khawaja Hassan Nizami of Tounsa:

During the peak days of the election campaign, Shamasul-Ulema Khawaja Hassan Nizami of Tounsa Sharif issued the following statement. "Pir Ghulam Mohay-ud-Din, Sajjada Nasheen of Hazrat Pir Mehhar Ali Shah had ordered his followers to side with the Muslim League. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam at Calcutta had also given a Fatwa asserting all the Muslims to support the League and he who does not abide by it would be sinful.

### 18. Maulana Fazal Shah of Jalalpur Sharif:

Another Mashaikh of Maulana Fazal Shah, Sajjada Nashin of Jalalpur Sharif, appealing the Muslim Community said, "the interest of the Millat demands from every Muslim to vote for AIML." The descendants of Hazrat Mujdid Alf-Sani played a magnificent role for promoting the cause of Pakistan.

### 19. Role of Hazrat Ghulam Mujadid Sirhindi:

Hazrat Ghulam Mujadid Sirhindi was renowned scholar of Islam. He aligned himself with Quaid-i-Azam in his mission for achieving an independent state for the Muslims and amalgamated his society "Jamiat-ul-Mashaikh" with AIML. This organization was merged into the AIML on the call of the Quaid-i-Azam. Another personality from Sindh who had strong contribution during the Pakistan Movement was Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi. He embraced Islam at an early age and after that he became a staunch Muslim and worked for the welfare of Indian Muslims.

### 20. Role of Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi:

Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi was a prolific writer and he used the sharp shafts of his pen against Hindu moneylenders, Sindhi vaderas and the British. He was sincere supporter of the Pakistan Movement. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni had an active part in Khilafat Movement. He made a countrywide tour in opposition to Nehru Report.



## 21. Role of Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni:

Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni supported and seconded the Lahore Resolution on behalf of Ulema and Mashaikh. In 1945, he toured NW FP and Punjab in connection with election campaign in favour of AIML candidates. He also went to Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. for the propagation of Pakistan Movement on the request of Pir Shahib of Manki Sharif. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni met the Nizam of Deccan and persuaded him to have a meeting with the Quaid-i-Azam. In 1946 he performed the duties of the secretary of the delegation of Ulema which was sent to Saudi Arabia and Middle East to make the Muslim world aware of Pakistan Movement.

## 22. Role of Khawaja Qamar-ud-Din Sayalvi:

Khawaja Qamar-ud-Din Sayalvi, was an active supporter of the Pakistan Movement. He was very influential in his region. He firmly stood against Tiwas who were trying to defeat the AIML candidates in their constituencies. It was due to Khawaja Sahib efforts that Muslim League candidates won 100% seats in districts Jhang and Sargodha. He was a generous, sincere and spiritual leader who had devoted his life for the glory of Islam and the Pakistan Movement.

## 23. Role of Sajjada Nashin Diwan-Aal-i-Rasool of Ajmer Sharif:

There were so many other scholars and Mashaikh who devoted their life for the establishment of Pakistan. Sajjada Nashin Diwan-Aal-i-Rasool of Ajmer Sharif appealed to the Mashaikh in the name of Khawaja Moeen-ud-Din Chishti to give their Gaddis and join AIML to materialize the dream of Pakistan.

## 24. Support from Brelvi School of Thought:

Nearly all the scholars of Brelvi school of thought actively worked for the cause of Pakistan. The most renowned Ulema of them were Maulana Naeem-ud-Din, Maulana Abdul Hasnat Mahmood Ali, Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Tarannum, Mufti Ghulam Moeenud-Din, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi, Maulana Sanaullah Amritsari, Maulana Muhammad Ibrahim Sialkoti and Maulana Fazal Ilahi Wazirabadi were amongst them. "Ulema and Mashaikh completely changed the atmosphere during the Pakistan Movement and made the tough task of the Quaid-i-Azam easier and ultimately Pakistan came into being."<sup>3</sup>



## Third Part

### Post-Independence Era

- Early Problems of Pakistan
- Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as Governor General
- Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan
- Objective Resolution (1949)
- Delay in the Making of Constitution of Pakistan during 1947-1956
- Salient Features of the Constitution of 1956
- Ayub's Era
- Constitution of 1962
- Causes of Separation of East Pakistan
- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- Constitution of 1973
- Zia's Strategies for Self Preservation
- Post-Independence Constitutional Developments from 1947 to 1997

<sup>3</sup> David 1988



## Early Problems of Pakistan

### Outline:

#### Introduction

#### Category A (Problems linked with India)

1. Demarcation of Boundaries
2. Division of Assets
3. Accession of Indian Princely States
4. Water Dispute

#### Category B (Indigenous Problems)

5. Administrative Problems
6. Rehabilitation of Refugees
7. Choice of capital
8. Constitutional Problems
9. Linguistic Problem
10. Pakhtunistan Movement
11. Death of Quaid-i-Azam

### Introduction:

Ever since the idea of Pakistan was put forward, doubts had continually been thrown on its economic and financial viability. When the British journalist *Beverley Nichols* asked from *Quaid-i-Azam* in 1943 about the economic aspect of future Pakistan, "Are the Muslims likely to be richer or poorer under Pakistan?" He replied, "The Muslims are tough people, lean and hardy. If Pakistan means that they will have to be a little tougher, they will not complain."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, 2003), p. 333

### Category A (Problems linked with India)

#### 1. Demarcation of Boundaries:

Radcliff Award gave vast territories to India. Like in Bengal, Calcutta was having the only major port, a biggest commercial, industrial, and commerce and education center. Hence, Calcutta was handed over to India. India and Pakistan were separated by 1000 miles of land territory; hence the importance of sea communications between Calcutta and other cities could not be ignored. Murshadabad and Nadiya would be transferred to Pakistan, but it did not happen. Parts of Jaysore, of Malda and Daniyaj Pur were given to West Bengal, India. In Assam, two majority areas of Muslims, Badarpur and Karim Ganj, were also transferred to India. Sylhet which was opted for East Bengal through referendum, it was also given to India. According to this award, total area of about 6000 square miles was given to India, consisting of approximately 3.5 million populations.

A well-known writer, **Ch. Muhammad Ali**, describes in his book, "The Emergence of Pakistan", "East Pakistan dealt a staggering blow at the time of partition when Calcutta became part of India. Over 90 percent of the industrial units in undivided Bengal were located in Calcutta or nearby, in West Bengal."<sup>2</sup>

Similarly in Punjab, four districts like Jullunder, Ferozpur, Gurdaspur and Ambala were handed over to India, which were having the Muslim majority population. Gurdaspur had four tehsils like Batala, Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Shakar garh, in which only Pathan kot was the Hindu majority area, but the other three tehsils were consisted of Muslim majority population. Batala was the Muslim industrial town, but Batala, Gurdaspur and Pathankot were transferred to India, but Shakar Ganj was given to Pakistan.

The Radcliff Award also provided an excess of Jammu Katwa road, which was the only link between Gurdaspur and Batala, was given to India. In this way, this excess allowed India a safe passage to Kashmir. In order to appease Sikhs, Amritsar was handed over to India. But as a whole, it was a Muslim majority area. Jullunder, which was consisted of two tehsils Jullunder and Nikodar, were transferred to India. In United India, Ferozpur housed an important Indian army arsenal. Ferozpur district, which was situated at the East of Sutluj River in which Ferozpur and Zirra head works were located, was also awarded to India. It was the only way to irrigate West Punjab. The natives of these areas were thinking that

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.335



they were going to intermingle with Pakistan. The award was to be announced on 9 August, but it announced on 17 August 1947. Therefore this award was declared as an unjust.

## 2. Division of Assets:

After the independence of Pakistan, the Indian government remained reluctant to pay the share of Pakistan out of the cash balance of four billion. The share of Pakistan was 750 million rupees. India in spite of world pressure; became ready to pay the amount if Pakistan would surrender Kashmir valley to India. Gandhi interfered in the matter and partial payment of 200 million was released.

## 3. Accession of Indian Princely States:

At the time of Independence, the princely states were given options either to accede India or Pakistan, or to remain independent. However, the future of these states remained undecided and created conflict between India and Pakistan, Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagarh. From the strategic point of view, Kashmir has an important position and boundaries with Tibet, China, Afghanistan and Russia. It was a Muslim majority state and people wanted to accede to Pakistan, but its ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh of Dogra Hindu Dynasty wanted to align with India. India took this issue and filed complaints before UN. Later the Security Council of UN decided that the future of Kashmir would be decided according to the wishes of people.

Similarly Hyderabad had a great importance as a state. It had an annual revenue of about 260 million, own currency and stamps. Its ruler was a Muslim, but its population was Hindu. Nizam of Hyderabad requested Viceroy Mountbatten for the independent status, but Viceroy pressed him to accede to India. Though Hyderabad filed a complaint before UN Security Council, but India seized it by military operation and incorporated it into different provinces of Indian Union. This complaint before UN is still pending.

Junagarh was a maritime state, about 300 miles down the coast from Karachi. Its ruler was Muslim, but its population was Hindus and non-Muslims. India also seized Junagarh on 7 November 1947. Pakistan, at that time, was not in a position to defend Junagarh.

## 4. Water Dispute:

The natural flow of rivers in the province of Punjab was affected by the partition of the province. Radcliff Award not only

divided the area of Punjab between India and Pakistan geographically, rather it gave canals to Pakistan and its control to India. In 1948, this issue became more serious, when India stopped the flow of water coming to Pakistan. This stoppage also created major problems to obstruct the irrigation schemes in Pakistan. The river waters are source of life for Pakistan. If they are closed, the famine and destruction could be the fate of Pakistan. Later this issue was resolved in 1960 in the shape of Indus Water Agreement between India and Pakistan.

## Category B (Indigenous Problems)

### 5. Administrative Problems:

The independence of Pakistan and India also created administrative problems for newly born state of Pakistan. The Hindus working in offices in the areas of Pakistan migrated to India and the offices became empty. Furniture, stationery, typewriters and other necessary items were also not available in the offices. Most of the offices started their work under the open sky with no shelter.

### 6. Rehabilitation of Refugees:

Millions of Muslim families migrated to Pakistan. The number of the Muslims who finally crossed the border was more than 125 million. The oppressed and depressed Muslims were temporarily provided accommodation in camps. To rehabilitate the refugees in Pakistan was a very task for administration. The provision of shelter, clothing and food for them was a great responsibility. The government steadily shifted the refugees in different provinces and districts to rehabilitate them.

### 7. Choice of capital:

The Independence of Pakistan also created many problems among the imbalance zones of Pakistan. The politicians of East Pakistan wanted to make Decca as the future capital of Pakistan. But Karachi was chosen as a capital and administrative secretariat, which was part of West Pakistan. This capital issue also lingered on conflict and frustration among the East Pakistanis about their representation in the administrative affairs.

### 8. Constitutional Problems:

After the creation of Pakistan, two school of thoughts emerged about the future constitution of the country. One school of thought believed that it would be secular, while the others opined that it would be an Islamic one. It became a basic bone of



contention between those of thoughts, which also resulted in the delay of future constitution making of Pakistan. Meanwhile "the reluctance of the power bloc at the center to share power with Bengalis was also the primary cause for the delay in constitution making."<sup>3</sup>

### 9. Linguistic Problem:

Another issue raised at the time of creation of Pakistan was linguistic issue, which emerged in Pakistan. Having the claim of 54% of the total population, East Pakistan claimed that Bengali would be the national language. But Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah declared Urdu as national language of Pakistan.

### 10. Pakhtunistan Movement:

A nationalist Pakhtun leader, Ghaffar Khan, raised question demanding a national identity within Pakistan. It was a serious issue at the very outset. It also alleged that India and Afghanistan were behind the game of Ghaffar Khan. But at the time of referendum, the people of N.W.F.P. decided to remain with Pakistan. This issue remained unresolved on behalf of the nationalist leaders.

### 11. Death of Quaid-i-Azam:

The sudden death of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* declined all the efforts for resolving the administrative issues of newly born state; Pakistan. His death was a great setback for all efforts of the strengthening Pakistan.

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## Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as Governor General

### Outline:

1. Rehabilitation of Refugees
2. Consolidation of economy
3. Reforms in administration
4. Policy Against Provincialism
5. Efforts for Unity
6. Conclusion

### 1. Rehabilitation of Refugees:

The influx of refugees was causing multi-dimensional issues. Therefore, Quaid-i-Azam shifted his capital from Karachi to Lahore to supervise the activities being carried out by the government and voluntary associations. For this purpose, Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund for Refugees was set up and invited the philanthropists to donate as much as they could. His appeal deeply influenced the local people. The total number of refugees in West Pakistan ultimately rose to nine million or one fourth of the population. In September, a separate ministry known as Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation was formed in the Pakistan government and an emergency committee of the cabinet was set up. Quaid and Liaqat Ali Khan paid frequent visits to Lahore. "The strain and stress of the tragic events of those days, the colossal problems, and the ceaseless work impaired the health of both Quaid and the Prime Minister. But with a grim determination which knew no relaxation they battled valiantly with every adverse circumstance."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Omar Noman, *The Political Economy of Pakistan 1947-85* (London, 1988), p.10

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, 2003), p. 262



## 2. Consolidation of economy:

At the time of partition, the economy of Pakistan was facing serious economic crunch. The influx of refugees and Indian refusal to pay the due share of Pakistan worsened the financial situation. For this purpose, he involved the trade community and advised them to play their role, required for progress of the nation. *Quaid-i-Azam* felt the need for the establishment of a central bank. So he established the State Bank of Pakistan on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1948. He said, "The foundations of your state have been laid down and it is now for you to build and build as quickly and as well as you can." Mr. *Zahid Hussain* was appointed the first Governor General of State Bank of Pakistan. The main function of the State Bank was to ensure the monetary stability and to promote the growth of the monetary and credit systems in the best national interest.

## 3. Reforms in administration:

*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* paid immediate attention towards setting up of the administrative machinery. As a Governor General, he had sole authority regarding the civil and military matters. He took a number of steps to overcome the administrative problems of the new state. There was no office equipment, no furniture, no official record and no stationery to pull the official routine. The government officials, full with their national sentiments, did not care for inadequacies and set to face the challenge under the dynamic leadership of *Quaid-i-Azam*. "You are not rulers. You do not belong to the ruling class, make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of integrity, justice and fair-play. You should not be influenced by any political pressure, political party or individual politician."

## 4. Policy against Provincialism:

In a public speech in Decca, East Pakistan on March 21, 1948, he said, "You belong to a nation now; you now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a Nation, for God's sake give up this provincialism" the background to *Quaid-i-Azam*' warning against provincialism was provided by the language controversy that raised its head in East Bengal only a month after the establishment of Pakistan.

## 5. Efforts for Unity:

In a broadcast talk to the people of Australia, on February 19, 1948, the *Quaid-i-Azam* said: "West Pakistan is separated from

East Pakistan by about a thousand miles of the territory of India. The first question a student abroad ask himself is-how can this be? How can there be unity of government between areas so widely separated? I can answer this question in one word. It is "faith", faith in Almighty God, in our-selves and in our destiny."

He made an appeal to Pakistani for national consolidation. In a public speech in Decca, East Pakistan on March 21, 1948, he said, "Let me warn you in the clearest terms of the dangers that still face Pakistan and your province in particular as I have done already. Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan." It shows that struggle between two forces; one making for unity, the other for disruption. It was the task of practical statesmanship to forge instruments of unity in every sphere of social and political action. The effort would, in the very nature of things, have to be a continuing one.

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦

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## Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Welfare of the Masses
3. Religious Toleration
4. Democracy
5. Law and Order
6. Proper Role of Bureaucracy
7. Guiding Principle of Constitution
8. Rights of Minorities
9. Attitude Towards Provincialism
10. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

**Q**uaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was against any type of theocracy and sectarianism. He wanted an Islamic democratic and progressive state of Pakistan. On 1<sup>st</sup> July 1948, he inaugurated the foundation of State Bank of Pakistan. In his last Independence Day message, he declared, "The foundations of your state have been laid down and it is now for you to build and build as quickly and as well as you can."

### 2. Welfare of the Masses:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah envisioned a state for the Muslims of the subcontinent in which the state had the sole responsibility to take steps for the welfare of its citizens. Therefore, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah commented, "If we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should

wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the masses and the poor."

### 3. Religious Toleration:

In his memorable speech on 11 August 1947, Mr. Jinnah declared, "You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to 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 citizens and equal citizens of one state. Jinnah's address of 11 August has received differing interpretations. Some authors, like Ch. Mohammad Ali, have viewed it as an assurance to the minorities. Some other writers have interpreted it differently. Chief Justice (Retd) M. Munir viewed it as, "one of the clearest expositions of a secular state."

During his visit to Quetta, a Shia delegation called on Jinnah. During the meeting, a member of the delegation remarked, "We have prior right on you because you belong to our sect." his reply was, "No, I am a Muslim."

### 4. Democracy:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah devoted 'selfless services to the cause of Islam and, to serve Muslims were the greatest mission of his life. He says, "Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals."

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also describes, "Muslims need not to borrow the concept or practice of democracy from others because we had learnt democracy about 1300 years ago."

Uswa-i-Husna was a perfect example for the Muslims. As Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) entered into pacts with Jews, Christians and other minorities in Medina, we should follow him. Mr. Jinnah declared, "He was not a Maulana but an ordinary Muslim having the human weaknesses."

### 5. Law and Order:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah describes the first and foremost important duty of the government with these words, **explains** "The first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the state."



## 6. Proper Role of Bureaucracy:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah describes the role of the bureaucracy in Pakistan, "You are not rulers. You do not belong to the ruling class, make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of integrity, justice and fair-play. You should not be influenced by any political pressure, political party or individual politician."

## 7. Guiding Principle of Constitution:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also explains the guiding principle of the coming constitution in Pakistan that, "Islam and idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught us equality of man, justice and fair-play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and we are fully alive to our responsibilities and the obligations as the framer of the future Constitution of Pakistan."

## 8. Rights of Minorities:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah always remained the champion of minority rights of the world. It is because of this fact that Nelson Mandela, a champion of black African rights, describes during his visit to Quaid's mausoleum, "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the greatest champion of minority rights the modern world has ever produced."

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also wanted to follow the example set by Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) for the rights of the minorities. Therefore he describes, "So far as we are concerned, our own history and our Prophet have given the clearest proof that non-Muslims have been treated not only justly and fairly but generously."

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah further explains that, "The minorities are entitled to get a definite assurance or to ask where we stand in Pakistan that you visualize."

## 9. Attitude towards Provincialism:

In a broadcast talk to the people of Australia, on February 19, 1948, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said: "West Pakistan is separated from East Pakistan by about a thousand miles of the territory of India. The first question a student abroad ask himself is-how can this be? How can there be unity of government between areas so widely separated? I can answer this question in one word. It is 'faith', faith in Almighty God, in our-selves and in our destiny."

As a visionary leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah knew the dangers of early Pakistan particularly in the matter of East Pakistan. Though he did not concede the Bengalis' demand for declaring Bengali language as a national language, but his speech shows his concern for the East Pakistanis, "Let me warn you in the clearest terms of the dangers that still face Pakistan and your province in particular as I have done already. Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan."

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also manifests that, "You belong to a nation now; you now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a Nation, for God's sake give up this provincialism"





## Objective Resolution (1949)

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Features of Objective Resolution
  - i. Sovereignty of Allah
  - ii. Power of State
  - iii. Making of Sovereign Constitution:
  - iv. Follow the Islamic principles
  - v. Teachings of Quran and Sunnah
  - vi. Rights of Minorities
  - vii. Provincial Autonomy
  - viii. Protection of Fundamental Rights
  - ix. Independence of Judiciary
3. Importance of Objective Resolution
  - i. Objective Resolution as Magna Carta
  - ii. Shadow of Sovereignty of God
  - iii. Assurance for fundamental rights
  - iv. Protection of the Minorities' Rights
  - v. Autonomy of the Provinces
  - vi. Success of Islamists
  - vii. Framework for better life
  - viii. Importance in judicial interpretations
4. Criticism from Liberal school of thought:

Pakistan emerged as an Islamic state on the map of the world on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 as a result of the long struggle of the Muslims of the subcontinent. Pakistan movement was based on Two Nation Theory. After the inception of Pakistan, there was a need to make it an Islamic Republic. In this connection, the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan took first step in March 1949 and passed the Objective Resolution.

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

### Features of Objective Resolution

#### i. Sovereignty of Allah:

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful; whereas Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which he has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the prescribed limits by him is a sacred trust.

#### ii. Power of State:

State will exercise its power and authority through the elected representatives of the people.

#### iii. Making of Sovereign Constitution:

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign State of Pakistan.

#### iv. Follow the modern principles:

The principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall fully be observed.

#### v. Teachings of Quran and Sunnah:

The Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah.



## vi. Rights of Minorities:

Adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures.

## vii. Provincial Autonomy:

The territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a federation where in the units shall be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed.

## viii. Protection of Fundamental Rights:

The fundamental rights of freedom, equality, and property, expression of thought, belief, worship and association shall be guaranteed.

## ix. Independence of Judiciary:

Judiciary shall be independent and will work without any pressure.

## Importance of Objective Resolution

### i. Objective Resolution as Magna Carta:

The Objective Resolution occupies a unique position in the constitutional history of Pakistan. Due to its significance, it is considered the Magna Carta in the constitution making of Pakistan. Therefore, this resolution also included as important part and parcel in the 'Preamble of all the constitutions of Pakistan. A famous writer and scholar, Hamid Yousaf, describes in his book, *Pakistan A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* that, "The Resolution was the first major step towards the framing of the constitution. It exposed the will of historically the first constituent body of Pakistan. It was later enshrined as a preamble in the constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973."<sup>1</sup>

### ii. Shadow of Sovereignty of God:

The Objective Resolution (1949) confirmed the sovereignty of God and the trust of Allah upon the chosen representatives of the parliament in Pakistan. Now the chosen representatives of the parliament will use all their powers as a gift bestowed by Allah. In this way, the Resolution gave an ideological colour to the Western concept of democracy, according to which the sovereignty lies in the

<sup>1</sup> Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* p 44

people. The exercise of the powers is a sacred trust. Hamid Yousaf also explains that, "The Resolution laid down the concept of government as a sacred trust to be exercised by the chosen representatives of the people. It laid down the objectives of freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam."<sup>2</sup>

### iii. Assurance for fundamental rights:

The representatives of the people of Pakistan will manage the affairs under the universal ideology of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice with the spirit of an Islamic frame work.

### iv. Protection of the Minorities' Rights:

The Objective Resolution also manifested that it would protect the minority rights and would provide due respect to them. Meanwhile it also promised that the state would safeguard the basic fundamental rights, religious emancipation, culture, and interests of the minorities, backward and depressed classes in Pakistan. Hamid Yousaf also explains the fact that the Objective Resolution also permits "full liberty to the minorities to profess their own religions and develop their cultures."<sup>3</sup>

### v. Autonomy of the Provinces:

It is also important to mention that the Objective Resolution of 1949 made a promise with the federating units that the central government would provide autonomy, due powers and territorial integrity to the provinces.

### vi. Success of Islamists:

The passing of this resolution is considered the success of Islamic elements in Pakistan. It's important also lies in the fact that it embraces Islam as a central point for the politics and connects its links with the pre-independence period. "It also expressed the resolve to enable the Muslims to lead their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam."<sup>4</sup>

### vii. Framework for better life:

The Objectives Resolution of 1949 is taken as a primary document in the constitutional history of Pakistan. It is an outline for

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 44

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 44



achieving specific goals for the betterment of people in Pakistani society.

#### viii. Importance in judicial interpretations:

In Pakistan, the Supreme Court used the Objective Resolution in its judgments for the insurance of the dependence of judiciary in some cases like *Al-Jehad v/s Federation of Pakistan*.

#### 4. Criticism from Liberal school of thought:

The critics of this resolution describe that the government had combined religion with politics in Pakistan, which was against the spirit of modern western democracy. They objected about the 'Sovereignty of Allah' and voiced for the equal rights for the minorities, backward and depressed classes in Pakistan.

Even the composition of All India Muslims League (AIML) shows that it was consisted of moderate and modernist leaders and Muslims, who did not support an orthodox religious and theocratic state. Therefore, they wanted to find the mid-way between the Islamic laws and the existing western democratic values.

The opponents of the Objective Resolution had a fear that this Resolution would encourage the religious extremists to use it for the sake of their selfish motives and they would operate by exploiting its essence for the establishment of a 'theocratic state'. They also objected that the principles of *Shariah* was not adequate for fulfilling the modern requirements. A wellknown scholar and social scientist, **Muhammad Wasim**, describes in his book, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, "The pressure from the Islamic lobby was strong enough to elicit a response from the Constituent Assembly in the form of the Objective Resolution on 2 March 1949."<sup>5</sup>



<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Wasim, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, p.124

## Delay in the Making of Constitution of Pakistan during 1947-1956

### Outline

1. Introduction
2. Bengali's fear of suppression
3. Absence of Strong Political Party
4. Crisis of Leadership
5. Clash between traditionalists and modernists
6. Controversy over the federal structure of constitution
7. Legislatures' lack of interest
8. Concept of Islamic state
9. Linguistic Problem
10. Cleavages within the Ruling elite

### 1. Introduction:

Pakistan became a sovereign state on 14 August 1947, so it needed a sovereign constitution as well. The Constituent Assembly had a dual responsibility under Independence Act. It was required to frame the new constitution and also to perform the duties of a Federal legislature. "The difficulties of constitution making were unforeseen and the job did not receive due attention at the beginning. The time and energy of the Government were wholly consumed by the problems created by partition, namely an unceasing and mounting flood of refugees, the economic disorganization caused by the migration of non-Muslims to India and the task of building of an administration."<sup>1</sup> (238)

For some span of time, the Government of India Act, 1935, was enforced by introducing some amendments. However, the

<sup>1</sup> Qureshi, I.H.; *A Short History of Pakistan* (University of Karachi, 1988), p.238



Crown of England remained a constitutional head of Pakistan till the promulgation of 1956 constitution. Several modifications were introduced in the Act of 1935 regarding the powers of the Governor General. The adaptation made in Pakistan placed its first Governor-General Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in command. The Governor-General of Pakistan presided over cabinet meetings while in India the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, presided over the cabinet and the Governor-General, last Viceroy Lord Mountbatten, acted on the advice of the prime minister. Thus, from the very inception the stage was set for command politics by the Head of State, the Governor-General or the President, and not by the Head of Government i. e., the Prime Minister in a parliamentary system.

The Legislators had to play multiple roles like legislation, representation of the people, law-making and constitution making etc. But there were number of reasons like Bengali's fear of suppression, absence of strong political party, crisis of leadership, clash between traditionalists and modernists, controversy over the federal structure of the constitution, legislatures' lack of interest, concept of Islamic state, linguistic problem, cleavages within the ruling elite etc., of which Pakistan took nearly a decade to make the first constitution.

## 2. Bengali's fear of suppression:

It was a strange fact and first time happened that majority was demanding safeguards from the minority in the United Pakistan. Having a demand for Decca as a capital and the rejection of this demand deepened this fear of suppression among the Bengalis. The Bengali representation in the judiciary, bureaucracy and armed forces was negligible. When an issue arose regarding the appointment of Chief Justice of Federal Court. The Governor General Ghulam General appointed Justice Munir as Chief Justice instead of Salah-ud-din. For the appointment of Chief Justice, he preferred a Western Pakistani as compared to an East Pakistani.

In the bureaucracy, the civil servants who now dominated both wings of Pakistan had a predominantly non-Bengali character. No Bengali was appointed Chief Secretary of East Pakistan for twenty two years after independence. Amongst the civil servants in influential positions at the center, there was not a single Bengali officer as late as 1968, as opposed to seven from Punjab, two from Urdu-speaking refugees from India and one from N.W.F.P.

Similarly in the army, till 1968, out of 32 generals, only two belonged to East Pakistan. It showed the alienation of the Bengalis from the armed forces of Pakistan. In the economic domain,

Bengalis resented the vast sums of foreign exchange earned from the sale of jute from East, which were being spent on defense.

During the Ayub Khan's period, he introduced various agricultural and industrial reforms in Pakistan, but the effects of his reforms were nothing in East Pakistan. Those reforms sharpened this economic imbalance and even distribution of wealth among the East Pakistanis.

## 3. Absence of Strong Political Party:

After the death of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, the Muslim League could not perform as a sole representative party of the country. The reason was that the politicians from the West Pakistan were not interested to share power with the politicians of East Pakistan. It resulted into formation of strong regional political parties in Pakistan. However, the results of provincial elections in 1954 showed that the claim of Muslim League as a sole representative party of the Muslims was ended. After the elections, the Muslim League ceased to be a factor of significance in East Bengal.

## 4. Crisis of Leadership:

Leadership plays a very important role in the progress and development of any state. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam, there was no alternative, who could fill the gap of his absence in the politics and administration of Pakistan. The most ruling elite came from across the border and the politicians did not want sharing power with the East Pakistanis. Like Khwaja Nazim-ud-din was the closest companion and confidante of Quaid-i-Azam. He rendered invaluable services in East Pakistan for the cause of Pakistan movement. Instead of taking resign from Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Punjab Chief Minister after the Anti-Ahmadiya movement, the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Khawaja Nazim-ud-din, a Bengali Prime Minister. Similarly Hussain Shaheed Suhurwary had played prominent role for Pakistan movement. But the politicians of West Pakistan did not accept Hussain Shaheed Suhurwary and Khwaja Nazim-ud-din as their premiers.

## 5. Clash between traditionalists and modernists:

A strange happening was going to be happened after the formation of Pakistan. In the Pakistan movement, the liberals, democrats and modernists run the movement, but the Islamic political parties and prominent religious scholars except Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi opposed the idea of formation of smaller state for the Muslims.



After the formation of Pakistan, Ulemas, traditionalists and religious parties argued that Islam was a complete code of life, so it could be introduced immediately. But the modernists opined that Islamic system of caliphate period was not applicable in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. They also argued that the constitution makers could draw spirit from Islamic principles and they would work according to the modern parliamentary system. Representing the conservatism and liberalism, Ulemas and liberals started opposing each other in the making of constitution, which resulted in the delay of constitution making.

### 6. Controversy over federal structure of constitution:

A controversy was raised about the nature of federal structure of Pakistan. The East Pakistanis, having the 54% population in the United Pakistan, claimed such federal structure in which the promise of provincial autonomy would be materialized. There were many proposals but the proposal of *Muhammad Ali Bogra* was accepted known as Bogra Formula. According to this proposal, "Both blocks should have equal seats in the upper house." Therefore, powers would be divided equally and deadlock could be resolved by a joint sitting of the members. The results of provincial elections in East Pakistan spread fear among the Punjabi politicians and the proposal of one unit gained momentum. Resultantly, the majority population of East Pakistan made equal with that of West Pakistan. This action also obstructed the way of constitution making in the early decade of Pakistan.

A well-known Pakistani scholar, *Hamid Yousaf* describes, "After the death of Liaquat Ali, the regional conflicts between the two wings of the country came to the surface and presented an extraordinary dilemma in the framing of a constitution. With the rise of Ghulam Muhammad to the office of Governor General, the clash between the bureaucracy and the politicians crystallized into a conflict between the Governor General and the prime minister. The conflicts of regions and personalities found the Constituent Assembly as the natural arena. It was in this supreme body that the struggle for the supremacy of the politicians was lost."<sup>2</sup>

### 7. Legislatures' lack of interest:

The non-seriousness of the legislators was also a serious cause behind the delay of making of the constitution from 1947 to 1956. After the death of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, the legislators did not take interest in the activities of the constituent

assembly. In its seven years, it met only for 116 days, whereas its average attendance was ranging from 37 to 56 members out of the total 76 members.

### 8. Concept of Islamic state:

There existed divergent views about the nature of Islamic state. It became a difficult task to satisfy the diverging views about the nature of relation of state and religion. The first and most difficult problem was to determine the exact character of the proposed constitution. Pakistan was claimed to have been founded so that Muslims should have a state of their own in which they could spend their lives according to the teachings of Islam. The formulation of a constitution for the new state was one of the urgent matters to be tackled. During the first phase of constitution making, the problem of the relation between state and religion was a dominating theme with the framers of the constitution.

### 9. Linguistic Problem:

Pakistan is a multi-lingual state. In East Pakistan, the people used to practice the homorganic cultural traditions and used to speak Bengali language. However, in West Pakistan, the case was quite contrary to the East Pakistan. This zone of Pakistan was heterogeneous in terms of language. The people of West Pakistan used to speak *Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Saraiki, Hindko, Pushtoons*. Meanwhile *Quaid-i-Azam* and *Liaquat Ali Khan* did not show willingness for making Bengali as a status of national language and remained adamant for Urdu to be a national language. The Bengalis were primarily concerned for their identity through their native language. For this purpose, they also tried to convince *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, but he refused categorically to accept their demand.

The later circumstances became the cause of linguistic riots in 1952 in East Bengal. They started agitation for their representation through the Bengali language, but the Punjabi politicians, bureaucracy and military did not concede their basic demands, which widened the gulf between East and West zones of Pakistan. On the other hand, Bengalis refused to accept Urdu as national language. It showed that cultural interference became a cause of conflict between the homogenous and heterogeneous zones of Pakistan, which led towards the contributing factor behind the delay of making of constitution of Pakistan.

### 10. Cleavages within Ruling elite:

Since the Pakistan movement, the middle ruling class had emerged in the East Pakistan. After the formation of Pakistan, a clash

<sup>2</sup> Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Sang-i-Meel, Lahore, ), p.46-47



between the middle class and the big landlords had started to occur. The big landlords mostly belonged to Punjab and Sind of West Pakistan. These cleavages with the ruling elite hampered all efforts for the making of constitution of Pakistan.

### 11. Conclusion:

From the above mentioned discussion, it can be concluded that Pakistan needed such sovereign constitution like a sovereign state would have after its formation. But the Legislators could not play due to a number of reasons like Bengali's fear of suppression, legislatures' lack of interest, absence of strong political party, crisis of leadership, controversy over the federal structure of the constitution, nature of the Islamic state, linguistic problem etc. All such factors became the reasons of delay of making the first constitution of Pakistan. *Hamid Yusuf* describes, "The inter-wing conflict caused a fatal delay in the framing of a constitution and a general election could not be held. With the decline of the League politics became fragmented and power began concentrated in the hands of the bureaucracy, with the military dominant."<sup>3</sup>



<sup>3</sup> Hamid Yusuf; Pakistan A Study of Political Developments 1947-97 (Sange-Meel Publications, Lahore), p.68

## Salient Features of the Constitution of 1956

### Outlines

1. Introduction
2. Features
  - (i) Islamic character
  - (ii) Federal System of Government
  - (iii) Parliamentary form of government
  - (iv) Uni-Cameral Legislature
  - (v) Independence of Judiciary
  - (vi) Introduction of Directive Principles
  - (vii) Fundamental Rights
  - (viii) Official Language
3. Declaration of Martial Law in 1958

### Introduction:

The Second Constituent Assembly under the leadership of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali's government worked hard and within the short period of one year produced a Draft Constitution, which was presented to the Assembly on January 8, 1956. It was promulgated on March 23, 1956. The salient features of the 1956 Constitution are given below:-

#### (i) Islamic character:

One of the main features of the Constitution was its Islamic character. The Islamic provisions were contained in the directive principles of the state policy. Along with other Islamic provisions in the Constitution, the president was required to be a Muslim. The



Objectives Resolution was, however, only made the preamble of the Constitution.

**(ii) Federal System of Government:**

The Federal type of the system of government was introduced in this Constitution. It introduced the division of powers between the central and provincial governments, having Federal Legislative list, the provincial list and the concurrent list.

**(iii) Parliamentary form of government:**

This constitution introduced a parliamentary form of government. The Prime Minister and his cabinet were responsible, accountable and liable to answer to the National Assembly. The President, a constitutionally head of state was neither a titular, nor a nominal head but he could perform an effective role in the state affairs.

**(iv) Uni-Cameral Legislature:**

According to this constitution, only one Chamber of the Parliament existed in Pakistan, consisting of total 300 members. An effort was made for the equal representation to both units of federation viz., East and West Pakistan.

**(v) Independence of Judiciary:**

In this Constitution, supremacy and independence of Judiciary was upheld. The judges of the superior courts, according to the Constitution, were to be appointed by the head of the State.

**(vi) Introduction of Directive Principles:**

The Directive Principles of state policy were also incorporated in the Constitution. These were laid down in Part 3 of the Constitution. Some of these principles dealt with Islamic teachings.

**(vii) Fundamental Rights:**

Fundamental rights were made the part of the Constitution and were to be enforced by the Supreme Court. All such laws or administrative policies which violated Fundamental Rights could be challenged in the Court of law.

**(viii) Official Language.**

According to the Constitution, Urdu and Bengali were made official languages. Nevertheless, English was accepted as an official language for a maximum period of twenty five years.

**Declaration of Martial Law in 1958**

The Fourth crisis came on October 7, 1958, (less than three years after the Constitution of 1956 came into force on 23 March 1956), when Iskander Mirza, with the support of the army, declared Martial Law for the first time, dismissed the Central and Provincial Cabinets and dissolved the National and provincial Assemblies and abrogated the Constitution of 1956. Simultaneously General Mohammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army was appointed the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The proclamation of Martial Law in October 1958 paved the way for the Constitution of 1962.





## Era of General Ayub Khan

### Outline:

#### Introduction

1. Constitution of 1962
2. Institutional Structure System of Basic Democracy
3. Crooked Democracy (Qausi/Controlled democracy)
4. Political Steps
5. Press Censorship
6. Law Reforms
7. Steps against Academia
8. Controls and empowerment of Bureaucracy

### 1. Constitution of 1962:

The martial law government (1958) had announced on the very first day of its take-over that a new constitution would be framed and presented to the nation. In his book, "Friends not Masters" Ayub Khan raised serious doubts on the ingenuity of Ch. Muhammad Ali, who was the architect in Chief of the 1956 constitution. To him, that constitution was in complete disjunction with the genius of the Pakistani people. Constitution-making was thus going to be an elitist affair per-excellence, because only the "most appropriate person" knows best how to go about it.

A constitution commission was set up under Justice Shahab-ud-din, which started probing into various currents of public opinion so as to determine whether a parliamentary or a presidential system, a federal or a unitary system and adult franchise or electoral college system would suit Pakistan in future.

After a careful scrutiny of the Reform through the Cabinet sub-committee headed by Manzur Qadri, President Ayub promulgated his constitution in June 1962.

That constitution warranted a Presidential system of government with extremely powerful President and the federal government. The provinces lacked sufficient autonomy, making it virtually impossible for the Provincial Governments to function in an autonomous manner. Officially it maintained the federal structure; the spirit behind the constitution was definitely unitary.

**Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema** and **Rashid Ahmad Khan** also say, "Under the 1962 constitution, Ayub Khan introduced presidential form of government with much greater concentration of powers in the hands of President than are normally allowed under a genuine Presidential government. As a former Chief Justice of Pakistan has remarked under 1962 constitution, Pakistan practically ceased to be a federation, as the centre personified by the President enjoyed overwhelming authority over the provinces in important spheres"<sup>1</sup>

That constitution provided one list of subjects i.e. the federal list that had 49 items. The enhanced power vested in the President and circumscribed role for the legislatures compromised whatever autonomy was granted to the provinces. Ayub had modestly suggested that "resolution and courage would be provided by the top leadership- me going on to specify the requirement of creating a strong central government with a dominant executive independent of the whims of legislature. To avoid such whims, members of National Assembly were chosen on "personal merits" since the 1962 constitution did not recognize political parties. Many analysts equated him with the Lyallpur's Ghanta Ghar. It was the sole prerogative of the President to appoint Provincial Governors as his agents, whose prime duty was to keep him informed about the political developments in the provinces.

Justice M.R. Kyani called it, "constitution of the president" for the president. Following the American model, the president's ministers were not to be members of the National Assembly. It was individual rather than collective responsibility which was the order of the day. In fact, in the new dispensation, the supreme legislature authority was vested in both president and National Assembly. However, the former emergency powers to dissolve the latter made him the final authority in the new set-up.

### 2. Institutional Structure System of Basic Democracy

A system of basic democracies was introduced in Oct, 1959. It was a peculiar form of representational dictatorship. The country

<sup>1</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008)



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was divided into 80,000 geographical units; these constituencies contained an average electorate of 1000. Each constituency elected, on the basis of universal suffrage, a representative called a basic democrat.

The Basic Democracies (B.D) had a four-tier hierarchical structure of Union Council/Committee; Tehsile council/town committee, District Council and Divisional Council.

- Union Council
- Tehsile Council
- District Council
- Divisional Council

This system served two primary functions.

- a. The basic democrats formed a safe electoral college for the election of a president. In Feb, 1960, basic democrats were asked to say yes or not to a simple question: "Have you confidence in President Ayub Khan?" Ayub was elected president by a 95.6 % yes votes.
- b. The second function was to develop a direct relationship between the bureaucracy and the rural elite, thus cultivating a network of allies for the government, based on access to the state's resources. The Civil Servants were responsible for selecting candidates, thereby, extending detailed administrative control over political issues, even at the local level.

**Ian Talbot** linked this system with the colonial system of patronage and says, "Depoliticization marked a return to the colonial administration's idea of political tutelage through indirect elections and official nomination of representatives. This approach was formalized in the Basic Democracies scheme.

**Ayesha Jalal** identifies in her book, "The State of Martial Rule". It was the bureaucracy particularly CSP's that assigned the privilege to nominate half of the members of district and divisional councils in the newly introduced system of Basic Democracies. This arrangement in nomination virtually tipped the balance in favour of the rural politicians. The role of industrial labour and intelligentsia, considered to be the most volatile sections of the urban societies, was disfranchised. The basic democracies order was opposed by the urban section of the society but it was incorporated in the constitution 1962.

### 3. Crooked Democracy (Quasi/Controlled democracy)

ELECTED MEMBERS: following were the elected members of the Ayub's controlled democracy; Uneducated *Lambardars*,

*Patwaris* useful for villages, retired government officers and religious leaders.

In Chattagong, Northern Areas, about 6000 officials were selected.

Only those groups were incorporated who directly benefited from governmental patronage. It failed to provide the central element for an effective political structure. It had no mechanism for accommodating opposition. It was an institutional structure which forced groups with political grievances into mobilizing for violent confrontation.

### 4. Political Policies:

Ayub was quite categorical in blaming the unruly politicians for all the malaise in the country. One way of keeping politicians at bay and ensuring safe stay of Ayub Khan in the President's office was to formulate a policy of political exclusion. This was done in the form of Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EDBO) authorizing newly established tribunals to put on trial the politicians for misconduct. Prosecution could be not avoided if the accused agreed not to be a candidate for any elective body for a period of seven years. About 7000 individuals were relegated to ignominy through EBDQ in 1959. *Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy*, *Qazi Isa* and *Sahibzada Hassan Mahmud* opted to face the trial hence they were arrested and faced prosecution.

### 5. PRESS CENSORSHIP:

On 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1959 a Martial Law Ordinance empowered the government to take over newspapers which "in the opinion of the government published or contained matters likely to endanger the defense, external affairs or security of Pakistan."

Subsequently the Pakistan Times and Omroze the largest and most influential English and Urdu dailies, were seized by the government.

The Progressive Papers limited were taken over on the grounds of left wing bias. On 28 March 1963, the government promulgated a press Ordinance banning the publication of any news relating to strike or industrial unrest. In September 1963, another ordinance ordered newspapers to publish all the press notes distributed by the central or provincial governments. The repression of independent newspapers was the only and the first step on the process of establishing official ideological control. During the election of 1964-65, Radio Pakistan adopted a policy of black out on the opposition viewpoint and tried to reduce the coverage of *Fatima Jinnah*. Lahore Radio Station launched a programme *MASI MEHRU* to ridicule women's participation in the elections. The second step



consisted of creating an official body to monitor and smother any traces of independent thought through a National Press Trust (NPT), financed by twenty four (24) industrialists, was entrusted with the task of stifling dissent.

## 6. Law Reforms:

Law reforms gave the administration absolute control over the legal profession, with judicial appointments being subjected to through political scrutiny. Indeed judges were interviewed by provincial governors and the President to ensure excision of illusions of judicial independence.

## 7. Steps against Academia:

Academics were contained with considerable ease. They could neither publish works of any substance nor would they be employed by universities, all of whom were owned by the state if there was any public manifestation of dissent. Government did not brook any criticism. None of the academics or the members of the faculty with overt leftist leanings could be employed in the universities. Such members of literate or intelligentsia were posted out to the remote places; Safdar Mir was one such example. Writer's guild was also conjured into existence with implicit motive of controlling the writers and the members of literati. Quadrat ullah Shahab was particularly put instrumental in putting it together with the likes of *Jamil-ud-din Aali*. Only a few voices were raised against the state's bid to control the writers and poets through devious means. Josh Malih Abadi and Habib Jalib were one of the dissenting voices in that regard. These measures collectively cordoned off and tamed the intelligentsia, which has had profound implications for cultural and social development in Pakistan. A society did not allow to analyze itself suffocated in silence stunted by ideological imprisonment and deformed by sustained repression. To rub salt in the wound, the military was referred to among official Western circles as the most progressive modern institution in society.

## 8. Controls and Empowerment of Bureaucracy:

Power was concentrated in the hands of Ayub who, none the less, relied extensively on the bureaucracy for the effective monitoring and effective functioning of the government machinery. Most of the routine decision-making powers were delegated to Civil Servants, with the army maintaining a relatively low profile as far as day-to-day administration was concerned. It bore a striking feature and similarity of the structure of colonial rule. The role played by the viceroy in the British Viceroy.



## Constitution of 1962

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Salient Features
  - i. Written Character
  - ii. Nature of the Constitution
  - iii. Federal Type of Government
  - iv. Presidential form of Government
  - v. Unicameral Legislature
  - vi. Indirect Method of Election
  - vii. Independence of Judiciary
  - viii. Islamic Provisions

The martial law government (1958) had announced on the very first day of its take-over that a new constitution would be framed and presented to the nation. In his book, "Friends not Masters" Ayub Khan raised serious doubts on the ingenuity of Ch. Muhammad Ali, who was the architect in Chief of the 1956 constitution. To him, that constitution was in complete disjunction with the genius of the Pakistani people. Constitution-making was thus going to be an elitist affair per-excellence, because only the "most appropriate person" know best how to go about it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p.51



A constitution commission was set up under Justice Shahab-ud-din, which started probing into various currents of public opinion so as to determine whether a parliamentary or a presidential system, a federal or a unitary system and adult franchise or electoral college system would suit Pakistan in future. After a careful scrutiny of the Reform through the Cabinet sub-committee headed by Manzur Qadri, President Ayub promulgated his constitution in June 1962.

That constitution warranted a Presidential system of government with extremely powerful President and the federal government. The provinces lacked sufficient autonomy, making it virtually impossible for the Provincial Governments to function in an autonomous manner. Officially it maintained the federal structure; the spirit behind the constitution was definitely unitary.

## 2. Salient Features of the Constitution of 1962

As the President, Muhammad Ayub Khan implemented the new Constitution on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1962 and finally came into effect on 8 June 1962. The new Constitution contained certain provisions of the abrogated Constitution with certain modifications. The Constitution of the Second Republic was a comprehensive document. It did not have a representative character but was granted by one man. The following are the salient features of the Constitution of 1962:-

### i. Written Character:

The Constitution contained 250 articles divided into twelve parts and three schedules.

### ii. Nature of the Constitution:

The Constitution of 1962, like the abrogated Constitution of 1956, was a written Constitution and consisted of a detailed document. The Constitution was partly rigid and partly flexible.

### iii. Federal Type of Government:

According to the pattern of division of powers, as chalked out in the Constitution, the powers of the central government are enumerated and expressed in a list while all residuary powers belong to the provinces. It is to be noted that Railways and Industrial Corporations were entrusted to the provinces. Within this federal structure, the central government was made domineering even at the cost of provincial autonomy.

### iv. Presidential form of Government:

According to the Constitution of 1962, the Presidential form

of government was enforced in Pakistan. He had the appointing authority for the ministers, ambassadors, chiefs of the Armed Forces, heads of various commissions, provincial governors and political secretaries in the mountainous areas. Though the ministers were not the members of the parliament but they, however, did not have the right to vote in the assemblies. Though the President was not the repository of the supreme executive authority, yet he could effectively control the legislative process through his ministers. Moreover, he enjoyed the power to veto the bills passed by the National Assembly.

### v. Unicameral Legislature:

Under both the previous Constitutions, parity of representation between West and East Pakistan was secured within uni-cameralism, whereas seats in each of the provinces were allocated according to the ratio of population.

### vi. Indirect Mode of Election:

The framers of 1962 Constitution envisaged indirect method of election for the presidency and for the legislative assemblies. Accordingly, the people and the local voters would elect the members of Basic Democracies, who would elect the representatives to the members of the legislative assemblies and even the President of Pakistan. In this way, the system of Basic Democracy became an electoral college for the higher positions in Pakistan.

### vii. Independence of Judiciary:

Proper safeguards had been introduced under 1962 Constitution to maintain the independence of judiciary. The judges of the superior courts were appointed by the President and ensured security of service. They could be removed by the President on the basis of an inquiry conducted to this effect by the Supreme Judicial Council.

### viii. Islamic Provisions:

In the original document of the Constitution of the 2nd Republic, the word Islamic was deleted from the name of the Republic. It was due to severe popular reaction that the word 'Islamic' was reinserted. According to the Constitution, the President was to be a Muslim, but it was not necessary for the Speaker of the National Assembly to be a Muslim. It was also laid down in the Constitution that no law would be enacted or enforced which was repugnant to Shariah. Initially the 1962 Constitution designated Pakistan as merely the "Republic of Pakistan", but public forced it as



the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan". The 1962 Constitution retained some aspects of the Islamic nature of the republic but omitted the word Islamic in its original version; amid protests, Ayub Khan added that word later. The president would be a Muslim, and the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology and the Islamic Research Institute were established to assist the government in reconciling all legislation with the tenets of the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

### 3. Criticism of the Constitution:

#### i. Unjust distribution of powers:

That constitution provided one list of subjects i.e. the federal list that had 49 items. This list empowered the President, because it had vested in the President and limited the role of the legislatures in Pakistan. Though it granted provincial autonomy, but it was restricted due to the enormous powers of the President. General Ayub Khan had modestly suggested that "resolution and courage would be provided by the top leadership- me going on to specify the requirement of creating a strong central government with a dominant executive independent of the whims of legislature."<sup>2</sup>

#### ii. Dominance of the Center:

A well-known author and scholar, **Hamid Yusuf**, describes, "Under the constitution, the center was dominant over the provinces and at the center the president was all powerful and towered over the national political scene. It was an administrative state in which Ayub Khan had placed great faith and which he now hoped to bring into existence under the guiding light of his leadership."<sup>3</sup>

#### iii. Concentration of powers:

The constitution of 1962 gave enormous powers to the president of Pakistan, which shows the lust of Ayub Khan for the manipulation of powers. **Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema** and **Rashid Ahmad Khan** also say, "Under the 1962 constitution, Ayub Khan introduced presidential form of government with much greater concentration of powers in the hands of President than are normally allowed under a genuine Presidential government. As a former Chief Justice of Pakistan has remarked under 1962 constitution, Pakistan practically ceased to be a federation, the centre personified by the President enjoyed overwhelming authority over

<sup>2</sup> Kamran, Tahir, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p. 51

<sup>3</sup> Hamid Yousaf *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Sang-i-Meel, Lahore, ), p. 74

the provinces in important spheres"<sup>4</sup> Justice M.R. Kyani called it, "constitution of the president, by the president, for the president." Many analysts equated him with the Lyallpur's Ghanta Ghar.

#### iii. Non-recognition of the political parties:

To avoid such whims, the members of National Assembly were chosen on "personal merits" since the 1962 constitution did not recognize political parties. In this way, this constitution restricted the growth of political parties in Pakistan.

#### iv. Appointment of Provincial Governors as agents:

It was the sole prerogative of the President to appoint Provincial Governors as his agents, whose prime duty was to keep him informed about the political developments in the provinces.

#### v. Emergency powers of the President:

Following the American model, the president's ministers were not to be members of the National Assembly. It was individual rather than collective responsibility which was the order of the day. In fact, in the new dispensation, the supreme legislature authority was vested in both president and National Assembly. However, the former emergency powers to dissolve the latter made him the final authority in the new set-up.



<sup>4</sup> Kamran, Tahir, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008)



## Causes of Separation of East Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Geographical Factor
3. Tussle of Capital
4. Language Issue
5. Results of provincial elections
6. Dismissal of East Pakistani Politicians
7. Economic Instability
8. Corruption in Politics
9. Pitfalls in Judiciary
10. Formation of One Unit
11. Proclamation of Martial Law (1958)
12. Quasi democracy
13. Bengali Representation in Army
14. Role of Bureaucracy
15. War of 1965
16. Incident of Polish revolt
17. Mujeeb's Six Points
18. Agartila Case
19. Conclusion

### Introduction

“The geographical separation of East and West Pakistan produced not only administrative but social, economic and political problems as well. Distance made communication fitful and expensive. Misunderstandings arose easily and were difficult to dispel. Since the capital was in West Pakistan, East Pakistan felt neglected. The differences in language and background put obstacles in the way of national integration. Within West Pakistan there were a number of provinces and states, and four linguistic

regions.”<sup>1</sup> With the passage of time, cleavages with the both regions of Pakistan started to be unbridged.

### 1) Geographical Factor:

The physical separation of a thousand miles between the two wings without a common border, and being surrounded by Indian territory and influences, led to constant political, economic and social conflicts between the two wings; embittering relations bringing the country on the verge of collapse.

### 2) Language Issue:

The Bengalis were primarily concerned for their identity through their native language. For this purpose, they also tried to convince *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, but he refused categorically to accept their demand. But later circumstances became the cause of linguistic riots in 1952 in East Bengal. They started agitation for their representation through the Bengali language, but the Punjabi politicians, bureaucracy and military did not concede their basic demands, which widened the gulf between East and West zones of Pakistan.

### 3) Tussle of Capital:

Almost immediately, East Pakistan claimed that as their population (55 percent as compared to 45 percent in the West) was greater, they were in majority. Democratically the Federal capital should have been in Dhaka and not in Karachi. Since Karachi was the seat of the National Government; ministers, government officials and industrialists exerted immense influence on national and regional affairs which brought many benefits. But the East Pakistanis were unable to extract the same kind of advantages, as they were a thousand miles away from the Capital. The location, it was said, created great economic imbalance, uneven distribution of national wealth and privileges, and better jobs for the people of West Pakistan, because they were able to sway decisions in their own favour.

### 4) Results of provincial elections:

The results of provincial elections in 1954 showed that the claim of Muslim League as a sole representative party of the Muslims was ended. Its overwhelming majority position declined to 10 members in a house of 309. “From now on the Muslim League ceased to be a factor of significance in East Bengal. The representative capacity of the Bengali members of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Constituent Assembly had been

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, 2003), p. 364



undermined. The United Front Party led by A.K.Fazlul Haq, which had triumphed in the provincial elections, demanded new elections to the Constituent Assembly and called for provincial autonomy under its 21 points."<sup>2</sup>

### 5) Dismissal of East Pakistani politicians:

*Khawaja Nazim-ud-din* was the closest companion and confidante of *Quaid-i-Azam*. He rendered invaluable services in East Pakistan for the cause of Pakistan movement. In the Anti-Ahmadiya movement, a Martial was imposed in Lahore, *Khawaja Nazim-ud-din* forced *Mian Mumtaz Daultana*, Punjab Chief Minister, to resign. But Governor General *Ghulam Muhammad* dismissed *Khawaja Nazim-ud-din*, a Bengali Prime Minister.

*Khalid bin Sayeed* comments, "The central leadership adopted the view that a significant number of influential Bengali Muslim leaders were probably not completely loyal Pakistanis. It was suspected that such leaders not only believed in retaining the Bengali language and culture but admired *Tagore* and were not opposed to the steady and scrumptious influx of Hindu ideas and other cultural influences from across the border."<sup>3</sup>

Similarly *Hussain Shaheed Suhrawary* had played prominent role for Pakistan movement. But the politicians of West Pakistan did not accept *Hussain Shaheed Suhrawary* and *Khawaja Nazim-ud-din* as their premiers. *Ayesha Jalal* claims in her book, *The State of Martial Law*, "Sikandar Mirza and Ayub Khan were active participants in the removal of *Khawaja Nazim-ud-din* and had the army in readiness in case there was opposition."<sup>4</sup>

### 6) Economic Instability:

Undivided India had a virtual monopoly of raw jute in the world. The area which became East Pakistan produced nearly 75 percent of this golden fiber and all of its best varieties. But there was not a single jute mill in East Pakistan and only a few modern bailing presses.....jute is the most important cash crop of East Pakistan and the prosperity of the farmers depends upon the price realized for it."<sup>5</sup>

Bengalis resented the vast sums of foreign exchange earned from the sale of jute from East, which were being spent on

<sup>2</sup> Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Lahore, 1999), p.56-57

<sup>3</sup> *Khalid bin Sayeed, Politics in Pakistan* (USA, 1980), p.66-67

<sup>4</sup> Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Lahore, 1999), p.57

<sup>5</sup> Ch. Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, 2003), p. 335

defense. During the Ayub Khan's period, he introduced various agricultural and industrial reforms in Pakistan, but the effects of his reforms were nothing in East Pakistan. Those reforms sharpened this economic imbalance and even distribution of wealth among the East Pakistanis.

### 7) Corruption in Politics:

Against the dissolution of Constituent Assembly, *Maulvi Tameez-ud-din*, President of Constituent Assembly filed a petition in the Chief Court of Sindh. Sind Chief Court gave its verdict in the favour of the President of Constituent Assembly, but Governor General *Ghulam Muhammad* went to Federal Court, where Justice *Munir*, chief Justice of Chief Court, validated the action of Governor General.

### 8) Pitfalls in Judiciary:

When an issue arose regarding the appointment of Chief Justice of Federal Court. But Governor General *Ghulam General* appointed Justice *Munir* as Chief Justice instead of *Salah-ud-din*. For the appointment of Chief Justice, he preferred a Western Pakistani as compared to an East Pakistani.

### 9) Formation of One Unit:

*Muhammad Ali Bogra* put forward a proposal regarding the representation of the provinces in the legislature. It proposed that "Both blocks should have equal seats in the upper house." Therefore the powers would be divided equally and deadlock could be resolved by a joint sitting of the members. The results of provincial elections in East Pakistan spread fear among the Punjabi politicians and the proposal of one unit gained momentum. Resultantly, the majority population of East Pakistan made equal with that of West Pakistan. *Hamid Yusuf* claimed, "One Unit plan had greatly appealed to General Muhammad Ayub Khan."<sup>6</sup>

### 10) Proclamation of Martial Law (1958):

Army can sometimes solve some of problems, but can't be a good government. During the imposition of martial law, imposed in Lahore, the relief of the people in the West Wing awakened in the army a sense of its power and position in the body politic. "It demonstrated that the rule by the army could not only be effective but that it could also be acceptable."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Lahore, 1999), p.56-55

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p.52



**11) Quasi democracy:**

According to the Constitution of 1962, a crooked and controlled democracy was introduced by Ayub Khan. He incorporated the uneducated lambardars, patwaris, retired government officers and religious leaders. In Chittagong and Northern Areas, about 6000 officials were selected. It included only those who directly benefited from governmental patronage. It failed to provide the central element for an effective political structure—it had no mechanism for accommodating opposition. It was an institutional structure which forced groups with political grievances into mobilizing for violent confrontation.

**12) Bengali Representation in Army:**

The Bengali representation in the Pakistani armed forces was negligible. *Khalid bin Sayeed* describes, "The Pakistan army was almost entirely recruited from four districts of northern Punjab (Rawalpindi, Campbellpur, Jhelum and Gujarat) and two districts of the Frontier Province (Peshawar and Kohat). Sixty percent of the total army was Punjabis and 35 percent were Pakhtun."<sup>8</sup> Till 1968, out of 32 generals, only two belonged to East Pakistan. It showed the alienation of the Bengalis from the armed forces of Pakistan. In order to appease and redress the Bengali grievances, Yahya Khan took the first step, "doubling of Bengali quota in the defence forces. At that time East Pakistanis had just seven infantry battalions."<sup>9</sup>

**13) Role of Bureaucracy:**

The ratio of East Pakistanis in the bureaucracy was very low. *Mohammad Waseem* opines in his book, "*State and Society in Pakistan*", the civil servants who now dominated both wings of Pakistan had a predominantly non-Bengali character. No Bengali was appointed Chief Secretary of East Pakistan for twenty two years after independence. Amongst the civil servants in influential positions at the center, there was not a single Bengali officer as late as 1968, as opposed to seven from Punjab, two from Urdu-speaking refugees from India and one from N.W.F.P.

**14) War of 1965:**

The claim of Ian Talbot seemed to be true that the sense of insecurity of East Pakistanis was at its highest climax during the War of 1965. "The 1965 War underscored the geographical isolation and vulnerability of Eastern wing. During the 17<sup>th</sup> day military campaign,

<sup>8</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan* (USA, 1980), p.71

<sup>9</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p.68

East Pakistan was left to fend for itself in defence and economic matters. Thus the demand for an independent defence capability started finding resonance among the Bengalis."<sup>10</sup>

**15) Incident of Polish revolt:**

"The government of East Pakistan should be handed over to the representatives of East Pakistan."

**16) Mujeeb's Six Points:**

The six points were originally put forward in 1966 and later amended and incorporated in the 1970 election manifesto of the Awami League.

1. The character of the government shall be federal and parliamentary.
2. The federal government shall be responsible for only defence and foreign affairs.
3. There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing.
4. Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the federating unit.
5. Separate accounts shall be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the federating units.
6. Federating units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or paramilitary force.

During those six points, he demanded more autonomy for the provinces in general and East Pakistan in particular.

Six points of Mujeeb claimed "conferred regarding currency, taxation, utilization of foreign exchange earned by a federating unit, and foreign trade to the regional governments. These were interpreted by West Pakistanis as designed to bring about the disintegration of the country."<sup>11</sup>

**17) Agartala Case:**

In January 1968, Agartala Conspiracy Case was launched against thirty five conspirators. It was alleged that at Agartala (name of place), where Mujeeb-ur-Rehman met with the Indian leaders. His purpose behind the meeting with the Indian leaders was "to bring about the secession of East Pakistan with the Indian help."<sup>12</sup> S. A. Rehman was appointed as judge in this case.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p.64

<sup>11</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan* (USA, 1980), p.69

<sup>12</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p.64



## Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

### Outline:

- A. Early Life
- B. Conceptions of Z. A. Bhutto
  - i. Populism
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  - iii. Islamic socialism
- C. Reforms under Bhutto's Government
  - 1. Bhutto's strategy related to the army
  - 2. Bureaucratic Reforms
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  - 6. Resistance from Army
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  - 9. Check upon the Opposition parties
  - 10. Check over the Press
  - 11. Educational Reforms
  - 12. Conclusion

### Introduction:

**Z**ulfiqar Ali Bhutto is the most popular personality of Pakistan's history. It is commonly said that after the partition, Pakistan has seen only one leader or loyal man in the shape of Bhutto. Z. A. Bhutto proved his charismatic personality by forcing dictatorial regime of Ayub to resign from office with a mobilized popular power.

He was highly educated man of his age and was a born leader and a fantastic diplomat of his time. Socialism was the very essence of his personality. He had a political background because his family enjoyed political authority in the era of British rule. His forefathers had also experienced a tussle with British authoritative rule, which Bhutto never forgot during his political life.

Socialism always circulated in his veins in his highest form which was latterly given the color of Islamic socialism only to satisfy the society. Pakistan had a very parochial society, totally unaware of democratic process and always participated in its own family, tribal and kinship basis. Z. A. Bhutto was the first and the last man who mobilized this society to the extent that they forgot their primitive personal ties. Society visualized their leader in the shape of Mr. Bhutto, who was no doubt the leader of poor, masses and working class. People of Pakistan supported his views on broader level, which were really to assist the lower classes. Above all, Bhutto was not only claiming his social views at national level but also propagated his anti-capitalist views internationally by awakening the third world countries against the western power based illogical hegemony.

### Early Life:

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was born in the house of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Begum Nel Lakhi Bai in their residence near Larkana. He was born in 1928 in a prominent Sindhi Shia family. His father was a prominent political figure in Indian colonial government. He was a third child of his father, who was landlord and a zamindar of Sindh. As a young boy, Bhutto went to Warli Seaface in Bombay to study at the cathedral and John cannon school. During this he also became student activist in the League's Pakistan Movement. He married with his first wife Shireen Amir Begum in 1943. He later left her to remarry. In 1947, he admitted to the University of California, Berkley, where he got eh degree in Political Science. Here he became interested in the theories of socialism and delivered a lecture on the feasibility of socialism in the Islamic countries. In June 1950 Bhutto went to England to study Law at Christ Church, Oxford. After finishing his studies here, he was called to the bar of Lincoln's Inn in 1953. Bhutto married his second wife, the Iranian Kurduish Begum Nusrat Ispahani in Karachi on September 8, 1951, who was also a Shia Muslim. Their first child Benazir was born in 1953 followed by Murtaza in 1954, a second daughter Sanam in 1957, and their youngest child, Shahnawaz Bhutto, in 1958. He also served as a lecturer of law at the Sindh Muslim College. He also



managed his family's interest in estate and business after the death of his father.

Bhutto was a landlord. Education in the western elite institutions inculcated in him the deep understanding of such ideologies like socialism, democracy, equality and the rights of the down-trodden classes. He was educated in the early 1950s when Khrushchev's Russia was rapidly catching up the capitalist states and US and U.K governments had accepted the importance of the "welfare state system". This was also the time when the civil rights movement in the United States was advancing rapidly, and the world was celebrating the success of the several national freedom movements. This was bound to make Bhutto lean favourably towards socialism, worker's control over the means of production and against oppression of whether feudal or capitalists.

On October 22, 1958, Bhutto joined the Ayub Khan's cabinet as the Minister Incharge of fuel, power and natural resources. In January 1963, he was entrusted the more important and high profile Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The successful negotiation of an oil exploration agreement with USSR in 1961, and development of ties with Socialist China were indicative of the direction that he wanted Pakistan to take. In a realm of foreign policy he tried his best to wean Pakistan away from West.

**Rafique Afzal** calls him as "one of the architect of the famous Beijing- Jakarta- Islamabad axis" hence he was "the prime notes in Pakistan of the idea of the second Afro-Asian Conference". Such initiatives brought him closer to the socialist elements in the country, which later helped him in developing a PPP constituency among the working classes of Pakistan especially unskilled and the semi-skilled sections of the proletariat.<sup>1</sup>

Bhutto reached the zenith of the fame and popularity during 1965 war, particularly when he vehemently pleaded Pakistan's case before the Security Council. However Tashkent Declaration in 1966 sowed the seed of discord between the Ayub and Bhutto. Parting of the ways came about immediately afterwards and he tendered his resignation from the Secretary General ship of convention Muslim League in March 1966. He also quit his post as Foreign Minister.

In November 1967, he founded the Pakistan People's Party at a convention of political workers in Lahore. Three catchy slogans epitomized party's 72 said manifesto that were "Islam is our faith, democracy is our policy and socialism is our economy". Rafiq Afzal

<sup>1</sup> Hamid Yousaf, Pakistan, A Study of Political Developments 1947-97 (Sang-i-Meel, Lahore), p.153

summarized the mission statement of the party, "emphasized the need to improve the lot of the poor by restructuring the current "colonial" and "capitalist" system through a socialist programme, it called for the creation of a new constitution by a new assembly, nationalization of basic industries, banks and insurance companies, reforms to better the conditions of both urban and rural peasantry; a non-aligned foreign policy; withdrawal from the defence pacts (SEATO) and (CENTO) immediately and from common wealth at a "proper time", solidarity with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries particularly the Muslim ones; dissociation from the Tashkent Declaration and settlement of the Kashmir and other disputes with India.

### PPP in Power:

Pakistan People's Party under Bhutto swept to power in the first general elections which were held on 9 December 1970 for the 1st time in 23 years history of Pakistan. The Pakistan's army was thoroughly discredited and the morale of the masses was at its lowest ebb when Z.A. Bhutto took over the reins of the government in December 1971.

The analysis of *Muhammad Wasim* seems quite apt about Bhutto, "Bhutto's assumption of power in West Pakistan represents a break not only with East Pakistan but also with the first generation of leadership in the post-independence period."<sup>2</sup> In the first broad cast to the nation Bhutto said, "We are facing the worst crisis in our country's life, a deadly crisis. We have to pick up the pieces, very small pieces, but we will make a new Pakistan, a prosperous and progressive Pakistan, and a Pakistan free of exploitation. A Pakistan envisioned by the Quaid-e-Azam.... That Pakistan will come, it is found to come. This is my faith but I need your cooperation. I am taller than the Himalayas. You must give of time, my dear countrymen, and I will do my best."<sup>3</sup>

There are four major sources of recruitment for PPP supporters in the 1970 elections.

- 1) Many dissidents from the NAP (BHASHANI GROUP) and the Awami League as well as various socialist groups and old style communists found in the PPP a way out of their political wilderness.
- 2) The process of development during the 1960s had produced many low grade employees, small shopkeeper's depot holders and exodus of small repair workshops in the towns of Punjab

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, p.309

<sup>3</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p.78



and Sindh. This petty bourgeois stratum was to emerge as the backbone of the party. They were to mobilize the "tonga wallas, rikshaw wallas and labourers for whom," Bhutto alleged, "Government Musa has shown contempt".

- 3) The expanding number of skilled labourers mechanics and workers in big cities say in the PPP a better alternative to the previously operating socialist parties. The latter had only the localized support of certain "outsiders" who set too ideological in their approach to industrial relations. Moreover, they lacked a national leader like Bhutto.
- 4) The middle peasants in those areas which benefited from the Green Revolution were not only denied access to agricultural inputs but were made dependent on the big farmers as a class. The real PPP "revolution" in terms of votes took place here, as the middle peasants made a common cause with the landless peasantry, both of whom were being increasingly exposed to the market insecurities.
- 5) In addition, the marginal groups of various kinds flocked to the PPP. For Example, religious and sectarian minorities such as *Hindus, Christians, Ahmadiis* and a large section of *Shia* population say in it a way out of what they perceived as the cultural oppression of the Sunni majority.

It can be said that in terms of social embeddings, the non-elite section of the population in Pakistan was largely supported the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), which had generally remained unrepresented in the state system of Pakistan.

### Conceptions of Z. A. Bhutto

#### 1. Populism:

Bhutto chanted the slogans that the masses will rule. Although, he remained the part of Ayub's government but turned against it when Ayub deceived the national interest of Pakistan in *Tasikand* Declaration. His party was consisted mainly of middle class, people who had seen the atrocities of martial law. He made people aware of their power and raised the slogans that sovereignty belongs to people. Bhutto being a well-educated man was well aware of people's power against tyrannical regimes which changed the courses of history. He took so general stance of populism which was the favorite of people of that era and also used religion for change that people were easily mobilized. The overwhelming majority of west Pakistan found Bhutto that he would rid them of the military and feudal tyranny. Bhutto promised them the same and people believed him. People supported him in the election of 1970 and his party won majority seats in the West Pakistan.

After the dismemberment of Pakistan, *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto* became the president of Pakistan on December 21, 1971. We can better understand the populism from Bhutto's statement which he gave after becoming the new leader of Pakistan. "I have been summoned by the nation as the authentic voice of the people of Pakistan....I want the flowering of our society and suffocation to end. This is not the way civilized countries are run. Civilization means civil rule .....we have to make our government accountable."<sup>4</sup> Bhutto repeatedly claimed that "sovereignty belongs to people." After coming in power, he was fully intended to practice these all claims but at the same time was faced by the hurdles created by the structures of previous regime.

#### 2. Socialism:

"With slogans like Bread, Clothing, and housing for everyone, Democracy is our way, socialism our destiny, the PPP took off in November 1967 with the promise to redeem the poor and downtrodden."<sup>5</sup> The Socialist ideologues like *Dr. Mubashar Hassan, Khursheed Hassan Mir* and *J. A. Rahim* were the people who originally made the manifesto of PPP and were the prominent leaders of this party. Original manifesto of PPP had explicit socialist claims and ambition. It had no room for Islam as an ideology. Bhutto elaborated the ultimate objective of PPP in terms of "the attainment of classless society that is possible only through socialism."<sup>6</sup> Importance of its concepts can be fully understood from the following statement of Z. A. Bhutto "You can't fool the people...I believe in socialism; that is why I have left my class and joined the laborers, peasants and poor students. I love them. And what can I get from them except affection and respect? No power on the earth can stop socialism....the symbol of justice, equality....from being introduced in Pakistan."<sup>7</sup> Specifically the people of West Pakistan supported these socialist conceptions of Bhutto and his party won with majority votes in the general elections of 1970 in this part of Pakistan. After coming into power these socialist conceptions were practiced by nationalization of industrial sectors, introducing land reforms and curtailing the autocratic power of bureaucracy.

#### 3. Islamic socialism:

Islam was only mentioned as a faith and way of life by Bhutto and was given no ideological priorities in the manifesto of PPP as socialism was focused in it. The desirable objectives of

<sup>4</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p.74

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan* (USA, 1980), p.69



socialism and economic objectives were articulated by the PPP with reference to specific passages of Koran. It was emphasized that all religions were revolutionary because these inherently, represented the idea of change and this idea of change caused the progress for mankind. "On this idea, Islam was interlinked with socialism because socialism also propagated the idea of change in the modern world. Islam preaches equality and socialism is the modern technique of attaining it."<sup>8</sup> Through this explanation of socialism and Islamic socialism, religious factions and the working class collaborated with each other to support PPP because their objective of human service was a main focus of PPP's manifesto.

### Reforms under Bhutto's Government

#### **i. Bhutto's strategy related to the army:**

First of all after coming into power Z. A. Bhutto took measures to deter the military coup because previously he weathered the storm to face authoritative rule of Ayub Khan. In October 1971 his party created a Para-military force, the Feudal Security Force. Its basic objective was to minimize the role of the military in political system. It was an additional force to police to control the riots and protest. Bhutto was of the view that whenever military will be called to control the situation of law and order in the country, it will strengthened its position and then will intervene into political system, through coup. Another strategy was followed to raise the morale of the military high command. Military expenditure and size was increased in the truncated Pakistan. Bhutto exempted the military officers from land reform program, and introduced an embargo on a public discussion of military failure in 1971, in East Pakistan. Although it was dangerous to rely on military but at the same time it was the need of the hour. Pakistan's geographical location makes its defense very vulnerable, and this was the very reason for which Z. A. Bhutto had to strengthen the army.

#### **2. Bureaucratic Reforms:**

The supremacy of civil service was decreased through a series of measures assigned to curb its influence. In 1972, 1300 civil servants under a marital law ordinance were dismissed. These civil bureaucrats were of three types such one having association with previous regime, bureaucrats with excessive powers. On 20 August 1973, a vital blow to senior powerful bureaucrats was the abolition of the elite civil service of Pakistan. The elite status of the CSP was

<sup>8</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p.68

replaced by the linear all Pakistan unified grades structure. A hierarchical structure bureaucracy was established for entire bureaucratic machinery which was designed in the framework of 22 pay scales. The new procedure of dismissal of civil servants was introduced through their previous life tenure was distorted which resulted in the further weakness of bureaucrat's authority. Bhutto publicly criticized their position and made this class responsible for flourishing the inequalities in the society. The major reform was the abolition of civil bureaucracy's role as policy maker. Now policies were outlined by elected representatives and were executed by bureaucrats. A system of late entry was introduced through which technical specialist were induced outside of the bureaucracy to enhance the production. Through this process many officers were employed by the Establishment division on party basis, as many of them were close friends of cabinet members. So, a new bureaucratic class of PPP emerged on the scene. Thus, one can conclude that Bhutto's government successfully curbed the power of elitist CSP and this is the foremost successful reform of PPP's government.

#### **3. Land Reforms:**

Land reforms were vital components of PPP's initial reform program. During the election campaign and after coming into power, Bhutto publicly accused feudal lords as ignorant and tyrannical landlords who were responsible for the backwardness of the society. The People's Party in her manifesto emphasized that, "the break us of the large estate to destroy the feudal land owners in national necessity that will have to be apprise through by practical measures."

#### **Salient Features of Land Reforms 1972**

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto introduced the land reforms, having the following features;

- i. Ceiling on land holdings: 150 acres irrigated 300 acres non-irrigated.
- ii. No compensation to land owners, land redistributed without charge to landless tenants cultivating resumed land.
- iii. Untenanted resumed land redistributed without charge to small owners / tenants with holding below subsistence.
- iv. Share system remained unchanged.
- v. Land revenue, water rates and seed costs borne by landlords and cost of fertilizers and pesticides to be shared equally.



Bhutto declared in March 1972 that his land reforms would "effectively break up the iniquitous concentration of landed wealth, reduced income disparities, increase production, reduce unemployment, streamline the administration of land revenue and agriculture taxation and truly lay down the foundations of a relationship of owner god mutual benefit between land cyne and tenant."<sup>9</sup>

### The 2<sup>nd</sup> Phase of land reforms:

Following are the salient features of land reforms act 1977:

- i. Land holdings: 100 acres irrigated 200 acres non-irrigated.
- ii. Compensation to landowners on resumed land.
- iii. Redistribution as in 1972.

According to land reforms of 1972, the ownership of irrigated land was restricted to 150 acres and of un-irrigated land to 300 acres. Government increased the procurement prices for major crops and also subsidized inputs such as fertilizers and seeds. The agriculture tax system was re-structured and certain incentives and exemptions were showered over farmers for the promotion of the modern technology. Agriculture credit was delivered for financing mechanization.

In initial phase of Bhutto's government these reforms were successful and trade in agriculture sector during 1973-74 broke all the previous records. These land reforms were especially successful in Balochistan and N.W.F.P. where it replaced the previous landlord society. Because the limit of land was limited to individual level therefore the land remain within the family member of a land owner family. And due to it, it was not much successful in Punjab and Sindh.

### 4. Economic Reforms:

Bhutto's government started to nationalize the private sectors for the enhancement of productivity. The first phase of nationalization started in 1972, when government took over 31 major basic industries. This take over started with the announcement of new credit policy by State Bank, the main beneficiaries were small landlords and rich peasants. The government policies encouraged smaller entrepreneurs for the purpose to distort the inequalities of Ayub's era. Bhutto intended the mixed economy based on private and public sector. Nationalized units were expected to control the inflation rate but could not

<sup>9</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p.75

because public enterprises were established by government to meet some social and political objectives.

The ideology of socialism markedly influenced him, therefore Bhutto had promised redistributive reforms so that the slight of the under-privileged and marginalized sections of the society could be ameliorated. So the nationalization began in January 1972, which resulted in the state confiscation of industrial units. Consequently the credit policies were restructured that affected 22 families which had emerged on the economic horizon of Pakistan in 1960s. According to *Khalid-bin-Saeed*, it was the manifestation of "state capitalism".<sup>10</sup>

*Khalid-bin-Saeed* also noted that "Bhutto was primarily motivated by animus dominandi, that is, through the aggrandizement of his own power, he wanted to control every major class or interest by weakening its power base and by making it subservient to his will and policies".<sup>11</sup>

The floods and draughts during PPP's regime further aggravated the situation. Due to this, the domestic resources for the investment in public sector were not enough. For this very reason, government had to depend on foreign inflows in the form of loans and foreign aid. World Bank criticized the Bhutto's reforms for macroeconomics strategies and refused to deliver any further aid to Pakistan but was agree to support Bhutto's government if Bhutto accepts their conditions but Bhutto rejected the foreign influence in the internal matters of Pakistan. Due to this reason, World Bank refused to support the expansion of social services such as education and health. The growth in non-development expenditure, especially defense which hampered the economic growth of public sector. Although there was created an imbalance between public sector and private sector but overall Bhutto's economic reforms paid attention to lower classes of society and were appreciated by the majority of Pakistani people.

### 5. Political development:

When Bhutto came in power, he had to control the role of army and misbehavior of opposite party. By introducing Federal Security Forces (FSF), he intended to restrict the role of army from the public institutions. According to 1973 constitution formulated by PPP's government, autonomy was allotted to provincial units. Provinces were ensured of less interference by central government. 1973's constitution was the first consensus based constitution in

<sup>10</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan* (USA, 1980), p.72

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.73



Pakistan, which was supported by the opposition parties and by the parties of minority regions.

Bhutto was successful in formulating and implementing an independent foreign policy. One of the greatest achievements of Z. A. Bhutto was launching the nuclear plan, the fruits of which we are enjoying even today. Although the great powers of that time made fun of Bhutto's intentions about nuclear plan but Bhutto proved his charisma by achieving this technology for a backward country like Pakistan. The death angel of 90000 soldiers of Pakistan army, who were in detention of India and Bangladesh, was sent back by the man of the hour, Z. A. Bhutto.

## 6. Resistance from Army:

Even after the crisis of the East Pakistan, the army was still reluctant in relinquishing power for the popular government to take over. The apparent resistance within the military in Pakistan lent urgency to the PPP's action in this regard. The measures taken can be divided into three categories; constitutional safeguards, creation of a para-military alternative and appeasement.

### A) Constitutional Safeguards:

The delay in making a constitution created a political vacuum which filled by the military. In contrast the civilian leaders in post - Bangladesh Pakistan took just one year to draft a constitution. The 1973 constitution outlined the framework of a federal democratic structure. Article 271 of the constitution prescribed the death penalty for its subversion. A military coup constituted one such violation.

The second event which went in favour of the new civilian regime in the specific context of civil - military relations was the famous Asma Jilani Case of 1972. The Supreme court heard the criminal appeals relating to the orders of the governments of Punjab and Sindh to detain Mr. *Ghulam Jilani* and *Altaf Gauhar* under martial law of Pakistan no. 78 of 1971. The court not only considered the jurisdiction of the High Courts in this matter, but also investigated the doctrine of necessity which had provided justification for the Supreme Court's verdict in DOSSO Case. Chief Justice *Harnood-ur-Rehman* observed that the 1962 constitution did not empower President Yahya's imposition of martial law on the country "was an act of usurpation, illegal and unconstitutional".

The decision of the court was announced on 20 April 1972, the day Bhutto lifted Martial Law from the country. It not only confirmed the principle of civilian supremacy but also threatened any future adventures with dire consequences. This verdict

strengthened Bhutto's stance and he set about civilianizing his regime with the demonstrable support of the judiciary on his side.

### B) Formation of Para-Military Force:

The PPP created a para - military force, the Federal Security Force (FSF) with the objective of minimizing the role of the military in the political system. It was envisaged that the FSF would be used to quell rioting, in the event of a serious civil disturbance which the police could not handle. Consequently a civilian government would not need to rely on the army to contain civil disorder. The environment of intimidation generated by the use of the FSF contributed to the widespread betrayal and anger which galvanized the opposition into forming a united front against Bhutto in 1977.

The Comments of Bhutto's on the formation of the Federal Security Force (FSF) are illuminating. "I set up the FSF with the object of making it the most formidable calibered force in the country..... apparently my conception of the force was not understood by the organizers .... Chiefly on this account riff raffs and left-overs have been picked up from here, there and everywhere to make the force.....instead of controlling discipline and insubordination, he this force becomes a vehicle for promoting chaos it would indeed be a very sad commentary on our efforts and on our aims."<sup>12</sup>

In order to establish a viable alternative to military rule, the PPP had to operate at two levels.

- a. The enactment of reforms to curb the power of dominant military - bureaucratic oligarchy.
- b. Establishment of civilian democratic institutions.

On 4 March 1972, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto dismissed Lt. Gen. Gul Hasan and Air Marshal Rahim, the respective commanders-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army and Air Force, from their positions and later sent as ambassadors. This action established the most dramatic assertion of civilian supremacy over the military. Subsequently Bhutto took up the task of reforming the command structure of the Armed Forces, with a view of diluting the concentration of power in the hands of their respective chiefs. Instead of commanders -in-chief, the hands of the three services were to be called chiefs of staffs, who were but under the chairman of the joint chief of staff committee and who worked directly under the prime minister.

<sup>12</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore, 2008), p.70



keeping a close contact with such bodies as Defence Committee of the Cabinet and the Defence Council. In this way, the Bhutto regime sought to overcome the first major challenge to its authority from the top military leadership.

### iii. Appeasement to Military:

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also appeased the military high command, by enhancing their strength and size. According to the military expenditure, as a percentage of GNP, grew under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. During the Bhutto era, the size of the armed forces also increased in spite of the territorial loss of East Pakistan. Bhutto exempted holdings of military officers from the Land Reform Programme. The report of *Hamod-ur-Rehman* was however, never made public because of the severe criticism it made of the military's conduct. In this way, the PPP chose to protect the military by not permitting a public discussion on the most serious crisis (East Pakistan dismemberment) in Pakistan's history.

### 7. Reforms in Bureaucracy:

The civil bureaucracy has long been the focus of public criticism, and all efforts at administrative reforms were successfully thwarted by its elite group, the CSP. One of the firm election commitments of the PPP was to curb its power. In August 1972-73, Bhutto announced the abolition of all service cadres, introduced a relatively egalitarian system of training and replaced about 600 service grades, cadres, classes and scales with a unified structure of 22 grades, so as to assure at least in theory, an equal opportunity for upward mobility and horizontal movement between services on the basis of merit. A new Service Tribunal was established to redress their grievance pertaining to terms and conditions to service. The powerful position of the Planning Commission was scaled down to that of a division in the Finance Ministry.

Bhutto decided to strike at the power of the bureaucracy through two strong measures, one short term and one long term.

a. He dismissed about 1300 civil servants in 1972 under a martial law ordinance. Three principal categories were the subject of dismissals: to close an association with the previous regime, officials with excessive power and influence and those officials who were accused of over extravagance in their corruption. "No institution in the country has so lowered the quality of our national life as what is called *"nauker shahi"*. It has created a class of *brahmins* or *mandaris* unrivalled in its snobbery and arrogance,

insulated from the life of the people and incapable of identifying itself with them."

b. A system of *"lateral entry"* was introduced, in order to induce technical specialists from profession outside the civil service. The lateral entry system was used not to attract the talent from the private sector, but as an instrument for the distribution of political patronage. Between 1973 and 1977, the Establishment Division accepted 1374 officers into the civil service, approximately three time as much as would have been possible under the rigid scrutiny of the old system. None the less, a large proportion of the senior level scrutiny was identified as relatives or close friends of members of the central cabinet.

### 8. Political Participation in the Provinces:

At the provincial level, two regions had PPP governments. Whereas NAP-JUI coalition governments were established in Baluchistan and NWFP. This outcome ensured participation of the minority provinces as well as providing the basis for extending representative institutions across the nation.

On 27 April 1972, a tripartite accord was signed between the PPP and the two major opposition parties in Baluchistan and NWFP, where by the NAP-JUI coalition was allowed to form the government with a hastened. This was that the amuse would not appoint provincial governors without the approval and consent of the parties of the concerned province. In Baluchistan, G.B. Bizenjo was appointed Governor and A. Mengal the Chief Minister, who were senior members of the National Awami Party (NAP). On 14 February 1973, less than a year after the accord, the Baluchi Provincial Government was dismissed. The NAP-JUI government in the Frontier Province resigned in protest Military operations against the revolt in Baluchistan began in May 1973, barely a month after the National Assembly had passed the new constitution.

#### Baluchistan:

Much had been expected of the NAP administration, which had formed the government in Baluchistan in 1972. It had to control with a legacy of unbalanced regional growth, use of the region's natural resources without adequate reward for the province and the virtual exclusion of the Baluchis from any semblance of state power.

- The sense of grievance in Baluchistan over its mineral resources for the development of other provinces was not



dissimilar to sentiments regarding the jute trade in East Pakistan, during the fifties and sixties.

- Out of 830 higher civil posts in Baluchistan, only 181 were held by Baluchis, almost all in minor posts. In 1972, only one of the twenty heads of departments in the provincial administration was a Baluchi. The NAP Administration was naturally accepted to rectify these imbalances. Accordingly, it announced plans to repatriate Punjab, Sindh and Pathan bureaucrats stationed in Baluchistan. The decision to do so had been taken at a governor's conference presided over by Bhutto. In addition, the NAP Administration announced plans to industrialize the province, utilizing its resources endowment to propose the establishment of cement and slatline factories.

### London Plan:

According to stories of the plot, Wali Khan, leader of the opposition and Chairman of NAP, had met the Bangladeshi President Sheikh Mujib in London to plan a secessionist uprising. Atta Ullah Mengal, Chief Minister of Baluchistan, was also accused of participation in the conspiracy. On 10 February 1973, a cache of Russian manufactured arms was discovered in a safe on the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad. The central government joked their arms to the "London Plan" for secession of Baluchistan and the NWFP. The discovery of arms cache provided the pretext for dismissing the NAP Government. There was neither any proof nor reason to believe that the NAP leadership was aware of the flow of arms through the Iraqi embassy. According to Western Intelligence sources, the arms were destined primarily for Iranian Baluch areas, since the NAP Government was supporting Baluch insurgents in Iran, in retaliation to the Shah's encouragement for the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq.

### Why Bhutto's dismissed of the NAP Government?

It was conditioned primarily by his deep mistrust of groups demanding greater provincial autonomy. This attitude had determined his tough stance towards Mujib's Awami League.

- 1) Bhutto, in collusion with the army, was more concerned with a military strategy to prevent perceived threats of a further dismemberment of Pakistan. Nervous elite feared a repetition of Bangladesh, and was quick to exploit the arms cache discovery in order to impose direct central rule over the provinces. Not

surprisingly, there was strong support from the army high command for such a course of action.

- 2) The second factor responsible for central intervention was the influence of the Shah of Iran. The Shah feared the regional Baluch-Pathan uprising fueled by military assistance from Iraq and Afghanistan. Consequently, there was Iranian pressure, and financial support, for military intervention in Baluchistan. As Bhutto was to concede later, "The Shah wanted us to take strong action of course. It was a contingent way to please him...." Finally, the removal of NAP Governments in the two provinces imposed a strong central power structure under the hegemony of a single party.

### 9. Check upon the Opposition parties:

The dismissal of the MAP-JUI government was perhaps the most significant act in the process of alienating the opposition. It was, however, supplemented by a series of repressive measures. The constitution was changed arbitrarily to incorporate increasingly authoritarian policies. In April 1974, the government passed a constitutional amendment which limited the freedom of associations as laid down in Article 17 of the constitution. Further, it empowered the government to ban parties or organizations that object deemed to be against the "sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan." In 1975, personal liberties were curtailed by a constitutional amendment permitting indefinite detention, without trial, for persons deemed to be acting or "attempting to act in a way prejudicial to the security of the state." Later the same year, the high courts were deprived of their right to grant bail to any person detained under preventive detention laws.

### 10. Check over the Press:

The restrictions on civil liberties necessitated repression of the press. It was inevitable that the press would be prevented from freely reporting the withdrawal of rights. Asked why the liberal English language weekly Outlook was banned, Bhutto had a simple, chilling response, "It went too far". Others, of course, had also upsurged their limits. In 1972, for example, "The Sun" daily newspaper had operations suspended until its coverage conformed to government requirements.

The NPT, a government body used to control and censor the press, was retained in spite of firm pledges by the PPP to cancel it. Punjab Punch, Zindagi and Urdu Digest were banned. Editors of the latter two were jailed. The editor of Dawn was also arrested.



**11. Educational Reforms:**

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced many educational reforms in Pakistan. He founded many famous universities of Pakistan during his period like;

- i. National Book Foundation was established on 24<sup>th</sup> September 1972.
- ii. Establishment of Quaid-i-Azam University on 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1973.
- iii. Establishment of Allama Iqbal Open University on 21 May, 1974

**Conclusion:**

The primitive Pakistani society was given orientation and awareness about their roles in political system, by their loving leader Z. A. Bhutto. He easily won the hearts of poor who were always in majority in third world in almost every society by standing with their general wills. He chanted the slogans for the prosperity of working classes and at the same time he had a flawless personality before these previously ignored people. He took many measures to fulfill the given promises and his own set goals and was successful to much extent. But at the same time parochial elite class and army hampered him from practicing his ideas and he planned to use power against these autocratic classes. But these prestige loving classes collaborated with each other against Mr. Bhutto. So, these powerful classes did not let him to do his job for which he was supported by the masses of Pakistan. But Bhutto thoroughly succeeded in formulating an independent foreign policy of Pakistan. He took a very independent and autonomous stand about international and national issues. Although primitive institutions did not let him to go long but his given awareness to people had made them committed towards their role in political system and made their thoughts so enlightened that they repeatedly replaced military dictatorial regimes with civil governments.



## Constitution of 1973

**Outline:**

1. Introduction
2. Drafting and Enactment
3. Constitution of 1973
4. Features
  - i. Written constitution
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  - iv. Bicameral Legislature
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  - ix. Direct Mode of Election
  - x. Official Language
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5. Conclusion

**Introduction:**

**A**fter the formation of Pakistan, the Constitution making became a highly complicated and complex task. The failure of the two Constitutions in Pakistan paved the way for the introduction of third constitution in Pakistan. With the passage of time, Pakistan became a laboratory for the constitutional



experiments. As a sovereign state, Pakistan needed a sovereign constitution as well. Facing a winter of discontent in 1968-69, Ayub Khan abdicated in favour of the Commander-in-Chief, General Yahya Khan. The Second Martial Law was imposed on Pakistani nation on March 25, 1969. Since its inception, the Pakistan saw her first general elections on 7 December, 1970. This election was based on adult franchise in which the People's Party swept the polls in the Western Wing of the country and the Awami League in East Pakistan. Therefore Pakistan was facing her great turbulence from March 25, 1969 to August, 1973. General Yahya Khan promulgated a Legal Framework Order. The LFO also defined the qualifications of people who would be allowed to contest in the elections. The Constituent Assembly was to stand dissolved if it was unable to frame the Constitution within 120 days. Actually, the Legal Framework Order was to act as an interim Constitution. Not being well versed in constitutional affairs, he appointed a team to draft a new constitutional formula. He voiced his ideas about the constitutional issues in his broadcast address to the nation on November 28, 1969. The formula was officially issued on March 30, 1970, and is known as the Legal Framework Order of 1970. According to this order, One Unit was dissolved in West Pakistan and direct ballot replaced the principle of parity.

## 2. Drafting and enactment

After gaining power, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto invited the leaders of the parliamentary parties to meet him on 17 October 1972, which resulted in an agreement known as the 'Constitutional Accord', after an intensive discussion. As per consultations floated by PPP, the National Assembly of Pakistan appointed a committee, of 25 members, on 17 April 1972, to prepare a draft of the permanent Constitution of Pakistan. Mahmud Ali Kasuri was the elected chairman of the Committee. On 20 October 1972, the draft bill for the Constitution of Pakistan was signed by leaders of all parliamentary groups in the National Assembly. A bill to provide a constitution for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was introduced in the Assembly on 2 February 1973. The Assembly passed the bill nearly unanimously on 19 April 1973 and endorsed by the acting President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 12 April 1973. The Constitution came into effect from 14 August 1973. On the same day, Bhutto took over as the Prime Minister and Choudhary Fazal-e-Elahi as the President of Pakistan.

## 3. Salient Features of 1973 Constitution

The first great achievement of Bhutto Government was the preparation of a Constitution for the country. It was the first consensus based constitution in Pakistan. The most prominent characteristic of this Constitution was that it accommodated proposals from the

opposition parties and hence almost all the major political parties of the country accepted it. The Constitution of 1973 opens with a Preamble. This is the preliminary part of the Constitution in which broad features of the Constitution have been explained. The first Article of the Constitution declares Pakistan as a Federal Republic to be known as the *Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. Islam was declared as the State religion of Pakistan. Pakistan was to be a Federation of four federating Units, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan.

### 1) Written constitution:

The Constitution of the 3rd Republic is a written one. It consists of 280 Articles classified into 12 chapters and seven schedules.

### 2) Parliamentary System:

The Constitution was parliamentary in nature. Article 41 of the Constitution lay down that the President was to be the Head of the State. The appointment of Federal Ministers and Ministers of the State from amongst the members of the Parliament was at the Prime Minister's disposal.

### 3) Procedure of Amendment:

The Constitution is partly flexible and partly rigid. The proposal to amend it can be initiated in any of the Houses of the Parliament. If ratified by two-thirds majority of both the Houses and later assented by the President, the Constitution stands amended.

### 4) Bicameral Legislature:

The Constitution of 1973 set up a bicameral legislature at the Centre consisting of two Houses, the National Assembly (Lower House) and the Senate (Upper House).

### 5) Supremacy of Judiciary:

The Constitution of 1973 provided a free and independent Judiciary. The judiciary guarantees the interpretation of the constitution in its true sense.

### 6) Islamic Ideology:

In light of the previous experience, the Constitution of 1973 was more Islamic in character than the previous ones. Emphasis was made to establish a real Islamic system in all aspects of social life. Keeping this objective in mind, more Islamic provisions were laid down in the Constitution of 1973.



### 7) Rule of Law:

It is explicitly and distinctly stated in the Constitution that government shall not take any action without due process of law that stands injurious to one's personal liberty and security. No one can be stopped from doing certain things which one is entitled to do under the law.

### 8) Principles of Policy:

Principles of policy lay down the basic objectives and future plan of action of the political system. It has been made obligatory on all government agencies to take guidance from Principles of Policy while performing their respective functions.

### 9) Direct Mode of Election:

The Constitution of the 3rd Republic, prescribes direct system of election to return the deputies to different legislative assemblies. But indirect mode of election has been retained for the elections of the Senate.

### 10) Official Language:

Under Article 251 of the Constitution, Urdu has been prescribed and declared as the national language. It has been made obligatory on the government to take proper steps for the introduction of Urdu as official language within fifteen years from the date of the commencement of the Constitution.

### 11) Islamic Provisions:

The 1973 constitution made serious efforts to transform the basic injunctions and tenets of Islam into Law and give them legislative effect. It went much further in bringing out Islamic Provisions than the previous two constitutions. Islam was declared as the state religion, where Muslims of Pakistan were enabled to order their lives in accordance with the fundamentals of Islam. Teachings of Holy Quran and Islamiyat and learning of Arabic language were made compulsory. The correct printing and publishing of Holy Quran, observance of the Islamic moral standards and proper organizing of Zakat, Auqaf and Mosque were made necessary.

#### Importance:

#### i. Foundation of an Islamic state:

The constitution of 1973 marked a major step forward. It provided a complete mechanism for the establishment of an Islamic state. Lawrence Ziring describes, "Article 1 of the 1973

Constitution, therefore, described Pakistan as an Islamic Republic. Article 2 declared Islam to be the state religion and Bhutto had no difficulty with any of these provisions."<sup>1</sup>

#### ii. Symbol of national consensus

Hamid Yusuf describes that, "The constitution of 1973 was a notable achievement, and it has ever since served as a symbol of national consensus."<sup>2</sup>

#### iii. Establishment of a democratic government:

Muhammad Waseem describes that, "it was only after the 1973 constitution, that opposing groups started looking for support from the existing opposition politicians and parties on the right of the political spectrum. The scene was final set for a party government and a party-based opposition."<sup>3</sup>

#### iv. Steps against violator of the Constitution:

The delay in making a constitution created a political vacuum which filled by the military. The 1973 constitution outlined the framework of a federal democratic structure. The Article 271 of the constitution prescribed the death penalty for its subversion. A military coup constituted one such violation.

#### iv. Strengthen the position of civilian leader:

"Once a 'consensus' constitution was arrived at, the Prime Minister set about strengthening his position by concentrating legal authority in his hands."<sup>4</sup>

#### v. Dominance of Prime Minister:

A famous writer, Khalid bin Sayeed, describes, "The constitution of 1973 ensured that in the future no president would be able to act against the advice of prime minister or issue any orders without the approval of the prime minister."<sup>5</sup>

The Constitution of 1973 remained in force for nearly four years. It was, however, suspended by General Zia-ul-Haq, who imposed Martial Law in the country on July 5, 1979.



<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press), p.395

<sup>2</sup> Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan, A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Sang-i-Meel, Lahore), p.153

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, p.309

<sup>4</sup> Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan, A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Sang-i-Meel, Lahore), p.153

<sup>5</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan*, (USA, 1980), p.105



## Zia's Strategies for Self Preservation

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Steps against Z.A. Bhutto
3. Holding of Local Bodies Elections
4. Provisional Constitution Ordinance (PCO)
5. Referendum of 1984
6. Holding of Non-Party based Elections
7. Military Courts
8. Judicial Measures
9. Control over Media
10. Revival of Constitution
11. Fate of *Muhammad Khan Junejo*
12. Enhancement of Provincialism
13. Islamization Process

### Introduction:

The army staged third coup d'état in Pakistan's history when General Zia-ul-Haq overthrew the government of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and took over as Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) on July 5, 1977. Zia in his first speech, "I consider the introduction of an Islamic system as an essential prerequisite for the country". Zia defined his priorities like the introduction of an Islamic order was on the top, implying that the transfer of power to civilians was a secondary consideration.

### 2. Steps against Bhutto:

A special investigation Cell was established by the martial law authorities, to probe into malpractices committed by the PPP leaders. Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) claimed that Bhutto and Ghulam Mustafa Khar were responsible for the murder of Dr. Nazir

Ahmad, an ex-member of the National Assembly. Within two months of the take-over, the special public prosecutor claimed that the "State has got conclusive evidence of Mr. Bhutto's complicity in the murder of Kasuri's father".

On 4 April 1979 Bhutto was hanged to death. Seven member bench of the Supreme Court was consisted of four Punjabi judges and three non-Punjabi judges. Shortly after the hanging, elections were cancelled and political parties banned. Later, 200 journalists were arrested, and a number of newspapers were shut down. Members of some of the PNA parties, including the *Jamaat-i-Islami* and the Pakistan Muslim League, joined Zia's cabinet as he tried to give a civilian cast to his government. But suppression of the PPP continued, and at times Bhutto's widow, *Nusrat Bhutto*, and his daughter, *Benazir*, were placed under house arrest or jailed.

### 3. Holding of Local Bodies Elections:

Like every dictator, Zia tried to minimize the prestige of elected political elites i.e. MPA'S and MNA'S. General Zia announced the introduction of local government in all the provinces. Local Municipal elections were held in 1984, on a non-party basis. The government began negotiations with the classes who could be expected to accommodate themselves to, and be easily incorporated within, the proposed structure. These elections provided an opportunity for the major land owning families and the large industrialists to gain direct access to the government. The large landlords of the Punjab and NWFP assured the government of their support and participation. Even in Sindh, substantial sections of the landowning class made their pace with the government. On the basis of the talks between Zia and the representatives of the dominant classes, the government was confident that the PPP would be split in Punjab and Sindh.

### 4. Provisional Constitution Ordinance (PCO):

Nusrat Bhutto brought a suit protesting the martial law takeover. The Supreme Court ruled against her and invoked once again the "doctrine of necessity," permitting the regime to "perform all such acts and promulgate all measures, which [fall] within the scope of the law of necessity, including the power to amend the Constitution." After this ruling, Zia issued the Provisional Constitutional Order of 1980, which excluded all martial law actions from the jurisdiction of the courts. When the Quetta High Court ruled that this order was beyond the power of the martial law regime, the Provisional Constitutional Order of 1981 was issued. This order required all judges of the Supreme Court and high courts to take



new oaths in which they swore to act in accordance with the orders. Several judges refused to do so and resigned. The order carried forward many of the articles of 1973 constitution which amounted to the abrogation of the constitution.

The main reason behind the passing of Provisional Constitution was the growing conflict between the martial law authorities and the superior courts against the orders and the sentences passed by military courts tribunals. The PCO abolished the jurisdiction of the superior courts by martial law orders.

### 5. Referendum of 1984:

General Zia's main step was to ask the public to endorse his rule through a referendum. This referendum was held on December 19, 1984. It was a loaded question that simply asked, "Do you wish Pakistan to be an Islamic state?" An affirmative vote in the referendum was to result in favour of Zia as the next President of Pakistan. He had been given public support to continue as President of Pakistan for the next five years.

### 6. Holding of Non-Party based Elections:

The elections were preceded by a referendum on the Islamization process. In the referendum the people were asked whether they supported the measures undertaken by the regime to Islamize Pakistan, which was an embarrassment for the government. The turnout was approximately 10%. The referendum was followed by a muted campaign for the elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies. Political Parties were banned. Processions and demonstrations were illegal. Issues of economic, political and social substances were not part of the electoral discourse. Indeed, a legislature was being elected through a campaign which did not permit political debate.

Less than a week after the polls, President Zia announced his new constitution without consultation with or requiring ratification by the legislature. According to this constitution, President Zia got the authoritative powers.

### 7. Military Courts:

Military courts were empowered with indiscriminate and comprehensive powers. These courts operated in a framework of absolute power, defined by a feared empowering the government to detain any person speaking or acting against the regime. Federal Ministers for Labour and Manpower, Lt. General Faiz Ali Chishti advocated, "Enemies of Islam must be hunted down and killed like

snakes even when they are offering prayers." In this context it is significant that measures to inject terror, such as hand amputation and public lashings, were announced initially as martial law regulations prior to the Islamic process.

### 8. Judicial Measures:

General Zia-ul-Haq introduced the judicial measures, in which he removed the two critical powers of the judiciary.

- a) The power of judicial review of the legality and constitutionality of executive decisions was removed.
- b) The judiciary was deprived of the authority to protect civil rights.

The establishment of the military courts was parallel to the civilian courts. In the following years, the regime extended the jurisdiction of military tribunals at the expense of the judiciary. The same order gasped the high courts from reviewing the actions of the military courts. PCO (of March 1980) terminated judicial scrutiny of any politically important executive action. It declared void all court decisions on the legality of martial law. It forced judiciary to confine its intention to surely criminal and civil cases not involving issues of political substance.

### 9. Censorship over Media:

Zia-ul-Haq also put strict control over the media. According to him, "I could close down all newspapers for five years and nobody would be in a position to raise a voice against it". Pre-censorship of Press was introduced in 1978, which was replaced by "responsible journalism". Weeklies were banned and newspapers closed. Arrested journalists were given flogging sentences by military courts. Trade unions were banned in radio and television. At the district level, totalitarian control was extended by the government decisions to constitute committees to ensure that no newspaper published articles "repugnant to the ideology of Pakistan".

### 10. Defacing the 1973 Constitution:

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan envisaged a Parliamentary System of government, with the balance of power tilted towards the Prime Minister. On March 2, 1985, Zia-ul-Haq issued the Revival of the Constitution Order (RCO) which amended 57 articles, added 6 articles and deleted 2 articles of the original 1973 Constitution. He introduced many decrees in the constitution, which shifted many powers in the hands of the president. The



changes brought about by the Revival of Constitution of 1973 Order (RCO) were so fundamental that they virtually defaced the constitution itself.

### 11. Fate of Muhammad Khan Junejo:

The Eighth Amendment gave Gen. Zia a dominant position in the administration. Zia made a choice of Junejo, because of giving stiff resistance against PPP. On being nominated, Muhammad Khan Junejo promised the nation that he would lift the Martial law. After lifting the Martial Law, Junejo annoyed the military generals by withdrawing big staff cars from them. He tried to conduct an independent foreign policy, particularly on Afghanistan, by consulting the leaders of political parties, including Benazir Bhutto. His government even tried to probe into the military fiasco at the Ojheri Camp near Islamabad on April 10, 1988, which resulted in the serious injuries to a large number of civilians. This probe perhaps became the immediate cause for the dismissal of his government. Junejo's return from a visit to South Korea proved his last official visit on May 29, 1988, General Zia dismissed Junejo's Government using the controversial rule under Article 58(2) b of the Constitution.

### 12. Enhancement of Provincialism:

Provincialism increased during Zia's tenure. He handled the problem of unrest in Baluchistan more successfully than had Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Zia used various schemes of economic development to assuage the Baloch and was successful to a high degree. The North-West Frontier Province, alarmed at the presence of Soviet troops next door after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, remained relatively quiet. But the long-festering division between *Sindhis* and *non-Sindhis* exploded into violence in Sindh. General Zia sponsored *Muhajir* organization *Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz* in order to reduce the position of PPP. The incendiary tensions resulted not only from Sindh-Muhajir opposition but also from Sindh fear of others who had moved into the province, including Baloch, Pakhtuns, and Punjabis.

### 13. Zia's steps for Islamization:

A well Pakistani scholar, *Mohammad Wasim* describes, "Almost from the beginning, the Zia regime recognized the tremendous potential of Islamic idiom as a political resource, which was recently demonstrated by the PNA's massive agitation against Bhutto. The Ulema emerged as a political force for the first time in Pakistan's history during the 1970 election campaign. Even though

they had been defeated in the elections, they used this opportunity for formulating and expressing their views on the country's economic and constitutional problems."<sup>1</sup> Zia's period has contained a qualitative change in the relationship between state and society. The critical differences related to the ideological sphere. In effect, it represented an attempt to contest Pakistan into a theocratic society. Mostly scholars are sceptical about the Zia's policy of Islamization, either it was hatched against Bhutto's socialism popularity or he was the strong enforcer of Islam in Pakistan. With the help of religion, General Zia brought many legal, social, economic and political reforms in the institutions of the country. We can divide Islamization programme into three categories. (1) Punitive measures, (2) reconstruction of economic system, (3) general Islamization of morals, education and science.<sup>2</sup> The following major steps were undertaken to restructure the Pakistan on Islamic lines.

#### a) Formation of Islamic Council and Shariat Courts

General Zia announced the formation of Council of Islamic Ideology and Shariat courts in 1979. The Council of Islamic Ideology would consist of Ulema, who would look into the constitutional and legal matters of the State, so that they might bring them in line with Islamic thought. Similarly Shariat court had the power to announce any law repugnant if it proved a violation of the fundamental Islamic laws. However, the Supreme Court of Pakistan could hear the appeals against the decisions of Federal Shariat Court.

#### b) Establishment of Majlis-e- Shoora

General Zia-ul-Haq constituted his advisory assembly known as *Majlis-e-Shoora* in 1980. It began to act as the Parliament of Pakistan in place of the National Assembly. Most of the members of the Shoora were intellectuals, scholars, Ulema, journalists, economists and professionals belonging to different fields of life, selected by General Zia. This Shoora was clearly unrepresentative and had no powers of legislation. It served merely as a tame debating body.

#### c) Announcement of Hudood Ordinance

Zia issued the *Hudood Ordinance* in 1977 in Pakistan. This Ordinance contained different punishments against those, who would be involved in activities like the use of liquor, theft, adultery

<sup>1</sup> Mohammad Waseem; *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Islamabad, 1994)

<sup>2</sup> Mohammad Waseem; *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Islamabad, 1994)



and Qazf. According to this Ordinance, a culprit could be given fine, amputation of body parts, sentenced to lashing, life imprisonment and in some cases, death by stoning.

#### d) **Appointment of Nazam-i-Salat**

This ordinance also gave instructions for a *Nazam-i-Salat* in Pakistan. According to this ordinance, arrangements were made for offering the regular prayers in the government and semi-government offices during the office hours. It was also applied to the educational institutions, during the office hours and at the airports, railway stations and bus stops.

#### e) **Ehtram-i-Ramazan**

The Government has issued an Ordinance, according to which open drinking and eating during the holy month of *Ramzan-ul-Mubarak*, has been forbidden. Anyone found eating or drinking at an open place, having a sentence of three months and a fine of Rs. 500/-. However, hospitals, railway stations, sea ports, bus stands, trains and air ports were exempted from this Ordinance.

#### f) **Definition of Muslim:**

General Zia amended the constitution of 1973, which contained the following definition of a Muslim and a non-Muslim: (a) "Muslim" means a person who believes in the unity and oneness of Almighty Allah, in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophet hood of Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him), the last of the prophets, and does not believe in, or recognize as a prophet or religious reformer, any person who claimed to be a prophet in any sense of the word or of any description, whatsoever, after Mohammed. (b) "Non-Muslim" means a person who is not a Muslim and includes a person belonging to the Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Bhuddist, or Parsi community, a person of the Qadiani Group or the Lahori Group (who call themselves Ahmadis), or a Bahai, or a person belonging to any of the scheduled castes."<sup>3</sup>

#### g) **Revised Education Policy**

The revised education policy (1979) laid special emphasis on the projection of Islamic teaching and Ideology of Pakistan in the syllabi of various classes. In schools and colleges, Islamiat the reading of the Quranic passages in Arabic and learning their translation was made compulsory. In the Pakistan, Civil Service or

<sup>3</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*, (SAPP, 2008), p.120

the MBBS examinations, extra marks were given to the Hafiz-e-Quran. Pakistan Studies and Islamic Studies were made compulsorily for B. A., B. Sc., Engineering, M. B. B. S., Commerce, Law and Nursing students. The first Ombudsman was appointed to rectify the misadministration of the Federal Government, officials and agencies.

#### **Islamization of the Financial System**

S. Akbar Zaidi observes in his book "*Issues in Pakistan's Political Economy*", of many similarities between the decades of the 60s and 80s, "Zia reaped many rewards that resulted in the initiatives of his predecessors, and fortuitous circumstances, too, helped in establishing and maintaining an economy with every high growth."<sup>4</sup> Zia also began a process for the eventual Islamization of the financial system aimed at "eliminating that which is forbidden and establishing that which is enjoined by Islam." Of special concern to Zia was the Islamic prohibition on interest or *Riba*. The original intention was to eliminate interest from all domestic banking and financial transactions within a period of three years beginning from February 10, 1979.<sup>5</sup> On June 20, 1980, the government issued Zakat and Ushr Ordinances and ordered to deduct 2.5% Zakat annually from the bank accounts of Muslims above the balance of Rupees 3,000.

#### **Islamic Laws for Women**

The Islamic laws of Zia also included laws for women. He put forward the theory of "*Chadar Aur Chaar Devari*" and this was to be applied to women. Thus, for the first time, a woman could be flogged for adultery. If a rape was reported, four witnesses were to be provided otherwise, legally, the rape could be termed adultery. Another law, The Law of Evidence, under the Shariah laws proposed that the testimony of a woman was not equal to that of a man. In legal matters, two women would have to stand witness against the testimony of one man. There was little consensus amongst Muslim authorities over this law. The lack of consensus among the religious authorities combined with countrywide protests forced Zia to hold back on making the Shariah law the law of the country. Women's groups feared that Zia would repeal the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961, but he did not. The Family Laws Ordinance provided women critical access to basic legal protection, including, among other things, the right to divorce, support, and inheritance, and it placed limitations on polygamy. Still, women

<sup>4</sup> S. Akbar Zaidi, "*Issues in Pakistan's Political Economy*, ( ), p.124



found unfair the rules of evidence under Islamic law by which women frequently were found guilty of adultery or fornication when in fact they had been raped. They also opposed rules that in some cases equated the testimony of two women with that of one man.

### Russian Invasion of Afghanistan and Zia Policy:

General Zia-ul-Haq used the Russian invasion of Afghanistan for his selfish and preservation of personalization of power. It was him with General Akhtar Abdur Rehman, who provided the land of Pakistan as a sanctuary for Afghan refugees and was a conduit for supplying arms from the United States and others to the Afghan *Mujahideen*. During the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan, therefore, Pakistan felt an increased threat on both its eastern and north-western borders.

"Moscow repeatedly warned Pakistan that it was playing with fire and threatened it with dire consequences. There were many strategists who advised caution and retreat. However, President Ziaul Haq saw the Communist take-over in Kabul and the later entry of the Red Army into Afghanistan, as a mortal threat to Pakistan itself and decided as he put it, to fight the battle for Pakistan inside Afghanistan."<sup>6</sup> Extremism, fundamentalism, religious division and conservatism were the natural outcome of Zia policy towards Afghanistan, which has defaced the soil of Pakistan as a liberal democrat state as envisioned by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.



<sup>6</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.87

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## Post-Independence Constitutional Developments from 1947 to 1997

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Formation of First Constituent Assembly
3. Objective Resolution (1949)
4. Efforts for Making Constitution of Pakistan
  - a. Formation of Basic Principles Committee
  - b. Formation of Fundamental Rights of the Citizens
  - c. Publication of the First report of Basic Principles Committee
  - d. Publication of the Second Report of the Committee
  - e. Announcement of Bogra Formula
  - f. Results of the 1954 Elections
  - g. Formation of Second Constituent Assembly
  - h. Announcement of One Unit
5. Constitution of 1956
6. Constitution of 1962
7. Constitution of 1973
8. Conclusion

### Introduction:

After the formation of Pakistan, Constitution making became a highly complicated and complex task. The first Constituent Assembly failed to accomplish its task of framing the Constitution for a newly born state. With the passage of time, Pakistan became a laboratory for the constitutional experiments. As a sovereign state, Pakistan needed a sovereign constitution as well. By introducing some amendments, the Government of India Act,

1935 was enforced for some span of time. However, the Crown of England remained a constitutional head of Pakistan till the promulgation of 1956 constitution. According to the Section 8 of the Act of 1947, Constituent Assemblies of India and Pakistan would act as legislative bodies till the framing of a Constitution.

The history of Pakistan's constitution began with the Lahore Resolution of 1940. In the first twenty years, it had three Constitutions; Government of India Act of 1935, adopted under the Indian Independence Act of 1947 and known as the "Interim Constitution (1947 to 1956)", the Constitution of 1956 presented after nine years of effort of two constituent assemblies and was abrogated with the imposition of Martial Law in 1958 (23 March 1956 to 7 October 1958), the Constitution of 1962 which stored the Constitutional government and finally the Constitution of 1973. The Legislators had to play multiple roles like legislation, representation of the people, law-making and constitution making etc. But there were number of reasons like Bengali's fear of suppression, absence of strong political party, crisis of leadership, clash between traditionalists and modernists, controversy over the federal structure of the constitution, legislatures' lack of interest, concept of Islamic state, linguistic problem, cleavages within the ruling elite etc., of which Pakistan took nearly a decade to make the first constitution.

A lot of experiences were made to adjust the majority population of East Pakistan like the formation of One Unit. The judiciary first intervened in politics in 1955 during a conflict between the Constituent Assembly and the executive, then Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad. On 25 October 1954, Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad dissolved the Constituent Assembly when the latter attempted to strip him of the power to dismiss ministers. Justifying this move by what he described as "parliamentary bickering", the Governor-General declared a state of emergency. Against the dissolution of Constituent Assembly, Maulvi Tameez-ud-din, President of Constituent Assembly filed a petition in the Chief Court of Sindh. Sind Chief Court gave its verdict in the favour of the President of Constituent Assembly, but Governor General Ghulam Muhammad went to Federal Court, where Justice Munir, chief Justice of Chief Court, validated the action of Governor General.

### Formation of First Constituent Assembly:

For making the constitution of Pakistan, the inaugural session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held in Karachi from 10 to 14 August 1947. Jinnah being the only candidate proposed for the presidency of elected as president of the



Constituent Assembly while Mr. J. N. Mandal (member of minority community from East Pakistan) as its temporary chairman. Under the Indian Independence Act, the Constituent Assembly was given two functions: To prepare a Constitution and to act as a Federal Legislative Assembly or Parliament until the Constitution came into effect.

### Objective Resolution (1949)

The passing of the Objective Resolution Early in March, 1949 provided a basis for bringing Islamic changes in the upcoming constitutions of Pakistan. It is considered to be the "Magna Carta" in Pakistan's Constitutional history. Presenting the resolution, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan asserted that the economic aim of the state would be to establish "Islamic Socialism."

### Salient Features of Objective Resolution

The Objective Resolution contained the following salient features:

1. **Sovereignty of Allah:** Sovereignty over the entire universe belonged to Allah, the Almighty.
2. **Delegated powers of Allah:** The authority delegated by the Almighty Allah to the elected representatives is a sacred trust that will be exercised by them in the light of the Quran and Sunnah.
3. **Federal system of government:** There will be a Federal system of government in Pakistan.
4. **Principles of democracy:** Principles of democracy, equality, freedom and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully preserved.
5. **Lives of Muslims:** Measures will be taken to enable the Muslims to lead their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam.
6. **Rights of Minorities:** Minorities in Pakistan will be free to perform and practise their religion. They will also be provided opportunities to develop their culture and civilization.
7. **Protection of Fundamental Rights:** Fundamental Rights of the citizens shall be fully safeguarded".
8. **Independence of Judiciary:** Judiciary shall be independent.

Objective Resolution recognized the sovereignty of Allah; it was a sort of manifesto of the inspiration of the state of Pakistan. The most important aspect of Objectives Resolution was that it sought to base the constitution of Pakistan on the ideals of Islam. It declared that all the authority must be subservient to Allah. Not only it emphasized on the sovereignty of Allah but that Allah had delegated authority to the state of Pakistan through its people, and

state should exercise powers through the chosen representatives of the people.

### Efforts for Making Constitution of Pakistan

#### a. Formation of Basic Principles Committee:

The most important among those committees was the Basic Principles Committee (BPC) set up on March 12, 1949, by Khawaja Nazimuddin on the advice of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. Its task was to report in accordance with the Objectives Resolution. The basic Principle Committee set up three subcommittees; (a) Sub Committee on federal and provincial Constitutions and distribution of powers. (b) Subcommittee on franchise. (c) Subcommittee on the Judiciary.

#### b. Formation of Fundamental Rights of the Citizens:

Another important committee of the First Constituent Assembly was on "Fundamental Rights of the Citizens of Pakistan" and on "Matters relating to Minorities".

#### c. Publication of the First report of Basic Principles Committee:

The Constituent Assembly appointed the Basic Principles Committee for devising such federal Constitution, in which satisfied representation of the provinces would be given in the legislature. The committee submitted its report on 7th September, 1950, presenting the guidelines and principles of the future Constitution of Pakistan.

Representatives of East Pakistan raised objections against the report. The main criticism was against the quantum representation in the Central Legislature. East Pakistan, with a majority of the population, was given an equal number of seats in the Upper House as West Pakistan, thus reducing the representation of the majority of the population in Pakistan by one-fifth. East Pakistan representatives also did not like Urdu being declared as the only national language of Pakistan.

#### d. Publication of the Second Report of the Committee:

After coming into power, Khawaja Nazim-ud-din made certain changes in the report of Committee before presenting it to the assembly. The subcommittee, however, gave its report to the Basic Principles Committee in July 1952, which was presented by Khawaja Nazim-ud-din in the National Assembly on December 22, 1952. The Basic Principles Committee's report was severely criticized and raised much bitterness between East and West Pakistan. The Prime Minister, Khawaja Nazimuddin, however,



welcomed the report and commended it as a valuable document according to the aspirations of the people of Pakistan. This report favoured a strong centre but it could only be done at the cost of the rights of the provinces, which they were not prepared to surrender. Before the discussion about the report in the Constituent Assembly, Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the central government of Khawaja Nazimuddin. In Punjab, the anti-Ahmadiya movement of the Ahrar shook the administrative structure, having the support of Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the Chief Minister of Punjab. This movement soon sparked the religious sentiments of the ordinary people.

#### e. Announcement of Bogra Formula:

Muhammad Ali Bogra, the new Prime Minister, tried to overcome the Constitutional deadlock. He presented the compromised formula between East and West Pakistan. This formula is known as the "Muhammad Ali Formula", which was presented to Constituent Assembly on 7 October 1953.

According to this formula, the form of the legislative body was not to be changed. The plan proposed for a Bicameral Legislature with equal representation for all provinces in the Upper House. The 300 seats for the Lower House were to be allocated to the provinces on the basis of proportionate representation. In order to prevent permanent domination by any wing, the two offices of the Head of the State and the prime minister were allocated to the two wings separately.

#### f. Results of the 1954 Elections:

Provincial elections were held in the East Pakistan in 1954 in which the Muslim League defeated badly, keeping only ten seats out of the total 309 in its pocket. The Chief Minister of the Province (a Muslim Leaguer) lost to an unknown medical student. The United Front bagged 233, the Congress 24, the Scheduled Castes Federation 27 and the remaining 15 went to the independents.

#### g. Formation of Second Constituent Assembly:

The Governor General dissolved the House on 24th October, 1954. A state of emergency was declared throughout the country. The October 1954 dissolution resulted in the third constitutional crisis in the history of Pakistan. Maulvi Tamizuddin, the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly, filed a writ petition in Sindh High Court which was granted illegal. However, the government filed an Appeal. The appeal was allowed by the Federal Court on the technical ground. The Chief Justice Mohammad Muneer stated declared the act of Ghulam Muhammad according to

the "doctrine of necessity".

#### h. Announcement of One Unit:

On March 27, 1955, the Governor General issued an ordinance to amend the Government of India Act, 1935, and invest himself with the power of to establish the Province of West Pakistan. His objectives were not only to create the province of West Pakistan but to arm himself with the power to provide a Constitution for the entire country. He therefore summoned a new Constitution Assembly which met on July 1955.

The revived Constituent Assembly convened in June 1955. Provincial autonomy was the main plank of the United Front. It was to consist of 80 members, 40 from each wing. Out of the 80 members, 72 were elected through Provincial Assemblies, while the remaining 8 were nominated. As result of this change, the East Bengali, Muhammad Ali Bogra was replaced by Chaudhry, Muhammad Ali, a West Pakistani, as Prime Minister on August, 1955 and the Governor General; Ghulam Muhammad gave way to Iskander Mirza. The two major acts of the Second Constituent Assembly were the establishment of the province of West Pakistan (30 September 1955) and the first Constitution of Pakistan passed on 23 March, 1956.

#### Salient Features of the Constitution of 1956

The Second Constituent Assembly under the leadership of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali's government worked hard and within the short period of one year produced a Draft Constitution, which was presented to the Assembly on January 8, 1956. It was promulgated on March 23, 1956. The salient features of the 1956 Constitution are given below:-

(i) **Islamic character:** One of the main features of the Constitution was its Islamic character. The Islamic provisions were contained in the directive principles of the state policy. Along with other Islamic provisions in the Constitution, the president was required to be a Muslim. The Objectives Resolution was, however, only made the preamble of the Constitution.

(ii) **Federal System of Government:** Federal type of the system of government was introduced in this Constitution. It introduced the division of powers between the central and provincial governments, having Federal Legislative list, the provincial list and the concurrent list.

(iii) **Parliamentary form of government:** This constitution introduced a parliamentary form of government. The Prime Minister and his cabinet were responsible, accountable and liable to answer



to the National Assembly. The President, a constitutionally head of state was neither a titular, nor a nominal head but he could perform an effective role in the state affairs.

(iv) **Uni-Cameral Legislature:** According to this constitution, only one Chamber of the Parliament existed in Pakistan, consisting of total 300 members. An effort was made for the equal representation to both units of federation viz., East and West Pakistan.

(v) **Independence of Judiciary:** In this Constitution, supremacy and independence of Judiciary was upheld. The judges of the superior courts, according to the Constitution, were to be appointed by the head of the State.

(vi) **Introduction of Directive Principles:** Directive Principles of state policy were also incorporated in the Constitution. These were laid down in Part 3 of the Constitution. Some of these principles dealt with Islamic teachings.

(vii) **Fundamental Rights:** Fundamental rights were made the part of the Constitution and were to be enforced by the Supreme Court. All such laws or administrative policies which violated Fundamental Rights could be challenged in the Court of law.

(viii) **Official Language.** According to the Constitution, Urdu and Bengali were made official languages. Nevertheless, English was accepted as an official language for a maximum period of twenty five years.

#### Declaration of Martial Law in 1958

The Fourth crisis came on October 7, 1958, (less than three years after the Constitution of 1956 came into force on 23 March 1956), when Iskander Mirza, with the support of the army, declared Martial Law for the first time, dismissed the Central and Provincial Cabinets and dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies and abrogated the Constitution of 1956. Simultaneously General Mohammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army was appointed the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The proclamation of Martial Law in October 1958 paved the way for the Constitution of 1962.

#### Constitution of 1962

As the President, Muhammad Ayub Khan implemented the new Constitution on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1962 and finally came into effect on 8 June 1962. The new Constitution contained certain provisions of the abrogated Constitution with certain modifications.

#### Salient Features

The Constitution of the Second Republic was a comprehensive document. It did not have a representative character but was granted by one man. The following are the salient features of the Constitution of 1962:-

##### 1. Written Character:

The Constitution contained 250 articles divided into twelve parts and three schedules. The Constitution of 1962, like the abrogated Constitution of 1956, was a written Constitution and consisted of a detailed document. The Constitution was partly rigid and partly flexible.

##### 2. Federal Form of Government:

According to the pattern of division of powers, as chalked out in the Constitution, the powers of the central government were enumerated and expressed in a list while all residuary powers belonged to the provinces.

##### 3. Presidential form of Government:

According to the Constitution of 1962, the Presidential form of government was enforced in Pakistan. He had the appointing authority for the ministers, ambassadors, chiefs of the Armed Forces, heads of various commissions, provincial governors and political secretaries in the mountainous areas. To illustrate, the ministers would attend the sessions of National Assembly despite the fact that they were not members of this body. The ministers, however, did not have the right to vote in the assemblies. Though the President was not the repository of the supreme executive authority, yet he could effectively control the legislative process through his ministers. Moreover, he enjoyed the power to veto the bills passed by the National Assembly.

##### 4. Unicameral Legislature:

Under both the previous Constitutions, parity of representation between West and East Pakistan was secured within uni-cameralism, whereas seats in each of the provinces were allocated according to the ratio of population.

##### 5. Indirect Method of Election:

The Constitution of 1962 envisaged the indirect method of election for the presidency and for the legislative assemblies. Accordingly, the primary voters would elect the members of Basic Democracies who had to elect the representatives to higher positions.



**7. Independence of Judiciary:**

Proper safeguards would be provided to maintain the independence of judiciary under the Constitution of 1962.

**8. Islamic Provisions:**

In the original document of the Constitution of the 2nd Republic, the word Islamic was deleted from the name of the Republic. It was due to severe popular reaction that the word 'Islamic' was reinserted. According to the Constitution, the President was to be a Muslim, but it was not necessary for the Speaker of the National Assembly to be a Muslim. It was also laid down in the Constitution that no law would be enacted or enforced which was repugnant to Shariah.

**Promulgation of Legal Framework Order:**

Facing a winter of discontent in 1968-69, Ayub Khan abdicated in favour of the C-in-C General Yahya Khan. Pakistan's Second Martial Law descended on the nation on March 25, 1969. December 7, 1970 saw Pakistan's first-ever general elections based on adult franchise in which the People's Party swept the polls in the Western Wing of the country and the Awami League in East Pakistan. Thus, the period between March 25, 1969 and the framing of the new Constitution of Pakistan in August, 1973 was one of great turbulence. Yahya Khan promulgated a Legal Framework Order. The LFO also defined the qualifications of people who would be allowed to contest in the elections. The Constituent Assembly was to stand dissolved if it was unable to frame the Constitution within 120 days. Actually, the Legal Framework Order was to act as an interim Constitution. Not being well versed in constitutional affairs, he appointed a team to draft a new constitutional formula. He voiced his ideas about the constitutional issues in his broadcast address to the nation on November 28, 1969. The formula was officially issued on March 30, 1970, and is known as the Legal Framework Order of 1970. According to this order, One Unit was dissolved in West Pakistan and direct ballot replaced the principle of parity.

**Constitution of 1973**

Developments in the direction of framing a constitution soon began after Bhutto had taken over power. Pakistan's third constitution was formally submitted on December 31, 1972, approved on April 10, 1973, and promulgated on Independence Day, August 14, 1973. Bhutto took over as the Prime Minister of

Pakistan from this date and Fazal Ilahi Chaudhry was appointed as the President of Pakistan.

**Salient Features of 1973 Constitution:**

The Bhutto Government's first achievement was the preparation of a Constitution for the country. The most prominent characteristic of this Constitution was that it accommodated proposals from the opposition parties and hence almost all the major political parties of the country accepted it. The Constitution of 1973 opens with a Preamble. This is the preliminary part of the Constitution in which broad features of the Constitution have been explained. The first Article of the Constitution declares Pakistan as a Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Islam was declared as the State religion of Pakistan. Pakistan was to be a Federation of four federating Units, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan.

**1) Written constitution:** The Constitution of the 3rd Republic is a written one. It consists of 280 Articles classified into 12 chapters and seven schedules.

**2) Parliamentary System:** The Constitution was parliamentary in nature. Article 41 of the Constitution lay down that the President was to be the Head of the State. The appointment of Federal Ministers and Ministers of the State from amongst the members of the Parliament was at the Prime Minister's disposal.

**3) Procedure of Amendment:** The Constitution is partly flexible and partly rigid. The proposal to amend it can be initiated in any of the Houses of the Parliament. If ratified by two-thirds majority of both the Houses and later assented by the President, the Constitution stands amended.

**4) Bicameral Legislature:** The 1973 Constitution set up a bicameral legislature at the Centre consisting of two Houses, the National Assembly and the Senate.

**5) Supremacy of Judiciary:** The 1973 Constitution provided a free and independent Judiciary. The judiciary guarantees the interpretation of the constitution in its true sense.

**6) Islamic Ideology:** In light of the previous experience, the Constitution of 1973 was more Islamic in character than the previous ones. Emphasis was made to establish a real Islamic system in all aspects of social life. Keeping this objective in mind, more Islamic provisions were laid down in the Constitution of 1973.

**7) Rule of Law:** It is explicitly and distinctly stated in the Constitution that government shall not take any action without due



process of law that stands injurious to one's personal liberty and security. No one can be stopped from doing certain things which one is entitled to do under the law.

**8) Principles of Policy:** Principles of policy lay down the basic objectives and future plan of action of the political system. It has been made obligatory on all government agencies to take guidance from Principles of Policy while performing their respective functions.

**9) Direct Mode of Election:** The Constitution of the 3rd Republic, prescribes direct system of election to return the deputies to different legislative assemblies. But indirect mode of election has been retained for the elections of the Senate.

**10) Official Language:** Under Article 251 of the Constitution, Urdu has been prescribed and declared as the national language. It has been made obligatory on the government to take proper steps for the introduction of Urdu as official language within fifteen years from the date of the commencement of the Constitution.

#### **11) Islamic Provisions:**

The 1973 constitution made serious efforts to transform the basic injunctions and tenets of Islam into Law and give them legislative effect. It went much further in bringing out Islamic Provisions than the previous two constitutions. Islam was declared as the state religion, where Muslims of Pakistan were enabled to order their lives in accordance with the fundamentals of Islam. Teachings of Holy Quran and Islamiyat and learning of Arabic language were made compulsory. The correct printing and publishing of Holy Quran, observance of the Islamic moral standards and proper organizing of *Zakat*, *Auqaf* and Mosque were made necessary.

The Constitution of 1973 remained in force for nearly four years. It was, however, suspended by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, who imposed Martial Law in the country on July 5, 1979. However, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq who ran the country with Martial Law passed the Eighth Amendment in the Constitution in 1985. This Amendment empowered the President to dissolve the National Assembly under Article 58(2) b. This Article was later repealed by the Parliament during Nawaz Sharif's era through Thirteenth Amendment introduced on April 1, 1997. The Thirteenth Amendment was in turn repealed by the Legal Framework Order of 2002, which effectively restored the discretionary powers of the President enacted by the Eighth Amendment.



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## **Fourth Part**

### **Present Era**

- Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan
- War on Terrorism
- Process of Islamization in Pakistan
- Ethnicity in Pakistan
- New Provinces in Pakistan
- Causes of Failure of Democracy in Pakistan
- Steps for the Strength of Democracy
- Energy Crisis in Pakistan
- Agricultural Problems of Pakistan
- Solutions of Agricultural Problems of Pakistan
- Industrial Problems of Pakistan
- Solutions of Industrial Problems of Pakistan
- Education Problems of Pakistan
- Solutions of Education Problems of Pakistan



## Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Historical Perspective
3. Over-developed State apparatus
4. Ambivalent criteria for judging management
5. Military as defender of the state
6. Powerful Role of intelligence Agencies
7. Military quota in Civil government jobs
8. Perception of Civilian administrators
9. Military Reversions into Power corridors
10. Unreasonable Role of Politicians
11. Concept of Security Threats
12. Harsher Criteria for civilian governments
13. "Obey and Act" Policy of Military
14. Loose of Popular support by the Politicians
15. Political Ambitions of Army Chief
16. Welcome attitude for the arrival of Army
17. Involvement of Military in Civilian matters
18. Conclusion

### Introduction:

A well-known scholar and writer, Hassan Askari Rizvi, describes in his book, "The Military and Politics in Pakistan", "Asian politics has shown two major characteristics over the last twenty years. These are the erosion of democracy and the vast and significant influence of the military on the course of political change. The military has either actually assumed political power or it is playing political role in collaboration with political elite. Out of twenty independent states of Asia there have been successful coups in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos,

Pakistan, South Korea, South Vietnam, Thailand, and Turkey and insurgencies and uprising in most of the remaining Asian countries."

### A Brief Historical Perspective:

Hasan Askari Rizvi describes, "The most outstanding contribution of the British rule in India in the field of military administration was a theory of civil-military relations which emphasized an over-all civilian control and the military's aloofness from politics. But the military in India was subordinate to the civil authority in London. Its relation with the civil authority was marked by separate sphere of military and civilian influence. It was more of an equal partner rather than subordinate to it. The control of the military in India was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council, who was responsible to the Secretary of State for India."<sup>1</sup> By the introduction of the myth of 'martial races', the British established a well-equipped and skilled military force in India. During the riots that broke out at the partition of India, handful of soldiers escorted convoys to safety, occasionally engaging in a running battle. Thus Pakistan inherited a revered army, respected by all citizens.

The death of Muhammed Ali Jinnah and assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan, left a political vacuum. In 1956, the appointment of General Ayub Khan as defence minister as well as commander-in-chief was the first military involvement in the civilian matters of Pakistan. This act also recognized the future political role of the army in Pakistan. In 1958, Ayub started his career as Martial Law Administrator. His initial period from 1958 to 1964 is still remarked as our 'Golden era'. But his "Golden era" was limited only to West zone of Pakistan, East Pakistan remained dormant and aloof from its richness. We often consider General Yahya as sole responsible for the creation of Bangladesh. But he was the only person after the making of Pakistan, who played his role to hold the first fair elections since the inception of Pakistan. During 1972-1977, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto tried to maintain the civilian control over the administrative system by removing the General Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim. In this way, he kept the military aloof from the political matters of the state. He also returned the lost confidence of the army after making of Bangladesh, appeased the military officers by enhancing their salaries.

A well-known scholar and historian, Dr. Tahir-Kamran describes in his book, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*, "On July 5, 1977, in a military coup, Operation Fairplay was orchestrated by General Zia, consequently Bhutto and members of his Cabinet

<sup>1</sup> Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan*, p.33



were arrested. Hence praetorianism resurfaced with a bang that lasted for no less than eleven years.<sup>2</sup> The military under Zia regime involved in the martyrdom of Bhutto, who was an acting prime minister, a civilian leader and chairman of a popular political party. The period from 1988 to 1999 in which Benazir and Nawaz Sharif played musical chairs for the prime minister's chair, saw five COASs: Gens Beg, Asif Nawaz, Waheed Kakar, Jehangir Keramat, and finally, Musharraf. Of the first four, the first two were pulling string to make politicians dance to their tunes, while the latter two were, in my opinion, totally apolitical. Musharraf, of course, put an end to the game of musical chairs by taking over on 12 October, 1999. There are many reasons behind the irruption of military in the civilian matters.

### 1. Over-developed State apparatus:

Hamza Alvi, a well-known scholar, considered that over-developed state structure was the basic reason behind the strength of military-bureaucratic oligarchy in Pakistan. Like all colonial states, the colonial administrators used the whip of military and bureaucracy to control the society.<sup>3</sup> The same case is with Pakistan, where the newly born state Pakistan inherited a strong army and bureaucracy from the colonial master, the British. Military training and its culture makes its officers the most gregarious, focused, disciplined, enthusiastic and dependable group of people. The lower ranks of the military are the most loyal and dependable workers you will find and thus in great demand, post retirement, by the civilians. In a country like Pakistan, whose army is large, well-funded and comprising well trained officer, who believe in traditions, whether they are ones handed down to them through colonial battalion customs or through their seniors, who have occupied prestigious civil positions, chances of the army taking a back seat any time soon, like in our neighborly country, appear bleak.

### 2. Military Tradition of Coups:

The factor that military has ruled for more than thirty out of the sixty two years history of the country, gives the personnel of the army, an aura of belonging to the ruling class. For understanding the genesis of the civil military relations in Pakistan, it is vitally important to keep two factors in mind. One the long rule of the army of Pakistan in the country and its impact on the personality, psyche of the men and officers of the force and the other, rigorous training that the army imparts to its personnel, amongst other things, in instilling a sense of superiority and also in some ways a sense of alienation towards the civilians.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*, p. 105  
<sup>3</sup> Hamza Alvi, *Pakistan: Riasat aur Uska Buhran*, p. 11

### 3. Ambivalent criteria for judging management:

Some of the factors that impact civil military relations, as seen are firstly the military's proclivity to assess civilian efficiency from their own perspective. In normal army units during peace time, many officers and men are involved. Meanwhile in the civilian system, with numerous most civilian officers have to resort to multi tasks. Resultantly the output of the hundreds of tasks done by a civilian officer may not be of the same quality as a single task achieved by half a dozen officer in an army unit. This in army personnel's assessment is inefficiency and malingering on the part of the civilian worker.

### 4. Military as defender of the state:

Military perceives itself as the defender of the last resort of the country. This involves threat from outside force as well as a threat from the citizens of Pakistan i.e. the politicians and a vague category called the enemies of the state. In this context the patience level of the military is limited. Hasan Askari Rizvi describes in his book, "The Military and Politics in Pakistan", "The military commanders' reluctance to step into the political field was manifested from General Ayub Khan's refusal to Governor General Ghulam Mohammad's offer in 1954 to take over the administration of the country."<sup>4</sup> In the case of the ouster of Bhutto by Zia-ul-Haq, a few weeks of agitation was enough justification to oust a genuinely elected leader. In all these cases, the argument given by the generals was that it was absolutely essential to take over the country, a role for which they were neither recruited nor had taken on oath, because the army considers itself, as the defender of the last resort of Pakistan.

### 5. Powerful Role of intelligence Agencies:

The other issue that which is very sensitive is that the military consider a right to intervene in all civilian matters. They are enabled in this snooping by the resourceful and intelligence agencies at their disposal. Intelligence agencies were used by creation of political wings. The bleak side of this role of the military is that they do not have enough resources left to keep an eye on such groups of people, who have now become extremists and are now holding the whole nation, including the army, hostage. The perception amongst the civilians is that the monster that the army created has turned on them and the country, which has to pay for strategies of the army, which they drafted behind closed doors and which has gone away.

<sup>4</sup> Hasan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan*, p. 71



## 6. Military Quota in Civil government jobs:

Other important issue is the tendency of the military to solicit civilian jobs in the government much more than the ratios stipulated in the rules, when the army is in control, leading to resentment amongst the civilian. Under the civil rules, army officers are entitled to ten percent of civil government jobs in stipulated cadres. In actual fact the intrusion of the army is far greater than the laid down quota. This leads to resentment amongst civilians, who cannot say much in the days of martial law, but are relatively more successful in having their posts vacated in civilian rules.

## 7. Military Reversions into Power corridors:

Another key issue impacting civil military relations is the cyclic reversion of the army to taking over the government. In this pattern, which is repeating itself with regulatory, at ten to fifteen years interval, the civilian population is equally to blame. They in the form of politician and bureaucrat are the ones who encourage and repeatedly beseech the military leadership to take over. Their main objective however is to demolish their opponents, who they cannot neutralize politically. They achieve their objective through the army, whose generals than make it look like an unpleasant task, which they have to undertake to save the country.

## 8. Unreasonable Role of Politicians:

The other downside of this repeated take over by the army is that some political leaders, who have outlived their utility, spring back into life and convert their temporary setback into an opportunity of making a bigger political come back. Military by nature and training is secretive. While the civilian think tanks debate sensitive issues in their open meeting and share their debate on national issue with media. The civil governments, when in power, still keeps looking over their shoulder to see the body language of the senior army command and hear every statement they make regarding their government. Firstly the civilian government cannot believe their luck that they are in power and also wonder how the army high command is feeling, having gotten so used to being in power. The past experience of civilian government asserting their legitimate powers over the army, has not met a pleasant end.

## 9. Concept of Security Threats:

The military makes policy and affects the civil affairs behind the doors. The meetings of Intelligence agencies or high level interaction at the Corp Commanders, are some of the institutions

where decision are taken. Decisions about Pak-India relations and Kashmir issue, Afghan Policy and Taliban, Pak-US relations are taken usually without due consultation with civilians, although their blow back was likely to impact the whole country. Foreign Office, the authorized civilian institution, is neither considered competent nor trustworthy to be associated with the formulation of major foreign policies which are made in the army headquarters, in consultation with the internal think tanks because the issues are too sensitive to be left to the civilian.

The recent issue known as "memogate" scandal has highlighted the need for further reform of Pakistan's security sector. Its main elements – the Pakistani armed forces, intelligence agencies, and police force – are responsible for ensuring Pakistan's external and internal security from diverse threats. Unfortunately, all too often they have assumed functions best left to the country's civilian leaders.

## 10. Harsher Criteria for civilian governments:

The criterion for assessing the performance of a civil government is far harsher than those assessing a military government. While the honeymoon period allowed to a military government to show results is around three years, the civilian governments comes under serious scrutiny of the media and the powers that be, in one twelfth the time. The insecurity of civilian governments therefore starts from day one and continues till the last day, depriving them of the luxury of planning for things with confidence. Crushing the civilian institutions, and not letting them regain their balance and confidence, will result in the complete atrophy of all other institutions, except the army. When that happens, the country than becomes a complete security state, which is not the right atmosphere for economic progress and prosperity.

## 11. "Obey and Act" Policy of Military:

Taken as a composite whole, no military would voluntarily like to assume the political leadership and become involved in politics. This decision is taken by a smaller coterie of senior officers, usually the corps commanders. Once the decision is taken, the rest of the military; which by nature is trained to be undemocratic and obey orders, falls into line.

## 12. Loose of Popular support by the Politicians:

The foremost prerequisite is that the incumbent political leadership must have lost the confidence and support of the people—a popular leader is impossible to oust. On the other hand, our only genuinely popular political leader since Jinnah, Z A Bhutto, created a



situation when the army started projecting that he lost the support of the people. This contention is given credence by the fact that each military takeover in Pakistan has been feted by public distribution of sweets in the streets.

### 13. Political Ambitions of Army Chief:

My next contention is that a military takeover occurs only when the opportunity is offered at a time when the army is headed by an individual with political ambitions and often, even delusions of grandeur. There are at least two individuals in the recent past who, during their tenures as COAS, found circumstances conducive for them to have taken over, but did not do so, obviously because they were democrats without political ambitions; Gens Waheed Kakar and Jehangir Keramat.

### 14. Welcome attitude for the arrival of Army:

Consequently, while many among the bureaucrats may, in fact have silently welcomed military takeovers, the army had begun to lose confidence in them, which is one reason for Musharaf hogging as many senior posts and filling them with his henchmen. The politicians on the other hand, had begun to increasingly accept the Pakistan army's political role. Even when we had totally apolitical COASs, political leaders would take every opportunity to meet with them and, in subtle ways indicate their 'GHQ connection, only to ensure their retention of politically important assignments. The end result, while some politicians thrived on their GHQ connections, all of them lived under the constant threat of a military takeover.

### 15. Involvement of Military in Civilian matters:

Hasan Askari Rizvi describes "If the government continues to use troops to quell public demonstrations, and the economic, political and social crisis deepens in the society military intervention is, often, what Janowitz terms 'reactive' rather than 'designed', a gesture of self-interested or public spirited despair against the inadequacies of politicians." The dependence of civilian leadership upon the military high ups in the matters of public revolts, terrorism, and other socio-economic factors also enhance the military capacity to intervene in the civilian matters of the government. Like the operations in our tribal areas, Swat and Balochistan have also enhanced the military interference. But all those issues demand the negotiations rather than action.



## War on Terrorism

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Contemporary Causes of Terrorism
3. War on Terrorism
4. Pakistan as Allies Partner against Terrorism

### Consequences of the War for Pakistan

5. Waziristan and WANA Episode
6. Drone Attacks Killing Sovereignty Of Pakistan
7. Cost of war on terrorism for Pakistan
  - a. Loss of blood
  - b. Economic Losses
  - c. Questions about Pakistani identity
  - d. Fear Factor
  - e. Enhancement for Security budget
  - f. Shaken the tourism industry
  - g. Unsafe for Foreigners
  - h. Massive displacement of resident
  - i. Blow to Sports Events
  - j. Blockade to Pakistani Exports
  - k. Lack of funds for Reconstruction Activities
8. Conclusion

### Introduction:

The undefined term of terrorism has serious repercussion for the whole world community. It has inflamed the embers of discontentment among the Muslim masses because of the counter-terrorist activities of the developed states. The developed



states have limited their counter-terrorist activities against the Muslim groups, which has resulted into hatred and grievances against such states. The War on Terror is a term commonly applied to an international military campaign led by the United States and the United Kingdom with the support of NATO as well as non-NATO countries. The stated objectives of the war are to secure the American homeland, break up terror cells within the country, and disrupt the activities of the international network of terrorist organizations. Terrorism in Pakistan has been prevalent since the 1980s mostly by due to the Soviet-Afghan War, and the subsequent proxy war against the communists that continued for at least a decade. During the period of General Zia-ul-Haq, numerous fighters were brought from all over the world to Pakistan in the name of jihad, often financed by the United States and Saudi Arabia. These fighters, known as *Mujahideen*, created havoc in Pakistan by carrying out terrorist activities inside the country well after the war officially ended.

### Contemporary Causes of Terrorism:

Three of the main causal factors contributing to terrorism in Pakistan are sectarian/religious violence, mistrust of the Musharraf-Bush coalition in the war on terror, and Pakistan's history of training terrorists and sending them to India.

Other causes, such as political rivalry and business disputes, also take their toll. The post-9/11 War on Terrorism in Pakistan has had two principal elements: the government's battle with jihad groups banned after 9/11, and the U.S. pursuit of al Qaeda in coordination with Pakistani forces. The presence of many unregulated Madrassas throughout Pakistan is believed to contribute significantly to its terrorism problem. The social and economic factors played a great role in helping to spread intolerance.

### War on Terrorism

Terrorist organizations carried out attacks on the U.S. like 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania etc., therefore the United States President Bill Clinton launched Operation Infinite Reach, a bombing campaign in Sudan and Afghanistan against targets associated with Al-Qaeda. The first aspects of the campaign came in the freezing of assets terrorist organizations and associated groups. The United Nations Security Council also adopted United Nations Security Council Resolution 1373 which obliges all States to criminalize assistance for terrorist activities, deny financial support and safe haven to terrorists and share information about groups planning terrorist attack. The upswing in American military activity

in Pakistan and neighboring Afghanistan corresponded with a great increase in American military aid to the Pakistan government.

### Pakistan as Allies Partner against Terrorism:

After 9/11, the FATA regions of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the border Afghanistan international prominence, comprising of seven Frontier Agencies and have become the scene of extremism and terrorism both inside Afghanistan and since the last year into Pakistani hinterland. The current infrastructure of FATA and Afghanistan has its roots in Soviet war. The decade-long war in Afghanistan had a negative impact on the tribal areas and their infrastructure. With Pakistan becoming the frontline state in the war of resistance against the Soviet forces, the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan virtually ceased to exist. The tribal belt became the main supply route for the Mujahideen and weapons, supplies, and other war sustenance efforts were routed from these areas. After coming in FATA, Mujahideen began pressure on the local resources. In some cases, refugees outnumbered the local population. The war also brought a culture of guns and drugs. During this period, the economy of the tribal areas suffered enormously. The local administration was rendered totally ineffective to control the illegal activity, like smuggling, drug trafficking and gun running in these areas. In order to act as an ally state, Pakistan has taken action against the miscreants of this region, but the Pakistani Government should keep in mind that militancy will only be defeated when the population sees the state as a protector and ally, and not as part of the problem.

### Aftermath of the War on Terrorism in Pakistan

The 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States shook the world. Within Pakistan, the consequences were profound. The change in Pakistan's Afghan policy after 9/11 was more due to external considerations rather than the outcome of domestic strategic culture and decision making. To give real substance to the changed policy, an internal remake up of a fundamental nature is required. The continued international expression of suspicions about Pakistan's role on the global war against terrorism resulted in serious consequences for its regional security concerns. All because of the war in Afghanistan and America's lust for the power has shaken the very roots of Pakistan.

### Waziristan War and WANA Operation

The post-9/11 War on Terrorism in Pakistan has had two principal elements: the government's battle with jihad groups banned after 9/11, and the U.S. pursuit of al Qaeda in coordination with Pakistani forces. In 2004 the Pakistani Army launched a



campaign in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan's Waziristan region, sending in 80,000 troops. The War in Waziristan is an armed conflict between the Pakistani Army and Waziri tribes allied with the Taliban and al-Qaeda. The goal of the conflict was to remove the al-Qaeda and Taliban forces in the region. During the war there were 700- 3,000 Pakistan military and paramilitary and 1,000- 3,000 militants killed, while 2,500 foreign suspects captured (released) and unfortunately 1,000 civilians were killed.

Also on June 21, 2006 the military head of the Taliban in Waziristan, Sirajuddin Haqqani, issued a decree that it was no longer Taliban policy to fight the Pakistan Army. This marked the end of significant fighting in South Waziristan. On September 5, 2006, the Waziristan Accord, an agreement between tribal leaders and the Pakistani government was signed in Miranshah, North Waziristan to end all fighting. In spite of the Waziristan accord still second phase of Waziristan war was started leading to thousands of casualties including both locals and foreigner casualties. Among the casualties, 529 soldiers, 108 policemen, 529 soldiers, 1,005+ militants, 1,377 civilians, 3 Chinese workers, 2 American missionaries were killed while 21 soldiers, 4 policemen were missing. In addition 421 soldiers and 120 policemen were captured. After the Waziristan Accord, Pakistan started many operations against the militants in the shape of Lal Masjid operation, the Rawalpindi Attacks, Zalzal operation, Swat Operation and Peace Agreement, Black Thunderstorm, Bajaur and Operation Rah-e- Nijat etc.

### **Drone Attacks: Killing Sovereignty of Pakistan**

The United States and Pakistan have been engaged in several cross-border military confrontations and skirmishes along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. These incidents have involved the U.S. military and NATO-led ISAF forces, who have been present in Afghanistan fighting the War on Terror since 2001, and the Pakistani Armed Forces. Most of the exchanges have been indirect friendly fires, usually started when American-led security forces have intruded into Pakistani territory or airspace. Since the beginning of the war on terror in 2001 and the subsequent U.S. invasion of Afghanistan to oust the Taliban and al-Qaeda movement, the U.S. has launched several air strikes across Pakistan. These strikes have been protested by Pakistan, as a violation of national sovereignty. They have also caused uproar among Pakistan's civilian population and politicians and have fueled anti-American sentiments.

### **Salala Incident**

On 26 November 2011, 28 Pakistani soldiers (including 2 officers) were killed and the remaining injured in an attack on a Pakistani border post by NATO helicopters and jets. There were a total of 40 soldiers present in the check post and the raid took place at night time while most of them were sleeping. The attack was the deadliest strike on Pakistani soil by NATO. Pakistan immediately suspended all NATO supplies to Afghanistan in the aftermath of the attack. Pakistan later ordered the U.S. to shut down and to vacate Shamsi Airfield within 15 days, from where the drone attacks in Pakistan are reportedly launched by U.S. forces. NATO supply is completely stopped and Pakistan government refused to attend the upcoming BON conference. The already frayed relations between the two countries have fallen to their worst point after this event, with the Pakistani political and military establishment rethinking and reassessing its diplomatic, political, military and intelligence relationship with United States. The attack also caused an outrage among the Pakistani public and civilian population.

### **COST OF IMPOSED WAR ON TERROR FOR PAKISTAN**

The menace of terrorism is eroding Pakistan's social structure, economic development and political system. The immediate fallout includes the loss of human lives, destruction of property, infrastructure and economic depression. The cost of terror for Pakistan can be quantified both in the loss of human lives and the economic cost.

#### **a. Loss of blood:**

When the US-led forces attacked Afghanistan in October 2001, Pakistan severed its ties with the Taliban and threw in its lot with the coalition troops. Since then, Pakistan's international standing and prestige have risen but it suffered tremendous losses, both directly in the shape of valuable lives, property and the cost of waging the war and indirectly through loss of revenue, investment and business. Since the start of the anti-terror campaign, an overall sense of uncertainty has prevailed in the country and it is at its peak in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Since 2006, the War has spread like a contagion into settled areas of Pakistan that has so far, cost the country more than 35,000 citizens, 3500 security personnel, destruction of infrastructure, internal migration of millions of people from parts of northwestern Pakistan, erosions of investment climate, nose diving



of production and growing unemployment and above all brought economic activity to a virtual standstill in many part of the country.

#### **b. Economic Losses:**

It has contributed to the flight of capital, slowed economic activities and made foreign investors jittery. Foreign direct investment has been adversely affected by the ongoing anti-terrorism campaign in FATA and other areas of the NWFP. Pakistan's participation in the international campaign has led to an excessive increase in country's credit risk. In 2008 and 2009, Pakistan's industrial base saw one-third of its factories close down. With the loss of jobs and the lack of foreign investment, domestic revenue collection fell, pushing the country into a debt trap. Pakistan was thus driven to resort to the IMF.

Pakistan continued to pay a heavy price in terms of both the economic and security terms. A large portion of its resources, both men and material are being consumed by this war for the last several years. The economy was subjected to enormous direct and indirect costs which continued to rise from \$ 2.669 billion in 2001-02 to \$ 13.6 billion by 2009-10, projected to rise to \$ 17.8 billion in the current financial year (2010-11) and moving forward, the direct and indirect costs to the economy is most likely to rise further.

#### **c. Questions about Pakistani identity:**

The government had undertaken a number of initiatives in the late 1990s and early 2000s to project a soft image of Pakistan as a country that is not only investor friendly but also one that facilitates its nationals to conduct business with the rapidly growing economies of the world. Unfortunately, due to the terrorist incidents, the image of the country has been badly affected. As a result, there has been reluctance on the part of several countries to issue visas to Pakistanis. This has affected a broad spectrum of society including businessman, students and professionals who want bring remittances. There have also been negative consequences for Pakistan's trade links with other countries. Simultaneously, investors are reluctant to visit Pakistan while foreign governments discourage their citizens from traveling to Pakistan, either for business or for pleasure.

#### **d. Fear Factor:**

A major negative impact of terrorism is the fear factor, which directly affects the consumption trends of society. For reasons of safety and security, people are afraid to visit the market places as these have been frequently targeted by terrorists. Consequently

there has been a substantial decline in consumption/spending with negative implications for the country's economic growth. This is borne out by the sharp fall in the GDP growth rate from 8.4% in 2004-05 to 5.8% in 2007-08 while in 2008-09 it plummeted to a paltry 2.1%. A Harvard study (December 2008) states that the higher the risk of terrorism the lower the levels of net FDI and this has been Pakistan's experience. In an integrated world economy, where investors are able to diversify their investments, terrorism has induced large transfers of capital across countries. Pakistan's exports have reduced from \$ 19.22 billion in 2007-08 to just \$ 1.58 billion in 2008-09, while imports have also fallen. The trade balance is - \$ 4.5 billion. This decline in the country's exports was primarily due to the global recession as well as the negative image of the country. The tragically frequent incidents of terrorist violence have also caused a fall in the FDI as foreign entrepreneurs have lost business confidence in Pakistan. FDI has reduced from \$484.7 billion in 2001-02 to \$3.21 billion in 2008-09.

#### **e. Enhancement for Security budget:**

The military operations against the Taliban, Al Qaeda and other terrorist outfits in FATA and Swat for the last several months has entailed heavy spending on security and this has whittled down budgetary outlays for development and other key sectors of the economy. The precarious security environment prevailing in Pakistan has triggered a diversion of FDI on a massive scale to India and contributed substantially to its impressive economic growth for the last several years.

#### **f. Shaken the tourism industry:**

Tourism in Pakistan was once thriving and was a major source of revenue. The varied geography encompassing the towering peaks of the Hindu Kush, the Himalayas and the Karakoram ranges; the lush green plains of the Punjab, the deserts of Thar and Cholistan, the picturesque coastline of the Arabian Sea and the environmental diversity make Pakistan a tourist destination for all seasons. This is reinforced by the country's rich culture and its history which spans ancient civilizations such as those that once flourished at Harappa, Taxila, and Mohenjo Daro as well as the historical but still bustling cities like Peshawar, Lahore, Multan and Thatta. The historical and geographical diversity has the potential of attracting both the casual tourist as well as the visitor with special interests. In 2007, Pakistan attempted a bold initiative. Despite an 'image problem,' it hoped that visitors could help fight poverty and extremism. It declared 2007 as the year of tourism. Pakistan's



missions abroad and the Ministry of Tourism chalked out ambitious plans to attract tourists. Unfortunately, 2007 proved to be a year of disaster for Pakistan. The sacking of the Chief Justice triggered massive street demonstrations and civic unrest, there were also increased bomb attacks and the invasion of Swat by the Taliban upset all plans of promoting tourism.

#### **g. Unsafe for Foreigners:**

Whereas the scourge of terrorism has hit the tourist industry worldwide, the terrorist activities, suicide attacks, political instability, the kidnapping of foreigners and fortnight-long curfews have badly affected tourism in Pakistan. In some parts of the country particularly in the Northern Areas it has been the only means of sustenance for the local inhabitants. But at present many of the major tourist attractions, are almost on the verge of closure. The picturesque Swat valley, where not only international but local tourists swarmed in the summers to escape the heat of the plains, came under the control of the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. After the capturing of Swat valley by the terrorists, they took over the hotel resorts, burnt or destroyed the furniture and in some cases, garrisoned themselves in the hotel premises, conducting raids on security agencies and ultimately the hotels were reduced to rubble. There is no economic estimate to the losses suffered and revenue lost due to the trekking, mountaineering and vacationing expeditions coming to a virtual standstill. Even if the war against terror ends, it will take years and huge expenses to rebuild the resorts and attract the tourists again.

#### **h. Massive displacement of residents:**

The military operations in Swat resulted in a massive displacement of residents who sought refuge in relatively safer locations. The Swat operations had displaced more than two million residents, increased unemployment manifold, discontinued education of youth, badly damaged infrastructure, ended tourism – the main source of income generation of the area – sparked violence in other parts of the country, and stopped the supply of essential raw materials from Swat such as marble, gems, jewelry and furniture, besides fresh fruits, vegetables and other hilly food items to other parts of the country. More than 2.8 million IDPs (400'000 families) were registered and distributed in various cities of NWFP. Out of those, about 10 percent were registered in 12 major camps and the rest sought shelter outside the camps with family, friends or on their own. However, tremendous cost was incurred on the movement, housing, lodging, feeding, schooling and return of

the IDPs. On return they found their houses damaged or destroyed, their crops ruined and their orchards torched.

#### **i. Blow to Sports Events:**

Terror attacks have dealt a crippling body blow to sporting events in Pakistan. International teams, who were reluctant to visit the country for sports fixtures, put a complete stop to it after the unfortunate attack on the Sri Lankan cricket team at Lahore. Sports tournaments not only provided the people of Pakistan a healthy entertainment, but were also a source of revenue for the government and for the various sports boards.

#### **j. Blockade to Pakistani Exports:**

The ongoing war in Afghanistan is blocking Pakistan's exports to the Central Asian Republics, Russia and Europe. On the other side of the coin, popular opinion in Pakistan does not approve granting India a trade corridor to Afghanistan as a result of which Pakistan is losing out on transit fees. More importantly, major projects like the proposed trans-Afghanistan natural gas pipeline being developed by the Asian Development Bank, which will transport Caspian Sea natural gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan into Pakistan and then to India is being held up owing to the war. Other lucrative projects like the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline have also been a victim of the war against terror.

#### **k. Lack of funds for Reconstruction Activities:**

The militancy and the consequent military operations against the Taliban/Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups have delayed the much needed reconstruction projects envisaged for the approximately 10,500 square miles Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). It has been rightly pointed out by numerous sociologists that poverty, deprivation and illiteracy are the root causes of terrorism. To remedy the situation, several projects were planned, however, they are yet to be implemented because of the fighting and the absence of an administrative structure that can provide governance and restore the rule of law. Thus economic opportunities have declined and, consequently, less than one-third of FATA's nearly 5 million inhabitants barely manage to live above the poverty-line. Literacy has fallen to 17.4 percent because access to education, especially for women, is extremely limited.

#### **Recent Deadly incident of Peshawar (2014):**

On 16 December 2014, seven (7) members of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) conducted a terrorist attack on the Army Public



School in Peshawar. They entered the school and opened fire on school staff and children, killing 145 people, including 132 innocent school children, mostly between 8 and 18 years of age. A rescue operation was launched by the Pakistan Army's Special Services Group (SSG) Special Forces, who killed all seven terrorists and rescued 960 people. The Chief military spokesman Major General Asim Bajwa said in a press conference that at least 130 people had been injured in the attack. This was the deadliest terrorist attack ever to occur in Pakistan, surpassing the 2007 Karachi bombing. Meanwhile, Raheel Sharif, Chief of Army Staff (COAS) and Rizwan Akhtar, ISI Chief also visited Afghanistan and told the President of Afghanistan about the hideouts of culprits involved in the incident. They also stressed upon Afghan administration to take action against the culprits.

## Conclusion

The notion of a "war" against "terrorism" has proven highly contentious, with critics charging that it has been exploited by participating governments to pursue long-standing policy objectives, reduce civil liberties, and infringe upon human rights. Criticism of the War on Terrorism addresses the issues, morals, ethics, efficiency, economics, and other questions surrounding the War on Terrorism. Arguments are also made against the phrase itself, calling it a misnomer. Terrorism cannot be defeated by military means alone. The battle has to be fought on political and ideological fronts as well. A major reason for the rise of militancy has been the weakening of the state. The so-called peace negotiations with the militants in South Waziristan and the accord in Swat have failed to deliver peace. Not that the Taliban are very strong; more accurately it is the collapse of law enforcement that has allowed them this space. Weakened and demoralized law enforcement agencies have emboldened the militants. The government's attempts to cut deals have also played to the Taliban's advantage. The authorities have been trying to negotiate a controversial agreement with Baitullah Mehsud, which is aimed at containing the militants within the region. The Frontier government claimed that the accord would bring peace to the area, but it appears only to have strengthened the militants. There is little sign the militants will lay down arms, as the deal requires. Many officials are skeptical about the credibility and efficacy of such agreements. They worry that the deals could provide breathing room for the militants to regroup. Peace deals cannot work until the writ of the government is established. That is not happening. It is apparent that the situation in NWFP has spun

out of control and there is a clear and present danger of disastrous long-term political consequences. It will become increasingly difficult to contain Islamic militancy in other parts of the country if the rising Taliban movement in the tribal areas and the NWFP is not curbed.

This is a time that all the Ulema of the world should play their role. There is a need for Islamic thought, not the extremist thought. Ulema should call all the Muslims on one platform. As Islam only teaches peace and forbade bloodshed. It strongly opposes suicide bombings. Ulema should teach the extremist Muslims about the true religion, they should condemn any effort made by suicide bombers for killing innocent people in the name of Jihad. This ruthless incident of Peshawar convinced all the political as well as military forces to take stern action against all rogue and militant elements anywhere in Pakistan. It is a time to





## Process of Islamization in Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Objective Resolution
2. Islamic Provisions of the Constitution of 1956
3. Islamic Provisions in the Constitution of 1962
4. Islamic Provisions in the Constitution of 1973
5. Zia's steps for Islamization
  - a) Formation of Islamic Council and Shariat Courts
  - b) Establishment of Majlis-e-Shoora
  - c) Announcement of Hudood Ordinance
  - d) Appointment of Nazam-i-Salat
  - e) Ehtram-i-Ramazan
  - f) Definition of Muslim
  - g) Zia's Education Policy
  - h) Islamization in the Financial System
  - i) Islamic Laws for Women

Pakistan emerged as an Islamic state on the map of the world on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 as a result of the long struggle of the Muslims of the subcontinent. Pakistan movement was based on Two Nation Theory. After the inception of Pakistan, there was a need to make it an Islamic Republic. In this connection, the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan took first step in March 1949 and passed the Objective Resolution.

### 1. Objective Resolution

#### i. Sovereignty of Allah:

Sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty, but He has delegated it to the state of Pakistan, and through its people to be exercised as sacred trust within the limits imposed by Him.

#### ii. Power of State:

State will exercise its power and authority through the elected representatives of the people.

#### iii. Follow the Islamic principles:

The Islamic principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice shall fully be followed.

#### iv. Teachings of Quran and Sunnah:

The Muslims shall be enabled to live individually and collectively in accordance with the teachings of Quran and Sunnah.

#### v. Rights of Minorities:

Adequate provisions shall be made for the minorities to profess, propagate and practice their religions and develop their cultures and traditions.

#### vi. Provincial Autonomy:

Pakistan shall be a federation, in which provinces will enjoy autonomy within the constitutional limits.

#### vii. Protection of Fundamental Rights:

Fundamental rights of freedom, equality, property, expression of thought, belief, worship and association shall be guaranteed.

#### viii. Independence of Judiciary:

Judiciary shall be independent and will work without any pressure.

### 2. Islamic Provisions of the Constitution of 1956

The election of Second Constituent Assembly was held on June 23, 1955. Eighty members of the Assembly were elected. Ch. Muhammad Ali became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. After taking the charge, he started the work of constitution making. The draft of the Constitution was presented in the Constituent Assembly on January 23, 1956, which was passed on February 29, 1956. The Islamic provisions of the Constitution are as follow:

#### i. Country's Name:

Pakistan was declared an Islamic Republic.

#### ii. Sovereignty:

Objective Resolution was included in the preamble of the Constitution and sovereignty over the whole world belongs to Allah Almighty.



**iii. President:**

According to the Constitution, the President of the country will be a Muslim.

**iv. Islamic Laws:**

No law will be enforced, which is repugnant to the teachings of Quran, Sunnah and the existing laws will be brought into conformity with Islam.

**v. Organization of Islamic Research:**

According to the Constitution, organization of Islamic Research will be established, which will do research for the legislation and enforcement of Islamic principles.

**3. Islamic Provisions in the Constitution of 1962**

General Ayub Khan abrogated the constitution of 1956 and proclaimed Martial Law on 7 October, 1958 in the country due to the political disaster. For this purpose, he constituted a Constitution Commission. A constitution commission was set up under Justice *Shahab-ud-din*, which started probing into various currents of public opinion so as to determine whether a parliamentary or a presidential system, a federal or a unitary system and adult franchise or electoral college system would suit Pakistan in future. The Commission prepared a draft in which all powers were given to the President.

**i. Sovereignty of Allah:**

Objective Resolution was included in the preamble of the Constitution and sovereignty over the whole world belongs to Allah Almighty. He delegates the authority to Muslims, who exercise it as a sacred trust.

**ii. Country's Name:**

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

**iii. President:**

According to the Constitution, the President of Pakistan will be a Muslim.

**iv. Islamic Laws:**

No law will be enforced, which is repugnant to the teachings of Quran, Sunnah and the existing laws will be brought into conformity with Islam.

**v. Quranic and Islamic Teachings:**

The Quranic and Islamic teachings will be made compulsory for Muslims.

**vi. Islamic Research Institute:**

The government will establish the Islamic Research Institute to give its opinion regarding the Islamic principles.

**4. Islamic Provisions in the Constitution of 1973**

On 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto enforced the constitution of 1973, after the agreement of religious and liberal parties of the country. All the Islamic provisions of the previous constitutions were included in the Constitution of 1973. Some more Islamic provisions were also added, which are as under:

**i. Sovereignty of Allah:**

Objective Resolution was included in the preamble of the Constitution and sovereignty over the whole world belongs to Allah Almighty. The people of Pakistan will exercise the sovereignty within the limits as a sacred trust of Allah.

**ii. Country's Name:**

The name of the country will be Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

**iii. Religion:**

The official religion of the country will be Islam.

**iv. President and Prime Minister:**

According to the Constitution, the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan will be Muslim, who believes in Oneness of Allah and the finality of the Prophet-hood of Muhammad (PBUH).

**v. Definition of a Muslim:**

For the first time, the definition of a Muslim was included in the Constitution of the Pakistan of 1973. "A person, who does believe in oneness of Allah, the absolute finality of Prophet-hood of Muhammad (PBUH), the day of Judgment and books of Allah, is a Muslim."

**vi. Islamic Laws:**

All the existing laws will be brought into conformity with Islamic principles and no law will be enforced, which is repugnant to the teachings of Islam.



**vii. Compulsory Islamic Teachings:**

The Quranic and Islamic studies will be made compulsory in schools and colleges.

**viii. Teaching of Arabic and printing of Quran:**

The teaching of Arabic will be compulsory from 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> class in schools and printing of Quran will be made error free.

**ix. Islamic Ideology Council:**

The Islamic Ideology Council will be established, which will guide the legislature to make the laws in accordance with Islamic teachings and bring the existing laws into the conformity with Islam.

**5. Zia's steps for Islamization:**

A well Pakistani scholar, *Mohammad Wasim* describes, "Almost from the beginning, the Zia regime recognized the tremendous potential of Islamic idiom as a political resource, which was recently demonstrated by the PNA's massive agitation against Bhutto. The Ulema emerged as a political force for the first time in Pakistan's history during the 1970 election campaign. Even though they had been defeated in the elections, they used this opportunity for formulating and expressing their views on the country's economic and constitutional problems."<sup>1</sup>

Zia's period has contained a qualitative change in the relationship between state and society. The critical differences related to the ideological sphere. In effect, it represented an attempt to contest Pakistan into a theocratic society. Mostly scholars are sceptical about the Zia's policy of Islamization, either it was hatched against Bhutto's socialism popularity or he was the strong enforcer of Islam in Pakistan. With the help of religion, General Zia brought many legal, social, economic and political reforms in the institutions of the country. We can divide Islamization programme into three categories. (1) Punitive measures, (2) reconstruction of economic system, (3) general Islamization of morals, education and science.<sup>2</sup> The following major steps were undertaken to restructure the Pakistan on Islamic lines.

**a) Formation of Islamic Council and Shariat Courts:**

General Zia announced the formation of Council of Islamic Ideology and Shariat courts in 1979. The Council of Islamic Ideology

<sup>1</sup> Mohammad Waseem; *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Islamabad, 1994)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

would consist of Ulema, who would look into the constitutional and legal matters of the State, so that they might bring them in line with Islamic thought. Similarly Shariat court had the power to announce any law repugnant if it proved a violation of the fundamental Islamic laws. However, the Supreme Court of Pakistan could hear the appeals against the decisions of Federal Shariat Court.

**b) Establishment of Majlis-e-Shoora:**

General Zia-ul-Haq constituted his own advisory assembly known as *Majlis-e-Shoora* in 1980. It began to act as the Parliament of Pakistan in place of the National Assembly. Most of the members of the Shoora were intellectuals, scholars, Ulema, journalists, economists and professionals belonging to different fields of life, selected by General Zia. This Shoora was clearly unrepresentative and had no powers of legislation. It served merely as a tame debating body.

**c) Announcement of Hudood Ordinance:**

Zia issued the *Hudood Ordinance* in 1977 in Pakistan. This Ordinance contained different punishments against those, who would be involved in activities like the use of liquor, theft, adultery and Qazf. According to this Ordinance, a culprit could be given fine, amputation of body parts, sentenced to lashing, life imprisonment and in some cases, death by stoning.

**d) Appointment of Nazam-i-Salat:**

This ordinance also gave instructions for a *Nazam-i-Salat* in Pakistan. According to this ordinance, arrangements were made for offering the regular prayers in the government and semi-government offices during the office hours. It was also applied to the educational institutions, during the office hours and at the airports, railway stations and bus stops.

**e) Ehtram-i-Ramazan:**

The Government has issued an Ordinance, according to which open drinking and eating during the holy month of *Ramzan-ul-Mubarak*, has been forbidden. Anyone found eating or drinking at an open place, having a sentence of three months and a fine of Rs. 500/-. However, hospitals, railway stations, sea ports, bus stands, trains and air ports were exempted from this Ordinance.

**f) Definition of Muslim:**

General Zia amended the constitution<sup>3</sup> of 1973, which contained the following definition of a Muslim and a non-Muslim: (a) "Muslim" means a person who believes in the unity and oneness of



Almighty Allah, in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophet hood of Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him), the last of the prophets, and does not believe in, or recognize as a prophet or religious reformer, any person who claimed to be a prophet in any sense of the word or of any description, whatsoever, after Mohammed. (b) "Non-Muslim" means a person who is not a Muslim and includes a person belonging to the Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Bhuddist, or Parsi community, a person of the Qadiani Group or the Lahori Group (who call themselves Ahmadis), or a Bahai, or a person belonging to any of the scheduled castes."<sup>3</sup>

#### g) *Zia's Education Policy:*

The revised education policy (1979) laid special emphasis on the projection of Islamic teaching and Ideology of Pakistan in the syllabi of various classes. In schools and colleges, Islamiat the reading of the Quranic passages in Arabic and learning their translation was made compulsory. In the Pakistan, Civil Service or the MBBS examinations, extra marks were given to the Hafiz-e-Quran. Pakistan Studies and Islamic Studies were made compulsorily for B. A., B. Sc., Engineering, M. B. B. S., Commerce, Law and Nursing students. The first Ombudsman was appointed to rectify the misadministration of the Federal Government, officials and agencies.

#### h) *Islamization in the Financial System:*

S. Akbar Zaidi observes in his book "*Issues in Pakistan's Political Economy*", of many similarities between the decades of the 60s and 80s, "Zia reaped many rewards that resulted in the initiatives of his predecessors, and fortuitous circumstances, too, helped in establishing and maintaining an economy with every high growth."<sup>4</sup> Zia also began a process for the eventual Islamization of the financial system aimed at "eliminating that which is forbidden and establishing that which is enjoined by Islam. Of special concern to Zia was the Islamic prohibition on interest or *Riba*. The original intention was to eliminate interest from all domestic banking and financial transactions within a period of three years beginning from February 10, 1979."<sup>5</sup> On June 20, 1980, the government issued Zakat and Ushr Ordinances and ordered to deduct 2.5% Zakat annually from the bank accounts of Muslims above the balance of Rupees 3,000.

#### i) *Islamic Laws for Women:*

The Islamic laws of Zia also included laws for women. He put forward the theory of "*Chadar Aur Chaar Devari*" and this was to be applied to women. Thus, for the first time, a woman could be flogged for adultery. If a rape was reported, four witnesses were to be provided otherwise, legally, the rape could be termed adultery.

Another law, The Law of Evidence, under the Shariah laws proposed that the testimony of a woman was not equal to that of a man. In legal matters, two women would have to stand witness against the testimony of one man. There was little consensus amongst Muslim authorities over this law. The lack of consensus among the religious authorities combined with countrywide protests forced Zia to hold back on making the Shariah law the law of the country. Women's groups feared that Zia would repeal the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961, but he did not. The Family Laws Ordinance provided women critical access to basic legal protection, including, among other things, the right to divorce, support, and inheritance, and it placed limitations on polygamy. Still, women found unfair the rules of evidence under Islamic law by which women frequently were found guilty of adultery or fornication when in fact they had been raped. They also opposed rules that in some cases equated the testimony of two women with that of one man.

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<sup>3</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*, (SAPP, 2008), p.120

<sup>4</sup> S. Akbar Zaidi, "*Issues in Pakistan's Political Economy*, (), p.124



## Ethnicity in Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Factors behind the ethnicity
  - i. Decline of Muslim League after formation of Pakistan:
  - ii. Linguistic division
  - iii. Karachi as hub of ethnic discord
  - iv. Provincial differences
  - v. Ignorance of the Issues
  - vi. Issue of Kalabagh Dam
  - vii. Non-availability of socio-economic justice
  - viii. Negation of true democracy
  - ix. Autocratic and centralized rule
  - x. Absence of power sharing
  - xi. Provincial disharmony
3. Solutions to ethnic discord
  - i. Comprehensive plan
  - ii. Careful Planning for Karachi ethnicity
  - iii. Isolation of the criminals from the ethnic groups
  - iv. Counter the foreign hands:
  - v. Exchange of students
  - vi. Equal opportunities for all
  - vii. Proper devolution of power
  - viii. Steps for Moulding the ethnic division

### 1. Introduction:

**D**ancing around the first is not the solution to any problem. One should try to see beneath the surface in order to grasp an idea about the basic issue. Despite a stream of strong words and announcements and by the government, various non-governmental organizations and political institutions, nothing has

been done successfully in order to eliminate the either crises in Pakistan. Rather the situation has taken quantum leap for the worse. The struggle for Pakistan was a unique historical experience with few parallels in the annals of history. It transcended ethnic, linguistic, cultural and regional differences and coalesced into a powerful movement culminating in the creation of an independent homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent. It even defied the geographic compulsions. In essence, it was an experience of a deep Muslim consciousness which both inspiring and invigorating. However, Pakistan after its creation was, indeed, an ethnically plural society. Politically motivated targeted killings, sectarian violence, forced occupation of other people's property, illegal bulldozing of poor settlements, a growing crime rate and an increasingly helpless and corrupt administration are making Karachi ungovernable. Pakistan, these days is passing through a crucial era of multifarious ethnic problems; multi-lingual and regional; problems etc. There are many local, national and international causes for this state of affairs. However, a major cause is the politics of ethnicity and the close link it has unwittingly acquired with the trillions that can be made from the land and real-estate business.

### 2. Factors behind the ethnicity

There are different social, cultural and ethnic groups in Pakistan. These ethnic groups aren't led by a tribal chieftain or an elder. In the 21st century the urbanity of ethnically associated people has evolved. The geriatric level of living has been abandoned. People don't believe in tribal chieftains leading their ethnic group but a political leader instead. There are various ethnic groups in Pakistan, consequently there are various political groups representing them. By and large, every ethnic group claims to hold a hapless history pertinent to the recent past. Political leaders, each representing their ethnicity, are good at making their people learn, as well as reminding them continuously, about the prejudices that ethnicity has faced since partition. Hence, demagoguery politics has come into existence in the political culture of Pakistan.

This demagoguery politics has a vital role to play in the regression of Pakistan. A huge faction of people in Pakistan is effectively and customarily convoluted in the macho-paranoia of ethnic politics. Each province asserts that its due rights have not been granted to it and accuses another province of embezzlement – and keeps creating havoc within the nation. Target killings, the missing persons, the separatist movements, controversy regarding construction of dam, the water share, the quota system – all share a common thread that routinely subverts the nation. The source of



such chaos is as often as not connected to the same source – ethnic conflict.

**i. Decline of Muslim League after formation of Pakistan:**

Pakistan came into being as a result of a popular struggle and vote, but the Muslim League which came into power was not a political party but a movement with Quaid-e-Azam as a focal point. His early death was a great set-back to the nation and fruit of independence could not reach the populace as in India, but developed in the hands of landlords pirs and the link. The categories did not have common philosophy for themselves. Seeing this, the civil service assumed by the military and they ruled it directly and indirectly. This created a sense of deprivation and frustration amongst the people of Pakistan in general and in the people of smaller provinces in particular.

**ii. Linguistic division:**

A major fragment of society is excessively preoccupied with ethnicity. Unity amongst the people of Pakistan is dismantled, and the sad part is that the people do not seem to care much. The blind obedience served to respective ethnic political parties has become so strong that some political activists would prefer to slay an opponent who refuses to accept his affiliated ethnic group or rather the political party's manifesto. In many cases a horde of political activists belonging to certain political parties will not tolerate criticism aimed towards their party's leader. This cult continues and remains – partially – behind the curtain for the people. This is the picture of an ethnic and divided Pakistan we see today.

**a. Punjab:**

The province of the Punjabi has three distinct ethno-linguistic groups i.e. Punjabi, Potohari and Saraiki speaking. Of late, there has been a nascent rise of Saraiki consciousness with a demand for a separate Saraiki Province comprising of Saraiki speaking areas.

**b. Baluchistan:**

The most interesting is the Balochistan case study. Balochistan is Pakistan's largest province but with the smallest population, comprising only about five percent of Pakistan's total population. Since 1970, Balochistan includes the Kalat State and other princely states and British Balochistan. Roughly three ethno-linguistic groups are 'indigenous' to Balochistan, the Baloch and the Brahui, who speak a Dravidian tongue, and the Pukhtuns. The Baloch and Brahui are politically considered as one ethnic group:

the Baloch. Alliances with the Pukhtuns have come and gone. In Baluchistan the Baluch, Brohi and Pakhtoons are dominated ethnological groups. The wide spread nationalist consciousness of Balchusitan has cut across the tribal divisions.

**c. Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa:**

In the North-Western Province of Pakistan, apart from Pushtu, Hindku and Saraiki are also spoken in some parts of this province. The Pustoons as an ethnic group are integrating with the economic life of the rest of the country. Moreover the ethnic groups of the province also demand regional and to rename the province as Pakhtoonistan.

**d. Sindh:**

Prior to partition Hindus dominated urban population, but the partition led to a dramatic change in the demographic structure of the country especially in the province of Sindh. A sizeable population of Muhajirs started to settle in the big cities. Moreover a high rate of in country migration and from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Iran, to Sindh province balance, has further contributed in changing the already fragile ethnic balance between Sindhi and non-Sindhis. Before partition, Sindh was a compact province linguistically when both Hindus and the Muslims spoke Sindhi. The demographic changes compelled by the independence shattered the linguistic homogeneity of Sindh. This development hurt local sensitive and gave rise to inflamed feelings among the intelligentsia.

Large scale allotments of barrage land to Punjabis at the cost of landless peasantry of Sindh itself created strong resentment against Punjabi farmers. It should be noted here that one of the reasons for this settlement policy was that a Punjabi farmer, with his tradition of hard work and commitment to land was thought to be better equipped to develop the virgin land of Sindh. But the imbalance in allotment of lands led to improper distribution of facilities in agricultural sector. As a result all these factors combined to create strong resentment against.

Similarly the problem of ethnicity in Sindh is very complex. It is a web of discards, clash of interest and the resultant sense deprivation between the different ethnic groups. Overawed bewildered conditions, the inhabitants themselves, sometime become bewildered and the frequent outburst of violence creates hysteria among the people which consequences which are damaging for the peace and harmony of the province and also for the nation as a whole.



iii. **Karachi as hub of ethnic discord:**

According to the 1998 census, 48 per cent of the city's population is Urdu-speaking, 14 per cent Punjabi-speaking, 12 per cent Pushto-speaking and about nine per cent is Sindhi-speaking. The rest of the population speaks all the remaining languages of Pakistan. Almost 75 per cent of the population of the city lives in settlements or neighborhoods segregated on the basis of ethnicity. This is not just true of low-income settlements but also of lower middle-income and some middle-income settlements as well. As such, the city is physically divided along ethnic lines, and in an increasing number of cases, along religious lines as well. Crossing from one ethnically defined neighborhood to the other is, in many cases, no longer possible.

a. **Ethnically homogenous settlements:**

Ethnically homogenous settlements exist in many global cities. However, unlike these cities, the services of state and justice delivery institutions in Karachi have become weak and corrupt due to helplessness in the face of an ever-expanding population, and more so due to neglect by an unconcerned and self-indulgent social, bureaucratic and political elite.

b. **Ethnic Organizations:**

Today, in Karachi, if a person needs a job, or wants to get his child admitted to a school, wants a domicile certificate, wishes to get an FIR registered, or get a friend released from legal or illegal police custody, he will go to his ethnic organisation or networks. He may also have to pay some amount of money for this service but it is easier and cheaper to do this than go to a state agency. In recent years, it has also become common for ethnic networks to resolve family and property disputes.

c. **Voting on the basis of ethnicity:**

As a result of these realities, Karachi today votes on ethnic lines. By and large, Pakhtuns vote for the JUI and ANP. Sindhis and Baloch vote for the PPP, middle-class Punjabis vote for the Muslim League and the Urdu speakers for the MQM. Before 1992, this was not so. People, voted along ideological and class lines, although there was an ethnic element in the choice of ideologies. Different ethnic groups today toe their party lines which divides Karachi further. Mohajirs feel that the Talibanisation of Karachi is a real threat and that the Pakhtuns are responsible for it. Similarly, the Pakhtuns feel that target killing is carried out by Urdu speakers and aimed at ousting them from Karachi. The Sindhis and Baloch feel

that the MQM is responsible for the Karachi conflict so that it can use it to strengthen its negotiating position with the PPP and ANP. What is serious about this situation is that at the local level, there is no communication between these differing points of view. Meanwhile, in the last 12 months, at least 17 estate agents and three land rights activists were murdered in Karachi and an unspecified number of estate agents have disappeared. Conversations with estate agents in locations where these killings took place reveal a situation not too different from other global cities such as Mumbai and Seoul, except that in these cities, unlike Karachi, killings are rare.

d. **Emergence of powerful underground economy:**

A research into the Karachi situation shows that before deregulation of the economy as a result of the WTO regime, there was a powerful underground economy based on contraband goods, gold and foreign exchange. This was controlled by 'criminal gangs' who had the active support of the rogue elements in the police and customs. These gangs were subservient to these elements and as such, kept in check. After deregulation, except for drugs and alcohol, all other contraband goods became legalised and the nexus between the police, the custom officials and the criminal gangs was no longer effective. The gangs, independent of police and custom officials and with a lot of money and muscle power at their disposal, have gone into land and real estate for which they need the support of the political establishment which is ethnically divided. In addition, after devolution, local leaders in Sindh, as in the rest of Pakistan, have acquired considerable executive authority. As a result of these changes, a nexus between certain rival ethnic elements of the political establishment and the gangs has been established leading to a booming formal and informal real-estate business, much of it on illegally or coercively occupied land and properties in complete disregard of existing byelaws and zoning regulations. Violence, targeted killings and kidnappings of opponents, rivals and social activists are an essential part of this development process.

iv. **Provincial differences:**

We are stuck in the deep marshes of ethnic and provincial differences. The people of Pakistan – from the shores of Arabian sea to the Himalayan Range – should understand that united we can contribute to bringing a positive change in Pakistan. The problem is within ourselves. We are divided within our own country so that external enemies with the policy of divide et impera do not need to employ any special exertion with a purpose to obstruct Pakistan the access to progression. In a speech in Dhaka, *Quaid-e-*



*Azam* addressed 300,000 people on March 21, 1948, he said: "Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me, you will never be a strong nation, and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve. There was no grand concept of provincialism at the time of Jinnah, yet the great leader knew the ethnic problem along with provincialism could hamper Pakistan in the days to come. Such was the vision and safety margin of Jinnah about the future politics of Pakistan that he cautioned to avert from provincialism.

#### v. Ignorance of the Issues:

Today, if Pakistan has not progressed the reason is because of these issues remain ignored by us. Perhaps we consider these issues infinitesimal, but they still deserve our attention in order to bring Pakistan to the height of glories as Quaid-e-Azam dreamt.

#### vi. Issue of Kalabagh Dam:

The issue of Kalabagh Dam has arisen out of the same ethnic issue and provincial disharmony of Pakistan in the province. Though the proposed dam may play the role of key factor in the prosperity of the country and may breath a new life in the agricultural and industrial life of Pakistan.

#### vii. Non-availability of socio-economic justice:

Briefly, the issue of ethnicity in Pakistan is closely linked with the social economic and political elements of the state structures. The close linkage makes the problem all the more intricate and complex.

#### viii. Negation of true democracy:

Unfortunately the politics of Pakistan has never been placed on some specific philosophy, program or principle. It has been in a negation of all the ingredients of a true democracy. It has always been confined to prisons and personalities. Ever since partition the only motive behind the political alliances has been for personal gain, power and wealth. Political parties are the personal fiefdom of political leaders, scions of inter-related families of landlords, pirs, nawabs, industrialists, business tycoons and generals. They conspire and intrigue with civil or military bureaucracy to achieve, retain and perpetuate power. This treacherous act of traditional politicians overlapped the very sense of democracy and brotherhood of motherland:

#### ix. Autocratic and centralized rule:

The political and the administration structure with its highly centralized state power completely failed in providing effective popular governance. It strongly resisted the equitable distribution of

power in which the elite protected its own interest. Autocracy and centralized rule practiced by the past rulers both military and civil has damaged democracy, destroyed national institutions and kept a healthy political cultural from flourishing. It has created the sense of deprivation amongst between the masses through the country and has widened the gap between the haves and have-nots.

#### x. Absence of power sharing:

The power sharing problem has played a vital role in the political scene of the country. The most tragic outcome of this issue is the creation of Bangladesh which has encouraged the sense of regionalism in the smaller provinces as well ethnic groups of the country. The demand for Sindhudesh and the Saraiki province are closely linked with the same ethnic sentiments of the province of Bengal now known as Bangladesh which had been a wing of Pakistan up to its separate in 1971.

#### xi. Provincial disharmony:

Provincial disharmony has risen out of the neglect and deprivation of smaller provinces. The centralization of power has encouraged internal dissension and disharmony. It has weakened the state and aggravated the multidimensional crises the people face in their daily life. This has resulted in deteriorating political and social fabric of the country. All the provinces were devoid of effective power and the centre enjoyed the power in majority of the subjects. Most of these were required to be decentralized and restored to the provinces and from there to grass-roots level. But no concrete effort was made by any military or democratic government of Pakistan.

### Solution to Ethnic Discord

#### i. Comprehensive plan:

Ethnicity is not a peculiar phenomenon. It is a trend finding its full bloom and expression in both the advance and the developing countries. As far as the case of Pakistan is concerned a comprehensive plan need to be devised to bring ethnic politics within the force of mainstream politics. Sustained efforts should be made to cultivate faith in the constitutional means for redress of grievances and fulfillment of basic genuine demands at large scale.

#### ii. Careful Planning for Karachi ethnicity:

The land-related law and order situation will get much worse, and the gangs much stronger, unless the Sindh politicians can rise above their ethnic and vote-related interests to negotiate



the creation of effective state-controlled urban governance institutions. Such negotiations will have to be for promoting universal principles of justice and equity. However, so far all negotiations and agreements between them have been on the basis of ethnicity which merely strengthens the ethnic divide and makes effective governance difficult. It is unfortunate that the only urban governance-related consensus that the politicians have managed to achieve is the recent enactment of the Sindh High Density Development Board Bill as a result of which a non-technical committee of the political establishment will be able to determine urban density and hence land use. Thus, the political establishment has the potential of becoming the legalised godfather of those currently involved in the coercive land and real-estate business at the expense of the citizens of Sindh and the physical and socio-economic environment of its cities.

### iii. Isolation of the criminals from the ethnic groups:

Of late, we witness a new trend, a nexus between ethnicism and the frequent use of weapons. In fact, at times ethnic culture is symbolized with the use of lethal weapons. Snipers and unidentified killers take over the streets at trivial excuse. There is, therefore, a need to completely isolate the criminals from their ethnic moorings. Only an even-handed administration can come up to this serious task.

### iv. Counter the foreign hands:

The role of some foreign powers can't be glossed over. Our avowed stand on Kashmir and Afghanistan provided all the more reason to take into account counter strategies by outside forces. This should be a high priority item on agenda.

### v. Exchange of students:

There should be frequent exchange of students of high academic caliber between provinces to provide opportunities to promote friendship and understanding between local and educated young ones, most of them have been caught in the ethnic web of sectarian and terrorist groups. They may be brought back to the track by providing the skilled education and granting small loans for their self-employment.

### v. Equal opportunities for all:

There is an urgent need to review fiscal, industrial and commercial policies to reverse the present demographic trends. This must be done before the present apprehensions and resentments turn into violent agitation in the rural areas. After

making the rural areas economically viable to live the process of migration would slow down. Industrial development within the boundaries of metropolitan cities should be discouraged and the same should be encouraged in the rural areas by offering suitable incentives like establishment of tax free zones.

### vi. Proper devolution of power:

The devolution of power plan presented by the present military regime sounds well and it is a real effort to minimize the ethnicity in the country. By giving the power to the people where it actually belongs, the further wellbeing, stability and unity of the nation will be enhanced. It may help the government in strengthening the federation removing disharmony and restoring national cohesion. It will restore real democracy, provide speedy justice, eradicate corruption, ensure law and order and active participation of masses in all tiers of governance. Successful direct government will play a big role and lasting political order in the country. Moreover by dismantling the existed colonial system of authority it has filled a vast gap between the masses and the state authorities at large. The development plan may be proved as a milestone in shaping an ethnic-free state, Pakistan only if it is implemented in letter and spirit.

### vii. Steps for Moulding the ethnic division:

The processes of migration, political structure and highly centralized state power are various modes responsible for introducing diversity and ethnicity in an otherwise homogeneous society. Ethnicism tends to draw lines between the regions and various social groups. The objective reality should, therefore, be taken into account an important input for further policy formulation. The policy planners should readily accept, recognize and start from this promise so that ethnic variations are not only accounted for but they are molded in such a cast that they help the nation building process.

### Ethnic politics: Baloch, Sindhi and Mohajir movements

Post-colonial states are susceptible to ethnic conflict because the 'nationalism' that bound their disparate ethnic groups together to establish the state proves brittle after independence as they assert their specific sectional interests vis-à-vis the central government. In the case of Pakistan, its identity crisis has compounded such tensions and in the absence of an agreed federal structure and rules of the game, such tensions have exacerbated



over time. Thus ethnicity, rather than class, has served as the basis for the re-alignment of forces in the independent Pakistan.

Farhan Hanif Siddiqi's book, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan: The Baloch, Sindhi and Mohajir ethnic movements* (Routledge, 2011), based on his doctoral dissertation, is a timely contribution. The author argues that the Punjabis represent majoritarian centripetal forces, the Baloch and Sindhi centrifugal forces, and the Mohajir both, depending on the situation and context. He correctly emphasises that ethnicity is not something fixed; rather, it is situational and contextual and therefore, amenable to manoeuvre externally and internally. Typically, Pakistani central governments have been successful in exploiting the differences within these groups as the shared ethnicity of such groups itself is a construction rather than a given. He traces chronologically the conflict between the central government and the Baloch, Sindhi and Mohajir ethno-nationalists. Each case study culminates with military interventions in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s respectively.

The Khanate of Kalat was founded in 1666 by Mir Ahmad (Brahui-speaking). The British sent Captain Sandeman to that region, who used his influence to establish an hierarchical structure among the various tribes, which previously did not have all-powerful sardars at the helm of their affairs. When the freedom struggle started in the subcontinent, the Khan of Kalat preferred the Muslim League and funded it. Some educated middle class Baloch were sympathetic to the Congress Party while some others harboured pro-Soviet sympathies. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was hired by the Khan of Kalat 'in his quest to achieve independence for his princely state' (page 58), says the author. Jinnah argued before the Cabinet Mission that, "With the termination of the treaty with the British Government, the Kalat State will revert to its pre-treaty position of complete independence, and will be free to choose its own course in future" (Ibid).

However, "This courtship between Jinnah and the Khan of Kalat was bound to be paradoxical for Jinnah, the Legal Adviser to Kalat, was advocating independence for the princely state while Jinnah, the future head of the Pakistani state, would not agree to anything less than the integration of Kalat within the territorial confines of the future Pakistani state (Ibid)," observes Siddiqi.

After independence, the central government from the outset employed highhanded tactics with the Baloch. From the forced annexation of Kalat, which had declared itself independent on August 15 (August 11 according to some sources) to the amalgamation of Kalat and minor states such as Lasbela, Makran

and Kharan in 1952 into the Balochistan States Union, and then the amalgamation of the former British Balochistan and the princely states through One Unit, all contributed to the alienation of the Baloch from the Centre. Armed conflicts between the Baloch and Pakistani forces occurred many times. The author especially mentions Z A Bhutto's confrontational approach in the 1970s, which made a mockery of the federal system that had been agreed in the 1973 constitution. He writes, "In fact, Bhutto was responsible for the civil war in Balochistan, which lasted four years" (Ibid: 64). The notorious arms cache that the Pakistan government detected in the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad was meant for Iranian Balochistan and not Pakistani Balochistan, argues the author. At that time, Akbar Bugti was not part of the Baloch nationalist struggle, having sided with Bhutto during that conflict and even the Khan of Kalat was supportive of Bhutto. Such evidence suggests the shifting nature of internal Baloch politics.

The coverage of the Sindhi and Mohajir ethnic movements is useful, though the story Siddiqi tells is a familiar one and several scholars have shed light on it. I was surprised that he did not consult some relevant literature that both theoretically and empirically covers the same issues and problems. He, however, makes useful additions with regard to differences between G M Syed (separatist) and Rasool Bux Palejo (emphasising autonomy). What is missing in the story is the role that the Pakistan People's Party played in modifying Sindhi nationalism. It is noted but not elaborated. With regard to the Mohajir ethnic movement, we learn more about the violent conflict between the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and MQM (Haqiqi). The military was able to exploit dissensions within the Urdu-speaking community.





## New Provinces in Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Demand for New Provinces
3. The Case for South Punjab
4. Restoration of Bahawalpur Province
5. Future of FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area)
6. The Case for Hazara Province
7. Prospects and Challenges Amendment of Constitutional Provisions
8. Conflicts on Distribution of Resources
9. Economic Implications
10. Rise of Ethnic and Linguistic Identities
11. Conclusion

### Introduction

The constitution defines Pakistan as a federal state, a state where power is shared between the federal government and the federating units. Pakistan inherited the federal system from British India and has been practising it, at least in name, throughout its turbulent constitutional history. However, the true spirit of federalism could not be evolved. Mistrust exists between the centre and provinces and among provinces themselves over the distribution of resources. The current debate to create new provinces was sparked by government decision to rename the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). This name has an ethnic connotation that the non-Pashtun population of the province opposes and wants a Hazara province of their own. The demand seems to have caught on and now major political parties, the media and social activists espouse or oppose it. The National Assembly passed a resolution in favour of a new province

in South Punjab and also asked the Punjab Assembly to take necessary measures in that regard. The Punjab Assembly on its part added to that its own resolution to grant provincial status to the former princely state of Bahawalpur. Both the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League (N) have agreed to establish a national commission to demarcate the boundaries of the proposed provinces.

### 2. Demand for New Provinces:

The demand to have new provinces has been raised from time to time; sometimes on ethnic grounds, sometimes on the basis of distribution of resources and sometimes on socio-economic backwardness of the areas.

### 3. The Case for South Punjab

The case for South Punjab has been presented on socio-economic grounds. It is commendable that the proposed new province has been named as South Punjab and not as the Seraiki Province which has been the popular demand. The rationale for the decision is the dispersed demography of the Seraiki speaking population which is scattered over 23 districts, stretching from Mianwali, Bhakkar, and DG Khan, Multan and Bahawalpur in Punjab to DI Khan and some parts of Lakki Marwat in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Seraiki province thus would have become another unmanageably big province and its economic deprivation issue blamed on Punjab's large size would have remained unsolved.

Whether the proposed administrative set up is going to solve the problems and hardships of the people of South Punjab is a question that needs knowledge about the socio-economic conditions of the region. According to a PILDAT Discussion Paper, South Punjab comprises around 48.5 per cent of the total area and 31.57 per cent of the population of the present province of Punjab. It has three divisions subdivided into eleven districts. The allocation of funds through Annual Development Programme (ADP) was 17.76 per cent in 2006 that was increased to 29.02 per cent in 2010. The social indicators in education, health, labour and employment sector also present a poor picture: 43.11 per cent people live below the poverty line compared to 27.69 per cent in Punjab. South Punjab has an agrarian economy and lacks Central Punjab's industrial and urban development. Its industry comprises small units and the agrarian economy is largely controlled by big landlords who have their ancestral seats in the parliament. They have occupied the highest executive posts but have done nothing for the development of the area. Will their priorities change in the new set up in which they will monopolize power?



#### 4. Restoration of Bahawalpur Province

It is noteworthy that the demand for granting provincial status to Bahawalpur is not based on linguistic, ethnic or cultural bases. The Bahawalpur division is the largest division of Punjab in terms of area as it comprises 18,000 square miles and according to 1998 census, its total population is 7.518 million, that is 10.3 per cent of the total population of the Punjab. Being a part of South Punjab, the majority of people do not support the demand for Seraiki province because they fear that by supporting the Seraiki Province they will be giving up their claim on Bahawalpur province. Muhammad Ali Durrani, a former minister, had also rejected the Seraiki province in favour of Bahawalpur's provincial status.

Bahawalpur, the largest of the states that joined Pakistan, was given the status of province by an agreement signed on April 30, 1951 between Government of Pakistan and the Ruler of Bahawalpur under Government of India Act 1935 regarding administrative and legislative matters. Under the agreement the Ruler of Bahawalpur agreed that central subjects (defence, communication and foreign affairs) listed under list one of Government of India Act 1935 were to be administered by the centre while the provincial matters would continue to be administered by the Bahawalpur province. Henceforth, the state was to be treated as a province but at the same time it was made clear that this pattern will not be applicable to other states that joined Pakistan.

The provincial status of Bahawalpur ended with the formation of "One Unit." But it was not restored when One Unit was folded despite frequent demands by the people. Its merger with Punjab led to widespread protests. The movement for restoration of Bahawalpur Province was started but with the passage of time it lost its momentum, though not the people's sense of lack of political representation and economic deprivation.

#### 5. Future of FATA:

The debate to revisit the status of existing provinces has renewed the concerns about the future of FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area), the federally administered tribal areas. The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly passed a unanimous resolution asking the Parliament to give representation to the people of FATA though within Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly and with the consent of the people of the region. The representatives of tribal areas convened Jirgas to make recommendations about the future of the tribal areas. Of the two Grand Jirgas held in May, the first Jirga organized by FATA Grand Alliance demanded that FATA be given the status of a separate province. The participants of the Jirga ruled out any possibility to merge FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as desired by the provincial government. The demands by the jirga included introducing the local government system, establishment of

FATA Council (representing each tribal agency to administer FATA and oversee all matters that provincial cabinet does in provinces), and separate judicial system. The establishment of industrial zone, a new economic system and an end to drone attacks and military operations in the tribal areas were also part of the demands made by the Jirga.

Given the unique status of FATA in the constitution of Pakistan, its future status has to be decided keeping in view many complex issues. Fata is part of the federation of Pakistan but has a different political and administrative structure that has been defined in Article 247 of the 1973 constitution according to which the governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa being a representative of the President administers FATA through political agents. Officers and staff are sent from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to all tribal agencies of FATA. Article 247 rules out any possibility of extending jurisdiction of the Parliament and the higher judiciary (Supreme Court or High Court) to FATA. Parliamentarians are elected from FATA but it has no provincial assembly or local body governing structure like other parts of the country. The proponents of FATA's merger into the province support their arguments on the basis that it already depends on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for services and administration. They share a common Governor and the area has geographical proximity with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which justifies merger. These views have been challenged on grounds that having lived under different political and judicial systems for a long time it will be difficult for the people to adopt a new system or let the law of the land extended to the tribal area. Any change should be preceded by introduction of reforms and the empowerment of people. It should then be left to the people of the tribal area to decide their future as a separate province or merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

#### 6. The Case for Hazara Province

Renaming of NWFP as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa by the 18th Amendment triggered violent protests in Hazara Division demanding a separate Hazara province. The Hazara Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa consists of six districts: Haripur, Abbotabad, Mansehra, Battagram, Kohistan and since January 2011, Torghar. The population of Hazara is not homogenous in terms of ethnicity, culture and language. The dominant language in Haripur, Abbotabad and Mansehra is Hindko, while people of Kohistan speak their own Kohistani language. The people of Battagram and Torghar speak Pashto. Supporters claim that Hazara will be economically viable as the region is rich in minerals and natural resources. Tourism can be further developed in Hazara to generate revenues and more hydroelectric projects like the Khanpur Dam can be built to generate employment and royalty for the province. The Pashtun dominated districts of Hazara demand a separate division for themselves named as "Abaseen." The representatives of these



Pashto speaking areas defend their case on socio-economic grounds. Their claim is also based on the distance of their area from Abbottabad, the future provincial headquarter.

## 7. Prospects and Challenges Amendment of Constitutional Provisions

The creation of new provinces will not be an easy task. Apart from political and economic implications, constitutional amendments will also have to be made, as the constitutional mechanism to create new provinces under Article 239 requires an amendment bill originated in either house of parliament to be approved by two third majority of both the Houses. The consent of the Provincial Assembly is also compulsory for changing the status of any province. According to clause (4) of Article 239, "A bill to amend the constitution which would have the effect of altering the limits of a province shall not be presented to the president for assent unless it has been passed by Provincial Assembly of that province by the votes of not less than two thirds of its total membership." The article makes it obligatory to get the approval of Provincial Assembly for any demarcation of provincial boundaries. These legal requirements would be difficult to meet in a coalition government.

## 8. Conflicts on Distribution of Resources

In the present structure, revenues are collected by the centre and redistributed among provinces. This redistribution has been a contentious issue among the federation and the federating units. Provinces in Pakistan have always been demanding greater political autonomy and larger share in resources and income. There has been disagreement over National Finance Commission Awards and river water distribution. The main reason for demanding new provinces has been the unequal distribution of developmental funds between metropolitan cities and remote areas of the provinces. To take a decision about new provinces the government has to come up with comprehensive recommendations to overcome technical, administrative and procedural impediments.

## 9. Economic Implications

The creation of new provinces will have impact on the economy as well. Proponents of new provinces believe that new provincial governments will have their own budgets and will be in a position to allocate more resources for under-developed areas that have been denied their due share. In this regard, it will be important to explore the economic potential of these areas. For example South Punjab as the major producer of cotton can have textile industries and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa can develop hydroelectric projects with its water resources. Yet the creation of new provinces is going to increase non development expenditure. It will burden the taxpayers and put strains on the already meager economy.

## 10. Rise of Ethnic and Linguistic Identities

It is commonly argued that provinces created on ethno-linguistic basis will do no harm. Scholars argue that the existing provinces have strong ethnic identities. Pakistan inherited the provinces as they were at the time of independence. Ever since, only Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been renamed on ethnic basis and has enhanced the identity consciousness of the people of Hazara. It already has started a chain reaction motivating other ethnic groups to demand new units on linguistic or ethnic basis. Keeping pace with these developments, a movement for a Mohajir Province was started with wall chalking in Karachi and Hyderabad. It was intensified by demonstrations by the leaders of the movement. This was followed by further demands for the division of Sindh, and creation of a South Sindh province. In response, a Sindh lovers rally was held on May 22, 2012 against the division of Sindh that came under fire and more than a dozen people were killed. Then a Sindh Solidarity Conference was convened on May 30, 2012 that was attended by mainstream and nationalist political parties and adopted a unanimous resolution against division of Sindh. Such movements that support the demarcation of new units on linguistic or ethnic basis have the potential to escalate into an ethnic clash that will ultimately weaken the state by promoting sub-nationalism.

## 11. Conclusion

The issue of new provinces has been taken up by political parties as a political stunt and lacks the people's will. It seems an agenda item for political point scoring while ignoring the underlying problems of the people. New provinces may not produce the desired results, but it may generate new problems as the real problem has been the centralization of power and for long provinces have been demanding greater provincial autonomy that has been denied to them and this demand has been a cause of friction between the centre and the provinces. The solution lies not in creating new provinces but to devolve power at local level, to give people access to justice at the door step and to provide them with social security.

The decision to create new provinces cannot be taken in haste; there is need to make a national commission, to develop studies, to achieve agreement on distribution of resources and most importantly to consider the aspirations of the people of the area who will constitute the new province. Holding of referendum will be the best option to know their opinion. The earlier mistake of renaming of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa without consulting the people of Hazara has to be avoided this time. The ultimate objective should be the strengthening of the federation.





## Causes of Failure of Democracy in Pakistan

### Outline

1. Over-developed state structure
2. Failure of Pakistan Muslim League
3. Over-ambitious military leadership
4. Segmented Political leaders
5. Weak tradition of civilian supremacy
6. Low level of political socialization
7. Feudalistic social structure
8. Interruptions in electoral process
9. Criminalization of politics
10. Crisis of governance
11. Weak organized political parties
12. Crisis of Leadership
13. Dynastical Rule
14. Suspension of Constitution
15. Ineffectiveness of Parliament
16. Indian Security threat
17. Role of Intelligence Agencies
18. Ethnic and provincial division
19. Segmented Political Leaders
20. Political Violence

### 1. Over-developed state structure:

When the Pakistan army was created out of the British Indian army, its leaders emphasized Islam as a unifying force, along with other values of military life derived from the British colonial period, such as discipline, internal cohesion, efficiency, professionalism and *esprit de corps*. The pragmatic requirement to integrate a diverse military force drove this melding of religious and secular values, but the ideology of the Pakistani

army remained largely secular. Religion was invoked largely in times of war with India. While Islamic history and principles were part of the training curriculum before Zia, the interpretation of Islam that was popularized in the army at that time was moderate and liberal, and any kind of extremism was frowned upon.

### 2. Failure of Pakistan Muslim League:

The root causes of Pakistan's economic and political woes lie in its feudal society and the winner-take-all approach to governing that has been practiced by successive civilian and military leaders. The Muslim League that brought independence to Pakistan, lacked internal democracy. Once partition and statehood had been achieved, the league, dominated by upper-class landed gentry from the former United Provinces of British India, displayed scant interest in forging a state that would promote popular participation and equity. Although they sought to free the Muslims of South Asia from Hindu domination, Pakistan's leaders failed to address the new state's own ethnic diversity.

The All-India Muslim League failed to mature into a stable democratic party with a national following capable of holding together the nation's diverse ethnic and cultural groups. Instead, it disintegrated into rival factions soon after independence. The Muslim League, unlike Congress, had not prepared itself for a post-independence role. After the creation of Pakistan, ethnic differences quickly came to the fore. The new country's leaders showed scant regard for representative institutions, accommodative policies, or pluralism.

### 3. Over-ambitious military leadership:

The military is the most formidable and autonomous political actor in Pakistan, capable of influencing the nature and direction of political change. After getting independence, Pakistan entered into a new phase believing that Pakistan's first attempt at establishing a parliamentary system of government failed, in the late 1950s when military ousted the "inefficient and rascally" politicians. The army was not in a favour towards the use of troops for political duties in law and order situation beyond the control of the civil authorities. Army commanders were of the view that such assignments kept the troops away from their training and regular chores and undermined the good will that existed between the soldiers and the society. But despite this, the military role had begun to expand in some non-professional field and gradually emerged as an important actor in the decision making process. The reason behind this was the precarious nature of Pakistan due to frequent



communal riots, undefined border, strained relations with India, war in Kashmir and the maintenance of law and order in the early years of its independence. Central government lacked organization and political support. The ruling leaders were unable to plan and implement social and economic plans. Weak social base deteriorated the political condition after independence. It was only military at that time that was too organized and had a pool of skilled manpower. These trained and experienced manpower were able to run training institutions, ordinance factories, they had the knowledge of modern technology and managerial experience. This manpower was of great use in the civilian sector of Pakistan.

#### **4. *Segmented Political leaders:***

Pakistan was without a formal, written constitution until 1956. The democratic myths that so often sustain a system were thus only weakly instilled, and precedents were created that undermined those few parliamentary and democratic norms that could be drawn upon. It did not help that in the early years, non-party prime ministers were appointed by the head of state rather than by those who had to appeal to an electorate. Mass involvement in politics, if defined by rallies and periodic opportunities to vote, certainly increased over the years. Street demonstrations helped to bring down governments, namely Ayub's in 1968, Yahya Khan's in 1971, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's in 1977. Yet while these actions strengthen feelings of efficacy, none can be easily equated with democratic processes.

The weakness of democratic practices in Pakistan can be explained in many ways. Some observers stress constitutional and electoral provisions among institutional factors said to have undermined responsible and responsive government. Others point to the quality of Pakistan's leadership over most of Pakistan's history, namely, that Pakistan has been let down by the corrupt and unprincipled political figures motivated by raw ambition, material gain and vested interests.

#### **5. *Weak tradition of civilian supremacy:***

Some analysts argue that it was neither Pakistan's precarious security nor even its cultural and ethnic diversity, but rather characteristics deeply rooted in the nation's polity that most impeded its early democratic development. The essentials for such a process - disciplined political parties and a participatory mass electorate - were missing in Pakistan's first years as an independent state. Pakistan's political system has been in the transitional state ever since it emerged as an independent state in August 1947.

Pakistan failed to establish a stable democratic government due to constitutional conflict. Due to this instability in the political system, Pakistan is also facing lack of continuity in economic and social development. The lack of instability started from the failure of the largest Muslim representative party "Muslim League" soon after the independence.

Some people think that the political culture cannot be judged on the elusiveness of electoral democracy. It needs to be evaluated on the basis of factor far more pivotal than elections, factor that is the foundation of a dynamic democratic culture. Similarly, a democratic culture does not, necessarily mean that extremist thoughts and actions are wiped out. Democratic culture allows space for all and sundry to articulate themselves and their politics.

#### **6. *Feudalistic social structure:***

The country's semi-feudal system with its sets of obligations and hierarchy provided similarly inhospitable soil for building a democracy. The traditional power brokers, the wealthy, large land-holding families, are prepared to give their allegiance to anyone who promised to protect their material interests and way of life.

#### **7. *Low Level of political socialization:***

The subsequent education of people to accept democracy through meaningful participation in their political affairs is minimal. Without wide public awareness and an effective public opinion, the political system gives wide birth to ambitious and corrupts political leaders. Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, the two times democratically elected prime ministers, are the perfect examples of the corruptions at the leadership level. Instead of including a broad citizenry in the political process, power is concentrated in the hands of an elitist bureaucracy and over-ambitious military.

The civilian government succumbed to military rule that sought to legitimize itself with the public by attacks on democratic ideals and political institutions in hopes of leaving them in disrepute as well as decay. Despite the revival of democracy from time to time, it is predictably held in suspicion. One of the tenets of our civil society, the concept of a legitimate opposition, naturally won little acceptance among competing political elites or within the larger public. These outpourings marked a breakdown in law and order, and reflected above all an absence of trust in authority. Such anomalous movements may have heralded demands for better representation but in themselves were more the signs of frustration



and anger than of belief in a more pluralistic, tolerant political system.

### **8. Interruptions in electoral process**

In general, opportunities for a fair governance, true democracy and civil society in Pakistan can only flourish when democratic practices are allowed to prevail under the supremacy of unchanged constitution. The repeated dismissal or overthrow of elected regimes, alterations in the constitutions that suit to existing ruler, leaves no positive memory and little chance for institutions to adapt and supportive values to root.

Though the elections sometime are tainted by design or overzealous officials, the regular elections will ultimately provide democratic practices to the contestants in which losers accept defeat and winners are magnanimous in victory, the greater the chances for an electoral process capable of surviving inevitable challenges. The inefficient and incapable politicians may continue to participate and seek power but the people of Pakistan will also learn and understand better the democratic values and responsibilities over the period.

### **9. Criminalization of politics:**

Criminalization of politics in Pakistan is a real issue because the electoral process has legitimized the power of, what may be called, crime syndicates and has granted popular acceptability to individuals who used high public offices for criminal plunder of national resources. There is a general consensus in Pakistan that democracy must be continued but without a due process of law and checks on the power of the executive, it would remain a sham democracy. It appears that the people of Pakistan are losing faith in the present political system. The real turnout in the elections is decreasing. No sizeable adult population of the country turned out to vote.

### **10. Crisis of governance:**

Politics is about the creation and distribution of power and governance is the mechanism which controls the relationship between the two extremes-the governed and the governors. The political process lies at the core of governance. This can be efficient only if elections are free and fair; the elected are accountable; authority is divided between the legislature, the bureaucracy and the judiciary; and, power is decentralised. Unfortunately, Pakistan does not meet all of these criteria. The lethal combination of powerful personalities or families linked together by familial and economic

interests, on the one hand, and weak institutions, on the other, has resulted in the subversion of law which lacks accountability, creates processes which are largely personal and informal and allow rulers to operate outside established institutional frameworks.

Democracy means working of the people, for the people and by the people. However, democracy in Pakistan is confined largely to the ballot (purchased or coerced) box - and that too for the legislatures only. Political parties do not hold elections for office. Decision-making is controlled by the powerful elite. Sovereignty is equated to powerful governments, not free citizens. What we basically lack is a democratic culture and a system of in-built accountability. This is essential if democracy is to function effectively. The need is to have a system which keeps the powers of the rulers in check and protects the interests of the people.

Democracy has not been translated into visible benefits for the poor. Pakistan's people continue to remain, perhaps, the least well-endowed amongst Asians generally with respect to literacy, health, incomes, and freedom. The party structure has been dominated by two powerful political families - the wealthy landowning Bhuttos and the industrial Sharifs. A de-facto two-party system developed, with power alternating between Benazir Bhutto of the Pakistan People's Party and Nawaz Sharif of the Muslim League, who began his career as a protégé of the Zia regime. The parties are not purely regional creatures, especially since no party can hope to govern without substantial support in Punjab, but their regional associations have created problems of national legitimacy, with other provinces remaining neglected and unrepresented.

### **11. Weak organized political parties:**

Other political parties remain on the fringes of politics. There is a collection of parties connected with minority ethnic groups or based on feudal or devotional loyalties to a local personality. Cynics in Pakistan speak of "Tonga parties" - groups so small that they can fit into a Tonga, or horse-drawn cart. New parties started by cricket star Imran Khan and by former president Farooq Leghari have not done well. Religious parties such as the Jamaat-i-Islami have fared poorly in elections, never winning more than six percent of the national vote, but they are getting an increasingly high profile. While the majority of Pakistanis do not support extremism, they form a "silent majority" today, and it is only by involving them in the political process that their views will be translated into policy. Moreover, if the rest of the politicians seem to fail repeatedly and to engage in systematic corruption, a new face may become very appealing.



## 12. Crisis of Leadership:

Many activists in Pakistan today argue that there are no real politicians left in Pakistan. The ordinary Pakistani is politically aware, but the experience of the past three decades and more has left people feeling disenfranchised, with little incentive to join the political process. This trend is validated by the falling trend in voter turnout during 1990s, from 43% to 35%. New talent fears joining politics and risking persecution by the army. The two mainstream political parties in Pakistan today, which have the organizational structure and the historical recognition to actually win a majority in national elections, are both dominated by single individuals – Bhutto and Sharif, both now in exile and discredited.

There is a growing awareness among the public that dynastic character of the political parties is an obstacle for the development of democracy and party system. In recent years, some muted voices of reform from within the political parties have also appeared but with little effect. The challenge for the leadership, both in the government and the opposition, is to reform and democratise the structures of political parties. Reformed and democratized political parties are the best guarantee for a democratic order, its continuity and stability.

Some critics argue that the greatest stumbling block in democratic development has been the contradictory behaviour and attitude of Pakistani political leaders and elites. Despite making struggle for the restoration of democracy, they have failed to build a legal framework, create a pro-democracy environment, and most importantly, develop a policy framework in which conflicts may be resolved through negotiations, by making bargains, and by building consensus.

## 13. Dynastical Rule:

The same powerful families appear to be the leaders of any government in power because each branch of a family is a member of another political party and most families are related to each other through marriages. They also constitute a fair portion of the senior bureaucracy, the higher judiciary and the military, as the youngest are "encouraged" to seek a career, implicitly to protect their elders from the ravages of law. Thus they control the economy, deny access to social services to the disadvantaged segments of society, and the benefits of growth have accrued to them disproportionately. Democracy cannot grow and function in the absence of elite-consensus. Those political leaders and elites who, while struggling for democracy, expressed democratic sentiments, upon assuming power, changed and demonstrated authoritarian tendencies. They

pursued or adopted policies that strengthened authoritarian attitudes rather than promote democratic norms, flout rule of law and defy tolerance of any political opposition. As a result of these tendencies, there is a growing skepticism about the sustainability of democracy. The disappointment is not with democracy as a form of government but with the conduct and behaviour of parliamentarians and political parties who are expected to make democracy work.

## 14. Suspension of Constitution:

The historical circumstances led to Pakistan's early difficulties in constitution writing and political consensus. Pakistan has had three constitutions. The 1956 constitution lasted only two years, until the first martial law period in 1958. The 1962 constitution, which lasted till the second martial law period in 1969 and limited direct voting rights to local elected officials, with higher officials, including the president, indirectly elected. The 1973 Bhutto constitution, drafted as Pakistan was going through the crisis that split the country. This constitution provided a parliamentary government headed by the prime minister, with a similar structure in each of the four provinces. It represents the most widely accepted framework Pakistan has ever known. It was suspended twice under the military governments of Zia and Musharraf, and has undergone a series of amendments shifting the balance of power between the prime minister and the president. At present, after incorporating the LFO, the president enjoys rather more powers than prime minister.

While the 1973 constitution commands very broad respect, the same cannot be said of the institutions that support a constitutional regime. During the elected governments of the 1990s period, three institutions shared power—the office of the Prime Minister, the President and the army. The army remained in a position of "oversight," mediating between the holders of overt power, and the Prime Minister and President both remained dependent on the support of the military to stay in power (as discussed in political and constitutional history -1947-2004)

## 15. Ineffectiveness of Parliament:

The strongest constitutional institution is the parliament. During the periods when the constitution was in full force, political and military leaders alike have manipulated it. President Zia's decision to dismiss the Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo demonstrated complete disregard for either the parliament or the institution of prime minister. A few years later, an impeachment move against Benazir Bhutto during her first stint as Prime Minister turned into an undignified spectacle in which both sides rounded up their supporters and physically isolated them, with widespread rumours



of fortunes changing hands. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in his second term had a two-thirds parliamentary majority but nonetheless resorted to measures of questionable constitutional validity in order to enhance his power. Members of the national and provincial assemblies (MNAs and MPAs) continued to be dominated by traditional feudal political families, while in rural areas clan and tribal ties remained strongest – a trend that continues till today.

The results of Pakistan's experimentation with parliamentary democracy are mixed. Several contradictory trends are noteworthy. First, political leaders continue to reveal lack of commitment to the principles of democracy and, they all have found it difficult to develop the National Assembly as the primary forum for national debate, dialogue and legislation. To make parliamentary democracy succeed, the parliamentarians need to strengthen the parliament. Confidence in electoral competition has to be matched by parliamentary performance. The challenge for the parliamentarians is to enhance the legislative and consensus building capacity of the National Assembly.

### 16. Indian Security threat:

The territorial issues and border conflicts with India, the socio-cultural differences within the country, struggle for a share of power between the provinces and the early death of the founder of Pakistan Mohammad Ali Jinnah are those realities which not only politicized the policy-making elites and their willingness in introducing the fair democratic procedures but also encouraged the non-democratic elements including the army. Consequently, even after fifty-six years the country could not get cleaned from the feudal, tribal and *punchayat* systems and sectarian segregations and the public has been left untutored in the kind of vigilance usually needed to hold political leaders accountable.

### 17. Role of Intelligence Agencies:

Besides the army's institutional role in the government and in the structure of national political life, in the past two decades the intelligence services have become a major actor on the national political scene. Military Intelligence and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the two major services, are widely believed to have had a major hand in shaping the candidates and choices available to the voters in elections at least since General Zia's parliamentary elections in 1985. They are reliably reported to be active on today's political scene, notably by encouraging politicians to join the party that appears to be preferred by the military through manipulation of the government's anti-corruption investigations. In this role, the intelligence services are as much the tool of the individual political

leader as of the army itself. This is the most undemocratic of the army's interventions in politics; it is also the role that will be hardest to weed out, assuming that a future leader wishes to do so.

In Pakistan, the army above all want to protect its core interests. Generals will also see the army as a tool to protect Pakistan against the excesses and failures of elected leaders and institutions. The real challenge lies in drawing the fine line between respecting the army's legitimate professional and institutional interests and allowing it to continue as a "state within a state".

### 18. Ethnic and provincial division:

The second major source of conflict in Pakistan is ethnic and provincial. Highly centralized and unrepresentative governance has resulted in creating grievances among different ethnic groups. The level of discontent of one group or another has varied from time to time, but the state has not evolved institutional mechanisms for dealing with such discontent. The constitutional provisions relating to provincial autonomy, which could placate each province by allowing full self-government, have often been bypassed in practice. Intra-provincial differences, such as those between the Baloch and the Pakhtuns in Baluchistan, between the Punjabis and Saraiki in Punjab, between Pakhtuns and Hindko-speakers in NWFP and between Sindhis and Mohajirs in Sindh have also festered without political resolution.

Political loyalties and attitudes have a strong ethnic dimension to them, and the central government's desire to manage Pakistan's ethnic diversity can have a major impact on resource allocation and foreign policy decisions.

The ethnic divide has also affected the development of political parties. The various Muslim Leagues that have dominated Pakistani politics are Punjab-dominated parties. The Bhutto-led PPP is strong among Sindhis; the breakthrough that permitted both Bhuttos to take power at the national level was its ability to recruit a strong following in Punjab, especially in the southern part of the province, which has linguistic differences with the north. The Awami National Party is strong only in the Northwest Frontier Province. The Karachi-based Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) Party, which represents the *Muhajirs* and has been involved in ethnic violence in that city, was created in the 1980's largely on anti-Sindhi sentiment.

### 19. Segmented Political Leaders:

The third, and potentially most significant, crack in Pakistan's body politic is the perennial dispute over who should wield political power and how. General Pervez Musharraf recently



described Pakistan as "the most the difficult country to govern." The root of this difficulty is the absence of agreed ground rules for the conduct of politics. Military and bureaucratic governments often fail to mobilize popular support in favour of their policies. Often, they opt to corner popular politicians and confer the mantle of political leadership on otherwise insignificant individuals. These "imposed" politicians try to secure popular backing through corruption, patronage or demagoguery and often perpetuate the ideological and ethnic tensions instead of assuaging divisive feelings."

## 20. Political Violence:

Another element that has destroyed the democracy in Pakistan is the injection of violence in politics. With guns blazing and tolerance at zero level there is no room for democratic difference of opinion. It is common in democracy for senior leaders to have differing opinion on political issues. We have now come to a stage where such difference of opinion usually earns you a place in a guinea bag. In these circumstances what is the hope for democracy?

Democracy is a product of the wishes of the people and not of the desires of an elite few. It evolves by itself and true democracy like a truly beautiful tree takes many decades to grow and spread out its branches to provide shade to the people. There are no short cuts no matter how pressing the need. Patience is another name for democracy. If only the establishment could have demonstrated this quality we would not be the outcast in a democratic world at the turn of the century



## Steps for the Strength of Democracy

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Reform in Judiciary
3. Respect for dissident groups
4. Reformation of the political party
5. Creation of an Independent Election Commission
6. Internal Party Elections
7. Steps for Free Media
8. Making of new Provinces
9. Importance of Provincial and Local Government
10. Implementation of the Constitution

Throughout most of the history as an independent state, Pakistan has had to reconcile conflicting visions of its nationhood. Deep divisions have centred round the role of Islam in public life and the contending aspirations of Pakistan's different ethnic groups. These divisions can be reconciled through a federal democratic political system providing something for everyone and allowing the people to be the arbiters of ideological issues. But Pakistan has evolved as a centralized state run primarily by its military and bureaucracy. The three most fundamental foundations for democracy are an independent judiciary, transparent elections and a vigorous parliament. In order to support democracy in Pakistan, focus should be made primarily on developing these institutions.

### 1. Reform in Judiciary:

The judiciary in Pakistan has a long record of subservience to political direction, together with a rather shorter but noteworthy list of cases in which it has preserved its independence. It is the need of the hour to revamp the judiciary, so as to make it more



professional, more efficient and more responsive. That same professionalism will strengthen the ability of judges to follow their best judgment in political cases as well. And without it, it is hard to imagine the judiciary being able to stand up against abuses of the government system. We repeat that recommendation here. Pakistan's donors should be willing to put significant funding and technical assistance into that effort – but there is ample talent within Pakistan to do the basic job.

## 2. *Respect for dissident groups:*

Democracy as a system of governance and interest representation demands respect for dissent and opposition. It recognises the principle of majority rule and guarantees protection of minorities. Democracy also builds faith in electoral contestation to gain public office and gives legitimacy to political parties as primary instruments for acquisition and transfer of power from one set of individuals to another.

## 3. *Reformation of the political party:*

Among the reforms Pakistan must introduce into the political system is the reform of the political party structure. Pakistan lacks in good-governance and strong democratic and political institutions. To understand the shortcomings in the governance and the democracy in Pakistan, one must find explanations for the weaknesses in political tolerance and identity. Analytically, there appear to be sets of reasonably autonomous and enduring beliefs and values within Pakistan that have important consequences in the societal and ultimately political spheres. Popular expectations of authority, in particular toward those who govern, must be understood and presumably altered if Pakistan is to realize the kind of system that permits a sustainable democracy. Legal provisions and better people seeking public office are important, but progress in building civic virtue or civic spirit will also have to occur. In the absence of such a culture, factional anarchy and authoritarian rule remain thrive.

## 4. *Creation of an Independent Election Commission:*

Creation of an independent Election Commission with broad powers to set and enforce election standards, and with power to enforce a ban on election-related activity by civilian or military officers of the government is a must for ironing the democratic process in Pakistan. Several of Pakistan's South Asian neighbours have experience setting up such commissions. Critical to the

success of such an effort would be the appointment of a world-class chairman drawn from the ranks of Pakistan's most distinguished and internationally known personalities.

## 5. *Internal Party Elections:*

Leadership sclerosis has been the bane of parties all over the region. Parties participating in elections in Pakistan should hold their own internal elections, preferably at the provincial as well as the national level, at regular intervals (say, every two years). All their leaders – including those at odds with the present government – should be allowed to participate. This might not bring up new leadership in the short term, but it would at a minimum, provide a more viable second-tier list of leaders that might be able to renew itself. In any event, it would give ordinary party members some say in the internal affairs of the party.

## 6. *Steps for Free Media:*

Unfortunately, the worst abuses of the electoral system in Pakistan take place before an election campaign officially starts. Candidacies are encouraged or discouraged, voters are intimidated or helped, in ways that go well beyond the issue of whether the actual polling is clean. A free press is the only safeguard. The growth and expansion of print media is the most positive outcome of democratisation, it augurs well for democratic consolidation in the country. Freedom of the press is an irreversible trend and lends support to continued sustenance of democratic process in the country.

## 7. *Making of new Provinces:*

The current federal scheme Pakistan's is rendered ineffective by the fact that one component unit of the federation (Punjab) dominates all others in almost every respect. Each of the Pakistan's four provinces is considered to represent a major ethnic group; the provinces do not conform to ethnic or linguistic boundaries. With the fear that ethnic identities might unravel its nationhood, Pakistan has not changed the scheme of its provinces drawn by British with a different purpose. The existing division of provinces does not reflect ethnic and linguistic boundaries, creating problems within each province in addition to issues between them. It is time to consider increasing the number of provinces so that no single federating unit remains dominant and different ethnic groups feel empowered within their respective units. Changes in the boundaries of provinces and the creation of new ones would require agreement by the different provinces and may take time to



materialize. The proposal could become acceptable to the smaller provinces if the division of the provinces is accompanied with genuine provincial autonomy and a reduction of the centre's role in the lives of citizens. The smaller provinces would be rid of what they perceive to be Punjabi domination, and ethnic minorities would secure a share in political and economic power within their new provinces.

### 8. Importance of Provincial and Local Government:

Despite a great deal of idealistic rhetoric in Pakistan, democratic governance is not necessarily easier at the local and provincial than at the national level. It is at least as important, however, both because governance is closer to people's lives at this level and because the smaller units of government are the logical training ground for future leaders. Despite the much touted devolution scheme introduced by the Musharraf regime, Pakistan remains a highly centralized bureaucratic state. Elected local governments, for example, are "monitored" by military officers and all provincial and local government officials are subjected to vetting by the military's intelligence service. This is not a recipe for effective local government. Pakistan's provinces and its local government institutions must be given a chance to work independently, subject only to accountability at subsequent polls or through the normal judicial system.

### 9. Implementation of the Constitution:

The 1973 constitution reflected a broad national consensus but it has almost never been fully implemented. Soon after its enactment, its fundamental rights portion was suspended under a state of emergency. Provincial autonomy sections of the constitution have hardly been implemented by an over-bearing central government that has tended to micro-manage affairs in the provinces. The military regimes of General Zia and General Musharraf have held the constitution in abeyance, and restored it only with major amendments. Reversion to the original constitution, with the willingness of all concerned (including the military and the elected executive) to submit themselves to the constitution can change the nature of Pakistan's politics, which at present is a power play without any rules.

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## Energy Crisis in Pakistan

### Outline:

#### Introduction

#### 1. Reasons of Energy crisis

- i. Unrealistic plans and improper implementation
- ii. Failure of introducing new projects
- iii. Underutilization of resources
- iv. Circular debt
- v. International oil prices
- vi. Provincial prejudices
- vii. Water shortage
- viii. Transmission losses
- ix. Power wastage
- x. Theft of Electric power
- xi. Accelerating demand
- xii. Minimal research/exploration

#### 2. Immediate efforts/goals

- i. RPPs
- ii. Stabilizing industrial sector
- iii. Limiting commercial supply hours

#### 3. Short-term goals

- i. Reviving non-functional power plants
- ii. Revamping the transmission system
- iii. Thar coal project
- iv. IPI gas pipeline project
- v. Renewable energy sources

#### 4. Long-term goals

- i. Conforming foreign policy and energy needs
- ii. Construction of New Dams
- iii. Transparency
- iv. Efficient techniques and usage



- v. Measures against the power theft
- 5. Hurdles:
  - i. Lack of will power and implementation
  - ii. Corruption and Malpractices
  - iii. Trust deficit

### Introduction:

Pakistan is facing a serious energy crisis. The Present scenario shows that the government is unable to fulfill the demand and supply of the energy needs. Due to it, this issue has become more complicated and complexed. The government should take counter measures against this crisis, which has affected all domains of life in Pakistan.

### Reasons of Energy crisis

In Pakistan, the energy crisis has made everyone life miserable. There are various reasons behind the energy crisis;

#### 1. Circular debt:

Circular debt is the major problem behind the energy crisis in Pakistan. The government institutions and departments do not pay the bills and coast of consuming electricity, which has sapped the profit margin of the electric supply companies. Resultantly, they transfer the circular to the common people, which results into shortage of power supply.

#### 2. International oil prices

Hydel power is the cheap source of water. But in Pakistan, the case is different, in which the utilization of oil is the major consuming element in the generation of electricity. With the passage of time, the international oil prices have increased manifold. Meanwhile the electricity generation firms could not transfer the oil consuming projects to gas and coal turbines of electricity generation. In this way, the prices of oil have also enhanced the cost of electricity, which is a major reason behind the costly electricity of Pakistan.

#### 3. Provincial prejudices:

The grievances of the provinces and their demands are also basic reasons behind the installation of any electricity production project. This issue will continue till the grievance of the provinces will remain.

#### 4. Water shortage:

In Pakistan, we do not store mostly water and it falls into the sea without any utilization. This water remains unused for the purposes of electricity generation and irrigation. This shortage of water may be overcome by the construction of small and big dams. In this way, hydel power generation may also contribute its share in overcoming the shortage of energy crisis.

#### 5. Transmission losses:

Though electricity is produced, but it is not reached to the consumers as much as it should be provided. The basic reason behind this is the transmission losses, which results into the wastage and incomplete supply of electricity.

#### 6. Power wastage:

The power wastage is portraying a glooming picture of the energy crisis. In the most houses, the electric utensils remain at ON mode. In this way, we utilize electricity without its purpose. This wastage deepens the issue more.

#### 7. Theft of Electric Power:

In Pakistan, the electricity is produced, but it is utilized illegally. The employees of the power generation companies are also given free electricity.

#### 8. Accelerating demand:

With the passage of time, the accelerating demand of power is enhancing in Pakistan. This accelerating demand will increase manifold in order to fulfill the requirement of household, agricultural, firms, corporations and industrial sector.

#### 9. Minimal research/exploration:

Pakistan is facing serious issue of energy crisis because of the lack of research. The government claims that it does not possess enough resources for opening new avenues.

### Immediate efforts/goals

#### 1. Rental Power Plants (RPPs):

The government has taken various steps like controlling the energy crisis. For this purpose, Rental Power Plants are the immediate efforts of the government. Though this effort will fulfill the basic needs of electricity, but this power will be expensive. But the government should not continue this project on the long basis.



**2. Stabilizing industrial sector:**

The government is trying to fulfill the energy needs of the industrial sector, so that the industrial sector should be stabilized, which will enhance the development and prosperity of the state.

**3. Limiting commercial supply hours:**

For fulfilling the demands of the industrial and agricultural sector of Pakistan, the government has limited the commercial supply hours. This step will transfer the power supply of the houses to the industrial units.

**Short-term goals****4. Reviving non-functional power plants:**

The government should commence all non-functional power plants by providing their needs, so that the additional power supply will be added in the present electricity.

**5. Revamping the transmission system:**

Having the short goals, the government should try to revamp the present transmission system, in which the electricity is lost due to power supply lines. The government should change the damaged supply lines and ensure the enhancement of the electricity.

**6. Thar coal project:**

In order to search other ways, the government should start Thar Coal project. Though this project has been commenced, but bureaucratic hurdles have obstructed its pace of establishment. If this project succeeds, then Pakistan will get huge reserves of coal and oil. Meanwhile it will also fulfill the energy requirements of Pakistan for the five centuries.

**7. IPI gas pipeline project:**

The government should start the Iran-Pakistan, India joint gas pipeline project. This project will not only fulfill the basic energy requirements, rather it will also reduce the burden over the local energy sector.

**8. Renewable energy sources:**

For the production of electricity, there are other ways like solar, tidal, nuclear, coal etc. In other countries, all these projects are used for the generation of electricity. Therefore Pakistani

governments should also focus upon the renewable energy sources for enhancing the power generation capacity.

**Long-term goals****9. Conforming foreign policy and energy needs:**

Pakistan should launch such foreign policy in which the acquiring of energy should be given as the most important priority, goal and objective. In this way, the foreign investors will come and invest in the energy sector of Pakistan.

**10. Construction of New Dams:**

The government should try to build consensus among the provinces for the construction of new dams. The construction of dams not only fulfills the requirements of cheap electricity, rather it will also provide water for the irrigation purposes.

**11. Measures against the power theft:**

The government should take stern action against the power theft. For this purpose, an awareness effort may be launched with the help of the media, so that people should know that they will face the serious consequence, if they will steal the electricity.





## Agricultural Problems of Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Lack of proper-utilization of Land
2. Lack of utilization of manpower
3. Inadequate Markets
4. Profligate holdings
5. Issue of Water logging and Salinity
6. Defective Land tenure system
7. Deficiency of water-supply
8. Shortage of extension services
9. Low per acre yield
10. Inadequate Rural infrastructure
11. Inadequate supply of Inputs
12. Lack of Agro-Based Services

### Introduction:

Farming is Pakistan's largest economic activity. Despite it is the mainstay of the Pakistan economic life, but it is not performing well in Pakistan. It accounts for 26% of GDP and employs of 52% of labor force. Agricultural products, especially cotton yarn, cotton cloth, raw cotton and rice are important exports. Agricultural activity in all areas of Pakistan, mostly crops are grown in the Indus River Plain in Punjab and Sindh. Its importance has reduced due to following reasons:

#### 1. Lack of proper-utilization of Land:

In Pakistan, land is not properly utilized. Out of 90 million acres of cultivable land of Pakistan, only 54 million acres are cultivated. Around 70% of the cropped area was in Punjab, followed

by perhaps 20% in Sindh, less than 10% in the NWFP, and only 1% in Balochistan. The scant rainfall over most of the country makes about 80% of cropping dependent on irrigation. Fewer than 4 million hectares of land, largely in Northern Punjab and NWFP are totally dependent on rainfall. No doubt the successive governments with all the resources, at their disposal, have been doing their maximum to bring new area under cultivation. Consequently, nearly an area of 2 million hectares has been added yet a lot has to be done in this regard.

#### 2. Lack of utilization of manpower:

The total labour force in rural areas of Pakistan is about 16 million out of which 15% are paid workers, while the rest are self-employed. The government has never promoted agriculture as a profession, because it does not have monthly income like the professions of other fields. Due to which the young people do not want to be farmers and adopt agriculture as a profession. Therefore, it is estimated that about two million workers is a severe wastage.

#### 3. Inadequate Markets:

From agricultural point of view, Pakistan is a limited market. Meanwhile the quality of the produced goods like cotton, rice etc. does not fulfill the foreign standards. In this way, our produced goods do not earn exporting revenue. Meanwhile the high inflation rate has also affected a great over the purchasing power of the common people.

#### 4. Profligate holdings:

This term refers to the cultivating units which are small in size and cultivation process cannot be properly and effectively applied to them. About 65% of the farmers hold some 15% of the farmland in holdings of about 2 hectares or less. "The limited agricultural extension services and concessional credit facilities are diverted by the larger, prosperous farmers through the rural framework which they control. Moreover, the bureaucrats themselves are interested in furthering the interests of the richer farmers not only because of the identity of interests with the absentee landlords from amongst the senior bureaucrats but also because increase in agricultural production, irrespective of the extent of its concentration, earns kudos for junior officers in the department."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shahid Kardar, *Political Economy of Pakistan* (Lahore, 1987), p. 169



**5. Issue of Water logging and Salinity:**

In Pakistan, about 15 lakh acres have been made unfit for cultivation due to problem of the water logging and salinity. Once the irrigation system of Pakistan is considered one of the best systems of irrigation in the world, but it has proved to be a worst system. In this way, a huge area of cultivation is not properly utilized.

**6. Defective Land tenure system:**

In Pakistan, about 50% of the farmland was cultivated by tenants including shopkeepers, had little security and few rights. They have rights and obligations upon the land owners, but they do not give them their proper rights.

**7. Deficiency of water-supply:**

Inadequate water facilities is an another serious problem, which has caused a limitation in the expansion of cropping area in the field of agriculture. According to Indus Basin Water Treaty, it was decided that Ravi, Beas and Sutluj rivers were given to India, while Chenab, Jhelum and Indus rivers were given to Pakistan. Mostly water falls in sea, because Pakistan has not built dams, which fulfills the inadequacy and deficiency of water at the winter times.

**8. Shortage of extension services:**

The availability of extension services to the farmers is not active in Pakistan. Its objective is to provide farmers with systematic knowledge about farming practices, multiple cropping, better use of water resources, and appropriate use of pest control devices, better use of tilling methods, proper use of seed beds and the use of physical inputs.

**9. Low per acre yield:**

Pakistan is one among the lowest per acre yield in the world. It is about 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of which is produced in the other countries. It is because of the illiteracy and farmers unskilled techniques, which results into the lowest per acre yield.

**10. Inadequate Rural infrastructure:**

The lack of transport and communication facilities has restricted the rural population mobility. It does not have a formidable communication network, which is the most vital segment of development process. Due to which the raw material is rotten and is

not properly brought to the markets. The rural area of Pakistan is consisted of over 100000 villages, most of which does not have the proper infrastructural facilities like metaled roads, medical and hygienic facilities.

**11. Inadequate supply of Inputs:**

The supply of modern inputs like improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, insecticides and mechanized machinery is quite inadequate comparative to real requirements for a sustained progress in agricultural productivity.

**12. Lack of Agro-Based Services:**

In the agriculture sector, there is a lack of agro-based industries and services like livestock farm, dairy farm, poultry farm and fisheries, which is also a setback to the agriculture sector of Pakistan and is causing harm to quality of the life of farmers.





## **Solutions of Agricultural Problems of Pakistan**

### **Outline:**

1. Increase in irrigation facilities
2. Agricultural Research
3. Agricultural Price Policy
4. Credit Policy
5. Cooperative Movement
6. Reclamation Projects
7. Farm Mechanization
8. Land Reforms

### **Introduction:**

#### **1. Increase in irrigation facilities:**

In order to fulfill the demands of irrigation, the government should construct hydraulic project. They should begin the construction of small dams. The areas, in which rainfall is not sufficient, the water requirements may be fulfilled by the installation of tube-wells.

#### **2. Agricultural Research:**

The government should establish research agricultural institutes in various parts of Pakistan, in which the research should be launched for the development of high yield, short duration of crops, cash crops of Pakistan and steps against the crop diseases. To bring a breakthrough in agriculture produce, agriculture research and development facilities can play a dynamic role in the agriculture sector of Pakistan. The research techniques will help in the invention of new seeds and improvement of cultivation practices and

finding the combination out the combination under difficult conditions of soils, climate, water availability and moisture levels.

#### **3. Agricultural Price Policy:**

Like the contemporary government, the government should determine the crop prices. In this way, the farmers will be saved from the exploitation of the middleman.

#### **4. Credit Policy:**

The government should provide credit help to the farmers. For this purpose, the government should give them subsidized seeds. They should patronize farmers to launch new projects for the new crops. They should help farmers for the installation of tube-wells and water supply schemes, so that the necessity of irrigation may be fulfilled. In this regard, new agricultural banks should be open in Pakistan,

#### **5. Cooperative Movement:**

The farmers should understand that collective efforts may save them from the common dangers. For this purpose, they should set up voluntary organizations in which the farmers pool their resources in order to carry out various agricultural operations.

#### **6. Reclamation Projects:**

Like the Salinity Control and Reclamation Project (SCARP) of 1959, the government should introduce more projects for the reclamation of water-logging and salinity affected land of Pakistan.

#### **7. Farm Mechanization:**

The farmers should use new ways to irrigate the land. The government should provide spray machines, bulldozers, tractors, threshers and harvesters to the farmers, so that additional burden of the farmers should be shared by the government.

#### **8. Land Reforms:**

The government should redistribute the land among the tenants, farmers and cultivators. This redistribution will enhance the utilization of agricultural land in Pakistan. After the partition, landowners owned about 53% of the total land.

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## Industrial Problems of Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Problems
3. Terrorism
4. Power Shortage
5. Controversial industrial strategy
6. Lack of Capital
7. Limited Markets
8. Lack of Technical know-how
9. Lack of Infrastructure facilities
10. Absence of Industrial research
11. Lack of Industrial consultancy firms
12. Provincial prejudices
13. Unbalanced Industrial structure
14. Nationalization

### 1. Introduction:

Industry occupies a key position in the development of a country. Its development raises national income, creates employment opportunities and improves the balance of payments position both by producing exportable goods and by substituting imports. There is a general belief amongst economist and policy makers that industries imply economic growth and development. In fact there is direct relationship between industrialization and development of economy. It is the backbone of other sectors of economy as well. Unemployed labour force of rural areas can also be employed in this sector. In 1947, only 5% of large industrial facilities in British India were located in what became Pakistan. The country started with virtually no industrial base and no institutional, financial or energy

resources were available in the newly born state. Meanwhile different governments could not introduce such industrial policies, which could expedite the process of industrialization in Pakistan.

### 2. Terrorism:

Now-a-days, the most important issue and obstacle in the industrial sector is terrorist activities. Such activities have persuaded foreign and local investors to draw their investment from the industries of Pakistan. They have invested somewhere else except Pakistan.

### 3. Controversial industrial strategy:

The previous governments could not adopt a balanced approach about the industrial sector and could not resolve the central issues such as

- a) sectoral balance between agricultural and industrial sectors
- b) rural v/s urban
- c) balanced regional development
- d) growth v/s distribution
- e) small scale or large scale
- f) capital intensive v/s labour intensive
- g) public v/s private sector
- h) nationalization of industries

### 4. Power Shortage:

Power breakdown continues to be a major constraint to the industrial sector of Pakistan. The frequent resorting to load-shedding causes adverse effects. Whatever the power capacity is available, it is not sufficient to cover the need of the growing industrial sector. The industrial units are operating below their capacity due to the scarcity and shortage of power in Pakistan.

### 5. Lack of Capital:

Pakistan industry is facing a serious issue, which is the lack of capital. The investors are not ready to invest in Pakistan. They do not consider Pakistan as a secure place for their investment. This inadequate capital facility also hindered the industrial progress and development of Pakistan.

### 6. Limited Markets:

The market is found to be small for a large number of goods, although large for a small number of luxury goods. The domestically-generated incomes of the poor that can be released for the purchase of industrial products have remained largely stagnant in real terms. Pakistan is a limited market. Meanwhile the



foreign investors and competition have also made the markets narrower. Meanwhile the high inflation rate has also affected a great over the purchasing power of the common people. "Society has been subjected to extreme inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income. This has an impact on the consumption pattern."<sup>1</sup>

### 7. Lack of Technical know-how:

The workers of the Pakistan industry are not properly skilled. They are uneducated and untrained. Their unskilled efficiencies sometimes cause casualties in the industrial sector.

### 8. Lack of Infrastructure facilities:

In Pakistan, lack of access to industrial sector is a serious challenge. Not enough transport facilities are available. Due to which the raw material is rotten and is not properly brought to the industrial units at time.

### 9. Lack of Industrial research:

In such a competitive industrial sector, discoveries of new techniques of production are very necessary. But Pakistan does not have industrial research institutes. This lack is resulted into the high prices of production in Pakistan. Resultantly, the produced commodity is very expensive.

### 9. Absence of Industrial consultancy firms:

The proper consultation and right industrial enhance the production and profit margins of the investors. But in Pakistan, the absence of industrial consultancy firms is making the industrial issues more complicated.

### 10. Declining purchasing power of the people:

The process of the progressive decline in the purchasing power of the less privileged over the years has been reinforced by the price hike as a result of substantial periodic revisions of administered prices of utility services-electricity, gas, water, telephone, postage etc...and the inflationary impact of the rapidly depreciating rupee.

### 11. Provincial prejudices:

The provincial governments usually do not agree with the projects launched by the central government in Pakistan. Resultantly the demands and grievances of the provincial

governments remain unresolved, which resulted in the delay of industrial projects.

### 12. Unbalanced Industrial structure:

The government, sometimes, starts unrealistic industrial plans and projects. It does not create a balance in consumer and capital goods industry. Meanwhile the government taxation policy and system favours the consumer goods industry, which increases the cost of the manufactured goods.

### 13. Nationalization:

The process of nationalization also became a cause of obstruction in the progress of industry in Pakistan. In 1972, this policy damaged the private industrial sector. Resultantly it dropped investment from 1358 million in 1970-71 to 650 million in 1976-77.

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<sup>1</sup> Shahid Kardar, *Political Economy of Pakistan* (Lahore, 1987), p. 178-179



## Solutions of Industrial Problems of Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Steps against Terrorism
2. Steps against Power Shortage
3. Clear-cut industrial strategy
4. Foundation of Industrial finance institutions
5. Search for new Markets
6. Technical Education and knowledge
7. Steps for Improved Infrastructure
8. Setting of Industrial research institutes
9. Fiscal Incentives

Following are the steps which may reduce the number of industrial problems in Pakistan;

### 1. Steps against Terrorism:

The government should take concrete steps against the terrorist activities, because it is the most important issue and obstacle in the industrial sector. The government steps will encourage the foreign and local investors to invest their investment in Pakistan.

### 2. Clear-cut industrial strategy:

The government should try to adopt a balanced approach about the industrial sector should resolve the long-term issues like sectoral balance between agricultural and industrial sectors, rural v/s urban divide, balanced regional development, growth and distribution pattern, difference between small scale and large scale industries, promotion of capital intensive and labour intensive industries, development of public and private sector etc.

### 3. Foundation of Industrial finance institutions:

In order to fulfill the deficiency of the capital, the government should open public and private banks and financial institutions in Pakistan. Those financial institutions like Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (PICIC), Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (IDBP), National Development Finance Corporation (NDFC) etc. should give loans to the industrialists for operating their closed factories. This facility of capital will enhance the industrial progress and development of Pakistan.

### 4. Search for New Markets:

The government should try to open new avenue for the markets all over the world. For this purpose, public-private enterprise may be launched, so that they may find new markets in which their products and goods may be exported. Meanwhile the government should also enhance the purchasing power of the native people.

### 5. Technical Education and knowledge:

The government should patronize the skilled labour institutions. For this purpose, it should open such institutes, which will impart the technical training and education to the workers and industrial labourers. The skilled, educated and trained will also stop the causalities in the industrial sector.

### 6. Steps for Improved Infrastructural facilities:

In Pakistan, lack of access to industrial sector is a serious challenge. The transport facilities will provide the raw material and crops at the time. In this way, their utilization may be done at proper time. Due to mishandling and negligence, considerable cost occurs during the transit. The availability of transport and improved infrastructural facilities decrease the production cost of the manufactured goods.

### 7. Fiscal Incentives:

Like China, Pakistan should provide fiscal incentives to the investors and industrialists. The government should try to fulfill the demands of the investors. They should reduce the imposed tax ratio. Meanwhile the government should help industrialist in terms of cheap energy and land facility.





## Education Problems of Pakistan

### Outline:

1. Unrealistic plans and improper implementation
2. Crescendo Approach:
3. Lack of facilities
4. Low rate of students' enrollment
5. Brain Drain
6. Under-utilizing elite schools scholars in teaching
7. Red-Tapism and Corruption in hiring process of teachers
8. Absence of Teacher Training
9. Make Teachers job attractive
10. Non-existence of the Complaint desks
11. Absence of Parents-teachers coordination

### Introduction:

Pakistan's education sector is facing serious problems and it has never been a priority of any government in Pakistan. Pakistan's education system may be divided into five parallel categories systems -- public or government-run schools, military run schools, private muhallah level schools, elite schools and Madrasas -- each of which follows its own curriculum, teaching methods and examination processes. The state-run school system is not performing well, which has resulted into non-response to the country's educational needs. Indirectly it has benefited the Madrasas and private schools alike. Madrasas offer free education, boarding and lodging, providing incentives to the homeless and less privileged sectors of society, whose demand for education is weighed down by economic restraints. The private school sector has similarly benefited from the failure of the public school system, with the number of its institutions mushrooming to above 36,000

over the past two decades. Many of these institutions are driven by profit and cater to the more privileged segments of society, with tuition fees that are unaffordable to a majority of Pakistanis. The standards of education in the most privileged of them, including their use of English for instruction, is far superior to those of the public schools, which teach in a vernacular language. In effect, the private school system has created a system of educational and linguistic division. The products of the public school sector often are uncompetitive in the job market. Meanwhile the muhallah level schools are started only to get high profit from this business. They use the education system as a tool for earning profit. But it has created inequality and imbalance in the society.

### 1. Unrealistic plans and improper implementation:

In Pakistan, education sector is facing the government, always changing approach. With the change of government, the education policy and structure also changes. Meanwhile education never remains the first priority of the government. These unrealistic plans and improper implementation lead towards occurrence of more issues in the education sector.

### 2. Crescendo Approach:

Mostly ours policies makers seemed to certain targets. For example, the present government has taken decision to equalize public sector and private sector schools within one year. This is not an easy task.

### 3. Lack of facilities:

The public schools lack basic facilities like lighting problem, unclean and unfriendly atmosphere, non-hygienic latrines, broken desks and old teaching equipment. All such problems obstruct the process of basic learning to the students. The public school system's deteriorating infrastructure, falling educational standards and distorted educational content impact mostly, if not entirely, on Pakistan's poor, thus widening linguistic, social and economic divisions between the privileged and underprivileged and increasing ethnic and religious alienation that has led to violent protests.

### 4. Low rate of students' enrollment:

Pakistan is one of those countries of the world, in which the students drop rate is the highest. The highest enrollment rates show the future progress and development of any state. Pakistan's net primary enrolment rate is significantly below its neighbours in South Asia; net primary enrolment rate is 65 per cent in Pakistan, 75 per cent in Bangladesh, 77 per cent in India and close to 100 per cent in Sri Lanka. Significant gaps in enrolment rates exist between urban



and rural areas. Rural and urban areas literacy rate is 30 per cent and 70 per cent respectively. The adult literacy rate in Pakistan is only 50 per cent (63 per cent for male and 38 per cent for females), which is the lowest in South Asia. The number of illiterate people, in fact, has increased from 28 million in 1972 to 46 million at present. While gross primary enrolment has gone up from 74 per cent in 1990 to approx. 85% in 2005, net enrolment in age group 5-9 years has hardly improved in these 15 years. One reason for the heavy drop-out rate particularly among girl students is inadequate access to schools because only two-thirds of villages have a school for girls within one km of the village centre.

### **5. Brain Drain:**

In Pakistan, teaching as a profession is not so much attractive from the materialistic point of view. So the teachers and intellectuals have left Pakistan permanently for searching attractive salary based jobs abroad.

### **6. Under-utilizing elite schools scholars in teaching:**

The governments do not help of the scholars, who are engaging in the elite schools. Resultantly they teach modern and quality based knowledge at their respective schools. But the governments remain hesitant to hire the services of the teachers, which results to widen the gap between the public and the private schooling among the students.

### **7. Red-Tapism and Corruption in hiring process of teachers:**

In our country, most of teachers hired due to their relationships with local MNAs. In most places, teachers hired but they do not attend schools in remote places. In various villages, teachers put any girl or a boy on their place, and enjoy their pay while sitting in home and give some percentage to their substitute teachers. Political appointments in the education sector, a major source of state employment, further damage public education. Provincial education departments have insufficient resources and personnel to monitor effectively and clamp down on rampant bribery and manipulation at the local level.

### **8. Absence of Teacher Training:**

In the government sector, there is no facility for the training of school teachers. Though there is a center at the regional level for the training of teachers, but those centers are not enough for training the teachers. The government training should be compared with the training of elite schools teachers.

### **9. Teaching job not attractive:**

In Pakistan, teaching job is not attractive. Most of students do teaching jobs just for time pass in their study gaps. The students are interested in the power oriented jobs in which they will have more privileges and

### **10. Non-existence of the Complaint desks:**

In the public schools, there is absence of the complaint desks, which show the interest of the government. This absence shows that parents-teachers coordination does not exist at any level, which is necessary for discussing the children problems.

### **11. Absence of Parents-teachers coordination:**

In the governmental schools, the education is facing many problems. There exists a strong lack of teachers and parents coordination. This person-to-person relationship enables the both to understand the minds of the students. But this lack of coordination result in such scenario in which the teachers mostly blame parents and parents always blame teachers.

### **12. Lack of Investment:**

Expansion of education is dependent on fiscal resources. During the last decade of the outgoing millennium however, adverse macroeconomic conditions and keen inter-sectoral (within different economic and social sectors) competition for public funds seriously impaired the government's ability to continue expanding education. At the highest policy level within the government, it is readily conceded that investment in education contributes to the accumulation of human capital, which is essential for higher incomes and sustained economic growth. Education, especially basic (primary and lower-secondary) education helps reduce poverty by increasing the productivity of the poor, by reducing fertility and improving health, and by equipping people with the skills they need to participate fully in the society.

More generally, education helps to strengthen the civil institutions and to build national capacity and good governance in the implementation of sound economic and social policies. Despite this awareness, major challenges remain to increase access to education, to improve equity, to improve quality, and to commit resources for educational reform. Delays in reforming the education system to keep pace with economic structure will most likely hinder Pakistan's economic prosperity. Conversely, timely reforms can pay off in terms of economic growth and poverty reduction, as is evident from the experience of East Asian countries who have generally invested heavily in basic human capital, both male and female.





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## Solutions of Education Problems of Pakistan

### Outline:

#### Introduction

1. Crescendo Approach
2. Availability of facilities
3. Efforts for enhancement of the students' enrollment
4. To overcome the Brain Drain
5. Utilization of elite schools scholars in teaching
6. Improvement in hiring process of teachers
7. Teacher Training schools
8. Make Teachers job attractive
9. Forming Complaint desks
10. Institutionalization Parents-Teachers coordination

### Introduction:

According to the latest Pakistan Labour Force Survey 2009-10, the overall literacy rate (age 10 years and above) is 57.7 percent (69.5 percent for male and 45.2 percent for female) compared to 57.4 percent (69.3 percent for male and 44.7 percent for female) for 2008-09.

The data shows that literacy remains higher in urban areas (73.2 percent) than in rural areas (49.2 percent), and is more prevalent for men (80.2 percent) compared to women (65.5 percent) in rural areas. However, it is evident from the data that rural-urban and male-female disparity seems to be closing a bit. When analysed provincially, literacy rate in Punjab stood at (59.6 %), Sindh (58.2%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (50.9%) and Balochistan at (51.5%). The literacy rate of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has improved considerably during 2008-09 and 2009-10. The number of primary schools increased from about 8000 in 1947 to around 170000 in 2004. Gross enrolment at this level increased from 0.77 million to



about 20 million. The number of elementary/secondary schools, colleges and universities has correspondingly increased. However, there is still a lot to be done in order to make Pakistan a prosperous country. Mass dropouts at primary and secondary levels, low access of women to education, inadequate facilities in the rural areas, rapid population expansion and insufficient budgetary allocations constitute the major bottlenecks in the education sector.

The only way to address this increasing segregation is through a radical reform of the public school system. The majority of Pakistanis do not have the means to access quality private school education, and the private school system has neither the resources nor the incentive to expand to the extent that it could accommodate all Pakistani families. Moreover, it is the state's constitutional obligation to provide education to its citizens.

### 1. Crescendo Approach:

Mostly our policies makers seemed to certain targets. For example, the present government has taken decision to equalize public sector and private sector schools within one year. This is not an easy task. At this stage, we should not stress schools and colleges to have English as medium of instruction. Firstly curriculum should be designed such that students may become able to speak and understand English as well. Moreover, the schools in villages and in less developed cities should be upgraded by hiring excellent professional and by introducing advance facilities. Besides, all subjects should begin in any one language from early classes. Government decision to give option provinces to teach math and science up to fifth class either in Urdu or English will create problems in developing concepts in higher classes. They should by in English from beginning.

### 2. Availability of Facilities:

The government should provide the basic facilities like lighting problem, unclean and unfriendly atmosphere, non-hygienic latrines, broken desks and old teaching equipment to the public schools. All such problems will pave the way for removing the obstruction the process of basic learning to the students.

### 3. Efforts for enhancement of the students' enrollment:

The government should introduce efforts for the enhancement of students' enrollment at the primary level. The high enrollment rate will indicate the future bright prospects of Pakistani education sector.

### 4. To overcome the Brain Drain:

Higher Education Commission should send position holder students for intermediate under their strict observations and conditions, to foreign developed countries for studies with full facilities and contracts to return after completion of studies. China adopts the same strategy to meet the global competitiveness.

### 5. Utilization of elite schools scholars in teaching:

Most of circles suggest abandoning elite schooling like City school, Beaconhouse & LGS. Despite abandoning those schools, the government should benefit from such schools. Scholars of these schools should be hired in remote area with good grades to improve the systems of those schools along with preparing reports over various issues related to the area and the school programmes. Such students should be bounded for one year in remote areas, after that they should be prized at national level for encouragement. Then they should left independence to continue the same task or to do any other job. We should term it as brain gain within the country.

### 6. Improvement in hiring process of teachers:

In our country, most of teachers hired due to their relationships with local MNAs. In most places teachers hired but they do not attend schools in remote places. In various villages, teachers put any girl or a boy on their place, and enjoy their pay while sitting in home and give some percentage to their substitute teachers. Hiring tests should include written test, interview and demonstration. Private schools mostly prefer only demonstration, because they hire teachers to teach. Teaching is an art and every one cannot teach, it should be checked through demonstration.

### 7. Teacher Training:

The government training should be compared with the training of elite schools teachers. The government should also train trainers from elite schools trainers to improve the whole training menu. A very simple girls and boys having qualifications from public sector schools becomes excellent teachers after training throughout elite school trainers, therefore the government should use this existing resource to improve teachers standard.

### 8. Make Teachers job attractive:

In Pakistan, teaching job is not attractive. Most of students do teaching jobs just for time pass in their study gaps. The hiring process, facilities and pay packages of teachers show that teacher job is a poor job and professional people do not prefer it. Government should make this job attractive by announcing number



of income packages especially for those who hired in remote areas. Remote area teachers should facilitated by resident and transport facility along with additional pay.

### **9. Forming Complaint desks:**

The provincial governments should introduce the complaint desks in the schools, in which the activities of the students and their parents' grievances and complaints may be listened. In this way, parents confidence will be restored upon the public schools as well.

### **10. Institutionalization Parents-Teachers coordination:**

The government should try to institutionalize the teachers-parents coordination. They should sit together to understand the real problems of students. Mostly parents think that teachers do not like their child and they willfully neglect him and do not give him position. Such attitude of parents should be improved through training. Private schools have their proper calendar for parents-teachers meetings.

### **11. Present Scenario:**

According to the Ministry of Education (2008-09), there are currently 227,243 educational institutions in the country. The overall enrolment in these institutions is recorded at 34,493,883 with teaching staff of 1,275,772. Out of total institutions, there are 50% primary schools, 16% middle, 10% high, 4.9% Deeni Madaris and 1.2% Vocational Institutions.

About three-fourth of the institutions are in rural areas. About 67% of the educational institutions in the country are run publicly relative to only 33% in the private sector. The government has established the National Vocational & Technical Education Commission (NAVTEC) to facilitate, regulate, and provide policy direction for technical education and vocational training to meet national and international demand for skilled manpower. In view of spreading higher education to every area of Pakistan, over the past three years, 17 new universities have been granted Charters, with the majority opened in areas where higher education opportunities were previously unavailable. To promote research and development (R&D) activities, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) has awarded 5,837 PhD scholarships (3,237 indigenous, 2,600 foreign) over the past three years. Since the inception of Higher Education Commission, the funding to higher education has immensely increased.



## **Fifth Part**

### **Pakistan Relations with world**

- Pak-US Relations
- China-Pakistan Relations
- Pak-India Relations



## Pak-US Relations

### Outline

1. Historical Background
2. Pakistan Initial Survival and US Response
3. SEATO And CENTO Agreements
4. The Agreement of Cooperation (1959)
5. U-2 Plane Incident
6. War of 1965
7. Episode of 1971 War and US Attitude
8. Bhutto's Attitude towards USA
9. General Zia Policy towards USA
10. New Phase of Pak-US Relations during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
11. Post 9/ 11 Incident
12. Pakistan as Non-NATO Ally
13. Military Aid from the United States
14. Recent Dimensions
15. Irritants in Pak-US Relations
  - i. Nuclear Capability of Pakistan
  - ii. War against Terrorism
  - iii. US attack on Pakistani Military Posts
  - iv. Case of Raymond Davis
  - v. Haqqani Network
  - vi. Death of Osama bin Laden
  - vii. Salala Incident in Pakistan
  - viii. US Tilt towards India and Pakistan Response

### 1. Historical Background

“Pakistan unilateral diplomatic ties have been developed on security perception and economic needs. Conversely, US relationships with Pakistan have been fostered on national

interests rather than friendship.”<sup>1</sup>

Pakistan has long been seen as an ally of the United States. However the relationship is an unusual one. Historically, no ally of the United States has faced as many sanctions from the US as Pakistan, primarily because the relation has always been based on strategic interests rather than genuine partnership.

“The history of Pakistan's relations with the US has been a chequered one. The American connection has constituted a fundamental factor in Pakistan's foreign policy for the greater part of its existence.”<sup>2</sup>

### 2. Pakistan Initial Survival and US Response:

Pakistan's relations with United States developed against the backdrop of Cold War. Pakistan's strategic geographic position made it a valuable partner in Western alliance systems to contain the spread of communism. In 1954, Pakistan signed a Mutual Defense Agreement with United States and subsequently became a member of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and CENTO. These agreements placed Pakistan in the United States sphere of influence. Pakistan was also used as a base for United States military reconnaissance flights over Soviet territory. During the Cold War, Pakistan was considered one of Washington's closest allies in Asia.

As new decade opened, however, a series of events put new hope into possibility of US-Pakistan cooperation. First was the reassessment of Pakistan's military position undertaken by Ayub Khan. The second event was the outbreak of Korean War (1950-53), which drew United States attention towards Asia and marked the point of no return of the globalisation of United States security policy. The third factor was the advent of Eisenhower-Dulles team, which set to work building a ring of containment around Sino-Soviet bloc. India, committed itself to nonalignment, had come into sharp disagreement with United States in United Nations, when it refused to censure China as an aggressor in the Korean War and thus was viewed by the United States as a voice for communist appeasement. The India's refusal to join the United States-sponsored 1951 Treaty of Peace with Japan - a pact among nations designed among other purposes to recruit Japan as an ally against

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed, Javeed, *Pakistan's Political, Economic & Diplomatic Dynamics*, p.139

<sup>2</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security And Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p. 156



communist inroads in Asia - further divided the two countries. India was not available as an ally; Pakistan was the inevitable alternative.

### 3. SEATO and CENTO Agreements:

Pakistan and the United States drew closer together, high-level visits were exchanged, and the groundwork was laid for a security relationship that seemed to meet Pakistan's political needs and equipment deficit. At United States prompting, Pakistan and Turkey concluded a security treaty in 1954 - the Turko-Pakistan Pact - which immediately enabled United States military assistance to Pakistan under the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement signed the same year. Pakistan also became a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and joined the Baghdad Pact, later renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1959. Pakistan had little interest in SEATO and discerned no danger to its interests from China, joining mainly to oblige Washington. Even CENTO, which offered the advantage of a new approach to the Muslim world, was problematic because it drove a wedge between Pakistan and the Arab countries that remained outside it and was seen by Pakistanis as institutionally weak because the United States was never willing to become a full member. None of these arrangements addressed Pakistan's main concern.

### 4. The Agreement of Cooperation (1959):

At Pakistan's insistence, an additional agreement (the Agreement of Cooperation) on security was concluded with the United States in March 1959, by which the United States committed itself to the "preservation of the independence and integrity of Pakistan" and agreed to take "appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon . . . in order to assist the Government of Pakistan at its request."

### 5. U-2 Plane Incident:

"The American U-2 (intelligence plane) was shot down by Soviet Union and the Soviet elite threatened United States in general and Pakistan in particular because the plane took off for its mission from Peshawar. Soviet Union warned Pakistan for serious consequences if she would go on permitting US activities in the region."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ahmed, Javeed, *Pakistan's Political, Economic & Diplomatic Dynamics*, p.141

### 6. War of 1965:

Pakistan, in return, received large amounts of economic and military assistance. The program of military assistance continued until the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War when President Lyndon B. Johnson placed an embargo on arms shipments to Pakistan and India. "Pakistan's developing ties with the Peoples Republic of China were another source of friction with the United States in the nineteen sixties."<sup>4</sup> The United States embargo on arms shipments to Pakistan remained in place during the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 and was not lifted until 1975, during the administration of President Gerald R. Ford.

### 7. Episode of 1971 War and US Attitude;

United States-Pakistani relations preceding the 1971 war were characterized by poor communication and much confusion. The administration of President Richard M. Nixon was forced to formulate a public stance on the brutal crackdown on East Pakistanis by West Pakistani troops that began in March 25, 1971, and it maintained that the crackdown was essentially an internal affair of Pakistan in which direct intervention of outside powers was to be avoided. The Nixon administration expressed its concern about human rights violations to Pakistan and restricted the flow of assistance - yet it stopped short of an open condemnation. "It was President Nixon who saw in the Pakistan-China entente the possibility of using Pakistan as a bridge to a rapprochement with China so as to gain leverage vis a vis the Soviet Union and with the support of both the major communist powers, to develop a strategy for ending the Vietnam War. Nixon used Pakistan's good offices to arrange Dr. Henry Kissinger secret mission in mid-1971 to Beijing. That imaginative initiative paved the way for Nixon's historic visit to China early in the following year."<sup>5</sup>

### 8. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Attitude towards USA:

Despite the United States widely publicized "tilt" towards Pakistan during the 1971 war, Pakistan's new leader, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, felt betrayed. In his opinion, the United States could have prevented India from intervening in Pakistan's civil war, thereby saving his country the trauma of defeat and dismemberment. Bhutto now strove to lessen Pakistan's dependence on the United

<sup>4</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security And Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p. 212

<sup>5</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security And Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p. 212



States. "During the Carter era, Pakistan-US relations turned adversarial. Pakistan had already withdrawn from SEATO as the loss of East Pakistan had made its membership of this military alliance meaningless."<sup>6</sup>

The foreign policy Bhutto envisioned would place Pakistan at the forefront of Islamic nations. Issues central to the developing world would take precedence in foreign affairs over those of the superpowers. Bhutto called this policy "bilateralism," which implied neutrality in the Cold War with equal treatment accorded both superpowers. Bhutto's distancing of Islamabad from Washington and other Western links was accompanied by Pakistan's renewed bid for leadership in the developing world. Pakistan's military links with the West continued to decline throughout Bhutto's tenure in power and into the first years of the Zia regime.

### 9. General Zia Policy towards USA:

CENTO was disbanded following the fall of the shah of Iran in March 1979, and Pakistan then joined the Non-aligned Movement. Zia also continued Bhutto's policy of developing Pakistan's nuclear capability. This policy had originated as a defensive measure in reaction to India's explosion of a nuclear device in 1974. In April 1979, President Jimmy Carter cut off economic assistance to Pakistan, except for food assistance, as required under the Symington Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. In November 1979, the relations between Pakistan and United States of America were further strained, when protesters sacked the US Embassy in Islamabad, resulting in the death of four persons. The violence had been sparked by a false report that the United States was involved in a fire at the Grand Mosque in Mecca.

### 10. New Phase of Pak-US Relations during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan:

"The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979, and Pakistan's forthright reaction to it calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet forces from that country, transformed the Carter's administration's indifferent attitude. Pakistan at once emerged in the US view as a front-line state in the path of a Soviet southward drive and as part of a third central

<sup>6</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p.215

strategic zone of potential superpower confrontation."<sup>7</sup> However, General Zia did not accept the initial US\$400 million of President Carter's offer in economic and military aid to Pakistan, who termed it "peanuts." Under President Ronald Reagan, the United States agreed in 1981 to provide US \$3.2 billion to Pakistan over a period of six years, equally divided between economic and military assistance. However, although the Symington Amendment was waived, the amount was subject to the annual appropriation process. In 1986, the US government announced another economic and military assistance program of over US\$ 4.0 billion, with 57 percent for economic assistance. The Afghanistan War (1979-1989) removed many US legislative restrictions to Pakistan for providing aid to countries with nuclear programs.

### 11. Post 9/11 Incident:

After 11/9 attacks in 2001, Pakistan became a key ally in war against terrorism with United States. In 2001, U.S. President George W. Bush strongly encouraged Pakistan government to join the U.S. war on terror. Resultantly Pakistan joined this war of USA. In 2003, the U.S. officially forgave US\$1 billion in Pakistani debt in a ceremony in Pakistan as one of the rewards for Pakistan joining the U.S. war on terror. "Today's signing represents a promise kept and another milestone in our expanding partnership," U.S. Ambassador Nancy Powell said in a statement, "The forgiveness of \$1 billion in bilateral debt is just one piece of a multifaceted, multibillion dollar assistance package." The new relationship between the United States and Pakistan is not just about September 11, Powell said. "It is about the rebirth of a long-term partnership between our two countries." However Pakistan support of the U.S. and its war has angered many Pakistanis that do not support it.

In October 2005, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice made a statement where she "promised ... that the United States will support the country's earthquake relief efforts and help it rebuild" after the Kashmir Earthquake.

On 11 June 2008, a U.S. airstrike on the Afghan-Pakistani border killed 10 members of the paramilitary Frontier Corps. The Pakistani military condemned the airstrike as an act of aggression, souring the relations between the two countries.

### 12. Military Aid from the United States

<sup>7</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p.216



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Pakistan is a major non-NATO ally as part of the War on Terrorism and provides key intelligence and logistical support for the United States. A leading recipient of U.S. military assistance, Pakistan expects to receive approximately \$20 billion since 2001 a combination of reimbursement to Pakistan and training programs for the Pakistan counter terrorism units. However in the aftermath of the Osama Bin Laden raid, Pakistan Army cancelled a \$500 million training program and sent all 135 trainers home. The United States showed displeasure at this act and withheld a further \$300 million dollars in assistance. Some politicians in Pakistan argue the war on terror has cost the Pakistani Economy \$70 billion dollars and US aid costs the country more in the long term, leading to accusations that the US is making Pakistan a client state.

In October 2009, the U.S. Congress approved \$7.5 billion of non-military aid to Pakistan over the next five years. In February 2010, U.S. President Barack Obama sought to increase funds to Pakistan to "promote economic and political stability in strategically important regions where the United States has special security interests." Obama also sought \$3.1 billion aid for Pakistan to defeat Al Qaeda for 2010. Between the era 2002–2010, Pakistan received approximately 18 billion in military and economic aid from United States. In February 2010, the Obama administration requested an additional 3 billion in aid, for a total of 20.7 billion.

**13. Recent Dimensions:**

Present U.S.-Pakistan relations are a case study on the difficulties of diplomacy and policy making in a multi-polar world. The geopolitical significance of Pakistan in world affairs attracts attention from both India and China, making unilateral action impossible from the U.S. All the while, Pakistan remains a key factor for U.S. success in Afghanistan. The two countries have attempted to build a strategic partnership since 2009, but there remains a significant trust deficit which continues to hinder successful cooperation in combating common threats. Despite recent setbacks, both Pakistan and the U.S. continue to seek a productive relationship to defeat terrorist organizations. It has been alleged that the ISI pays Pakistan journalists to write articles hostile to the United States.

As on 8 February 2011, U.S. administration is reported to suspend high level contacts with Pakistan and may also suspend economic aid. All this happened when Raymond Davis, an alleged private security contractor, was on an American diplomatic mission in Pakistan shot dead two Pakistani locals last month in what he said was in self-defense after they attempted to rob him. Pakistan acted

tough on him despite U.S. demands that he be freed because he enjoys diplomatic immunity.

The CIA had long suspected Osama Bin Laden of hiding in Pakistan. India and U.S. have time to time accused Pakistan of giving safe-haven to the Taliban. However, Pakistan has denied these accusations repeatedly.

In the aftermath of the thwarted bombing attempt on a Northwest Airlines flight, the U.S. Transportation Security Administration (TSA) has issued a new set of screening guidelines that includes pat-downs for passengers from countries of interest, which includes Pakistan.

In mid-February, after the capture of Taliban No.2 leader Abdul Ghani Baradar in Pakistan the White House 'hails capture of Taliban leader'. Furthermore, White House Press Secretary Robert Gibbs said that this is a "big success for our mutual efforts (Pakistan and United States) in the region" and He praised Pakistan for the capture, saying it is a sign of increased cooperation with the U.S. in the terror fight.

**14. Irritants in Pak-US Relations:****i. Nuclear Capability of Pakistan:**

The Pressler Amendment of 1985 required that if the United States president could not certify to Congress on an annual basis that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear weapon, United States assistance to that country would be cut off. For several years, United States president, with Pakistan's assurances that its nuclear program was for peaceful uses, was able to make this certification. However, after the end of Cold War, the United States took a harder position about nuclear weapons issue. In 1990, President George Bush refused to make the certification required under Pressler Amendment, and assistance to Pakistan was subsequently terminated. "President Bush made it amply clear that unless Pakistan abandoned her nuclear programme, the USA would not provide economic and military aid to that country."<sup>8</sup>

After 1990, Pakistan's retention of nuclear option became a defining issue in its relations with the United States. Pakistan, like India, considered Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to be discriminatory-allowing the five acknowledged nuclear states to keep their weapons while banning others from

<sup>8</sup> Siddique, M. Abdullah, *Foreign Policy of Major Powers*, (Evernew Book Palace, Lahore), p.93



joining the club. Pakistan declared that it would sign the treaty only in the unlikely event that India did so first. India refused to join any regional accord as long as China possessed nuclear weapons. Although the United States government continued to push both India and Pakistan for a regional solution to the threat of nuclear weapons proliferation, Pakistan complained that it bore the brunt of United States anti proliferation policies.

After nuclear tests of Pakistan, the US and Pakistan focused on a dialogue about nuclear related and security issues. Specifically, it pertains to nuclear and non-proliferation benchmarks namely CTBT, the fissile material convention, nuclear and missile restraint and export controls. The fifth Benchmark is security related and refers to dialogue between Pakistan and India and the resolution of all disputes including Kashmir.

## ii. War against Terrorism:

Pakistan stood with USA in fight against terrorism. Pakistan fully cooperated with the US to eliminate al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Pakistan is playing as frontline state in the war on terrorism. The change in the US position vis-à-vis Pakistan is a major achievement of the present government in the domain of foreign relations. With sagacity and wisdom, Pakistan has been able to protect its vital national interests and promote national causes. Pakistan's relations with the US have flourished in the wake of our unstinted support to the international coalition against terrorism. The Bush Administration has expressed its desire that "an enhanced and enduring relationship" with Pakistan would continue to thrive in the years ahead. Continuing interest of President Bush and personal diplomacy of Secretary Powell to defuse border tension between Pakistan and India also reflected the US desire for enhanced constructive engagement in the region. The US leadership has also acknowledged the centrality of the Kashmir dispute towards normalization of relations between Pakistan and India and repeatedly stressed the need for a peaceful resolution.

## iii. USA attack on Pakistani Military Posts:

The United States and Pakistan have experienced several military confrontations on the Durand Line. These skirmishes took place between American forces deployed in Afghanistan, and Pakistani troops guarding the border. On November 26, 2011, 24 Pakistani soldiers were killed in an aerial attack on Pakistani positions near the border. The attack further damaged U.S.-Pakistani relations with many in Pakistan calling for a more hard-

line stance against the United States.

## iv. Case of Raymond Davis

A CIA contractor shot dead 2 Pakistanis in Lahore. Mr Davis was driving a car with a fake number plate and in the possession of an unauthorized firearm. Pakistan was unaware that the CIA has been sending agents into Pakistan on false visas. However after US pressure, the Pakistan government made Mr. Davis free and sacked the Foreign Minister who wanted Mr. Davis to face charges. Raymond Davis was also believed to be involved in transportations of arms from America to Pakistan. The Raymond Davis affair substantially deteriorated Pakistan-U.S. relations in early 2011.

## v. Haqqani Network:

The attack on U.S. Embassy and at NATO headquarters in Kabul was blamed on the Haqqani Network which US Admiral Mike Mullen stated "acts as a veritable arm of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency." Pakistan reacted by recalling its finance minister who was on a visit to the U.N. Pakistan also tried to strengthen the relationship with China and Saudi Arabia to counter the U.S. The Chinese government advised Pakistan against any such commitment that may put China's relationship with U.S and India in jeopardy. U.S reissued the warning urging Pakistan to act against the Haqqani network or the U.S will take on the threat unilaterally. Islamic groups in Pakistan issued a fatwa proclaiming Jihad against the U.S and claimed that U.S should not be called a Superpower since the title belonged to Allah. This was followed by Pakistan threatening the U.S with retaliation, if the U.S went ahead with unilateral action against the Haqqani network.

## vi. Death of Osama bin Laden

Osama bin Laden, then head of the militant group al-Qaeda, was killed in Pakistan on May 2, 2011, shortly after 1 a.m. local time by a United States special forces military unit. The operation, code-named Operation Neptune Spear, was ordered by United States President Barack Obama and carried out in a U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operation by a team of United States Navy SEALs from the United States Naval Special Warfare Development Group (also known as DEVGRU or informally by its former name, SEAL Team Six) of the Joint Special Operations Command, with support from CIA operatives on the ground. The raid on bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan was launched from Afghanistan.[60] After the raid, U.S. forces took bin



Laden's body to Afghanistan for identification, then buried it at sea within 24 hours of his death.

Al-Qaeda confirmed the death on May 6 with posts made on militant websites, vowing to avenge the killing. According to Obama administration officials, U.S. officials did not share information about the raid with the government of Pakistan until it was over. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Michael Mullen called Pakistan's army chief Ashfaq Parvez Kayani at about 3 a.m. local time to inform him of the Abbottabad Operation.

### vii. NATO attack in Pakistan

NATO attack in Pakistan (also known as the Salala incident) occurred when U.S.-led NATO forces engaged Pakistani forces at two Pakistani military checkpoints along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border on Saturday, 26 November 2011. Two NATO Apache helicopters an AC-130 gunship and an unknown number of jet fighters entered by varying estimates as little as 200 meters to up to 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles), into the Pakistani border area of Salala in the Baizai subdivision of Mohmand Agency, FATA at 2 a.m. local time, from across the border in Afghanistan where they opened fire at two border patrol check posts, killing up to 24 Pakistani soldiers and wounding 13 others. The two Pakistan Army check posts were codenamed "Boulder" and "Volcano" respectively. Pakistan immediately closed all NATO supplies to Afghanistan in the aftermath of the attack, leaving the blockaded supply trucks vulnerable to attacks by Tehrik-i-Taliban militants. On 26 November, the same day of the incident, Pakistan also ordered the U.S. to shut down and vacate Shamsi Airfield, from where the drone attacks in Pakistan are reportedly launched by U.S. forces, within a time frame of 15 days. Among the immediate repercussions of the incident is that the United States' attempts to end the war in Afghanistan peacefully may now be in jeopardy. Some Pakistani officials warned that the attack will have "huge implications" for the Afghan endgame. Pakistan, which is seen as a key facilitator in bringing the United States to the negotiations table with the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani Network, has already halted those efforts according to an unnamed Pakistani official close to the military establishment.

Pakistan also strengthened its air defenses and surveillance along the Afghanistan border in order to respond in case of any future incursions. Pakistan's army chief General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani issued directions to commanders posted at the border to fire without permission if any further aggression is received.

In the wake of the NATO attacks, the Pakistani government refused to attend the Bonn Conference in December 2011.

Pakistan is probably the most difficult issue for United States. It is both a victim of "terrorism" unhealthy alliance between USA fighting to kill the Muslims in Arab world. The reason why Pakistan is so different - and so difficult - for the United States is because within its own institutions of power there are competing impulses about where the country's true interests lie. People in Pakistan are intolerably annoyed with the brutal killings of Muslims in Pakistan.

The Pakistani public is rightly incensed over violations of Pakistani sovereignty by the United States but the way to deal with that is exactly what President Zardari and Gen Kayani have done. Their views were articulated well by Pakistan's ambassador to United States Husain Haqqani, who said these incursions did not advance the interests of the United States and gained nothing except infuriating the Pakistani people. Haqqani conveyed the national sentiment without creating a backlash or breakdown in bilateral relations.

The elected Pakistani government, as well as the military leadership, understands that the national pride is just as important as tangible national interests. Nations have gone to war over matters of national pride. But we must not allow our righteous wrath to descend into hysteria. Rhetoric must not lead us in a direction that in the end does more damage to Pakistan than these US incursions ever could.

### viii. US Tilt towards India and Pakistan Response:

The critical nature of Pakistan in U.S. Cold War alliances coupled with India's drift towards Soviet Union and its emphasis on non-alignment reinforced a special bond in Washington's ties with Islamabad as it slowly eviscerated U.S. relations with India. After the Cold War, Washington tried to build relations with both capitals on a different basis, but the excessive U.S. focus on non-proliferation limited prospects for closer ties. Worse still, U.S. pressure to limit formally the two countries' nuclear programs eventually led to the overt nuclearization of the subcontinent in May 1998. The imposition of mandatory nuclear sanctions against India and Pakistan following the nuclear tests seemed to further undermine U.S. relations with both.

Months before, in the Kargil conflict between India and Pakistan, the Clinton administration acted decisively in India's favour by pressuring Pakistan to end its aggression across the line



of control, unconditionally and unambiguously. This U.S. intervention was the very first in New Delhi's favour in the unending sequence of Indo-Pakistani conflicts. Clinton's distinct approaches and emphases in dealing with India and Pakistan reflected the new sense in Washington that India was an emerging power in the global arena and a potential U.S. partner. In contrast, Pakistan was seen as a failing state headed further in the wrong direction. Perspectives on the subcontinent diverged as well. India saw the U.S. agenda as positive and covering a wide spectrum of issues while Pakistan viewed U.S. policy objectives negatively for the most part and directed toward ending Pakistani support of the Taliban, narcotics trafficking, and religious extremism.

#### *Aftermath of 9/11 Incident:*

President George W. Bush and his administration conveyed even more vigorously the U.S. distinction between India and Pakistan and the new, positive U.S. attitude toward New Delhi. As the Bush administration sought to add a new strategic component to the U.S.-Indian relationship, it ultimately saw India as a potential counterweight to China. Pakistan, on the other hand, which had returned to military rule in October 1999, was increasingly isolated internationally and virtually off the radar screen for the United States. India appeared close to achieving its long-sought objective of marginalizing Pakistani relations with the United States. In Islamabad, fears grew that the Bush administration was leaning toward India.

The 9/11 changed the whole scenario and the new U.S. war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda brought Pakistan at the central stage. Though Pervez Musharraf hoped that, by offering military bases and other support to the United States, he could salvage some gains from the old Afghan policy and retain a little political leverage in Kabul: end Pakistan's political isolation; prevent U.S. targeting of his nuclear assets; and gain U.S. economic as well as political support for Pakistan's Kashmir policy vis-à-vis India.

In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, India was quick to offer full military cooperation in the unfolding U.S. war against terrorism. New Delhi's decision was widely unexpected and new for Indian foreign policy, which had been shaped for decades by the principles of nonalignment. India's offer was based on New Delhi's assessment that a decisive moment in world affairs had arrived and should be seized firmly. India also believed that supporting the U.S. war on terrorism would go a long way in dealing with its own security threats from Pakistan's support of terrorism in Kashmir and beyond.

In India, however, renewed U.S. economic assistance to Pakistan and U.S. lionization of Musharraf for his contributions to the war against terrorism caused deep disappointment among those who hoped that the events of September 11 would solidify and heighten U.S.-Indian relations.

### **PAKISTAN AS MAJOR NON-NATO ALLY**

Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) is a designation given by the United States government to exceptionally close allies who have close strategic working relationships with American forces but are not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. While the MNNA status does not automatically include a mutual defence pact with the United States, it does confer a variety of military and financial advantages that otherwise are not obtainable by countries not in NATO. Pakistan has been given the status of MNNA after September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 attack and Pakistan's support for the war on terrorism.

### **Troika of Pak-US-India Relations**

The globalization of South Asian security promulgated by the events of September 11 brought an increase in U.S.-Indian consultation on sub continental security issues. Among the three powers of South Asia, Pakistan, China and India, US views China as posing a challenge to its power and influence in Asia as China's economic and military power is growing at a much faster pace. United States is therefore engaging in building a security structure aimed at containing China. US views that India has the potential of becoming bulwark against China. It sees a vast market for its defence and commercial products. It seeks India to become its junior partner to promote its global agenda.

The US posture towards India, which is in the process of being shaped right now, would determine the military, political, societal and economic realities in South Asia, Central Asia, Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, China, Russia, Japan and the entire Indian Ocean region.

On 2 March 2006, during the presidential visit, they signed a civilian nuclear cooperation pact termed by Bush a "historic agreement." The agreement showed India's willingness to separate its military and civilian nuclear facilities. In the agreement, United States is proposing to change 35 years of non-proliferation policy by finding a way for a country that has developed nuclear weapons capability outside the boundaries of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to participate in the system.



As the U.S. administration has not bothered Pakistan as a global ally against war of Terrorism. Regarding this issue, Pakistan sensitivities still stand unresolved. Now Pakistan will likely receive the baton of nuclear assistance from China. Shortly after the deal was announced, Pakistan expressed interest in purchasing nuclear reactors from China. As China has already assisted Pakistan's civilian program in the past and was named by the CIA as the "principal supplier" of the Pakistani weapons program. In the wake of the US-Indian strategic partnership, Pakistan would be looking for other allies as well such as China and Russia. "Pakistan's comprehensive, long-term and stable friendly relations with China have been a factor of stability in an otherwise volatile region."

The US-Indian partnership could disturb Pakistan's strategic relationship with India which would, in turn, impact on Pakistan's role of a balancer in South Asia. Any further increase in the strategic gap in conventional forces between India and Pakistan, therefore, would disturb the balance of power in South Asia in India's favour. The pact showed that compared to Pakistan, the US accorded a higher priority ...to its "fast growing relations with India" which the US accepted as the "dominant power" in South Asia.

Pakistan should be aware of the US supplies to India of anti-missile systems and other new weapon systems including conventional armaments which would cost \$5 billion. Pakistan should maintain a credible deterrent at the lowest possible cost without entering into an arms race with India. Within this context, the US-Indian strategic cooperation should not further aggravate the strategic imbalance in conventional forces between India and Pakistan.

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## Pakistan China Relations

### Outline:

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### 1. Historical Background:

[[ Pakistan has enjoyed a remarkably close relationship with China, almost from the very early years of its independence. Considering that the two countries have been ideologically far apart, and have at times even belonged to two opposite military blocs, China-Pakistan friendship has aroused considerable curiosity and various explanations have been offered for this seemingly odd



couple."<sup>1</sup>

Pakistan has an enduring, multi-dimensional and comprehensive relationship with China. This is an all-weather friendship that is not subject to the vagaries of time. It is based on mutuality of interest. Expediency finds no place in Pakistan's abiding ties of friendship and mutual cooperation. Pakistan's ties with China constitute a corner stone of Pakistan's foreign policy and a fundamental element in Pakistan's quest for regional peace and stability. Both countries are poised to enter the new millennium as partners.

Friendship with China constitutes the cornerstone of our foreign policy. In pursuance of our policy of maintaining a time-honoured friendship and Pakistan's desire for maximum balance and diversification in its external relations has also led to close relations with China - a valuable geopolitical connection. "Traditionally, the driving factor for China was a hedge against India, and for Pakistan it was gaining access to civilian and military resources. It has been called "all-weather friendship", "comprehensive friendship" and recently, "an indispensable partnership."

## 2. Recognition of Communist China:

In 1950, Pakistan recognized new People's Republic of China, the third non-communist state and the first Muslim country to do so. As Pakistan was preoccupied by internal challenges in first few years (Kashmir conflict and settlement of refugees), interaction was limited. S.M. Amin gives an economic logic behind the Pakistan recognition of Communist China with these words; "Pakistan was faced with a major economic problem in 1949 when India has suddenly stopped trading with Pakistan since it had not followed India's example in devaluating its currency. Pakistan was, therefore, desperate to find an alternative market for selling its raw jute and cotton as also to locate a supply source for coal. Trade with China thus fitted in very admirably with this situation. For these reasons, Pakistan was among the first nations to recognize Communist China and establish relations with it."<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Joining of SEATO and CENTO & Chinese Attitude:

Owing to the threat from India, which had not really accepted partition, Pakistan was obliged to join Western Pacts in

<sup>1</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.157

<sup>2</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.157-158

1954 with SEATO ostensibly directed against China. However, China accepted Pakistan's response that this was purely for national security. The similarity of their worldview, was established when the two cooperated at the Bandung Conference in 1955, where they resisted Nehru's efforts to dominate. It was followed by exchange of visits between Prime Ministers, Zhou Enlai and Suhrawardy in 1956.

## 4. Sino-Indian War (1962)

The period of Sino-Indian cordiality as marked by slogan "Hindi-Chinese bhai bhai" (Indians and Chinese are brothers to each other), differences arose over the boundary settlement. Major differences concerned 90,000 square kilometres of territory, under Indian occupation in the eastern sector (then called NEFA, now renamed Aruna-Chal Pradesh) and 38000 square kilometers in the western sector, adjoining Kashmir, in Aksai Chin, that was under Chinese control. As China became isolated internationally, with both Super Powers opposed to it after the Sino-Soviet rift of 1959, India felt encouraged to take advantage and adopted a Forward Policy that led to a border conflict in late 1962. "During the Sino-India border conflict of 1962, Pakistan had to suffer and withstand enormous pressure mounted by our Western allies to support India and condemn China."<sup>3</sup> The US and UK rushed military aid to China without consulting their ally Pakistan, which now realised the need to improve relations with China. A well-known scholar, S.M. Burke describes the Chinese understanding about Kashmir like this, "During the discussion of the Sino-Indian boundary by Indian and Chinese officials in 1960, China refused to discuss the boundary west of Karakoram Pass between China's Sinkiang and Kashmir because of the present actual situation in Kashmir. It was at this juncture that India, for the first time, woke up to the reality that China had declined to recognize the accession of Kashmir to India."<sup>4</sup> Negotiations were started to settle their border and an Agreement was signed in 1963.

## 5. Period of General Ayub Khan:

The deterioration in Sino-Indian relations that culminated in the 1962 border war provided new opportunities for Pakistan's relations with China. The two countries reached agreement on the border between them, and a road was built linking China's Xinjiang-Uygur "autonomous Region with the Northern Areas of Pakistan".

<sup>3</sup> Ahmed, Javeed, *Pakistan's Political, Economic & Diplomatic Dynamics*, p.152

<sup>4</sup> Burke, S.M., *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, p.218



Pakistan-China friendship got off to a very good start as China conceded an area of over 750 square miles on its side of the Karakoram watershed, which was used seasonally by pastoral nomads in the Hunza area. "The border talks between Pakistan and China were, therefore, taking place in the backdrop of growing tensions between China and India, as well as Pakistan's alienation with the West. The Pakistan-China agreement was signed in March 1963, a few months after the border war between India and China. In the view of many observers, Pakistan was able to secure a favourable border settlement with China under which the latter had made important concessions when judged against its previous position."<sup>5</sup> This fact contradicts Indian allegations that Pakistan conceded a large area to the Chinese.

China's virtual isolation imposed by global airlines ended when an air services agreement was signed in 1963 and the airport at Shanghai was completed in a few months to enable the Pakistan International Airline (PIA) to start the service in April 1964, so that Chinese leaders began flying to Europe and Africa via Karachi. Pakistan was also able to transfer Western technology to China for defensive purposes.

"In January 1963, Pakistan and China signed a trade agreement followed a few months later by an agreement on air services. In fact, relations between Pakistan and China kept improving to such an extent that, in July 1963, Foreign Minister Bhutto told Parliament that, in case of an India attack, Pakistan would not be alone as such an Indian attack would involve the territorial integrity and security of the largest state in Asia."<sup>6</sup>

### War of 1965:

Pakistan received important benefits from this relationship, notably military supplies during the 1965 conflict with India, when China also put political pressure on India. Even Lt. Gen. (Retired) Syed Refaat commented about the role of China with these words, "On September 19, 1965 the British High Commissioner called on President Ayub, and warned the president that if the Chinese plunged into the conflict, the game would then be played by the others, including the nuclear power....The nuclear powers would

<sup>5</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.160

<sup>6</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.160

take over.... A drastic move might enlarge the conflict in such a way that there will be no Kashmir to fight for, neither Pakistan nor for that matter United Kingdom or any other country."<sup>7</sup>

But for this support, Pakistan would have been in a much weaker position at the post-war Peace Conference at Tashkent. Indeed, the US took a highly critical view of Pakistan's developing relations with China and following the initiation of the air link, cancelled aid earmarked for improving the Dhaka Airport.

China supported Pakistan diplomatically in both its 1965 and 1971 wars with India and provided Pakistan with economic and military assistance. Shahid M. Amin commented about the role of China in the war of 19645 with these words, "China sent a warning to India through the American Embassy in Poland, not to attack East Pakistan. This was believed by many to have deterred India from attacking the lightly defended eastern wing of Pakistan."<sup>8</sup>

Lt. Gen. (Retired) Syed Refaat also describes the consequences of this war upon the Pak-China relationships with these words, "By her actions during and after the 1965 War, China succeeded to add a new dimension to our mutual relations. These shifted from the sanitized and structured plane of inter-governmental relations into the heart and thoughts of the people of Pakistan."<sup>9</sup>

### General Yahya Khan and China:

After the election of Nixon to White House in 1969, he reviewed the US policy towards China. As the principal military threat came from the Soviet Union, the US could take advantage of Sino-Soviet differences and Pakistan became the intermediary to facilitate this rapprochement. US National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger travelled to Beijing secretly via Islamabad in July 1971, at a time when President General Yahya Khan was dealing with an Indian prompted insurgency in East Pakistan, following a crackdown in March. Indian forces began intervening and Pakistan declared war in the West also. The isolated Pakistan forces in East Pakistan, surrendered on December 16, and consequently, the Republic of Bangladesh was proclaimed. Prime Minister Indira

<sup>7</sup> Ahmed, Javeed, *Pakistan's Political, Economic & Diplomatic Dynamics*, p.152

<sup>8</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.161

<sup>9</sup> Ahmed, Javeed, *Pakistan's Political, Economic & Diplomatic Dynamics*, p.152



Gandhi was preparing to launch an all-out assault on West Pakistan when the US intervened through Moscow and a cease-fire followed.

The Soviet Union, which had been locked in a bitter ideological and political dispute with China for over a decade, leading to the armed clash along the Ussuri river border in 1969, became so perturbed by the incipient shift in the Asia-Pacific balance of power from Nixon's opening to China, that it moved at once to counter it by concluding with India a friendship treaty in August 1971.....the main purpose of this Treaty of friendship and Cooperation was to deter China from intervening to assist Pakistan in the event of an armed attack by India to effect the secession of East Pakistan."<sup>10</sup>

### Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his Chinese policy:

China had advised Pakistan to resolve the crisis in East Pakistan politically, rather than through military means, when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was sent to China in November 1971. After he assumed power on December 20, 1971, the first country, he visited officially was China in January 1972. It is worth mentioning that China played a special role in securing the release of 90,000 Pakistani POWs that were in Indian custody by threatening to veto the entry of Bangladesh into the UN, unless they were released.

"The Ford Administration lifted the arms embargo in 1975 and agreed to sell some military equipment to Pakistan on a case by case basis. But as the United States no longer looked to be a significant military supplier, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto turned to China, France and other military suppliers for acquiring the means of self-defence."<sup>11</sup>

### Period of General Zia-ul-Haq:

The Sino-US strategic convergence in opposing Soviet militancy following the US defeat in Vietnam in 1975 also became a factor, notably after the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan in 1979. Pakistan played the role of a frontline state over the decade of 1979-89 and there were frequent consultations between the two countries. In addition, the range of cooperation between the two countries expanded constantly, with a Treaty for cooperation in Peaceful uses of Nuclear Technology signed in 1986.

<sup>10</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p. 212-213

<sup>11</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p. 213

### Cooperation during the period 1989-2001:

The defeat of the Soviet Union was followed by the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe, and the global democratic wave of 1989 was also felt in China, where agitation started among workers and students in Beijing in the spring of that year. The Chinese government allowed these protests to proceed for several weeks, but it appears that some foreign agitators penetrated the movement that then turned violent, killing several soldiers. The government finally acted, putting down the agitation by force, after obtaining the approval of supreme leader, Deng Xiaoping. Party leader Zhao Ziyang was removed for lack of firmness and stricter discipline enforced by Premier Li Peng. Many Western, the US and Australia imposed sanctions on China for using force to put down the agitation. However, China's policy of opening to the outside world was continued and the pace of development and modernisation maintained.

Pakistan's relations with China increased in importance over this period, as the US and the West had imposed sanctions on economic assistance and transfer of technology. President Jiang Zemin, visited both India and Pakistan in 1994 and called for a dialogue between them to resolve their differences peacefully. He also agreed to provide an additional nuclear power station to Pakistan. A third nuclear power reactor, named Chashma-III is under installation at present.

Sino-Pakistan relations were reinforced by increased cooperation in the areas of defence production and space technology and China remained a reliable source of defence equipment, during a period its technical collaboration was growing with Russia and even Israel. The area of trade and economic cooperation lagged behind owing to heavy dependence by Pakistan on its traditional partners, such as US, Europe and Japan.

### Post 9/11 Sino-Pak Friendship:

The global outlook and political direction were transformed at the turn of the century. Firstly, President George W. Bush adopted a unilateralist approach, seeking world hegemony on the basis of US military and technological superiority. The terrorist attacks on the US on September 11, 2001, led the US to declare war on terror and adopted a policy of pre-emptive strike against any possible threat.

Both Pakistan and China have become allies of the US in the war against terror and this has transformed their relations with the US. It has also had a serious impact on their bilateral relations as both have realised the importance of fighting poverty and



backwardness that contribute to insecurity and terrorism. The post 9/11 phase has seen the emphasis in bilateral relations shift to increasing economic and trade relations. In 2001, the year marking 50 years of diplomatic relations, Premier Zhu Rongji announced several mega projects including the Gwadar Port, Lakhra Coal and others, during his visit to Pakistan in May that year.

Pakistan-China relationship has gained more importance as the US has developed a strategic partnership with India. The agreement to transfer peaceful nuclear technology to India, a country that is not a signatory to NPT and has gone overtly nuclear as well, and the limitless sale of sophisticated arms to New Delhi are clearly a part of the plan to build India into a great power. The ultimate goal of this policy is the containment of China.

It may be added that Pakistan was admitted into Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) as an Observer in 2005, and President Musharraf attended the summit in Shanghai in 2006. Sino-Pakistan defence and military cooperation is growing. Under the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Mutual Assistance, signed during the visit of Premier Wen Jiabao in April 2005, the two countries agreed that they would not allow their territory to be used for aggression against the other. The two countries have signed a Free Trade Agreement and agreed to increase bilateral trade five times, during the visit of President Hu Jintao in 2006.

### **Pakistani Support for Chinese Stance:**

Pakistan has always stood by China on all issues important to China, especially those related to the question of China's sovereignty e.g., Hong Kong, Taiwan and Tibet and other sensitive issues such as human rights especially at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. The Chinese leadership have never failed to appreciate the steadfast support of Pakistan on issues of their concern. They are also generous in acknowledging the significant role of Pakistan in the early 70's, which enabled China to break its isolation from the West and the US. Viewed in the light of global dramatic changes, continued permanence of Sino-Pakistan relations is remarkable. These relations, based on complete trust and understanding are strong and forward-looking.

There was a change of regime in Pakistan also in 1999 and in President Musharraf's first visit to China in January 2000, special emphasis was placed on building economic relations. Premier Zhu Rongji visited Pakistan in May 2001 to mark 50 years of diplomatic relations. During this visit, six agreements and one MoU were signed, covering economic and technical cooperation, tourism,

lease of Saindak Copper-Gold Project, supply of locomotives and passenger coaches to Pakistan Railways. The MoU was signed between China's ZTE and PTCL on communications. Premier Zhu Rongji also announced support for Gwadar Seaport, whose construction started in 2002.

High-level visits in the succeeding years have added new areas and dimensions for economic cooperation. President Musharraf's visit in November 2003 resulted in a "Joint Declaration on Direction of Bilateral Relations that also laid greater emphasis on expanding economic cooperation. The visit of Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in December 2004 marked the signing of seven agreements that envisaged increase in bilateral trade, setting up joint agro-based industries, and increase in Chinese investment in Pakistan. China provided a preferential credit of US\$ 500 million out of which US\$ 150 million was for phase-II of the Chashma Nuclear Power Plant. The Prime Minister laid emphasis on import of capital from China and since then Chinese investment has risen to over US\$ 4 billion that is financing 114 projects. A new Pakistani consulate was also opened at Shanghai. From the Chinese side, the visit of Premier Wen Jiabao in April 2005 became a landmark in all round cooperation through the signing of 21 agreements and MoUs. Initial steps were taken towards establishing a free trade area between the two countries, by bringing to zero all tariffs on 767 items.

### **Pakistan as Economic Corridor**

As Pakistan provides the shortest possible route from Gwadar through Karakoram Highway to the western region of China, as well as to adjoining Central Asian countries of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, this is being developed as "trade and energy corridor" which has many advantages over the sea route via the straits of Malacca. This alternative is being developed since the visit of Premier Wen Jiabao to South Asia in 2005, by holding Annual Trade and Development Fairs at Kashgar in southern Xinjiang, which is the terminus for the Karakoram Highway in China, while the terminus in Pakistan is Abbottabad that has become a sister city of Kashgar. China is committed to upgrading the Karakoram Highway to a double-track, year round highway and there are also plans to link the Chinese railway system to that of Pakistan, by building a track from Kashgar to Abbottabad. When the short railway link is built to connect Zahidan to Kerman in Iran, western China and Central Asia will also be connected by railway to an Asia-Europe network via Iran and Turkey. The major part of the funds for the Karakoram Highway-Gwadar link is being provided by



China as a part of its vision for greater economic integration of western China with south and west Asia.

Pakistan will thus be a major beneficiary of China's peaceful development. The development of Western China in particular will provide ready markets for Pakistani goods and the scope for expanding exports of fruit and fish is already being explored. The appetite in Pakistan for Chinese consumer and industrial goods is truly enormous, but for achieving balance, China has to invest heavily in industries in Pakistan as well as provide guaranteed markets in China. The annual Kashgar Fairs are engaged in achieving this.

The relations between close friends and neighbours Pakistan and China have been in focus on multiple levels; from the purchase of nuclear reactors, to collaboration on energy exploration and joint production of F-17 fighter jets. Increasingly, as the Pakistan-China relations branch into the trade, commerce, energy and infrastructure field, the truth about this relationship is very clear. It will facilitate Pakistan's key national objective of structurally positioning itself as the connecting hub in trade and energy transportation connecting South and Central Asia and China. As the two countries explore joint ventures in the field of energy, there are already major infrastructure projects.

These include the Gwadar seaport, the coastal highway, and the upgradation of the Karakoram Highway projects. The Pakistan-China relationship has been a dynamic relationship whose compulsions and contents have changed with the changing geopolitical context. Its dynamism enables it to survive major realignments globally, and in Asia specifically. In fact, it is a relationship in which a high level of political will has been invested to make it into a relationship that is capable of proactively responding to the changing demands of a changing context.

The Pakistan-China bilateral relationship continues to be an uninterrupted, trust-bound and genuinely all-weather relationship. It has survived geo-strategic changes in the face of tectonic scales, including wars, uprisings, invasions, break-ups of nations and rapprochements. Improving Indo-Sino relations from 1989 onward, end of the Soviet Union, post- 9/11, Pakistan as a lead country in the war-on-terror, the emergence of a unipolar world, and finally the US and Indian strategic convergence. These changes have led to a changed national agenda of the Chinese, and by extension, impacted on the relationship.

On the Indo-US deal, both China and Pakistan have serious reservations. The nuclear deal propels strategic instability

and raises 'security anxiety' for Pakistan. At the strategic level, the deal is a setback. To many Pakistanis, it appears that the US views Britain, Japan, South Korea and India as poles for the containment of China and Islam. Pakistan cannot be ignored.

Pakistan is concerned about diversifying its security portfolio. Going beyond conventional and non-conventional means of deterrence, Pakistan is now seeking security through economic development and trade. Its trade figures with China, Afghanistan and India have all shot up. China and Pakistan are poised to widen the Silk Road between them by building a free trade area. Many of the Chinese businesses are now taking interest in investing in Pakistan. About 500 foreign companies are now operating in Pakistan, 60 of which are Chinese. Many of these companies are operating in the public utilities and infrastructure sectors, such as mining, telecommunication and energy. However, Pakistani investment in China is relatively small.

### **Chinese Cooperation in Defense Equipment:**

Moreover, China provides Pakistan with the following defense aid like nuclear technology and assistance, including what many experts suspect was the blueprint for Pakistan's nuclear bomb. Pakistan's army has both short- and medium-range ballistic missiles that experts say came from China and, indirectly, North Korea. Pakistan is producing JF-17 Thunder aircraft jointly with China, which India worries could be used to deliver nuclear weapons. Pakistan also has a longstanding order—yet to be filled—for dozens of F-16 jet fighters from the United States for its air force. China has sold arms and even complete weapons systems to Pakistan, as well as setting up arms factories in Pakistan.

China is a major trading partner with Pakistan, accounting for nearly 11 per cent of Islamabad's imports in 2004. Pakistan is welcoming investments from China more than anywhere else because Chinese are our brothers and time-tested friends. The two countries have cooperated on a variety of large-scale infrastructure projects in Pakistan, including highways, gold and copper mines, major electricity complexes and power plants, and numerous nuclear power projects.

### **Educational Exchanges:**

Under the Cultural Exchange Programme, the Chinese Government annually offers 20 scholarships (5 Ph.D., 12 MS, 5 Chinese language) to Pakistani students while the Government of Pakistan offers 6 scholarships to Chinese students. International Islamic University (IIU), Islamabad offers 6 scholarships to the



Chinese students nominated by China Islamic Association. IIU also offers participation in its seminars.

Scientific and technical cooperation between China and Pakistan is based on an agreement signed in May 1976. A joint Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation, constituted under the agreement, chalks out programme of activities, called S&T Protocol, on an annual basis. To-date, 13 S&T Protocols have been implemented while 14th S&T Protocol, signed on 29 July 1997 in Beijing, is under implementation.

### **Cultural Ties:**

A cultural agreement signed in 1965 generally covers exchanges in the fields of arts, performing arts, education, sports, news media, religious and youth affairs. The protocol for such exchanges under the cultural agreement is renewed on annual basis. The last cultural protocol for 1996-97 was signed in December 1995.

Despite the improvement in the US- Pak relations since September 11, 2001, Pakistan continues to look up to China for its entire military and nuclear development requirements. The 2005 'Pakistan-China Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation and Good Neighbourly Relations' is promoted as a fundamental instrument to strengthen strategic, economic and cultural relations. Of these, strategic cooperation, especially around counter-terrorism, and enhancing economic cooperation are the core drivers of the Sino-Pakistani alliance.

### **Economic Ties:**

Sino-Pakistani economic relations are based, first, on economic development aimed at keeping Pakistan stable to avoid any fallout spilling into Xinjiang; and, second, on access to crucial maritime routes to secure China's energy supplies through the Strait of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf. The latter would also allow China to diversify its energy routes by bypassing Indian and US influence in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. By investing in Pakistan also keeps perceived Indian ambitions in check, as Indian and US observers become more concerned about Chinese maritime ambitions regarding the 'String of Pearls' - a reference to ports in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Burma (Myanmar) that are available for China to use. Between a rising global power and Pakistan as a rising regional power, there are three elements of the future Pakistan-China relations. One, the relationship is effectively adapting to the changing regional and global scenarios. Two, improvements in Sino-Indian relations are not adversely impacting

on the substance of Sino-Pak ties; and three, Pak-Sino ties are being deepened and broadened. Gwadar is a very good example of this. One of the most significant ongoing projects between the two nations is the construction of major port complex at the naval base of Gwadar on the Arabian Sea. The complex, which is partially completed, will provide a port, warehouses, and industrial facilities for more than twenty countries. The port will eventually be able to receive oil tankers with a capacity of 200,000 tons, as well as link Afghanistan and Central Asia to the sea. The area will be declared a free-trade zone to try to build it into the commercial hub of the region. In return for providing most of the labor and capital for the project, China will gain strategic access to the Persian Gulf and a naval outpost on the Indian Ocean from which to protect its oil imports from the Middle East.

The bulk of Chinese investment in Pakistan is aimed at the public sector and is estimated to be worth billions of dollars. From 2012 China and Pakistan are planning to implement 36 projects worth \$14 billion over the next five years under the Five Year Development Programme for Trade and Economic Cooperation. But many of these investments are not direct cash transfers, which leaves a question mark over the actual amount of Chinese investment, which has thus far focused on public-sector financing and assistance in engineering and scientific research and development. In 2011 Chinese direct investments to Pakistan reached \$1.36 billion. They are concentrated on strategic sectors where state involvement is important: defence, nuclear energy, transportation, space programmes, telecommunications, electronic products and energy.

### **Chinese Projects in Pakistan:**

#### **Karakoram Highway:**

The Karakoram Highway, completed in 1986, has served as a vital artery connecting China's western regions to Pakistan. An agreement to upgrade the highway, which needs perennial maintenance owing to landslides, heavy snow and earthquakes, has been delayed as a result of the devastating floods in 2010 and 2011. The upgrade is meant to ease commercial exchanges to further integrate Pakistan's economy with northwestern China.

#### **Chinese Role in Construction of Gwadar:**

China played a leading role in the finance and construction of the port at Gwadar in Balochistan, investing \$1.6 billion in the project. However, since opening in 2008 Gwadar has yet to see



significant commercial activity. It was operated by the Port Authority of Singapore until 2011. Its attractiveness derives from its location as a deep, warm-water port, 250 miles from the Strait of Hormuz through which 40% of the world's oil supplies are transported. China's hesitation on committing to running the port is indicative of its reservations about the precarious security environment in Pakistan, and particularly Balochistan, where a local Balochi insurgency has regularly targeted infrastructure projects such as gas pipelines in the province. The media reports around the handing over of the running of Gwadar port from the Singapore Port Authority to the Chinese that emerged in September 2012 will only amplify the existing concerns over Chinese maritime ambitions.

China's economic interest in Pakistan is based on having significant enough influence to secure the 'energy-trade' corridor through Pakistan from Xinjiang to Gwadar port. Realizing the full potential of Gwadar depends on the Pakistani government being able to provide security in Balochistan. Pakistan's internal security issues pose serious challenges to the relationship. This dampens the prospect of the energy-trade corridor becoming a reality in the near future.

### **Chinese Role in Balochistan:**

In Balochistan, in addition to Gwadar, there are two major joint mining ventures, a copper-gold mine at Saindak and the Duddar zinc-led mine project. Pakistan's marble and granite sector doubled its exports to China from \$29.1 million in 2010 to \$63.5 million in 2011. The extraction of these minerals, the fruits of which are seen to benefit the federal government rather than the local Baloch population, is a point of serious contention between Baloch nationalists and Islamabad.

### **Haier-Rub Economic Zone:**

In early 2007 Pakistan and China began a joint venture developing the Haier-Rub Economic Zone near Lahore, the capital of Punjab province. It is the first overseas Chinese special economic zone and is aimed at building Pakistan's capacity to become a regional industrial hub. Pakistan's chronic energy crisis has created the need to develop its hydroelectric power sector. In 2009 and 2012 memoranda of understanding were signed for the construction of 12 small- and middle- capacity dams in Pakistan as well as for Chinese financial and technical support for the Bunji dam in Pakistan's northern areas and enhancing the country's water supply.

### **Signing of Free Trade Area (FTA)**

While the United States outranks China in private investment as the latter focuses its investments on the public sector, Sino-Pakistani trade is currently 20% higher than US-Pakistani trade. It was only in the late 1990s that the total value of Sino-Pakistani two-way commerce began to shoot upward, expanding from less than \$1 billion in 1998 to \$2.4 billion in 2002, then to nearly \$7 billion in 2007. This growth was spurred by the 2006 visit of Hu Jintao to Pakistan, when a bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) was signed, directed at raising the value of trade between the two countries and facilitating exports of Pakistani agricultural produce to China. Bilateral trade registered an overall growth of 22%, rising to \$10.6 billion in 2011 from \$8.7 billion in 2010. However, the level of bilateral trade is still fairly low for a number of reasons, including Pakistan's limited range of commodities for export. China focuses on exporting cheap goods to Pakistan. On the whole, the FTA has benefited China more than Pakistan as the latter's exports are unable to compete in the Chinese market. Pakistan principally exports textiles and cotton to China but the relative advantage it had in producing finished textiles has now been usurped by the ability of Chinese factories to produce finished goods at a lower unit price.





## Pak-India Relations

### Outline

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### Historical Background:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah commented before the partition of subcontinent that "Pakistan wanted to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate relations."<sup>1</sup> Agha Shahi, a famous Pakistani diplomat terms the Pak-India relations with these words; "Pakistan and India, are the inheritors of two of the richest cultures and civilizations of the world. Along with the other countries of South Asia, they are also among the poorest segments of mankind.... It is a tragedy of their short history as independent states that their mutual antagonism plunged them into three wars and, when not engaged

in fighting, has kept them close to the brink."<sup>2</sup>

Since partition, relations between Pakistan and India have been characterized by rivalry and suspicion. Although many issues divide the two countries, the most sensitive one since independence has been the status of Kashmir. A major focus in Pakistan's foreign policy is the continuing quest for security against India, its large, more powerful, and generally hostile neighbour. On 20 February, British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee announced that the British Government intended to transfer power by a date not later than June 1948, that Wavell would be succeeded by Mountbatten in March 1947 who would be entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India. For the partition of India, the Government of British India approved a plan known as 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan in the history. The Radcliffe Award was resulted into British revenge and shameful demarcation, which provided a large number of territories from provinces of Punjab and Bengal to India. Like in Bengal, Calcutta having the only major port, a biggest commercial, industrial, commercial and education center, was handed over to India. Similarly India and Pakistan were separated by 1000 miles of land territory. Different territories of Bengal like Murshadabad, Nadiya, Jaysore, Malda and Daniyaj Pur, In Assam, two Muslim majority areas of Badarpur and Karim Ganj, were also transferred to India. Sylhet which was opted for East Bengal through referendum, it was also given to India. According to this award, total area of about 6000 square miles was given to India, consisting of approximately 3.5 million populations. A well-known writer, **Ch. Muhammad Ali**, describes in his book, "The Emergence of Pakistan", "East Pakistan dealt a staggering blow at the time of partition when Calcutta became part of India. Over 90 percent of the industrial units in undivided Bengal were located in Calcutta or nearby, in West Bengal."<sup>3</sup>

Similarly in Punjab, four districts like Jullunder, Ferozpur, Gurdaspur and Ambala were handed over to India, which were having the Muslim majority population. Gurdaspur had four tehsils like Batala, Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Shakar garh, in which only Pathan kot was the Hindu majority area, but the other three tehsils were consisted of Muslim majority population. Batala was the Muslim industrial town, but Batala, Gurdaspur and Pathankot were transferred to India, but Shakar Ganj was given to Pakistan.

<sup>1</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.14

<sup>2</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security And Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p.238

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.335



The Radcliff Award also provided an excess of Jammu Katwa road, which was the only link between Gurdaspur and Batala, was given to India. In this way, this excess allowed India a safe passage to Kashmir. In order to appease Sikhs, Amritsar was handed over to India. But as a whole, it was a Muslim majority area. Jullunder, which consisted of two tehsils Jullunder and Nikodar, were transferred to India. In United India, Ferozpur housed an important Indian army arsenal. Ferozpur district, which was situated at the East of Sutluj River in which Ferozpur and Zirra head works were located, was also awarded to India. It was the only way to irrigate West Punjab. The natives of these areas were thinking that they were going to intermingle with Pakistan. The award was to be announced on 9 August, but it announced on 17 August 1947. Therefore, this award was declared as an unjust.

After the independence of Pakistan, the Indian government remained reluctant to pay the share of Pakistan out of the cash balance of four billion. The share of Pakistan was 750 million rupees. India in spite of world pressure; became ready to pay the amount if Pakistan would surrender Kashmir valley to India. Gandhi interfered in the matter and partial payment of 200 million was released.

At the time of Independence, the princely states were given options either to accede India or Pakistan, or to remain independent. However, the future of these states remained undecided and created conflict between India and Pakistan, Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagarh. From the strategic point of view, Kashmir has an important position and boundaries with Tibet, China, Afghanistan and Russia. It was a Muslim majority state and people wanted to accede to Pakistan, but its ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh of Dogra Hindu Dynasty wanted to align with India. India took this issue and filed complaints before UN. Later the Security Council of UN decided that the future of Kashmir would be decided according to the wishes of people.

Similarly Hyderabad had a great importance as a state. It had an annual revenue of about 260 million, own currency and stamps. Its ruler was a Muslim, but its population was Hindu. The Nizam of Hyderabad requested Viceroy Mountbatten for the independent status, but Viceroy pressed him to accede to India. Though Hyderabad filed a complaint before UN Security Council, but India seized it by military operation and incorporated it into different provinces of Indian Union. This complaint before UN is still pending.

Junagarh was a maritime state, about 300 miles down the

coast from Karachi. Its ruler was Muslim, but its population was Hindus and non-Muslims. India also seized Junagarh on 7 November 1947. Pakistan, at that time, was not in a position to defend Junagarh.

The natural flow of rivers in the province of Punjab was affected by the partition of the province. Radcliff Award not only divided the area of Punjab between India and Pakistan geographically, rather it gave canals to Pakistan and its control to India. In 1948, this issue became more serious, when India stopped the flow of water coming to Pakistan. This stoppage also created major problems to obstruct the irrigation schemes in Pakistan. The river waters are source of life for Pakistan. If they are closed, the famine and destruction could be the fate of Pakistan. Later this issue was resolved in 1960 in the shape of Indus Water Agreement between India and Pakistan.

The millions of Muslim families migrated to Pakistan. The number of the Muslims who finally crossed the border was more than 125 million. The oppressed and depressed Muslims were temporarily provided accommodation in camps. The government steadily shifted the refugees in different provinces and districts to rehabilitate them.

The Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Their geographical position being what it is, India and Pakistan cannot help playing an important role in Asia....if India and Pakistan follow a contrary policy and are opposed to each other, they will obviously be neutralizing each other and cannot play that role....this conflict and wasteful effort will wipe us out from the face of the earth."<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Pakistan Search for Security:

In 1950, Pakistan recognized new People's Republic of China. As Pakistan was preoccupied by internal challenges in first few years (Kashmir conflict and settlement of refugees), interaction was limited. S.M. Amin gives an economic logic behind the Pakistan recognition of Communist China with these words; "Pakistan was faced with a major economic problem in 1949 when India has suddenly stopped trading with Pakistan since it had not followed India's example in devaluating its currency. Pakistan was, therefore, desperate to find an alternative market for selling its raw jute and cotton as also to locate a supply source for coal. Trade with China thus fitted in very admirably with this situation. For these reasons, Pakistan was among the first nations to recognize

<sup>4</sup> Burke, S.M., Pakistan's Foreign Policy, p.3



Communist China and establish relations with it."<sup>5</sup>

Owing to the threat from India, which had not really accepted partition, Pakistan was obliged to join Western Pacts in 1954 with SEATO ostensibly directed against China. However, China accepted Pakistan's response that this was purely for national security. The similarity of their worldview, was established when the two cooperated at the Bandung Conference in 1955, where they resisted Nehru's efforts to dominate.

The period of Sino-Indian cordiality as marked by slogan "Hindi-Chinese bhai bhai" (Indians and Chinese are brothers to each other), differences arose over the boundary settlement. The border issue between India and China isolated Chinese internationally. After the Sino-Soviet 1959 rift, India felt encouraged taking advantage and adopted a Forward Policy that led to a border conflict in late 1962. "During the Sino-India border conflict of 1962, Pakistan had to suffer and withstand enormous pressure mounted by our Western allies to support India and condemn China."<sup>6</sup> The US and UK rushed military aid to China without consulting their ally Pakistan, which now realised the need to improve relations with China. A well-known scholar, S.M. Burke describes the Chinese understanding about Kashmir like this, "During the discussion of the Sino-Indian boundary by Indian and Chinese officials in 1960, China refused to discuss the boundary west of Karakoram Pass between China's Sinkiang and Kashmir because of the present actual situation in Kashmir. It was at this juncture that India, for the first time, woke up to the reality that China had declined to recognize the accession of Kashmir to India."<sup>7</sup>

### 3. Period of General Ayub Khan:

The deterioration in Sino-Indian relations that culminated in the 1962 border war provided new opportunities for Pakistan's relations with China. The two countries reached agreement on the border between them, and a road was built linking China's Xinjiang-Uygur "autonomous Region with the Northern Areas of Pakistan". Pakistan-China friendship got off to a very good start as China conceded an area of over 750 square miles on its side of the Karakoram watershed, which was used seasonally by pastoral

<sup>5</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.157-158

<sup>6</sup> Ahmed, Javeed, *Pakistan's Political, Economic & Diplomatic Dynamics*, p.152

<sup>7</sup> Burke, S.M., *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, p.218

nomads in the Hunza area. This fact contradicts Indian allegations that Pakistan conceded a large area to the Chinese.

"In January 1963, Pakistan and China signed a trade agreement followed a few months later by an agreement on air services. In fact, relations between Pakistan and China kept improving to such an extent that, in July 1963, Foreign Minister Bhutto told Parliament that, in case of an India attack, Pakistan would not be alone as such an Indian attack would involve the territorial integrity and security of the largest state in Asia."<sup>8</sup>

### 4. War of 1965:

"Neither India nor Pakistan had planned the 1965 War; in fact, the two countries got drawn into this war through a series of miscalculations. The pride of the Indian army had been greatly hurt by its ignominious performance in the border war with China in 1962 in the high Himalayan region.....Just four months after the fighting in the Rann of Kutch, Pakistan commenced 'Operation Gibraltar,' a clandestine campaign of sending infiltrators across Indian-held Kashmir to stir a popular rising. Contrary to Pakistani expectations this venture snowballed into becoming the first full-scale war between India and Pakistan."<sup>9</sup>

Pakistan received important benefits from Chinese relationship, notably military supplies during the 1965 conflict with India, when China also put political pressure on India. Even Lt. Gen. (Retired) Syed Refaat commented about the role of China with these words, "On September 19, 1965 the British High Commissioner called on President Ayub, and warned the president that if the Chinese plunged into the conflict, the game would then be played by the others, including the nuclear power....The nuclear powers would take over.... A drastic move might enlarge the conflict in such a way that there will be no Kashmir to fight for, neither Pakistan nor for that matter United Kingdom or any other country."<sup>10</sup> But for this support, Pakistan would have been in a much weaker position at the post-war Peace Conference at Tashkent. Indeed, the US took a highly critical view of Pakistan's developing relations with China and following the initiation of the air link, cancelled aid earmarked for improving the Dhaka Airport. The

<sup>8</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.160

<sup>9</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.51

<sup>10</sup> Ahmed, Javeed, *Pakistan's Political, Economic & Diplomatic Dynamics*, p.152



Tashkent Agreement was extremely unpopular in Pakistan because it failed even to mention the Kashmir dispute-the core cause of the conflict between Pakistan and India.

"In the 1965 India-Pakistan war, President Johnson imposed a total US arms embargo against Pakistan. To maintain an appearance of even-handedness, he also stopped the trickle of residual military supplies to India.....the US encouraged Soviet mediation at the Tashkent Conference of January 1966 to bring about the withdrawal of the Pakistani and Indian forces to their own borders and the restoration of the status quo ante on Jammu and Kashmir."<sup>11</sup>

China supported Pakistan diplomatically in both its 1965 and 1971 wars with India and provided Pakistan with economic and military assistance. Shahid M. Amin commented about the role of China in the war of 19645 with these words, "China sent a warning to India through the American Embassy in Poland, not to attack East Pakistan. This was believed by many to have deterred India from attacking the lightly defended eastern wing of Pakistan."<sup>12</sup>

### 5. Episode of 1971 War:

The relations between two countries reached a new low in 1971, when India intervened militarily in support of secessionist forces in East Pakistan, thus playing an instrumental role in the creation of independent Bangladesh. Although the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 was fought over East Pakistan, heavy fighting also occurred along the Kashmir cease-fire line. "The Soviet Union was a superpower which, in strategic cooperation with India, had played a decisive role in the dismemberment of Pakistan by throwing its full weight behind the Indian military intervention in East Pakistan."<sup>13</sup>

### 6. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Indian Policy:

After the war of 1971, some 93000 Pakistani prisoners of war, who had surrendered in East Pakistan, were left in India's control which used them as bargaining chips at the peace negotiations at Simla in July 1972 between Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the next Pakistani Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto. The Simla Agreement was regarded by India as a pledge for peace by Pakistan with the tacit understanding that the Kashmir issue

<sup>11</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p.211-212

<sup>12</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.161

<sup>13</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p.7

would be kept on the backburner, only to be discussed bilaterally, if at all.

With the loss of its eastern part in 1971 Pakistan was, in geo-strategic terms, a different country. Its linkage with Southeast Asia was gone. It now seemed to be a part of the Middle East and Central Asia. It was after the dismemberment of East Pakistan that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto met with top Pakistani scientists in 1972 in which a decision was taken to develop nuclear weapons capability. "Bhutto reportedly said that Pakistanis would eat grass if necessary in order to develop the nuclear bomb. He had been convinced for several years that Pakistan should develop a nuclear deterrent. He knew that India had embarked upon a programme for the development of nuclear weapons despite its denials."<sup>14</sup>

### 7. Russia Invasion of Afghanistan and Indian Attitude:

An added source of tension in Indo-Pakistani relations concerned the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. India refused to condemn the Soviet action, while Pakistan provided sanctuary for Afghan refugees and was a conduit for supplying arms from the United States and others to the Afghan *Mujahideen*. During the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan, therefore, Pakistan felt an increased threat on both its eastern and north-western borders. The rise of militant Hinduism in India, and the accompanying violence against Muslims there, was a further source of uneasiness between the two countries.

"Moscow repeatedly warned Pakistan that it was playing with fire and threatened it with dire consequences. There were many strategists who advised caution and retreat. However, President Ziaul Haq saw the Communist take-over in Kabul and the later entry of the Red Army into Afghanistan, as a mortal threat to Pakistan itself and decided as he put it, to fight the battle for Pakistan inside Afghanistan."<sup>15</sup>

### 8. Aftermath of 11/9 Incident:

President George W. Bush and his administration conveyed even more vigorously the U.S. distinction between India and Pakistan and the new, positive U.S. attitude towards New Delhi. Indian quick and enthusiastic support of the U.S. missile defence initiative in May 2001 - so dear to the administration's

<sup>14</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.78

<sup>15</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.87



ideologues - first drew India closer to the Republican White House. As the Bush administration sought to add a new strategic component to the U.S.-Indian relationship, it ultimately saw India as a potential counterweight to China, which until September 11 ranked high on the list of newly designated possible enemies of the United States. U.S.-Indian relations just before the attacks, therefore, were marked by expectations of a new journey about to begin. Pakistan, on the other hand, which had returned to military rule in October 1999, was increasingly isolated internationally and virtually off the radar screen for the United States. In Islamabad, fears grew that the Bush administration was leaning towards India. The 11/9 incident changed all that, and the new U.S. war against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda brought Pakistan centre stage.

In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, India was quick to offer full military cooperation in the unfolding U.S. war against terrorism. India also believed that supporting the U.S. war on terrorism would go a long way in dealing with its own security threats from Pakistan's support of terrorism in Kashmir and beyond.

In India, however, renewed U.S. economic assistance to Pakistan and Musharraf's contributions to the war against terrorism caused deep disappointment among those who hoped that the events of September 11 would solidify and heighten U.S.-Indian relations. India continued to try his level best to rebuild his relationships with United States on long term basis by continuously blaming Pakistan as a Terrorist state and accusing him of many terrorists' attacks in India. India at last succeeded in gaining bilateral defence cooperation from US. For the first time in the history US considered transferring of nuclear weapons to India.

### Irritants in Pak-India Relations

Rajiv Gandhi, Ex-Prime Minister of India describes about the problems of Pak-India relationship with these words, "Why has the Pakistan-India relationship, in general, been one of conflict and confrontation? What are the issues that have militated against their peaceful coexistence and amicable settlement of their disputes and differences?"<sup>16</sup>

### Kashmir issue:

"More than anything else, in the aftermath of independence, it was the Kashmir dispute which was to create special bitterness in the bilateral relations between Pakistan and

<sup>16</sup> Shahi, Agha, *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy* (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1988), p.239

India. In fact, this has remained the crux of the difficulties between the two countries. It seems that both sides view it not merely as a territorial dispute or an issue of the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination but there have been deep underlying ideological antagonisms and centuries-old prejudices and misgivings."<sup>17</sup>

This dispute dates back to the partition of the British Indian Empire, in August 1947, into two independent states, Pakistan and India. At that time there were also around 565 princely states, large and small, which were under British suzerainty but were not directly ruled by the British Government. Most of these states wanted to join either India or Pakistan. But The Radcliff Award also provided an excess of Jammu Katwa road, which was the only link between Gurdaspur and Batala, was given to India. In this way, this excess allowed India a safe passage to Kashmir, which was a great unjust on behalf of Radcliff.

At the core of Indian position on Kashmir is New Delhi's claim that the decision of the Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to the Indian Union, regardless of its circumstances, is "final and legal and it cannot be disputed." If there is any "unfinished" business of partition, it is the requirement that Pakistan relinquish control of that part of Jammu and Kashmir that it illegally occupies. India further maintains that the UN Resolutions calling for the will of the people to be ascertained are no longer tenable because Pakistan has not fulfilled the precondition of withdrawal from the territory it occupied through aggression. New Delhi further maintains that after Pakistan's attempts to alter the status quo, by force, of war in 1965, Islamabad has forfeited the right to invoke the UN Resolutions. The will of the people does not need to be ascertained only through a plebiscite. The problem of Kashmir, according to India, is one of terrorism sponsored by Pakistan. The targets are Muslims in Kashmir, belying Pakistan's argument that it is concerned about the welfare of Muslims in Kashmir. While India wants to resolve all outstanding issues with Pakistan through a process of dialogue, the integrity and sovereignty of India cannot be a matter for discussion.

S.M. Amin describes in his book "*Pakistan's Foreign Policy*", "India's efforts immediately after independence to undo Pakistan, particularly its attempt to seize Kashmir, were the main causes for the bitterness and sense of insecurity which gripped the Pakistani policy-makers from the very outset. This perception was to have a profound influence on the formulation of their defence and

<sup>17</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.30



foreign policies."<sup>18</sup>

Historically, the Government of Pakistan has maintained that Jammu & Kashmir has been a disputed territory. The state's accession to India in October 1947 was provisional and executed under the coercive pressure of Indian military presence. The disputed status of J & K is acknowledged in the UN Security Council resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, to which both Pakistan and India agreed. These resolutions remain fully in force today, and cannot be unilaterally disregarded by either party.

### **Nuclear Race:**

Pakistan's suspicions of Indian intentions were further aroused by India's entry into the nuclear arena. India's explosion of a nuclear device in 1974 persuaded Pakistan to initiate its own nuclear program. The issue has subsequently influenced the direction of Pakistan's relations with the United States and China. In 1987, Zia-ul-Haq declared that Pakistan was capable of developing nuclear weapons (but has chosen not to do). In 1990s India and Pakistan's relations were strained because of nuclear policy. In May 1998, India and Pakistan conducted a series of nuclear tests. Prime Minister AtalBehari Vajpayee proudly proclaimed that India has become the sixth nuclear weapon state and should be treated as such by other five (The Nation, 1998). This statement indicated that India whenever gets a chance would use her nuclear capability against her enemy states in the name of security.

The US-Pakistan relations over the nuclear issue are particularly prickly. Pakistan's relations with China on this issue, however, have been influenced by both countries' suspicions of India. In 1991 China called on India to accept Pakistan's proposal of a nuclear-free weapons zone in South Asia. In the same year, Pakistan and China signed a nuclear cooperation treaty reportedly intended for peaceful purposes. This agreement included provision by China of a nuclear power plant to Pakistan.

Sajjad Hyder, a well-known diplomat commented about the possession of nuclear arsenals in this way, "In the context of Pakistan's economic and strategic security, the nuclear issue holds an unrivalled place. I make bold to state that Pakistan has no option but to develop its nuclear energy cycle, which more than any other single factor will give it the economic and strategic security that it

<sup>18</sup> M. Amin, Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p.39

has sought since 1947."<sup>19</sup>

### **Siachen Glacier**

The Siachen Glacier is situated near the north-eastern tip of Baltistan and forms part of the Gilgit Agency. Strategically, it lies to the north of the terminus of the Line of Control (NJ 9842) which was also the terminus of the Cease Fire Line of 1949 and of the Line of Control, as formalized in the Simla agreement in 1972. Since 1947 this area has been controlled and administered by Pakistan as part of its Northern Areas. Pakistan maintains that the area west of point NJ 9842 of the LOC and the Karakoram Pass has always been under Pakistan's control as Pakistan had been granting permission to foreign mountaineering expeditions visiting the area. However, because of its inaccessibility, it had remained undemarcated and unoccupied until India moved in its troops in April 1984 in clear violation of the Simla agreement that requires both sides not to unilaterally alter the situation. In order to forestall further incursions by the Indians, Pakistani troops took up positions in the area.

The issue was further discussed between Pakistani and Indian leaders in December 1985 and Pakistan proposed that the two sides should demarcate the line through bilateral negotiations and that the troops be withdrawn from the area pending this delineation. The Indian Prime Minister, while agreeing to the proposed delineation, suggested that the line be drawn north-wards but made no comment on the proposal with regard to the withdrawal of troops from the Glacier.

At the November 1998 New Delhi Round the Indian side stated that the situation since 1989 had completely changed and the two sides should now address the issue in the light of the new ground realities. They proposed a comprehensive cease-fire in Siachen based on a freeze on the present positions but refused to talk about re-deployment. Their purpose obviously was to gain time for consolidation, including improvement of their tenuous communication links while minimizing their losses as a result of the cease-fire. Responding to the Indian cease-fire proposal, Pakistan stressed that, given Pakistan's past experience, the monitoring of the cease-fire would require a neutral party such as UNMOGIP. Pakistan side also stressed that a cease-fire would effectively freeze the situation with all its attendant problems such as continued confrontational deployment of forces, loss of life due to the severe weather conditions and continued expenditure on maintaining troops in Siachen. Accordingly, Pakistan refused to

<sup>19</sup> Hyder, Sajjad, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan*, (Progressive Pub., Lahore, 1987), p.85



accept the cease-fire proposal. It reiterated its position that India's occupation of Siachen was illegal and a violation of the Simla Agreement. The 1989 Defence Secretaries agreement called for the withdrawal and re-deployment of forces to positions on ground 'so as to conform to the Simla Agreement'. During a press conference after the talks, the Indian DGMO asserted that the whole of Siachen was an integral part of India and there was no question of any Indian withdrawal from the area.

### Line of Control:

The Line of Control (LoC) separates the two opposing armies of Pakistan and India in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. It was preceded by the cease-fire line established on the basis of the Karachi agreement of 27 July 1949 that was re-established after the war of 1965. The cease-fire line resulting from the war of 1971 was thereafter called the LoC, making minor adjustments taking into account the ground positions, and was confirmed by the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972.

Pakistan has fully respected the LoC and fulfilled its commitments under the Simla Agreement that states that neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally. However, India violated the LoC in 1972, shortly after signing Simla, by occupying the Chhorbat La area, establishing five posts on the Pakistan controlled side of the LoC upto a depth of 3 kilometres. In 1984, India occupied the Siachen glacier in violation of the Simla Agreement, usurping an area of 2500 sq. kms. In June 1989, India agreed to re-deploy troops from Siachen but renounced the agreement in a matter of hours. In 1988, India took over the Qamar Sector, initially establishing 3 posts which have now been increased to 12 posts and covers an area of 33 sq. kms. Since 1996, Indian troops have used long range and heavy artillery to cut off the Neelum Valley from the rest of Azad Kashmir. Such interdiction still continues.

In May 1999, an attempt by Indian forces to occupy the high peaks across the LoC in the Shyok Sector was repulsed by Pakistan. During the recent escalation of tension in Kashmir, the Indian army repeatedly violated the LoC by carrying out heavy artillery shelling across the LoC resulting in the loss of lives of innocent civilians. The Indian air force also violated the LoC on a number of occasions resulting in the shooting down of two of their planes in the Kargil sector.

### Disputed Indian Water Plans:

Since Independence, serious controversies on the issue of water distribution and sharing between traditional rivalries, India and Pakistan were finally solved through negotiations in the agreement of Indus Water Treaty 1960. This is the only treaty between the two

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arch rivals that has worked effectively for over four decades and is, at times, cited by international funding institutions, as an illustration of cooperation between the two hostile neighbours. The treaty also provided that both countries shall have unrestricted use of the waters in each other's rivers for four distinct purposes: domestic use, agriculture use, restricted use of hydroelectric power, through a "run-of-the river plant", and non-consumptive use. Non-consumptive use included use of the waters for navigation and other purposes provided the water is returned to the river undiminished in quantity. However, both countries were prohibited from undertaking any "man made" obstruction to cause change in the volume of the daily flow of waters. The treaty specifically barred India, the upper riparian, from storing any water of, or constructing any storage on the western rivers, except limited storage to control floods.

In practice, India has sought to use its geographical advantage in a manner potentially harmful to Pakistan, by drawing up plans that could threaten the supply of this precious commodity. India constructed the barrage to enhance navigation. Because of this, many disputes arise between India and Pakistan, let's discuss each in detail.

#### **a) Wullar Barrage Dispute:**

This water dispute emerged in 1985, when Pakistan learnt through a tender notice in the Indian press about the development of a barrage, which was a serious violation of Indus Water Treaty of 1960. According to the Indian Government, the purpose of the Wullar Barrage was to construct a control structure, with a view to improving the navigation in the River Jhelum during winters, in order to connect Srinagar with Baramulla for transportation of fruits and timber. India claimed that 90 percent of the Tulbul project would be beneficial to Pakistan, as it would regulate the supply to Mangla Dam, which would increase Pakistan's capacity of power generation at Mangla, as well as regulate the irrigation network in the Pakistani Punjab through the triple canal system. India further suggested that Pakistan should bear the greater share of constructing the Barrage, as it would be more beneficial to Pakistan, and would be especially effective in reducing the flow of water during the flood season.

Hence the dispute between India and Pakistan is whether the construction is designed for "impounding" the waters or "controlling" them. India's right to utilize the waters for navigation becomes nugatory if it is unable to use the river during the lean period. Therefore, it has to control the waters, even if temporarily in a manner so as to enhance its navigability. This is in violation of the Indus Water Treaty of 1960.

#### **b) Kishan Ganga Dam Dispute:**

In February 1992 Pakistan also objected that India should not construct the Kishenganga (390 mw) hydro-power generating unit. Its argument was that this project would affect Pakistan's proposed Neelum-Jhelum power project. The dispute over the 330-megawatt Kishenganga hydro-power project across the river Jhelum centres on the diversion of water from one tributary of the river to another. Pakistan says this violates Indus Water Treaty whereas India says the diversion is within the provisions of the treaty, which governs water sharing between the two nuclear rivals.

Pakistan has made it known that such a diversion contravenes the Indus Water Treaty which would compromise Pakistan's rights over the river and reduce the flow of water into Pakistan significantly. Further, any construction on the Neelum river upstream will affect power generation capacity of Pakistan's Neelum-Jhelum power project.

Pakistan has expressed reservations about the design of the dam, the inter-tributary transfer of waters, as well as sought protection of the existing land uses. According to some reserved estimates, completion of the 22km long tunnel to divert water from the Kishanganga to the Wullar Lake will leave Pakistan facing a 27 per cent water deficit.

India has rejected Pakistan's opposition to the project. New Delhi says that according to the Indus Water Treaty, India had been allowed to build specified storage limited to 3.6 million acre feet (MAF) on western rivers which it has not built so far.

Unfortunately, Kishanganga dam dispute has gained impetus at a time when Indian and Pakistani leaders have been trying to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust. However, the explosive nature of both countries' energy needs and their ever-increasing irrigation water demand are potentially capable of dealing the peace process a fatal blow.

#### **c) Baglihar Dam Dispute:**

The project is divided into two phases and each phase is designed to produce 450 MW power. The first phase is likely to be completed within 2005. However, construction of 450 MW Baglihar Project was signed on 11th March, 1999 with Jaiprakash Industries Ltd., the biggest Indian hydropower construction company, and two other companies, Siemens and Hydro Vevey Ltd. Total cost of the project is Indian Rs.38b and the Indian government is providing massive assistance to the state government in completing the



project.

The Project envisages the construction of a 308 meters high dam on River Chenab near the place known as Baglihar with storage of 321,000 Acre Feet of which 291,000 acre ft. is dead storage capacity. Live storage, also termed as Pondage (Operational Pool), is 30,400 acre ft. This Pondage is required to supplement the discharge during low flow period. This is what Pakistan is opposing.

Under the Indus water treaty 1960, both countries were prohibited from undertaking any "man made" obstruction to cause change in the volume of the daily flow of waters. However, in violation of this specific provision in the treaty, which has had a binding force upon it, according to Baglihar Hydropower Project (BHP), Indian plans to go ahead with the Baglihar Hydropower Project on the Chenab River in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). This proposal has evoked opposition from Pakistan which claims that the project will broke World Bank-Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) of 1960. According to which, India cannot use/ store and construct any dam for water storage on Pakistan western rivers without the consent of Pakistan government.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, the dispute arose because India started construction work on the Baglihar dam project without informing Islamabad, which is a violation of the Indus Basin Treaty of 1960, under which Pakistan has exclusive rights over the waters of the western rivers - Jhelum, Chenab and Indus - while the eastern rivers - Ravi, Beas and Sutlej - belong to India.

After failure of talks on January 18, 2005 Pakistan raised six objections to the World Bank, a broker and signatory of Indus Water Treaty. In April 2005 the World Bank determined Pakistani claim as a 'Difference', a classification between less serious 'Question' and more serious 'Dispute', and in May 2005 appointed Professor Raymond Lafitte, a Swiss civil engineer, to adjudicate the difference.

Lafitte declared his final verdict on February 12, 2007, in which he partially upheld some objections of Pakistan declaring that pondage capacity be reduced by 13.5%, height of dam structure be reduced by 1.5 meter and power intake tunnels be raised by 3 meters, thereby limiting some flow control capabilities of earlier design. However he rejected Pakistani objections on height and gated control of spillway declaring these were conforming to engineering norms of the day.

Both parties (India and Pakistan) have already agreed that they will abide by the final verdict. The final report of the World Bank

appointed neutral expert has been submitted at Berne, Switzerland. The report acknowledged India's right to construct 'gated spillways' under Indus water treaty 1960. The report allowed pondage of 32.58 MCM as against India's demand for 37.5 MCM. The report also recommended the reduction of the height of freeboard from 4.5 m to 3.0 m.

### **Extremist Elements:**

The major irritant in Indo-Pakistan relationship is the presence of extremist elements and tendencies existing on the both sides of the decision makers. These elements do not want to make cordial relations between the both states due to loss of their selfish interests which they are gaining because of spreading propaganda against the efforts of friendship and peaceful co-existence. Sometimes these elements are either involved in Bombay attacks or Bomb blasts in Pakistan. In order to make good relations, it is necessary to sideline these elements from the dialogue of peace and harmony.

### **Impacts of International politics over Indo-Pak Relations:**

The 9/11 events brought a new roadmap in the US security concerns in the Asian continent. The United States of America views China as a posing threat challenge to its influence in Asia. Therefore, United States is engaging in building a security structure aimed at containing China. For this purpose, United States of America has chosen India as a potential and becoming bulwark against China. It seeks India to become its junior partner to promote its global agenda.

As the U.S. Senate begins debating the new nuclear agreement with India, far too little attention is being paid to the regional security implications of the deal. Now what is "bothering" Pakistan about the deal is that although India, like Pakistan and Israel, has refused to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the deal amounts to de facto acceptance of India as a legitimate nuclear weapons state. The agreement gives fresh impetus to a nuclear arms race in the region. Now Pakistan will likely receive the baton of nuclear assistance from China. Shortly after the deal was announced, Pakistan expressed interest in purchasing nuclear reactors from China. As China has already assisted Pakistan's civilian program in the past and was named by the CIA as the "principal supplier" of the Pakistani weapons program. But now, Pakistan will play catch-up with India "not only through expanded nuclear ties with China, but also by a more aggressive pursuit of



nuclear technology from the global nuclear bazaar." In the wake of the US-Indian strategic partnership, Pakistan would be looking for other allies as well such as China and Russia. "Pakistan's comprehensive, long-term and stable friendly relations with China have been a factor of stability in an otherwise volatile region." He says Pakistan must focus its attention on "building bridges of understanding with Russia while developing closer links with neighbours to the west and north, especially Iran and Afghanistan. All these countries have a common interest in a multipolar world order in preference to global or regional hegemonism for establishing strategic stability in the world."

The US-Indian partnership could disturb Pakistan's strategic relationship with India which would, in turn, impact on Pakistan's role of a balancer in South Asia. Any further increase in the strategic gap in conventional forces between India and Pakistan, therefore, would disturb the balance of power in South Asia in India's favour. The pact showed that compared to Pakistan, the US accorded a higher priority ...to its "fast growing relations with India" which the US accepted as the "dominant power" in South Asia.

Pakistan should be aware of the US supplies to India of anti-missile systems and other new weapon systems including conventional armaments which would cost \$5 billion. Pakistan should maintain a credible deterrent at the lowest possible cost without entering into an arms race with India. Within this context, the US-Indian strategic cooperation should not further aggravate the strategic imbalance in conventional forces between India and Pakistan. "The development of nuclear capability has, no doubt, given Pakistan's defence a big boost. But, the example of the Soviet Union shows that nuclear capability is not enough. It does not necessarily guarantee a country's survival. After all, the Soviet Union did possess thousands of nuclear warheads, ICBMs and the latest weaponry, but it collapsed without a shot being fired, notwithstanding its nuclear might....it would be unwise to ignore this historical lesson since Pakistan's precarious economy can be its undoing as well. The truth is that living beyond means can be dangerous for nations, no less than it is for indivimic and duals."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Amin, Shahid M. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, p.314

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