

LIAQAT ALI KAHAN AS PM

Liaquat Ali Khans contributions to the struggle for independence were numerous. After independence, he was thus the natural choice for the premiership. Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Being the first Prime Minister of the country, Liaquat Ali Khan had to deal with a number of difficulties that Pakistan faced in its early days. He helped Quaid-i-Azam in solving the riots and refugee problem and in setting up an effective administrative system for the country. He established the groundwork for Pakistan's foreign policy. He also took steps towards the formulation of the constitution. He presented The Objectives Resolution, a prelude to future constitutions, in the Legislative Assembly. The house passed it on March 12, 1949. Liaquat Ali Khan called it "the most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance, only to the achievement of independence". Under his leadership a team also drafted the first report of the Basic Principle Committee and work began on the second report.

During his tenure, India and Pakistan agreed to resolve the dispute of Kashmir in a peaceful manner through the efforts of the United Nations. According to this agreement a ceasefire was affected in Kashmir in January 1948. It was decided that a free and impartial plebiscite would be held under the supervision of the

After the death of Quaid-i-Azam, he tried to fill the vacuum created by the departure of the Father of the Nation. The problem of religious minorities flared during late 1949 and early 1950, and it seemed as if India and Pakistan were about to fight their second war in the first three years of their independence. At this critical moment in the history of South Asia, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan met Nehru to sign the Liaquat-Nehru Pact in 1950. The Liaquat-Nehru Pact was an effort on his part to improve relations and reduce tension between India and Pakistan. In May 1951, he visited the United States and set the course of Pakistan's foreign policy towards closer ties with the West. An important event during his premiership was the establishment of National Bank of Pakistan in November 1949, and the installation of a paper currency mill in Karachi.

Liaquat Ali Khan was unfortunately assassinated on October 16, 1951. Security forces immediately shot the assassin, who was later identified as Saad Akbar. The question of who was behind his murder is yet to be answered. The government officially gave Liaquat Ali Khan the title of Shaheed-i-Millat.

Economic and Education policy

As Prime Minister Ali Khan took initiatives to develop educational infrastructure, science and technology in the country, with the intention of carrying the vision of successful development of science and technology to aid the essential foreign policy of Pakistan. In 1947, with Jinnah inviting physicist Rafi Muhammad Chaudhry to Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan called upon chemist Salimuzzaman Siddiqui, awarding him citizenship, and appointing him as his first government science adviser in 1950. During this same time, Khan also called physicist and mathematician Raziuddin Siddiqui, asking him to plan and establish educational research institutes in the country and develop an anti India programs.^[32] Khan asked Ziauddin Ahmed to draft the national educational policy, which was submitted to his office in November 1947, and a road map to establishing education in the country was quickly adopted by Khan's government.

Khan's government authorized the establishment of the Sindh University. Under his government, science infrastructure was slowly built but he continued inviting Muslim scientists and engineers from India to Pakistan, believing it essential for Pakistan's future progress.

In 1947, Khan and his Finance minister Malick Ghulam proposed the idea of Five-Year Plans, by putting the country's economic system on investment and capitalism grounds. Focusing on an initial planned economic system under the directives of private sector and consortium industries in 1948, economic planning began to take place during his time in office, but soon collapsed partly because of unsystematic and inadequate staffing. Khan's economic policies were soon heavily dependent on United States aid to the country. In spite of planning an independent economic policy, Khan's economic policies focused on the United States' aid programme, on the other hand, Nehru focused on socialism and went on to be a part of Non Aligned Movement. An important event during his premiership was the establishment of a National Bank in November 1949, and the installation of a paper currency mill in Karachi. Unlike his Indian counterpart Jawaharlal Nehru, under Khan Pakistan's economy was planned, but also an open free market economy

FOREIGN POLICY

In addition to ensuring Pakistan's survival and the creation of government institutions such as the civil service and the military, he was responsible for creating Pakistan's national policies that mostly remain intact 70 years after Partition. First of all, there was the establishment of the economy along global capitalist lines allied to the Western world. Desperate for support,

Pakistan had little choice but to turn, like Europe and Japan, to the United States for assistance (which in the end, like Great Britain, provided very little). Liaquat Ali Khan also nurtured relationships with nations in Europe and the Middle East to ensure Pakistan's economic development. Its industrial development in the 1950s and 1960s and later was a result of his early policies.

Secondly, Liaquat Ali Khan created Pakistan's foreign policy that the country has largely followed ever since. The first hurdle he had to cross in this respect was to have a stance over Kashmir. He refused to accept Kashmir as part of India and spent a considerable amount of time and effort over a number of meetings in India, London and in Pakistan trying to reverse its status. His stance on Kashmir has been followed by every Pakistani leader since and it has always been Pakistan's major foreign policy aim to make all of Kashmir Pakistan's.

The second feature of Pakistan's foreign policy is its alliance with the United States and the West. As with the orientation of its economy, Pakistan had little choice. In 1947, the Soviet Union could offer very little financial support to its allies; in fact, it was draining its East European allies of their assets to build up Soviet industries.

Allying with a state based on godless communism was also unacceptable to most Pakistanis and had Pakistan done so it would have been isolated diplomatically by the West at a time when the newly independent country desperately needed support. But what made the choice inevitable was that only the United States and Great Britain and countries of the British Commonwealth were able to provide the economic and diplomatic assistance Pakistan requested. As a member of the Baghdad Pact between 1955 and 1979 and a frontline state in the war in Afghanistan after 1979, Pakistan still largely follows Liaquat Ali Khan's foreign alignment although in 2017 it is trying to develop closer ties with China.

The third plank of Pakistan's foreign policy is its relationship with Muslim states in the Middle East. Liaquat Ali Khan sought good relations with all Muslim countries including Iran, which was the first country in the world to recognise Pakistan, and he welcomed the Shah of Iran to Pakistan in March 1950 as the first foreign head of state to visit the country. In the 1970s and 1980s, Pakistan further strengthened its Middle Eastern connections; in 2017, the country looks increasingly for assistance to the rich Arab states and seeks to play a significant role in military affairs in the Middle East.

POLITICS OF EAST BENGAL

Pre-Crisis Phase (August 14, 1947-January 5, 1968): The *Dominion of Pakistan*, including West Pakistan and East Pakistan (Province of East Bengal), was formally established on August 14, 1947. Sir Frederick Chalmers Bourne was appointed as Governor of East Bengal and Khawaja Nazimudin of the *Muslim League* (ML) was appointed as Chief Minister of the Province of East Bengal on August 14, 1947. On December 8, 1947, students at the University of Dhaka demanded that Bengali be made an official language of Pakistan. Students at the University of Dhaka organized a general strike on March 11, 1948. Governor-General and President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared that Urdu would be the only official language of Pakistan during a speech in Dhaka (Dacca), East Pakistan on March 24, 1948. Governor-General Muhammad Ali Jinnah died on September 11, 1948, and Chief Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin took over as Governor-General of Pakistan on September 14, 1948. Nurul Amin of the ML was appointed as Chief Minister on East Bengal on September 15, 1948.

The *Awami Muslim League* (AML) was established in Dhaka (Dacca), East Pakistan by Maulana Bhashani, Shamsul Huq, and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on June 23, 1949. Sir Feroz Khan Noon was appointed as Governor of East Bengal on March 31, 1950. On January 26, 1952, a committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly recommended that Urdu be the only official language of Pakistan. On January 30, 1952, Bengali students and others established the *Bhasha Andolon* (Bengali language) movement in favor of the recognition of Bengali as a national language in Pakistan. Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin, who was of Bengali origin, spoke out in favor of Urdu as the national language on February 21, 1952. Government police and student demonstrators clashed in Dhaka (Dacca) on February 21-23, 1952, resulting in the deaths of ten individuals. Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman was appointed as Governor of East Bengal on March 31, 1953. The *United Front* (UF) coalition, including the *Awami Muslim League* (AML), *Krishak Sramik Party* (KSP), *Nezam-e-Islam* (NI), and *Ganatantri Dal* (GD), was established on December 4, 1953. Legislative elections were held in East Bengal on March 12, 1954, and the UF coalition won 223 out of 309 seats in the Provincial Assembly. Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq of the UF coalition was appointed as Chief Minister of East Bengal on April 3, 1954. Iskandar Ali Mizra was appointed as Governor of East Bengal on May 29, 1954. Abu Hussain Sarkar of the *Krishak Sramik Party* (KSP) was appointed as Chief Minister of East

Bengal in August 1955. The Province of East Bengal was dissolved on October 14, 1955. On February 29, 1956, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly approved a new constitution establishing a Pakistani republic with both Urdu and Bengali as official languages. The *Islamic Republic of Pakistan* was formally established on March 23, 1956. Government police fired on *Awami League* (AL) demonstrators in Dhaka (Dacca) on August 4, 1956, resulting in the deaths of three individuals. On October 7 1958, President Iskandar Ali Mizra abrogated the 1956 Constitution and imposed martial law with General Muhammad Ayub Khan appointed as Chief Martial Law Administrator. On October 27, 1958, General Muhammad Ayub Khan deposed President Iskandar Ali Mizra and assumed the presidency. President Muhammad Ayub Khan promulgated a new constitution, which went into effect on June 8, 1962. The AL and other political parties established the *National Democratic Front* (NDF) on October 4, 1962. President Muhammad Ayub Khan denounced the autonomy movement in East Pakistan on March 20, 1966, and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested on April 18, 1966. Government police and demonstrators clashed in Dhaka (Dacca) and Narayanganj on June 7, 1966, resulting in the deaths of ten individuals. Some 100 individuals were killed in political violence between June 1949 and January 1968.

Crisis Phase (January 6, 1968-March 25, 1971): The West Pakistan government announced the discovery of a secessionist conspiracy in East Pakistan on January 6, 1968. Government police arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, president of the *Awami League* (AL), on January 18, 1968. Thirty-four other individuals were also arrested by government police, and three of these individuals were killed in prison. Government police fired on demonstrators in Dhaka (Dacca), East Pakistan on December 7, 1968, resulting in the deaths of two individuals. Eight opposition political parties established the *Democratic Action Committee* (DAC) in Dhaka (Dacca) on January 8, 1969. Sixteen individuals were killed during demonstrations in East Pakistan on January 24-30, 1969. Some 675 individuals were killed in political violence in East Pakistan from December 7, 1968 to January 30, 1969. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was released from police custody on February 22, 1969. President Muhammad Ayub Khan abrogated the 1962 Constitution, imposed martial law, and handed over power to General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan on March 25, 1969. Legislative elections were held on December 7, 1970, and the *Awami League* (AL) won 167 out of 313 seats in the Pakistani National Assembly. The AL also won 288 out of 300 seats in the Legislative Assembly of East Pakistan. The AL proposed transferring powers from the federal government to the state governments. Some 170 individuals were killed

in political violence in Dhaka (Dacca) on March 1-3, 1971. West Pakistani troops fired on Bengali demonstrators in Jaydevpur on March 19, 1971, resulting in the deaths of some 50 individuals. West Pakistani troops fired on Bengali demonstrators in Syedpur, Rangpur, and Chittagong on March 24, 1971, resulting in the deaths of more than 1,000 individuals. President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan declared a state-of-emergency in East Pakistan on March 25, 1971.

Conflict Phase (March 26, 1971-December 16, 1971): Government troops from West Pakistan launched a military offensive against Bengali nationalists, including Bengali troops and policemen, in East Pakistan beginning on March 26, 1971. President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan formally banned the *Awami League* (AL) on March 26, 1971. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested by West Pakistani soldiers on March 26, 1971. The government of Indonesia and Iran expressed support for West Pakistan on March 28, 1971. The government of India expressed support for East Bengali rebels on March 31, 1971, and provided military assistance (weapons and training) beginning in June 1971. East Bengali nationalists formed a liberation army (*Mukti Bahini*) to fight West Pakistani government troops commanded by General Tikka Khan. Pakistani troops killed more than 1,000 civilians in Jinjira and other towns near Dhaka (Dacca) on April 1, 1971. The government of the Soviet Union appealed to the West Pakistan government for a ceasefire on April 2, 1971. The governments of Malaysia and Turkey expressed support for the West Pakistani government on April 3, 1971. West Pakistani government troops captured Jessore from East Bengali rebels on April 6, 1971. The U.S. government appealed to the West Pakistan government for a ceasefire on April 7, 1971. Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China expressed support for the West Pakistani government on April 12, 1971. East Bengali nationalists declared East Pakistan's independence from West Pakistan on April 14, 1971. West Pakistani government troops captured Chuadanga, provision capital of East Bengali nationalists, on April 18, 1971. West Pakistani troops killed members and supporters of *Mukti Bahini* in Gopalpur on May 5, 1971. On May 6, 1971, the government of India announced that some 1.2 million Bengalis had fled as refugees to India. Some 153 personnel from the *United Nations High Commission for Refugees* (UNHCR), *United Nations Children's Fund* (UNICEF), and *World Food Program* (WFP) provided humanitarian assistance to refugees in India and internally-displaced individuals beginning on May 19, 1971. At least 8,000 individuals, mostly Bengali Hindus, were massacred by West Pakistani troops in

Chuknagar on May 20, 1971. The British government sent a four member fact-finding mission to the region on June 21-28, 1971. The British government imposed military sanctions (suspension of military assistance) against the West Pakistani government on June 23, 1971. The U.S. government imposed military sanctions (cancellation of arms sales) against the West Pakistani government on November 8, 1971. India referred the matter to the UN Security Council on November 18, 1971. Mukti Bahini rebels launched a military offensive against West Pakistani government troops on November 21, 1971, and the West Pakistani government declared a state-of-emergency on November 23, 1971. West Pakistan received military assistance from Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Libya, and Iran. Some 150,000 Indian troops intervened in support of the East Bengalis beginning on November 27, 1971. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India appealed for the withdrawal of West Pakistani government troops from East Pakistan on November 30, 1971. West Pakistani government troops launched a military offensive against East Pakistan on December 3, 1971. The U.S. government referred the matter to the UN Security Council on December 4, 1971. The Soviet Union vetoed a UN Security Council resolution on December 6, 1971, which would have appealed to the parties for a ceasefire. The government of India provided diplomatic assistance (diplomatic recognition) to the provision government of Bangladesh on December 6, 1971. The UN General Assembly appealed for a ceasefire and troop withdrawal on December 7, 1971 and demanded a ceasefire on December 15, 1971. Some 90,000 West Pakistani government troops and civilians surrendered to Indian troops in East Pakistan on December 16, 1971. Some 500,000 Bengalis, 5,000 West Pakistani government troops, and 1,050 Indian troops were killed during the conflict. Some ten million refugees fled from East Pakistan to India during the conflict.

Post-Conflict Phase (December 17, 1971): East Pakistan (Bangladesh) formally achieved its independence from West Pakistan on December 17, 1971.

RAWALPINDI CONSPIRACY

Certain events in the history of nations leave deep impacts on their future. Such incidents are always controversial and remain a matter of dispute among sections of the society. The Rawalpindi Conspiracy case is one such incident in our post-independence history which has influenced our political and social history. After a termination of decades, the event ought now to be analyzed objectively in order to learn useful lessons from it as the dust of emotions and sentiments has settled down.

Rawalpindi Conspiracy case was an attempted coup d'état against the government of Liaquat Ali Khan who the first Prime Minister of country. This was the first attempt succeeding a number of attempts against the elected governments of Pakistan in later history. The master mind behind the whole plan was Major General Akbar Khan who was a senior commander of Pakistan Army at that time. And for this plan he got support of some military men and some left wing politicians as well.

At the time of independence Major General Akbar Khan was serving the country as Brigadier. Soon after independence when war broke out between India and Pakistan on the issue of annexation of Kashmir; Akbar Khan led the regular army and civilian tribes against India in the war whereas General David Gracy was the C-in-C of the Pakistan Army.

In fact General Gracy did not like Pakistan's deep involvement in war. Consequently, Pakistan could only be successful in occupying some areas of Kashmir. General Akbar Khan who was a valiant soldier was not satisfied with the state policies and he was greatly disheartened by this agreement of ceasefire. He used to express his anger against the ceasefire incautiously in the presence of all. General Akbar Khan and his associates were not satisfied with the domestic and foreign policies of government particularly policies regarding Kashmir issue. Along with this Akbar Khan had personal grievances as well; he felt that he had been unfairly ignored when Ayub Khan was selected the C-in-C of the Pakistan army. Khan's valor pooled with aggravation incited him to make a plan of overthrowing the current government of Liaquat Ali Khan who was the Prime Minister and Khawaja Nazimud Din the Governor General.

Consequently, Khan called together a meeting at his place in Rawalpindi on 23rd February 1951 which was attended by Faiz, Syed Sajjad Zaheer, the then secretary general of the party, and Muhammad Hussain Ata, another leader of the party. Besides civilians, Akbar Khan, Lt Col Siddique Raja and Maj M Yousaf Sethi were present in the meeting. According to the planned coup d'état offered by Khan, both Governor General and Prime Minister were to be arrested; the Governor General was to be forced to suspend the Prime Minister and his government. And after the dismissal of the government, Khan was to form the new government which was to organize general elections in the country. The new government was to allow the communist party to take part in the political process and as a return, the party was to welcome and provide support to the new government. The Daily under the editorship of Faiz, was to provide the editorial support to the new government. But one of Khan's confidants, Ali, who was a police officer, reported the

whole plan to the IG Police who, through the Governor of NWFP, brought the plan to the knowledge of the PM. As a Consequence, Khan, Begum Nasim, Faiz and Zaheer were arrested. A special tribunal was constituted to try the accused persons. The case began in the court, on 15th June 1951 especially prepared for the trial in the compound of the Hyderabad jail. The case was not false altogether. The accused claimed that the meeting had ended without any accord after a prolonged eight hours of intense debate. According to the law of the land, the conspiracy could only be established if there was an agreement on the plan. Since, no agreement was reached, there was no conspiracy. After months of trial, finally, the court declared its verdict. The trial concluded on 22nd November 1950, and the verdict was announced the following year in January. The civilians and the junior army officers were imprisoned for four years and were charged with fine and Akbar Khan for 14 years.

The most surprising point of the case was the alliance between the communist party leaders and the army officers, as both sectors of the society obsessed different approaches towards the society and its functioning and progression.

The conspiracy was gigantic in terms of its consequences to the state, since the military and the elite of the bureaucracy were waiting to capture the state machinery because the politicians were not working for the people. The subsequent Martial laws imposed in the country are merely the reflections of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case 1951. Nowadays when there are talks about the incapability of the state to deal with the problems of the people it must be remembered that these thoughts were wandering in the minds of the people when Liaqut Ali Khan served as the Prime Minister. The Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case echoes across all future events that are a result of the frustrations among the people concerning the inability of the government.

Subsequently, in October 1955, all the fourteen conspirators were released following the legal battle that went on in the higher courts after the dissolution of the CAP. Major General Akbar Khan was soon transformed in Pakistani political life, becoming an adviser to Pakistani politician Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Upon coming to power in 1971, Bhutto appointed Akbar Khan to be chief of national security. Faiz continued to publish many works of poetry, and was appointed to the National Council for Arts by the Bhutto government.

OBJECTIVE RESOLUTION

Objectives Resolution is one of the most important documents in the constitutional history of Pakistan. It was passed by the first Constituent Assembly on 12th March 1949 under the leadership of Liaquat Ali Khan. The Objectives Resolution is one of the most important and illuminating documents in the constitutional history of Pakistan. It laid down the objectives on which the future constitution of the country was to be based and it proved to be the foundational stone of the constitutional development in Pakistan. The most significant thing was that it contained the basic principles of both Islamic political system and Western Democracy. Its importance can be ascertained from the fact that it served as preamble for the constitution of 1956, 1962 and 1973 and ultimately became the part of the Constitution when the Eighth Amendment in the Constitution of 1973 was passed in 1985.

Objective Resolution was presented in the Constituent Assembly by Liaquat Ali Khan on March 7, 1949 and was debated for five days by the members from both the treasury and opposition benches. The resolution was ultimately passed on March 12. Following were the main features of the Objectives Resolution:

1. Sovereignty of the entire Universe belongs to Allah alone
2. Authority should be delegated to the State through its people under the rules set by Allah
3. Constitution of Pakistan should be framed by the Constituent Assembly
4. State should exercise its powers through the chosen representatives
5. Principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as inshored by Islam should be followed
6. Muslims shall live their lives according to the teaching of Quran and Sunnah
7. Minorities can freely profess and practice their religion.
8. There should be Federal form of government with the maximum autonomy for the Units
9. Fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality should be given to all the citizens of the state.
10. It would be the duty of the state to safeguard the interests of minorities, backward and depressed classes.
11. Independence of judiciary should be guaranteed

12. Integrity of the territory and sovereignty of the country was to be safeguarded

13. The people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honored place amongst the nations of the world and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.

Liaquat Ali Khan explained the context of the resolution in his speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly on March 7, 1949. He termed the passage of the Objectives Resolution as “the most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance only to the achievement of independence.’. He said that we as Muslim believed that authority vested in Allah Almighty and it should be exercised in accordance with the standards laid down in Islam. He added that this preamble had made it clear that the authority would be exercised by the chosen persons; which is the essence of democracy and it eliminates the dangers of theocracy. It emphasized on the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice and it says that these should be part of future constitution.

But when it was debated in the session of the Constituent Assembly, it was opposed and criticized by minorities’ leaders. A non-Muslim, Prem Hari proposed that the motion should be first circulated for evoking public opinion and should then be discussed in the house on April 30, 1949. He was supported by Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya, who proposed some amendments in the resolution. To him, since the committee of Fundamental Rights had finalized their report, there was no need for this resolution to recommend these rights. He added that the Objectives Resolution was amalgamation of religion and politics; hence it would create ambiguities with relation to its application in constitutional framework. He wanted time to study and understand the Objectives Resolution.

While discussing rights of religious minorities, Chandra Mandal opposed the resolution by saying that ‘why ulemas are insisting on this principle of Islam whereas India has Pandits but they did not demand things like that. Individual do have religion but state had not. So we think it a great deviation in our beloved Pakistan.’ Kumar Datta opposed it by saying that ‘if this resolution came in life of Jinnah it would not have come in its present form. Let us not do anything which lead our generation to blind destiny.’ Other Hindu members also proposed some amendments in the resolution and recommended that some words like ‘...sacred trust’, “...within the limits prescribed by Him”, and “... as enunciated by Islam” should be omitted.

Some new words should be inserted like “as prescribed by Islam and other religions”, and “National sovereignty belongs to the people of Pakistan”, etc.

Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin was the only Muslim member in the house who opposed the resolution. To him the resolution was vague and many words used in it do not mean anything. He further suggested that such a resolution should not only be the product of Muslim League members sitting in the assembly alone. Rather it was supposed to be the voice of seventy million people of Pakistan.

On the other hand Objectives Resolution was strongly supported by Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar, Noor Ahmad, Begam Shaista, Muhammad Hussain and others. In order to counter the allegations they argued that Islam governs not only our relations with God but also the activities of the believers in other spheres of life as Islam is complete code of life.

After a great debate finally the resolution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on March 12, 1949. Liaquat Ali Khan assured the minorities that they will get all the fundamental rights in Pakistan once the constitution based on the Objectives Resolution will be enforced. However, this resolution created a division on the communal lines as the Muslim members except for Mian Iftikharuddin voted in favor of it and the non Muslim opposed it. It created a suspicion in the mind of minorities against majority. Since, the Resolution has yet not been implemented in Pakistan in the true spirit, the doubts in the minds of the minorities still exists.