

Ideology of Pakistan

Ideology is a set of beliefs, values and ideals of a group and a nation. It is deeply ingrained in the social consciousness of the people. It is a set of principles, a framework of action and guidance system that gives order and meaning to life and human action.

Ideology emphasizes on some particular principles, ideals and blueprint for the future. It is a review of the existing political, social and economic arrangements that create consciousness based on its principles. It legitimizes or delegitimizes certain actions and philosophies. Ideology gives nation a direction and worldview and its implementation is the responsibility of the concerned people.

Ideology of Pakistan

The ideology of Pakistan took shape through an evolutionary process. Historical experience provided the base; Allama Iqbal gave it a philosophical explanation; Quaid-i-Azam translated it into a political reality; and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, by passing Objectives Resolution in March 1949, gave it legal sanction. It was due to the realization of the Muslims of South Asia that they are different from the Hindus that they demanded separate electorates. However when they realized that their future in a 'Democratic India' dominated by Hindu majority was not safe, they changed their demand to a separate state.

The ideology of Pakistan stemmed from the instinct of the Muslim community of South Asia to maintain their individuality in the Hindu society. The Muslims believed that Islam and Hinduism are not only two religions, but are two social orders that produced two distinct cultures. There is no compatibility between the two. A deep study of the history of this land proves that the differences between Hindus and Muslims are not confined to the struggle for political supremacy but are also manifested in the clash of two social orders. Despite living together for more than one thousand years, they continue to develop different cultures and traditions. Their eating habits, music, architecture and script, all are poles apart.

The basis of the Muslim nationhood was neither territorial nor racial or linguistic or ethnic rather they were a nation because they belonged to the same faith, Islam. They demanded that the areas where they were in majority should be constituted into a sovereign state, wherein they could order their lives in accordance with the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah of Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Evolution of 'Two Nation Theory'

Concept of Muslims as a Nation developed before the establishment of Pakistan. Pakistan was the product of this concept of nationhood rather than Pakistan creating a concept of nationhood.

Retrospectively the Muslim nationalism emerged with the advent of Islam that introduced new principles pertinent to every sphere of life. It pledged the redemption of the humankind establishing

a benign society based on Qur'anic teachings. The beginning of the Muslim nationalism in the Sub-Continent may be attributed to the first Indian who accepted Islam. The Arab traders had introduced the new religion, Islam, in the Indian coastal areas. Muhammad bin Qasim was the first Muslim invader who conquered some part of India and after that, Mahmud of Ghazna launched 17 attacks and opened the gate to preach Islam. The Muslim sufi (saints) like Ali Hejveri, Miran Hussain Zanjani etc. entered Sub-Continent. They, rejecting the vices in the Indian society, presented the pure practical picture of the teachings of Islam and got huge conversions. Qutub-ud-Din Aibuk permanently established Muslim dynasty in India that followed Sultanate and Mughal dynasties. Thus a strong Muslim community had emerged in India who had its own way of life, traditions, heroes, history and culture. Islam could not be absorbed in Hinduism. Deen-e-Ilahi, Bakhti movements, etc. created reaction amongst the Muslim ulama to preserve the pure Islamic character and save it from external onslaught. Role of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi and others is noteworthy. Equality and social justice inspired conversions to Islam.

The British won over the Muslim rulers due to the industrial and scientific developments and modern war strategy. The War of Independence (1857) was a shattering setback to the Indian Muslims who were held responsible for the rebellion by the British. The Muslims were put into the backwardness with the help of Hindus. This was one of the outstanding motivations that paved the way to declare the separate identity of nationalism, the Muslim nationalism. The Muslim scholars sought to reform the teaching of Islamic law and to promote its application in a Muslim society. The prominent name among them is Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) who awakened and guided his community well in time. His educational drive, the Ali-Garh movement, proved to be the best means of social mobility for the Muslim gentry under colonial rule.

In 1885 the Indian National Congress was founded to indicate the beginning of the Indian nationalist movement under the British. The Congress worked and helped the British rule. Sir Syed advised the Muslims not to join it because, he thought, the Muslims were not in position to involve into the anti-government activities. It has been argued that Sir Syed's fear of Hindu domination sowed the seeds for the "Two Nations Theory" later espoused by the All-India Muslim League, founded in 1906 and led to its demand for a separate state for the Muslims of India. Sir Syed argued that modern education and non-political activities might be the key to Muslim advancement. The Ali-Garh movement produced educated leadership who could protect the Muslims' rights on the Western political lines.

All India Muslim League had been founded in Dhaka to promote loyalty to the British and to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India. Thus the concept of 'separate electorates' was put forward to dawn a new day for the Indian Muslims.

The Two-Nation Theory served as the basis of demand for Pakistan by the Muslims in British India. There are two major nations in British India. The Muslims are not a community but a nation with a distinctive history, heritage, culture, civilization, and future aspirations.

The Muslims wanted to preserve and protect their distinct identity and advance their interests in India. They wanted to order their lives in accordance with their ideals and philosophy of life without being overwhelmed by an unsympathetic majority.

Initially, they demanded safeguards, constitutional guarantees and a federal system of government with powers to the provinces for protection and advancement of their heritage, identity and interests. Later, they demanded a separate state when neither the British nor the Hindu majority community was willing to offer those guarantees and safeguards.

Hindi-Urdu Controversy

Hindu revivalist movements turned more against the Muslims. Hindu nationalism was rival to the Muslim nationalism. The Indian nationalism forced Muslims to organize themselves politically to defend their interests effectively. After 1857, Hindi-Urdu Controversy was the major assault by the Hindus on Muslim heritage and legacy of the great Muslim Empire. Hindus were biased against Urdu as it was the Muslims' language. They demanded Hindi as the official language replacing Urdu. There were demonstrations against Urdu by the Hindus in Banaras in 1867. It was the start of the Hindi-Urdu controversy. On the very issue, Sir Syed foretold about the unstable future of Hindu-Muslim unity. Hindus struggled vigorously to replace Urdu by Hindi in the offices. This enhanced the importance of the sense of Muslim separatism.

The Muslim nationalism is manifested with the sublime principles to implement like:

1. Rule of Law, socio-economic justice, equity and fair play.
2. Equality of opportunity to all citizens irrespective of caste, sect, religion or region.
3. Religious and Cultural tolerance.
4. Respect for human dignity and rights.
5. Protection of the rights and interests of non-Muslims and freedom to practice their beliefs and religions. These principles are enshrined in the constitutions. We ought to work towards realization of these goals in reality and create institutions and processes that reflect these principles and values.

Ideology of Pakistan in the Light of Statements of Quaid-I-Azam And Allama Iqbal
The Development of Muslim Identity and Two-Nation Theory and Quaid-i-Azam and Allama
Iqbal

The sense of nationhood developed among the Muslims before the establishment of Pakistan. Their goal was mostly to protect and promote their identity and interests and shape their lives in accord with their ideals and philosophy of life without being overwhelmed by an unsympathetic majority. They adopted the strategy to get constitutional safeguards from the British against the cruel majority of Hindus but because of the antagonistic treatment from the rivals they set the goal of a separate state. Islam had central place to their further developments.

The role of leadership is very important to put nation on the way. A good leadership infuses the qualities of awareness, consciousness, mobilization, sense of direction, and defense against the adversaries. The Muslims were lucky having such competent leadership.

Muhammad Ali JINNAH

M. A. Jinnah was a history-making leader who changed the course of history. He possessed a visionary leadership, commitment to the cause and political mobilization capacity. He was a Charismatic Leader in the real sense of the meaning.

ROLE OF JINNAH

Jinnah played a decisive role in articulating the Muslim demands and pursuing these faced strong opposition from the Hindus and the British. He started his political career in 1906 by joining the Indian National Congress. He was elected to the Legislative Council in 1909 and in 1913 he also joined the All India Muslim League (AIML). Now he was member of both the political parties. Having disagreement with Gandhi on the issue of Swaraj (self-rule), complete freedom from the British and on using extra-constitutional means, Jinnah resigned from the Congress in 1920.

His early efforts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity were materialized when THE LUCKNOW PACT (1916) was signed. The Hindus accepted the Muslim demands:

- Separate Electorate
- One-third Seats in Central Legislature
- protection of minority rights

In the Nehru Report, the accepted Muslim rights were ignored. Jinnah retaliated forcefully by presenting 14 Points in 1929.

He defined Muslim identity and mobilized them with reference to Islam and convinced others that Muslims are different from the Hindus and the Congress. Islamic principles, concepts and symbols surfaced in his speeches and statements.

Jinnah used the term NATION for the Muslims of India in Feb 1935 (Legislative Assembly). He argued that the combination of religion, culture, race, arts, music and so forth make a minority a SEPARATE ENTITY. In March 1936 Bombay, he stated that the Muslims could arrive at a settlement with Hindus as TWO Nations. In 1937, he asserted that there is also a third party in India, the Muslims. In 1939, he roared that the Muslims and Hindus are two nations and they are going to live as a nation and playing part as a nation:

We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral code, custom and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation.

Speeches and statements: 1940-47

Jinnah believed in the force of Islam as he said that Islam is a dynamic force that can unite the Muslims. It can help to overcome the present crisis. It's a source of inspiration and guidance providing ethical foundation, a framework, social order and civilization.

Guidance & inspiration for constitution-making and Governance

He also talked of the modern notions of state, constitution, civil and political rights and democracy. He assured that constitution of Pakistan would be framed by the elected assembly.

Modern democratic and Islamic State

He gave assurance of equality of all citizens and rights and freedom to religious minorities in the new state.

Allama Iqbal: Poet and Philosopher Vision of a Separate Muslim State

Men like Allama Iqbal are born but in centuries. He was conscious of significance of Islam in lives of the Muslims. His first public appearance was in 1899 at the annual session of Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam in Lahore when he presented the poem, Nala-i-Yatim.

At initial stages Dr Iqbal was a nationalist by ideas and his poetry contained verses like Tarana-i-Hind. His poetry was a critique of the existing societal conditions. Being educated from Europe, he knew all weak aspects of the Western culture. He criticized capitalism, materialism and lack of spiritualism.

Iqbal- Focus on the conditions of the Indian Muslims

Islam can salvage the Muslims

Islam has always saved Muslim

Islam is a living and dynamic ideology that can meet modern challenges

Islam to help them to overcome their internal discord and enable them to meet external challenges

With spiritualism based derived from Islam

Ijtehad and Reinterpretation

(READ: Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam)

Address to the Muslim League Session, Allahabad, December 1930

I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sind, Balochistan amalgamated into a single state as a self government within the British empire or without. This is the final destiny of the Muslims of N.W. India.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and His Contributions

The great emancipator of the Indian Muslims Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born at Delhi in 1817. This is the period when the great Mughal Empire was close to a complete collapse. Sir Syed's family had already joined the East India Company and his maternal grandfather served in Iran and Burma under the British government. Sir Syed got interest in English from his maternal family. SM Ikram writes, "For this insight into the affairs of the state and first contacts with Western learning and civilization he was indebted to his maternal grandfather..." (S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India*, p.18). Sir Syed was very healthy by birth and his grandfather remarked: "A Jat has been born in our family." (Ibid., p. 19) The death of Sir Syed forced him to join the British as head clerk in 1839. The death of his brother made him serious and energetic to face the neuroses of life courageously. Another event that changed him entirely was the War of Independence in 1857. In 1841, he passed examination and became sub-judge. At the eve of the War of Independence he was performing the duties as sub-judge in Bijnore. He established educational institutions and after coming at Aligarh he rejuvenated his aspirations to work for the depressed Muslims of the Subcontinent. He devoted his entire life for this purpose to bring the Muslims close to the British. He died on March 27, 1898 and was buried in Aligarh.

His Services

He took responsibility of the Indian Muslims when they had been thrown in backwardness, depression and humiliation. The British held them criminal of the War while the Hindus had won the British being anti-Muslim force. In such environment, Sir Syed guided his community to rejoin the life. To Dr Qalb-i-Abid, "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was among a very few leaders produced by Muslim India, who like Mohammad Ali Jinnah made a tremendous contribution in guiding the destinies of the Indian Muslims." (Dr Q. Abid, *Muslim Struggle for Independence*, p. 11.)

Sir Syed and Politics

In the political arena, Sir Syed carved numerous successes; he eradicated misunderstandings between the Muslims and the British infused due to the past particular incidents. Awakening among the Muslims about the political ups and downs and co-existence in the presence of other nations in India was another contribution of Sir Syed. He motivated the Muslims to absorb the modern education of the West because this was the very motive of the Western expansion in the world. He visualized the bright future of the Muslims if they engaged themselves in the Western learning.

Sir Syed won the British confidence and cordial relationship by saving their lives during the War of Independence. He utilized this relationship for the betterment of the Muslims. It was a subtle situation because the government had put the War crimes on the Muslim shoulders and assaulted

their every aspect of life: "These events were a trauma for the Muslims; ...the methods used by them shocked the civilised world. The detestation of Delhi as a centre of Muslim culture was horrendous; Bahadur Shah Zafar...was exiled to Rangoon; Lt. Hodson shot three Mughal princes and later 24 princes were tried and executed; a vast ocean of blood there was; Some Muslims were shot dead and their dead bodies were thrown into the river Jamna..." (Ibid., p. 14). All Muslims were ousted from land, property and employments that made them third class citizens of India. This created revengeful sentiments among the Muslims who detested British, their culture and civilization. Sir Syed was of the view that British were a civilised, educated, wise and disciplined nation and occupied India with the new war strategy and munitions that could not be matched by the locals and particularly by the Muslims. Therefore at the juncture the Muslims should mould themselves according to the pace of time to avoid more disaster.

Sir Syed published *Loyal Mohammedans of India* and *Risala Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* that helped both the nations to redress their grievances. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was founded but Sir Syed warned the Muslims from the sinister aspirations of the Hindus. Another factor was that he intended the Muslims to abstain from the politics that could result in friction with the ruling nation. **Urdu-Hindi Controversy**

Urdu grew as common language of all the Indians regardless of origin or religion but in 1867 the Benarsi Hindus started campaign to replace Urdu by Hindi. To gain the objectives, they declared numerous organisations, which discouraged Sir Syed who said to Shakespeare that since now both the nations could not live together. Later the followers of Sir Syed tried their level best to save Urdu language. Mohsin ul Mulk was the outstanding person who organized the Muslims in defence of Urdu.

Muslims-as a Nation

Sir Syed used the word 'nation' for the Muslims. Some writers criticize that he declared Hindus and Muslims one nation. But as a matter of fact, he advocated the Hindu-Muslim unity that meant 'the working relationship' between the two nations as once he said: "Hindus and Muslims should try to be of one mind in matters which affected their progress." He favoured separate electorate for the Muslims in 1883 saying that the majority would override the interests of the minority. (P. Hardy, pp. 136-37)

United Indian Patriotic Association

In 1888, he set up the Patriotic Association to meet the propaganda of the Congress. Muslims and Hindus joined the Association. It advocated the Muslims' emotions.

Muhammadan Defense Association

In December 1893, Sir Syed founded the Association. Its main purpose was to protect the political, religious and social rights of the Muslims.

Sir Syed was great because he contributed greatly to the Muslim struggle for identity. Otto von Bismarck served the German nation with the help of all government sources but Sir Syed did the same without all this. To Khalid Bin Sayeed, “Many tributes have been paid to Sir Sayyid, particularly by modern educated Muslims for being daring enough to put forward such views in an age which was by no means liberal or tolerant.” (Dr Khalid Bin Sayeed, Pakistan, the Formative Phase, p. 17).

Muslim Politics in British India: 1924-1935

1. Delhi Muslim Proposals
2. Nehru Report
3. Quaid-i-Azam's Fourteen Points
4. Simon Commission
5. Round Table Conferences
6. Constitutional Proposals

Backdrop:

The Khilafat movement brought Hindu-Muslim communities to cooperation. The leaders made the efforts to revive harmony for preparing constitutional proposals.

1: Delhi Muslim Proposals: March 1927

Important Muslim leaders on the initiative of the Quaid met in Delhi to discuss constitutional and political issues. The major demands were:

Punjab and Bengal: statutory Muslim majorities

No Weightage in provinces

Sind to be separated from Bombay

Constitutional Reforms in NWFP

One-third seats for Muslims in Central Legislature

On communal issues, no law will be passed if three-fourth members of the concerned community oppose it.

If these demands are accepted, they will give up 'separate electorate.' Subsequently, the Muslim League was divided in the Punjab, Shafi League and Jinnah League. Sir Muhammad Shafi opposed Jinnah on the issues:

= Separate electorate

= Attitude towards the Simon Commission. Jinnah continued his unremitting efforts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

2: The Nehru Report: 1928

The main objective was to constitute proposals for the Indian Constitution. The Congress called All Parties Conference that appointed a 10-member committee in May 1928 under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru and Secretary ship of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Recommendations that threatened Muslim interests are:

= No Separate electorate

= No One-third seats for Muslims in Central Assembly

= No reservation of seats for Muslims in Punjab and Bengal. In Hindu-majority provinces, the Muslims may be given seats according to population

= Sind to be made a province if it can bear its expenses. Balochistan, NWFP were accepted to be given constitutional status on certain conditions.

Quaid-i-Azam tried to get amendments in the Report in the All Parties Conference in Calcutta but did not succeed. This is the very moment when Jinnah remarked, "it is parting of the ways." He presented the 14 points as a Muslim leader.

3: Jinnah's Fourteen Points: 1929

1. Federal system with residuary powers with the provinces

Provincial autonomy.

3. Separate electorate for Muslims.

4. Effective representation to minorities in the provinces but the majority should not be reduced to minority

5. One-third representation of Muslims in Central Legislature.

6. One third Muslim representation in cabinets.

7. No changes in the boundaries of the Punjab and Bengal that would adversely affect Muslim majority.

8. Religious freedom to all.

9. No law will be passed if three-fourth elected members of a community declare that it is against their interests.

10. Sind to be made a separate province.

11. Constitutional Reforms in NWFP and Balochistan.

12. Muslim representation in govt. jobs.

13. Constitutional safeguards for Islamic culture and civilization, education, language, personal laws and Muslim institutions. Government should provide financial assistance.

14. No constitutional amendment unless all constituent units of the federation agree to it.

These points reflected the aspirations of every Muslim living in India.

4: The Simon Commission:

The British government sent a commission to seek the opinion of Indians on the future shape of constitutional arrangements. It arrived in India in 1927 and it published the report in 1930. Most political parties boycotted it. It presented its report containing several constitutional proposals:

=Federal system of government with strong centre

=Two Houses.

=Abolition of Dyarchy system in provinces

- =More powers to provincial governments.
- =Governor not to interfere in day to day affairs.
- =Constitutional changes in NWFP

5: Roundtable Conferences: 1930, 1931, and 1932

First Session of the Conference

In the first session, a number of prominent Muslims like M. A. Jinnah, Sir Shafi, Maulana M. A. Jauhar, Zafarullah Khan participated. They emphasized federalism, self-government, safeguards for minorities, separate electorate, preferential representation in central legislature, secure majorities in Punjab and Bengal.

Second Conference

Maulana M. A. Jauhar had died after the first conference. Iqbal, Jinnah and others participated in the second conference. Gandhi represented the Congress. The key issues of the session were 'Federation' and 'Minorities.'

The Communal Award, August 1932

Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald announced the Communal Award:

Separate electorate for all minorities of India.

2. Weightage to minorities
3. No Muslim majorities in Punjab and Bengal as was followed in Lucknow Pact
4. One third representation for Muslims in Central legislature
5. One fourth representation for Muslims in services
6. Sind to be made a province

Poona Pact, September 1932

The Congress expressed strong reaction against the right of separate electorate to the Indian minorities, especially to low caste Hindus whom Gandhi named Harijan (sons of God). Dissonance in Gandhi is conspicuous that he observed fast unto death on the right to the 'sons of God.' An agreement with low caste to surrender the separate electorate right was concluded to save Gandhi's life.

3rd Roundtable Conference: Nov. 17-Dec. 24 1932

The main issues had been discussed in the first two conferences and now the rest of them were to be discussed. It was poorly attended conference. Quaid did not participate despite living in London. Gandhi did not attend as he had been detained.

The conference brought no change in party positions and widened Hindu-Muslim gulf.

White Paper on Constitutional Proposals: March 1933

The British government issued a small document in the form the White Paper. It included detail of working basis of the Indian constitution with Dyarchy in the centre and full responsible governments in the provinces.

Government of India Act, 1935

Approved by the King: August 1935

Despite these efforts the communal problems could not be settled as satisfactory to the nations living in India particularly the Muslim. Therefore the key issues remained unchanged:

= Hindu Muslim Relations

= Failure to arrive at settlement

= Muslim demands transmuted from safeguarding rights to complete independence---Pakistan.

The Lahore Resolution, 1940

The experience of Congress Rule compelled the Muslims to launch the movement for separate homeland. The Hindus made them realize that Hindu government would mean an anti-Muslim rule in India. The Muslims' disappointment from the Congress leadership decided to open a new phase of history. Quaid-i-Azam's article in *Time and Tide* concluded that Muslims are a nation. No Constitution can be enforced by ignoring Muslims. His comments on March 13, 1940 are remarkable: "If some satisfactory settlement cannot be found for Muslims in united India, the Muslim will have to demand for division of the country."

The Lahore Resolution:

The Muslim League held its annual session at Lahore on 22-24 March 1940. The Lahore Resolution was moved by Maulvi Fazlul Haq and seconded by Ch. Khaliqzaman that finally approved on March 24, 1940. Jinnah rightly expressed his valuable remarks about the political circumstances of India and the Muslims stand. He said:

"Indian problem is not communal but international. No Constitution can work without recognizing this reality. Muslims of India will not accept a constitution that establishes a government of the Hindu majority on them. If Hindus and Muslims are placed under one democratic system, this would mean Hindu Raj."

Text of the Resolution:

- They decided that the Federal system under Government of India Act, 1935 was not acceptable for the Muslims.
- No revised constitutional plan would be acceptable unless it was framed with their approval and consent.
- Adjacent units where Muslims are in a majority, as in Northwest and East, should be constituted as **Independent States** where the constituent units will be autonomous and sovereign.
- Protection of minorities would be given priority.

Significance:

This Resolution did not specify any demarcation of the territory but it defined the future plan of struggle for the establishment of the Muslims states (later the word 'states' was replaced by 'state' in 1946) in the Northwestern and Eastern areas where the Muslims were in overwhelming majority. It also intended to give importance to the autonomy of the states. There was no use of the word Pakistan but Pakistan was kernel of the Resolution.

Later Developments:

The World War II started in 1939 that required heavily men powered battlefield. The British who always believe in bargaining announced an offer in August 1940:

1. Expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the setting up of National Defence Council
2. Special importance to the views of minorities in the revision of the constitution.
3. Power could not be transferred under a system that will not be acceptable to large and powerful minorities in India.
4. Dominion Status: the ultimate goal
5. Cooperation of Indians for the war

Congress rejected it and started Non-Cooperation movement 1940-41. Lahore Resolution remained the ultimate goal for the Muslim Leagues.

Constitutional Issues of Pakistan

Constitution is a set of basic principles and framework for governance and exercise of political power and legal authority. It clarifies the scope of power, relationship among various institutions within the government and society. It has precedence over ordinary laws and cannot be changed like ordinary laws. The Government of India Act (1935) was modified and promulgated in the newly state of Pakistan. The elected members in the 1946 elections made the first Constituent Assembly that faced grievous circumstances.

Major Issues

The major issues, the first constituent assembly faced, were about:

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

1: Federalism

There was consensus on federalism but yet there were many issues to be settled. The main was that Pakistan consisted of two territorial parts, East Pakistan (with more population, less territory but administratively one unit) and West Pakistan (administratively 4 units). Federalism is meant to accommodate such kind of diversity maintaining the unity of the state or country.

Division of power:

It was the most difficult question that how the power would be divided between Centre and the Provinces. The heritage of British rule gave the tradition of a **Strong Centre**. But the provinces were demanding more **Autonomy and Provincial Rights**.

In the Interim Constitution and the 1956 Constitution tradition of strong centre continued.

2: Representation

Representation at the federal level was another conflicting issue because East Pakistan and West Pakistan were different in population and size. On the other hand there was diversity in Western part of Pakistan. The provinces of West Pakistan were also different in population and size. All of them were sensitive to their representation and provincial autonomy.

To have a Standard Formula for the representation of units and population the Constituent Assembly (CA) formed a Basic Principle Committee (BPC) on March 12, 1949. The primary task of this committee was to frame a set of basic principles for the future constitution of Pakistan.

First BPC Report:

This committee presented its first report on 28th September 1950. According to this report two houses of the parliament were proposed. The lower house was to be elected on the basis of POPULATION and the upper house was to be elected on the basis of equal representation for all the provinces of Pakistan namely East Bengal, West Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan. Equal powers were proposed for the both Houses. No mention of National Language was made. East Bengal opposed this report and Liaqat Ali Khan withdrew it.

Second BPC Report:

BPC presented its final report on 22nd December 1952. According to this report two Houses of the Parliament will enjoy the equal status and powers. It proposed equal representation to East and West wing. This report also faced reaction in both the wings of Pakistan. The principle of parity was not appreciated in both East Pakistan and Punjab.

Muhammad Ali Bogra Formula:

Muhammad Ali Bogra immediately after assuming the office of the Prime Minister presented a formula to resolve the deadlock in constitution making. According to this formula Pakistan would have a bicameral legislature. In upper house there would be EQUAL representation to each of five units. In lower house population will be represented. In this way more representation was given to East Pakistan. Both wings would have equal strength in joint sessions of the two houses.

Reaction to Bogra Formula

It was welcomed in both parts of the country. The principle of parity and representation of the population was appreciated. It also solved the problem of national language by suggesting Urdu and Bengali both as national language.

One Unit of West Pakistan October 1955

One Unit of West Pakistan was established on 14th October 1955. The provinces of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan would be amalgamated in one unit to establish parity between the two parts of the country.

3: Separate or Joint Electorate

Separate electorate was adopted on the demand of Muslims in 1909 by the British Government. But the minorities did not favour this after independence. Religious elements supported this as a part of heritage.

East: decided for Joint Electorate.

West: Separate electorate.

1957: Joint Electorate was adopted for all Pakistan by the National Assembly.

4: The National Language Issue

Pre-independence: Muslim elite all over India adopted Urdu. In 1948 Jinnah declared that Urdu would be the national language but provinces could use their languages.

Opposition against Urdu was there in East Bengal. This became more pronounced after the death of Jinnah as controversies erupted on constitution making. Language Movement started in East Pakistan February, 1952.

There was a complaint about anti Bengali language attitude of the federal government.

Two-language formula was adopted in 1954. Since 1973 Urdu was adopted as national language along with the support for development of regional languages.

5: Parliamentary or Presidential

There was a consensus for parliamentary system. But there was a limited demand for presidential system. Supporters of Presidential system became dominant after the 1958 military takeover. The 1962 Constitution was a Presidential constitution.

7: The Islamic or Secular State

From the very beginning of Pakistan Movement there was an agreement that the state will have close relationship with Islam. Muslims defined their national identity with reference to Islam and its heritage. Some opposition came from the Congress members of the Constituent Assembly, and a few secularists.

There was a BROAD AGREEMENT that the state will identify itself with Islam. The Constituent Assembly took time to define the precise relationship between the state and Islam.

Objectives Resolution

As discussed in lecture 16 Objectives Resolution rejected theocracy in Pakistan and provided the basic objectives for the future constitution of Pakistan.

The issues to be addressed were:

1. Scope of legislation for an elected Assembly?
2. Who will decide about the Islamic nature of laws? Should a Board of Ulema be given this power?
3. Position of women, vote and work?
4. Religious minorities?

Discussion in the Constituent Assembly and outside continued. There was an active demand by religious elements for Islamic political system. In this context the leading Ulema of various sects presented famous 22 points to provide a religious base to the future constitution.

The Key Issue:

What kinds of institutions and processes have to be created to translate the notion of supremacy of the Qur'an and the Sunnah

- The Constituent Assembly adopted a middle course and a modernist perspective.
- Spirit of Islamic principles and values, modern notions of governance, representation and administration were amalgamated.

Islamic provisions would be taken up when we discuss the constitutions.

Constitution Making (1947-56)

Constitution is a basic document in the handling of domestic affairs. It sets out the framework for governance and exercise of power. It gives guiding lines of relationships among the federating units. Law making is always within its limits.

The modified Government of India Act (1935) became the Interim Constitution of Pakistan in 1947. The Constituent Assembly (CA) was given the task of framing the Constitution. The first meeting of the CA was held on August 11, 1947 at Karachi. In the lecture 17 we have discussed the constitutional issues that the CA had to deal with, mainly 6 major issues. Now we will discuss the stages of constitution making.

The process began with the passing of the Objectives Resolution (Lecture 16) in which the Islamic and democratic values were adopted as grounds for the future constitution. The Basic Principles Committee (BPC) consisting of 24 members was made to work for the constitutional powers. The various sub-committees on Federal and provincial powers, Franchise, Judiciary, and Fundamental Rights started working. Board of Talimat-i-Islamia was also set up to seek advice on the religious matters.

First BPC Report, 1950

1: The Objectives Resolution to be included in the Constitution as the directive principles.

2: Legislature: Two houses of the parliament.

Upper: (House of Units) Equal representation for the units

Lower: (House of People) On the basis of Population. Both the Houses would enjoy the equal powers.

3: The Head of State elected by joint session would be for five years (Two terms only). President had discretionary and emergency, appointment and other powers. President was not answerable to anyone, might be a Muslim or non-Muslim, would be assisted by the Prime Minister (PM) and Cabinet that would be answerable to the CA. Parliament may impeach him by 2/3 majority. He was given the power to abrogate the constitution.

4: Cabinet responsible to both the Houses.

5: No mention of national language

Criticism:

This report was severely criticized throughout the country. It could not satisfy both the wings, East and West. The religious group objected that the report contained nothing about Islamisation. On the question of representation, the East Pakistan (EP) protested that their majority had been denied by the Report. They remarked that they were thrown into a permanent minority. The population of

EP was slightly larger than that of the West Pakistan (WP) but it was treated as the small provinces because both the Houses were given equal powers. So the domination of WP was intolerable for the East wing.

The language issue proved subversive to the national solidarity. The Eastern Pakistanis condemned the proposal that made Urdu as official language.

Second BPC Report, 1952

1. Head of State would be Muslim and no change in powers.
2. Equal representation to East and West wings: UH (Upper House) 60, 60 LH 200, 200
3. More powers were given to Lower House. Cabinet was made responsible to Lower House.
4. It was promised that law making would be in accordance with ISLAM. No law would be made in violation of Islamic principles.
5. Advisory Board of five Islamic scholars was founded.
6. Silent on national language.

Criticism:

The politicians particularly from the Punjab deplored the Report because formation of the UH on the basis of representation was not acceptable. It was declared against the principle of federation. The WP favoured equality only for Upper House. The political crisis removed Prime Minister Nazimuddin and attention diverted from the core issue.

Third Report: Muhammad Ali Formula October 1953

The proposals were revised in the light of the criticism and decided:

Upper House: Equal representation to all five units

Lower House: More representation to Eastern part

While in joint session, both wings had equal representation:

East Pak West Pak

Upper House 10 40

Lower House 165 135

Joint Session 175 175

Decision by majority but it must include 30 percent members from each zone.

Criticism:

It suggested some difficult process but mostly it was widely acceptable. Two languages, Urdu and Bengali, were approved as official languages that injured the national unity as Quaid-i-Azam had wished Urdu as national language.

This is important that after the Formula, the work began on constitution drafting because the deadlock was over.

CA Dissolution

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

2nd Constituent Assembly, June-July 1955

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

One Unit Scheme, October 1955

The presence of different provinces in the WP had complicated the issue of the WP representation in the CA. It was handled by uniting all the WP units into ONE (One Unit, October 30, 1955). Now both the parts had become two units and could be addressed equally.

Constitution-making

One Unit scheme helped the task of constitution making to accomplish successfully. The previous committees report helped the new Assembly that completed its work and presented in the 2nd CA on January 9, 1956. It, with certain amendments, was approved on January 29, 1956 and enforced on March 23. With this Pakistan had become an Islamic Republic.

The 1973 Constitution

1. Background

2. Constitution Making

3. Features

1: Background

Abrogation of the 1962 Constitution on March 25, 1969 led to second martial law in the country.

Yahya Khan handed over power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on December 20, 1971 after the first general elections. But martial law continued and there was no constitution.

National Assembly approved an Interim Constitution, which was enforced on April 21, 1972.

2: Constitution Making

Constitutional Committee comprising National Assembly (NA) members from all parties was set up in April 1972. Law Minister was the Chairman of this Committee.

All parties agreed on the future political system in October 1972. The Committee reported on December 31, 1972. After long deliberations and compromises final draft was approved unanimously on April 10, 1973. The new Constitution was enforced on August 14, 1973.

The Constitution functioned since then with two gaps. It remained operational during following periods:

1973-77: Operational

1977-1985: Suspended

1985-1999: Operational after changes

1999-2002 : Suspended

2002 onwards Operational after changes

3: Features of the Constitution

1: Parliamentary System

It was a parliamentary constitution having powerful Prime Minister (PM) as head of government with a very weak President.

President must act on the advice of PM. All his orders were to be countersigned by PM. Prime Minister to be elected by the NA.

PM exercised all executive authority.

PM was answerable to the NA.

In 1985, powers of the President were increased. He enjoyed some discretion in appointments of PM.

He had power to dissolve the NA. He had the powers of appointment of caretaker PM.

He gives his assent to bills passed by the parliament or returns these.

President:

Must be at least 45 years of age, Muslim, qualified to become member of the NA. He is elected by the Parliament and the Provincial Assemblies for 5 years.

Parliament with two houses:

- Upper House called Senate. In this house equal representation is given to Provinces. Seats are reserved for the tribal areas, women and technocrats. Its original strength was 63, which was later raised to 87 and then 100.

Senate is elected indirectly. It's a permanent House as half of its members are elected after three years.

- Lower House: National Assembly is elected on population basis. Its Original strength was 210 but now it is 342. NA is elected for five years.

Senate: Indirect elections

- National Assembly: Direct elections

- Voting age for the franchise is lowered from 21 to 18.

- Parliament under 1973 constitution is a powerful legislative body. It enjoys all legislative powers. It has control of the executive through questions, resolutions, parliamentary committees etc.

- National Assembly is more powerful than the Senate. Budget is presented before NA. Cabinet is answerable to National Assembly.

Federal System

Federation of Pakistan has four provinces and federally administered areas.

Two lists are given in the constitution: Federal list and Concurrent list. Residuary powers belong to provinces.

Provincial Structure:

Provincial Governors are appointed by the President on the advice of the PM. Elected Chief Minister exercises executive powers. Parliamentary system is there in the provinces.

Size of the provincial assemblies varies:

In 2002:

Punjab 371

Sindh 168

NWFP 124

Balochistan 65

Enough provincial autonomy is guaranteed. Tradition of strong centre continues.

Centre has emergency powers. Governor's rule can be imposed if the government cannot function in the provinces.

Provinces are dependent on centre for Finances.

1. Principles of Policy:

a. Islamic provisions are provided in Principles of Policy. Foreign policy principles are also given under this heading.

2. Fundamental Rights:

a. Fundamental Rights are secured in the constitution and are implemented through the highest court.

3. Islamic Provisions:

a. Title of the state is Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

b. The objectives resolution was the Preamble in the initial constitution but through article 2-A of 8th amendment it was inserted in the constitution in 1985.

c. Islam was declared the State Religion of Pakistan.

d. Definition of Muslim was included by an amendment.

e. Principles of Policy also carry some Islamic clauses.

f. Council for Islamic Ideology is established under the constitution.

g. Federal Shariat Court was added in 1981.

4. National Language:

a. Urdu is declared National Language, however English may be used for official purposes until arrangements would be made for its replacement by Urdu.

b. Provincial Assembly may prescribe measures for teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language.

5. National Security Council:

a. National Security Council was added in 2002 in advisory capacity.

6. Judiciary:

a. An independent judiciary is given under the constitution. Supreme Court of Pakistan is the highest court. One High Court is established in each province and one in Azad Kashmir. A chain of lower courts is there under the high courts.

Geography, Land, Boundaries and Neighborhoods

1. Geography and the People
2. Boundaries
3. Neighborhoods

1: Geography and the People

Pakistan was comprised of two wings when it came into existence on August 14, 1947. East Pakistan separated in 1971. Post-1971 or present day Pakistan is located in the Northwestern part of South Asian Sub-continent.

It has maintained its distinctiveness in the Sub-continent. Indus Valley Civilization is as old as 2500-1600 BC. The archeological heritage of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are clear evidence of this fact. Arians first came to this land followed by Islam and Muslims from Central Asia and Afghanistan. Muslim rule continued about one thousand years. Then the downfall of Muslim empire paved the way for British Rule, which ended with the formation of two independent states of India and Pakistan.

Location:

Pakistan is located between 24_37 degrees North latitude 61_75 degrees East longitude.

Territory:

Its area is 796,095 sq Kilometers.

Territory percentage (in thousand)

Balochistan 347.2 43.61

Punjab 205.3 25.81

Sindh 140.9 17.71

NWFP 74.6 9.4

FATA 27.2 3.4

Islamabad 0.9 0.1

Diversity in the nature of territory:

- North and Northwest: It includes Mountains of Himalayan and trans-Himalayan Ranges, Korakoram & Pamirs, which includes some of highest peaks like K2, Nanga Parbat etc.

- West: Baluchistan Plateau is about 1000 feet in elevation with dry mountains crossing it from northeast to the southwest. Here very little rainfall occurs.
- Indus Plains: Main agricultural region in the middle of the Indus valley.
- The Potohar Plateau is there in the East of upper Indus plains.
- In South East of Indus Plains there is Deserts Thal, Cholistan and Thar.

Climate:

Climate of Pakistan is diverse.

North, Northwestern Mountains are extremely cold in winter but mild in summer.

The Indus Plains are extremely hot in summer but cold and dry in winter.

Coastal regions are having temperate climate. There are some variations within each region.

Four Seasons:

Summer: May to September

Winter: November to

February

Spring: March-April

Autumn: September-October

Rain:

It varies from region to region. The main rainy season is the summer i.e. Monsoon.

Population:

Pakistan is having a large population. The growth rate recorded over 3 percent in the 1970s to early 1990s. Now declined due to a number of measures by the government but still it is higher as compare to the other countries of the region. Census is taken after every ten years.

1951, 1961, 1972, 1981, 1998

Year Population Annual Growth

In Million Percent

1951 36.2 ---

1961 46.2 2.80

1972 65.3 3.10

1981 84.3 3.06

1998 130.6 2.61

In 2020, the population is estimated to be over 220 million.

Important Features of the Population:

- More than 50 Percent population is under the age of 21. A large part of this population is dependent.
- Add to this people over 65 years.
- About 30 percent population lives in urban areas.
- Why migrations to urban areas: Education, jobs, facilities etc.
- Impact of urbanization: Poor civic conditions, education, health, housing, town planning etc.
- Provincial population.

Punjab 56-57 percent

Sind 23 percent

NWFP 14 percent

Baluchistan 5.3 percent

- Low literacy rate: Official literacy rate is 46 percent but functional literacy rate is even lower.

Women literacy rate is much lower. In certain areas of Baluchistan women literacy is nominal to non-existent.

- Why population figures are important. For Planning and development, Socio-economic development and poverty alleviation etc.

- Social development indicators are poor in Pakistan. No ideal figure for population can be named. It depends upon the resources. High population is asset as well as a liability because we cannot feed them.
- Efforts to manage population are being done by the Government as well as by non governmental organizations in the field of health care, family planning and education.

2: Boundaries:

Pakistan shares boundaries with four countries.

- China in the northeast: About 600 km long border in the Northern Areas. Silk Route is a major link for trade and traveling.
- Afghanistan: North and Northwest about 1200 miles. Durand Line was drawn on November 1893 as a border between the two neighbors.
- Iran in the West share about 590 miles border from Koh-i-Malik Siah to Gawadar.
- India in the East having a border about 1400 miles which was established in August 1947.
- We also face India on the LOC in Kashmir, the most troubled frontier having hardly any natural barriers, highly volatile and porous.
- South: Arabian Sea, Coastline 450 miles. Stretches from the Rann of Kutch Indian border to the Iranian border in the West.

3: Neighborhoods:

Pakistan is located in strategically important region. It is the center of global interests. For all the big powers like China and Russia it is important. U.S maintains interests to keep an eye on both China and Russia.

It is on the gateway of Central Asian Muslim States through Afghanistan. On the other side of it is the outer region of the Gulf region having rich oil resources and economic wealth. Pakistan has close brotherly ties with these states. Now the pipelines of oil and gas are planning to be passed through Pakistan. It will be a new start of economic cooperation in the region.

Foreign Policy of Pakistan

Features and Highlights

No state can live in isolation. There is a need of interaction. The linkages between internal & external environment are very necessary to create harmonious relations among the peoples living in the different regions. The national interests and identity, economic reasons, peace and stability are the motives of foreign policy of a country. Pakistan functions at different levels: Bilateral and Multilateral. It is also a member of the UN and other international organizations.

Features of Foreign Policy:

The main aims of features of 'Foreign Policy' are protection of- independence, Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity. Primary concern is the SECURITY through diplomacy and military security arrangements. National mobilization regarding Pakistan's security vis-à-vis India influenced foreign policy options. Strong defense is indispensable for survival.

Relations with All States:

Pakistan has good relations with almost all the nations of the world on the basis of mutuality of interests, cordiality, peace and non-interference in internal affairs. Pakistan believes that problems to be resolved peacefully.

Relations with Major Powers:

The nature of relations with major powers has varied.

United States

Pakistan-US relations have been generally friendly but problems developed from time to time on nuclear issue, arms sales, Kashmir etc.

China

China proved to be a reliable and consistent friend over the periods of decades. Pakistan supported China diplomatically in the UN and the Outside. Both the countries have developed close relations in all the areas including economic development and industrialization, defense, science and technology, environment and trade.

Russia

Pakistan has working relations with Russia but frequent problems remained unsolved during the period of Cold War. Russia remained favorable to India at the cost of its relations with Pakistan. On Kashmir issue, her attitude has been pro India.

Some economic relations strengthened the bilateral relations when Russia provided economic and technological assistance to Pakistan in establishing steel mill in Karachi. In post-Cold War era, Pakistan is trying to normalize the relations. The recent tour of President Musharraf is a step towards this goal.

Economic Issues, Trade, Investment:

Greater importance is attributed to the issues like economic development, direct foreign investment and trade relations in international relations. Foreign policy is linked with foreign assistance from the World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank, International Development Bank and other sources. Economic relations are both bilateral and multi-lateral. Technology, trade, access to market and investment are keys to the cordial relations between the two countries. Pakistan is also trying to establish its relations with other countries on the same footings.

Muslim States:

Being Islamic country, Pakistan has been always in search of good relations with the Muslim countries. It has been a central point in the ideology of Pakistan even before Independence.

Solidarity with the Developing States:

Pakistan had been concerned with the issues and problems of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As it is developing countries it is well aware of the problems of underdevelopment, poverty, disease, famine, civil strife and border disputes, refugees and drug addiction. Pakistan always emphasized on the UN and developed countries to help them. Peace cannot be maintained if humanity is suffering.

Cooperation among developing countries in the areas of economic and technical assistance, trade and diplomacy support to these causes should be enhanced.

United Nations:

Pakistan joined the UN on Sept. 30, 1947. It has commitment to the UN Charter and active in UN bodies. Pakistan has enjoyed the Security Council membership for 6 times. It has been a part of UN Peace-Keeping Missions all over the world.

Anti-Colonialism, Right of Self Determination:

As we have been suffering from colonial rule we always support decolonization for Asia and Africa. Pakistan always opposed racial discrimination in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South Africa, Namibia etc. It always supported right of self determination for Kashmir, Palestine, Afghanistan and others.

Arms Control:

Pakistan believes that arms races to be controlled, resources to be used for human development. It has spoken for this cause in the UN and the outside. It opposed arms race not only at the superpower level but also at the regional and bilateral levels both for conventional and non conventional arms. It stressed that the root causes of arms races should be curtailed.

Nuclear Policy:

Pakistan has been champion of peaceful uses of nuclear technology. Pakistan avoided nuclear explosions despite having the knowledge and capability of processing Uranium, Plutonium. It was only for the sake of deterrence and reaction to India's nuclear explosions.

Relations with India:

The most problematic area of Pakistan's foreign policy is the relationship with India. The relations have been strained since independence in 1947. There were periods of normal relations but generally it remained troubled marked with distrust and conflict. This bitterness caused three major wars in 1947-48, 1965 and 1971. Limited conflicts and trouble at LoC (Line of Control) along with propaganda war are common practices. Tension escalated when the troops on the border from both sides faced each other throughout 2002. India was not ready to open dialogue. But now there is a hope of bilateral dialogue on Kashmir and other issues. It is the only way to bring prosperity and peace for 1.2 billion people of South Asia.

Kashmir:

Main source of conflict between India and Pakistan is Kashmir dispute. It should be resolved under the UN Resolutions. But India has declared it as integral part of it. Instead of having plebiscite, she has blamed Pakistan for initiating insurgency in Kashmir since 1989. India claims that it is engineered by Pakistan and equates this with terrorism.

Control of Terrorism:

Pakistan is an active participant in global efforts to contain terrorism. Pakistan withdrew support to Taliban and joined hands with the international community. She also acted against terrorists within Pakistan, as it was victim of terrorism & sectarianism.

Pakistan believes that to eradicate terrorism first the root causes of the problem should be removed.

Concluding Remarks:

Pakistan has been an active member of the international community. It has been balancing the diverse pressures through diplomacy, engagement and compromises for the betterment of humanity.

Pakistan and the Muslim World

Foundations:

The Muslims of the sub-continent have deep-rooted affiliation with the Islamic countries on the basis of religion. They demonstrated this zeal of brotherhood on many occasions. From the days of Pakistan movement, Muslims of India followed the traditional policy with the Muslim World. Pan-Islamism and Islamic values were the strongest motives behind the demand of a separate Muslim state. So after the partition, they always preferred close bilateral relations with the Muslim countries.

The principles of policy in all the constitutions carry special attachment for Muslims and their heritage. The love for Muslim brotherhood continued during and after the independence.

Support for Independence:

Pakistan rendered full moral support for the independence of Indonesia, Tunis, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Sudan and Eritrea.

Palestine:

Pakistan, being a Muslim state, always sided with the national rights of the Palestinian people. It strongly supported the independent Palestinian state. Sharing grievous concern over the atrocities inflicted on the Muslims, it condemned the Israeli policies.

Organization of Islamic Conference:

Organization of Islamic Conference is the largest Muslim forum in the world. Pakistan was among the 51 Muslim nations which attended the inaugural session in Rabat (1969). Its second conference was held at Lahore in 1974. Pakistani desired to make it an effective forum to address the political, economic, technical, scientific matters. The OIC always supported Pakistan on Kashmir.

RCD and ECO:

Pakistan, Iran and Turkey signed Regional Cooperation Development in July 1964. It worked for economic development till 1985 when it was renamed as ECO. Later on, Afghanistan and five Central Asian Republics, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan joined it.

Muslim World:

Pakistan has good relations with all the Muslim countries.

Saudi Arabia:

Saudi Arabia being sacred country is a centre of the Muslim 'Ummah'. Both the countries have conformity on major issues including Kashmir. The Saudi cooperation for the OIC and wars with India is unprecedented.

UAE, Kuwait and other Gulf States:

These countries and States have close and cordial relations with Pakistan. The ruling families make official and personal visits. The new era of economic relations has set in after the Gawadar port was built.

Iran:

Iran is a neighboring state with long historical and cultural ties. Iran was the first that recognized Pakistan. Iran's King was also the first head of state who visited Pakistan. Both had joint arrangements in regard to CENTO, RCD, and ECO. Iran supported Pakistan in the wars with India. It stressed on liberty of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan welcomed the Iranian Revolution of February 1979. In March 1997 President Rafsanjani and in December 2002, Khatami visited Pakistan.

Turkey:

Turkey is another country with a long history of close and cordial relations with Pakistan. Both have great contribution in the multilateral arrangements of CENTO, RCD, ECO, etc.

Egypt:

Egypt under Nasser had some reservations due to Pakistan's ties with the West. Pakistan supported Egypt when it was attacked by Israel in 1956, 1967, 1973. The relations began to improve since 1967 and especially after the death of Nasser in 1970.

Libya:

Col. Qazzafi has been a great well wisher and supporter of Pakistan. In American air raids in 1986, Pakistan condemned American attack.

Jordan:

Jordan is another example of cordiality. King Hussain had special regard for Pakistan. He supported us on India-Pakistan issues. King Abdullah continued with this tradition. Both have military relationship, trade and diplomatic exchanges.

Afghanistan:

Afghanistan is a neighboring state. It sided with the 'Pakhtunistan' issue and created problems for Pakistan. The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan gave birth to the Mujahideen groups, Taliban. The Sept 11, 2001 incident in America concluded major changes in the world diplomacy. After Taliban, Karzai government took responsibility of Afghanistan's reconstruction.

Bangladesh:

Bangladesh was East Pakistan but the internal instability and external conspiracies gave birth to Bangladesh. Pakistan had initially bitter relations but recognized it in 1974 that set in the normalization of relations. Both worked together in SAARC, OIC.