

# Ideology of Pakistan

## Ideology

Ideology is the basis of nationalism which is the fundamental belief of the nation-state system. It can be defined in some of the following ways. “Science of ideas, visionary speculations, the manner of thinking, characteristics of a class or individual ideas based on some economic, social or political theory or system.” Or “Body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values with positive action program for attaining these goals.” Ideology constitutes a system of human life which includes a certain set of theories, objectives and assertions of life. The importance of Ideology in human life cannot be defied on the grounds that individuals should ideally share a common ideology in society look homogenous. It is also important to have an ideology because it offers an interpretation of the past, an explanation of the present and a vision of the future. It tells you that where you come from, where you are and where you suppose to reach afterwards. Some people detach themselves from the past and does not connect themselves with the ideology or past. Ideology of Pakistan Ideologies take firm roots in society only when people feel that they are being mistreated under an existing order or when their status is threatened by fundamental changes occurring in the society. There were some fundamental political changes which occurred in the subcontinent. The Muslims came as invaders (conquerors). The Muslims were being checked thoroughly and Hindus were given leverage over the Muslims and that was the fundamental change occurring in the society. In the war of 1957 the whole blame was put on Muslims in that war. The British government tried to suppress Muslims and to crush that rebellion. Then Sir Syed Ahmad Khan played a role to impress the British and to impress the Muslims. He told that Muslims were not sole responsible for their reward. Moreover, new ideology in any given society emerges when the prevailing ideology no longer satisfies the people living in a society. That is why, they didnt prefer to live in India rather they prefer to ask for a independent state for themselves. Pakistan is one of the few countries

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which have been formed based on ideology. Therefore, when the Muslims in the subcontinent felt that the prevailing ideology in the Indian subcontinent is not catering for their spiritual and material needs, then the ideology of a separate nation began to evolve. The ideals for which the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent started to strive for many decades were drawn from the Islamic system of beliefs. Moreover, the idea of a separate homeland for Muslims of the subcontinent was conceived and matured as a reaction to the Hindu and British exploitation of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. It was a revolt Page 2 of 2 against the prevailing system in order to save it from annihilation. The foundation of that ideology was built and later sustained by Muslim nationalism.

### Ideology of Pakistan Based on Muslim Nationalism

#### What is Nationalism?

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

#### Economic Ideology

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

# Two Nation Theory

## Nationalism

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

- (1) The attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity,
- (2) The actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self determination. (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2018)

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

### Emotional Basis

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

### Political and Social Apparatus

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

### Spiritual Equipment

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

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

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

### **Views of Prominent Personalities about Religion and Nationalism**

Mahatma Gandhi said: “The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with the snake....., I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by introducing religion into politics.” He was in favor of introducing religion in politics as he thought that the politics is very complicated matter and any issues cannot be resolved without logic of religion. Allama Iqbal said: “One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history, it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa.”

### **Two Nation theory**

#### **Evolution of the Concept**

During the struggle for political independence in India, the Two-Nation Theory emerged, which meant that two nations - Hindus and Muslims - inhabited the subcontinent. It further emphasized that there were sharp discrepancies in culture, language, religious practices of both communities. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was not the first to call the Muslims of India a nation divergent from the Hindus, previously, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, had also addressed them as ‘QAUM’. Moreover, the Agha Khan, Amir Ali and others referred to their community as a ‘nation’. Later on, Allama Iqbal provided

the philosophical explanation for the uniqueness of the Indian Muslims. However, Jinnah was the first to conclude that Hindus and Muslims are two distinct nations, which could not live together. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan gave it a legal sanction by passing Objectives Resolution in March 1949.

### **Jinnah in Lahore Resolution**

Muhammad Ali Jinnah said: “Notwithstanding [a] thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes.” Stance of Quaid-e-Azam was “Muslims are a Nation according to any definition of nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state.” There were many other people who supported the stance of Quaid-e-Azam. As B. K. Krishna quoted in 1939, “India is the land of nations”. Another external evidence who does not support the claim of All India Congress that there is only one nation in subcontinent, “The reality is that Muslim Population in India go millions, with its own system of law and social organization, its own distinct language, its own historical traditions proves to be separate nation”.

### **Mandate of Two Nation Theory**

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

by no means, compromise with this formula. Congress attitude further pushed the Muslims towards Separatism.

### **Factors Responsible for the Creation of Muslim Nationhood**

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

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

# **Historical Background of Pakistan**

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

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

## **Economic Causes**

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

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

### **Administrative Causes**

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

### **Political Causes**

Among the political causes for the War of Independence 1857, the British expansionist policies in the Indian subcontinent takes a fundamental place. Order of Lord Canning to the Mughal Emperor to leave Red Fort Delhi and stay at Qutab Minar further added an insult to the injury for both the Muslims and Hindus alike, as the Mughal Emperor was the legitimate ruler of India. Moreover, a wave of unrest struck the socio-politico fabric of the Indian society following the Lord Canning's order that after the demise of Bahadur Shah Zafar the Mughal rule will come to an end and all the property of Mughal rulers will be snatched away.

### **Social/Religious Causes**

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



after 1813 that the actual mandate of EIC was to convert Indians especially Hindus to Christianity.

### **Military Causes**

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

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

### **Immediate Cause**

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

### **Causes for the Failure of War of Independence**

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

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

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

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

### **Nature of the War of Independence**

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

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

## **Hindi/Urdu Controversy**

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

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

In 1837, Persian was replaced by Urdu as the court and state language, no one objected to that. With the fall of the Mughal Empire, Hindus, however, started looking at Urdu as the language of the invaders. The British on the other hand, in their disregard for Muslims, adopted the same attitude. Thus, both intentionally started their efforts to get rid of the language of the Muslims. In this regard names of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Raja Shiv Parshad, Lakshman Singh, Haresh Chandra and Binkam Chatterji, etc., among many others are well known. The first effort was made at the start of the nineteenth century when a

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new language was formed with the name Hindi in which words of pure Arabic, Persian and Turkish were removed and replaced by Sanskrit words. In that regard in 1809, a Hindu wrote a novel in that very Hindi with the title “Prem Sagar”, but since it was not a full-fledged effort, soon that language went into oblivion.

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

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

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

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

### **Formation of Indian National Congress**

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

An Englishman A.O. Hume founded the Indian National Congress. He was a retired government official with the blessings of Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of India. When Hume took the scheme to the Governor-General, the latter amended it and gave his blessing on the condition that *"His name in this connection with the scheme of the Congress should not be divulged so long as*

*he remained in the country.”* His condition was faithfully maintained, and none but the men consulted by Mr Hume knew anything about the matter.

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

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

## **Partition of Bengal**

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

The whole plan was nothing but a readjustment of administrative boundaries. However, the Hindus resented it. The partition resulted in the creation of Muslim majority province, East Bengal, which was distasteful to the Hindus. Hindus regarded the partition as an attempt to strangle nationalism in Bengal, where it was more developed than elsewhere. Agitation against the partition included

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mass meetings, rural unrest, and a “swadeshi” (native) movement to boycott the import of British goods.

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

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

# **Simla Deputation and All India Muslim League**

## **Simla Deputation**

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

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

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



their representatives by separate electorates but also the right to vote in general constituencies. Also, they were also given weightage in representation.

### **All India Muslim League (1906)**

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

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

# **Minto-Morley Reforms and Lucknow Pact**

## **Pakistan Movement (Historical Effects of 1909-1940)**

### **Indian Councils Act 1909 (Minto Morley Reforms)**

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

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

- The number of the members of the Legislative Council at the Center was increased from 16 to 60.
- The number of the members of the Provincial Legislatures was also increased. It was fixed as 50 in the provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and for the rest of the provinces it was 30.
- The member of the Legislative Councils, both at the Center and in the provinces, were to be of four categories i.e. ex-officio members (Governor General and the members of their Executive Councils), nominated official members (those nominated by the Governor General and were government officials), nominated non-official

members (nominated by the Governor General but were not government officials) and elected members (elected by different categories of Indian people).

- Right of separate electorate was given to the Muslims.
- At the Center, official members were to form the majority but in provinces non-official members would be in majority.
- The members of the Legislative Councils were permitted to discuss the budgets, suggest the amendments and even to vote on them; excluding those items that were included as non-vote items. They were also entitled to ask supplementary questions during the legislative proceedings.
- The Secretary of State for India was empowered to increase the number of the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay from two to four.
- Two Indians were nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs.
- The Governor General was empowered to nominate one Indian member to his Executive Council.

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

The Indians were not satisfied with these reforms. Strict qualifications of property and education were imposed on the franchise. Consequently, the number of voters was restricted. Moreover, the

system of election was indirect. The members of local bodies were elected by the people who, in turn, were to elect members of electoral colleges. The members of electoral colleges were to elect members of Provincial Legislature who, in turn, were to elect members of Imperial Legislature. To win the support of maximum factions of the society, the Government wanted to give special representation to the loyalist classes. In this context, a unique representation was given to landlords, chambers of commerce and other influential groups. Further, S.P. Sinha, an Indian, was included in the Viceroy's Executive Council. However, this act was bitterly criticized by the Muslims, for they had previously demanded that two Indian members including one Muslim should be included in the Council. The Government promised to appoint Muslim the next time. After Sinha's resignation, Sayed Ali Imam was appointed as a Member of the Executive council.

### **Criticism**



Demand of responsible government was rejected.

Importance of landlords and industrialists increased which was



represented by the common Indians.

Restricted franchise (Women were not given the right to vote).



### **Hindu Reaction**

The Hindus organized a demonstrative campaign against this act as they were against separate electorate given to the Muslims. The Congress condemned it and demanded the withdrawal of separate

electorate. However, benefitted as result of the act, the Muslims warmly welcomed this act mainly due to the provision of separateelectorate for them.

## **Lucknow Pact2**

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

## **Factors Behind the Pact**

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

In December 1912, the Muslim league changed its aim from loyalty to form self-government suitable to India. However, the League retained the right to modify self-rule by their needs and requirements. Jinnah arose as a devoted champion of Hindu Muslim unity; he convinced All India Muslim league to change their policies for the betterment of India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his early career was a member of both the Congress and the Muslim League and was well known as a man free of any religious prejudice, as well as a brilliant advocate and debater. In 1915, mainly due to his efforts, both the Muslim League

and the Congress party had their annual meeting in Bombay. At the end of this meeting, a committee was formed with the intention to sort the shared understanding between the two communities. The committee prepared a scheme in November 1916. The plan was approved by both the parties in December 1916 at the respective sessions at Lucknow.

### **Jinnah and the Pact**

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

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

The Muslim League and the Congress should jointly demand the establishment of complete self-government in India. The Muslims should be given separate reserved seats in the legislature with the right of separate electorate. Any resolution affecting a particular community

should require  $\frac{3}{4}$  (75%) majority of the members of that community for its advancement in any council. All India Muslim League withdrew from the demand that Muslims were in the majority in the Punjab and Bengal.

### **Significance (Importance of the Pact)**

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

### **Khilafat Movement**

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

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

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

## **Khilafat Movement, Nehru Report and Jinnah's 14 Points**

### **(Pakistan Movement - Historical Events of 1909-1940)**

#### **Khilafat Movement**

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

During the war, the Indian Muslims were in a very awkward position, because they had a deep-rooted devotion to the caliphate. They had profound respect for this holy institution. Therefore, their support to the British Government was

***[Handouts for lectures]***



subject to the safeguard and protection of the holy places of Turkey and on the condition that Turkey will not to be deprived of its territories. The British Government could not fulfill both of these promises. The Treaty of Savers 1920 was imposed on Turkey and its territories like Samarna, Thrace and Anatolia were wrested from it and distributed among European countries. A wave of anger swept across the Muslim World and the Indian Muslims rose against the British Government. Muslim leaders like Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Moulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Moulana Shoukat Ali and others reacted against the British Government policy and were put behind the bars.

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

- To protect the Holy place of Turkey
- To restore the Territories of Turkey
- To restore the Ottoman Empire.

### **The Failure of the Khilafat Movement**

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

***[Handouts for lectures]***

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

### **Montague Chelmsford Reforms 1919**

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

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

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

### **Main Features of 1919 Act**

The Council of the Secretary of State was to comprise of eight to twelve people. Three of them should be Indian, and at least half of them should have spent at least ten years in India. The Central Legislature was to consist of two houses, Upper House (Council of the State), and the Lower House (Legislative Assembly). Council of the State was to consist of 60 members, out of those, 35 members would be elected, and the Governor General would nominate rest of them. The Legislative Assembly was to consist of 144 members, out of those 103 were to be elected and 41 to be nominated by the Governor General. The duration of the Upper House was five and of the Lower House was three years. Powers were divided between the center and the provinces. The important subjects were vested with the center, and unimportant remained with provinces. The important central subjects were defense, foreign affairs, custom, and relations with Indian states, currency, and railway. On the contrary, unworthy provincial subjects were local self-government, public health, education, etc.

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

### **Congress Reaction**

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

### **Muslim League Reaction**

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

### **Simon Commission**

Simon Commission, a group, appointed in November 1927 by the British government under Stanley Baldwin to report on the working of the Indian

***[Handouts for lectures]***

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

### **Nehru Report**

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

formed to determine the essential features of the future constitution of India. Despite many hurdles, the Nehru Committee completed its task and its report, commonly known as Nehru Report was presented in the fourth session of the All Parties Conference held in August 1928.

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

## **Jinnah's 14 Points**

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

- The form of the future constitution should be federal, with the residuary powers to be vested in the provinces.
- A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
- All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
- In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one third.
- Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by separate electorates: provided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

- Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in anyway affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the NWFP.
- Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship, and observance, propaganda, association, and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
- No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible practicable to deal with such cases.
- Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
- Reforms should be introduced in the NWFP and Balochistan on the same footing as in other provinces.
- Provision should be made in the Constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with the other Indians in all the services of the State and local self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.



- The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion and personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions and their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by local self-governing bodies.
  
- No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
  
- No change shall be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

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

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

## **India Act 1935 and Lahore Resolution**

### **The Government of India Act 1935**

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

The Government of India Act 1935 consisted of two parts. One part was central, and the other part was provincial. The Act proclaimed a bicameral legislature. One house of the Assembly was called the Indian Legislature Assembly, and the other house of the Assembly was The Council of State. The Council of State was the upper house that was a permanent body, i.e., that it could not be dissolved like the lower house of the Parliament. One-third members of the upper house had to retire after every three years. The lower house of the Assembly, the Indian Legislature Assembly, was not an independent body. Governor-General could veto the laws passed by the Assembly. The legislature had no control over the legislation under this Act. As regards the Federal Budget it consisted of two parts. One part consisted of a non-votable portion of the budget that was 80 % of the whole budget. This part of the budget could not be discussed or amended in the legislature. The other part of the budget that consisted of 20% of the whole budget could be discussed or amended in the Federal Assembly. The provinces were given more authority and powers, and for the first time, the provinces were made separate entities. Under the Act, there were three lists of subjects. One was federal, 2nd was provincial, and the 3rd was a concurrent list. The whole country was divided into 11 provinces. The Governor-General in the center and the Governors in the provinces were given special rights and privileges. In case of the emergency situation, both Governor-

General and Governors enjoyed unlimited powers, and their authority could not be challenged in any institution. Under the Act, a Federal Court was established. The court consisted of Chief Justice and six other judges. After the age of 65, the judges of the Federal court had to vacate the seat however any judge of the court could leave his seat before the age of 65. The court could interpret the constitution and if Governor-General needed any help regarding the constitution matters the court was bound to give advice but it was totally depended upon him to accept or reject the advice. Under the Act, the Secretary of State for India enjoyed the same powers that the other ministers enjoyed under the Act.

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

### **The General Elections 1936**

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

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

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

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

### **The Lahore Resolution**

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

### **Hindu Reaction towards Lahore Resolution**

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

## **The British Reaction towards Lahore Resolution**

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

# Historical Events 1940-1947

## Cripps Mission

### Causes of Cripps Mission: Japan Attack

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

## Cripps Proposal

The main proposals of the mission were

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

- Till further notice, the defense would be handled by the British government.

## **Rejection Cripps Proposal**

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

- **Division of the nation**

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

- **No time limit for the dominion status**

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

- **Representatives of princely states nominated**

The people of the Princely States were denied the right to elect a representative of their own. They would be nominated by the rulers of those states.

Gandhiji criticized Cripps Proposal as ‘postdated cheque on a failing bank’.



The Muslim League reject the Cripps Proposal as it did not clearly state the decision of partition and the formation of a Muslim State.

## **Causes of the Quit India Movement 1942**

### **> Failure of Cripps mission**

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

### **> Communal flare up in India**

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

### **> Japanese threat**

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

## **Quit India Movement 1942**

***[Handouts for lectures]***

## **Impact of the Quit India Movement 1942**

### **> Mass movement**

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

### **> British made to feel unwelcome**

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

### **> British repression**

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

### **> Second rung leadership**

With the arrest of the leaders like Gandhi and Nehru, there appeared a second rung leadership in the underground with leaders, who led from the front, like Ram Manohar Lohia, Aruna Asaf Ali, Jaiprakash Narayan,

Achyutrao Patwardhan and Nana Patil. They kept on the fight alive against the British setting up parallel government in the states like UP, Maharashtra, West Bengal.

### **Muslim League Response to Quit India**

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

### **Simla Conference**

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

Congress: Pandit Nehru, Baldev Singh and Azad

Muslim League: Quaid-e-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan and Abdu Rub Nishtar

Chief Ministers: All provinces

Unionist and other parties' representatives

## Wavell Plan

- In May 1945, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, went to London and discussed his ideas about the future of India with the British administration.
- To discuss these proposals with the leadership of major Indian parties, Wavell called for a conference at Simla on June 25, 1945.
- In May 1945, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, went to London and discussed his ideas about the future of India with the British administration.
- To discuss these proposals with the leadership of major Indian parties, Wavell called for a conference at Simla on June 25, 1945.
- If all the Indian political parties would help the British in the war then the British Government would introduce Constitutional Reforms in India after the war.
- Viceroy's Executive Council would be immediately reconstituted, and the number of its members would be increased.
- In that Council there would be equal representation of high class Hindus and the Muslims.

- Other minorities including low-caste Hindus, Shudders and Sikhs would be given representation in the Council.
- All the members of the Council, except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would be Indians.
- An Indian would be appointed as the member of Foreign Affairs in the Council. However, a British Commissioner would be appointed to look after the matters relating to the trade.
- Defense of India was to be in the hands of a British authority till Power was transferred to the Indian hands
- Viceroy would convene a meeting of the Indian politician including the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League so that they could nominate the names of the members of the new Council.
  - If this plan is approved for the Central Government, then same type of popular ministries comprising of the political leaders would be formed in all the provinces.
  - None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent Constitution of India
  - Leaders of both the Congress and the Muslim League attended the conference, which is known as the Simla Conference.

- Differences between the leadership of the two parties on the issue of representation of the Muslim community. The Muslim League claimed that it was the only representative party of the Muslims in India.
- Congress, which had sent Maulana Azad as the leader of their delegation, tried to prove that it represented all the communities living in India.

### **Failure of the Conference**

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

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

The very first point created a fuss and further discussion was futile, therefore, the Simla Conference failed in getting any objective.

### **General Election 1945-46**

- The deadlock made Wavell to announce the failure of his efforts on July 14.
- No hopes to proceed further.
- Provincial and General Elections [1945-46].
- With the failure of the Simla Conference, Lord Wavell announced that the Central and Provincial Legislature elections would be held in the winter of 1945, after which a constitution-making body would be set up.
- He also announced that after the elections, the Viceroy would set up an Executive Council that would have the support of the main Indian political parties. Both the Muslim League and the Congress opposed the proposal.
- Quaid-i-Azam declared that Muslims were not ready to accept any settlement less than a separate homeland.
- The elections were held in two stages. In December 1945, the central legislative assembly was elected, and provincial elections were held in early 1946.

- Congress won a total of 930 seats, gaining an absolute majority in eight provinces.
- The Muslim League captured 428 out of the possible 492 Muslim seats.
- The elections of 1945-1946 proved that Muslim League (ML) alone represented the Muslims of India. The sweeping majority of ML increased Congress hostility towards the ML.

### **Cabinet Mission Plan 1946**

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

The purpose of the mission was:

- It was to devise a machinery to draw up the constitution of independent India.



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

- All the subjects other than the Union subjects and all the residuary powers would be vested in the provinces.
- The princely states would retain all the subjects and all residuary powers
- A constituent assembly would consist of 389 members to draft the constitution out of whom 292 would be from provinces. Out of these 292, 93 members would be from Princely States.
- India would be divided into three groups.
- Group “A” was to consist of Bihar, Bombay, U.P. Madras, Orissa and C.P.
- Group “B” comprised of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and British Baluchistan.
- While group “C” included Asam and Bengal. These groups were given the authority to frame their constitution jointly with the other provinces of their respective groups
- Meanwhile Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a press conference on July 10, said that the Congress had agreed to join the constituent assembly, but saying it would be free to make changes in the Cabinet Mission Plan.
- Under these circumstances, the Muslim League disassociated itself from the Cabinet

Plan and resorted to “Direct Action” to achieve Pakistan. As a result, Viceroy Wavell invited the Congress to join the interim government, although it had practically rejected the plan.

- However, the Viceroy soon realized the ineffectiveness of the scheme without the participation of the League. Therefore, on October 14, 1946, he extended an invitation to them as well.
- On March 22, 1947, Lord Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy. It was announced that power would be transferred from British to Indian hands by June 1948.

## **Towards Partition**

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

## **3rd June 1947 Plan**

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

- The Muslim majority areas which will not opt to join present constituent assembly, will create their separate constituent assembly.

### **Radcliffe Award/ Boundary Commissions**

- It was provided in the June 3 plan that as soon as the legislatures of Punjab and Bengal decided in favor of partition, a boundary commission should be set up to demarcate the boundaries.
- The legislatures of Bengal and Punjab voted in favor of partition. Boundary commissions were set up for Punjab and Bengal under the chairmanship of Sir Radcliffe. Each commission was to consist of an equal number of representatives of India and Pakistan and one or more impartial members.
- The final award was announced on 17th August 1947. The Radcliffe Award was unfair to Pakistan because it awarded many Muslim majority areas in Punjab and Bengal to India. Calcutta was given to India.
- Muslim majority tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala were given to India along with Pathankot tehsil. The Muslim majority tehsil Ajnala in Amritsar district was also handed over to India.

- In Jullundur district the Muslim majority areas in Ferozpur district were also given to India. All of these areas were attached to western Punjab.

This unfair award resulted in India's occupation of Kashmir and snatching from Pakistan important head works and giving them to India.

## **Land and People of Pakistan**

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

## **Geography**

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

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

## **Regions2**

Pakistan is comprised of four provinces, i.e. Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK, Former N.W.F.P), and Baluchistan. Moreover, Kashmir

(Disputed territory) Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Gilgit-Baltistan are also part of Pakistan.

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

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

### **Mountains<sup>3</sup>**

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

### **Himalayan Range:<sup>4</sup>**

***[Handouts for lectures]***



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

### **Karakoram Range:**

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

### **Hindu Kush:**

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

### **Suleiman Range:**

Pakistan's forth major mountain range is the Suleiman range. It emerges in the south western region of the country, mostly covering Baluchistan Province. However, the mountain range is quite different in character from the northern

mountains as it is less precipitous, extremely steep, and with medium elevations. The highest peak is Takht-i-Suleiman rising 3,487 meters above sea level.

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## **Topography of Pakistan**

### **Land and People of Pakistan**

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

#### **Mountain Ranges**

There are four mountain ranges in Pakistan.

#### **Karakoram Range**

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

### **Himalayan Range**

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

### **Hindu Kush Range**

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

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

### **Sulaiman Range**

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

## **Deserts**

There are four major deserts situated in Pakistan.

### **Thal Desert**

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

### **Thar Desert**

The Thar Desert is the largest among all and mostly falls under the territory of Sindh province, extending eastwards from irrigated plains on the left bank of River Indus towards the Indian states of Rajasthan and Gujrat, constituting the

largest desert in South Asia, also known as the Great Indian Desert. The approximate area of Greater Thar Desert in total is around 200,000 square km, of which around 50,000 square km falls in the Pakistani territories, covering the districts of Tharparker, Mirpur Khas, Umerkot, Khairpur, Sukkar and Ghotki in Sindh Province.

### **Cholistan Desert**

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

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

### **Kharan Desert**

The Kharan desert is situated in the western region of Balochistan province of Pakistan. Overall, all of Balochistan plateau is characterized by extreme weather conditions and are also very barren terrain. However, Kharan desert can be separated from the rest of the arid landscape due to its sandy nature and more even terrain. It mostly falls in the Kharan District covering an estimate area of more than 20,000 square km with a population of only 0.23 million.

### **Sea**

The coastal area of Pakistan is in the province of Sindh and Balochistan. The coastline of Pakistan is Balochistan coastline which is 771 Km and rest of the

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250 km coastline is in Sindh. These coastlines of Pakistani areas are on the share of Arabian Sea and they connect Pakistan with other countries like Middle East of the world through a sea route.

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

## **Plains**

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

## **Rivers**

The principal rivers of Pakistan are

- Chenab River
- Indus River
- Jhelum River
- Ravi River

- Kabul River

- Sutlej River

### **Chenab River**

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

### **Indus River**

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

### **Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej**

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

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

Jhelum River, originates from India, enters Pakistan Jhelum district. The Jhelum was crossed in 326 B.C. by Alexander the Great, who defeated the Indian king

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Porous. The river's ancient name was Hydaspes. This river is a tributary of the Indus River, and its hydrology is basically handled by snowmelt in the spring and the Indian monsoon. Strategically very important, any construction of dam by India can affect Pakistan.

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

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

## **Dams**

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

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

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

## **Kalabagh Dam**



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

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

## **Current Environmental Issues, Agriculture Sector and Industrial Sector**

### **Land and People of Pakistan**

#### **Climate and Weather of Pakistan**

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

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- **Highlands**

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

- **Lowlands**

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

- **Coastal Areas**

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

- **Arid**

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

## **Current Environmental Issues**

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

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

- **Water Scarcity**

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

- **Deforestation**

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

- **Air Pollution**

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

deforestation in the country. The air pollution causes respiratory diseases and skin and eye infections as well.

- **Water Pollution**

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

- **Population Explosion**

The population of Pakistan is increasing rapidly with the passage of time. If the population of Pakistan was one million at the time of independence most probably it would be around 300 million at the end of 21 century, which will be more than American population. Floods will be common that would be harmful for Pakistan moreover the first surface of earth would be flown with flood and land will be barren and water under the earth will be polluted. Pakistan has limited sources but still it has to resolve the pollution or environmental problems at priority bases.

- **Solutions of Environmental Problems in Pakistan**

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

- **Natural Hazards**

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

- **Frequent Earthquakes**

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

- **Flooding**

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

### **Agriculture Sector of Pakistan**

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

- **Problems of Agriculture Sector**

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

## ➤ **Techno-Economic Problems**

- **Limited Cultivable Area**

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

- **Water Logging and Salinity**

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

- **Slow Growth of Allied Products**

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

- **Low per Hectare Yield**

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

- **Inadequate Infrastructure**

Rural infrastructure like roads, storage facilities, transport, electricity, education, sanitation, and health facilities etc. is inadequate to meet the

requirement of growth of agriculture. The total length of farm-to-market road is not only shorter but their condition is also poor. Many villages have no metal-led road at all. Electricity is available to only 3/4 rural populations.

- **Uneconomic Land Holdings**

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

- **Old Methods of Production**

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

- **Inadequate Supply of Agricultural Inputs**

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

- **Lack of Irrigation Facilities**

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

- **Inadequate Agricultural Research**

The average crop yield in Pakistan is very low as compared to the production levels of the advanced countries of the world. In order to raise the potential of agricultural production, there should be continuous improvement in the research

for agricultural growth. Total agricultural universities and colleges are only 16 in Pakistan.

- **The Problem of Land Reforms**

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

- **Defective Land Tenure System**

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

- **Subsistence Farming**

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

- **Low Cropping Intensity**

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

- **Improper Crop Rotation**

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

➤ **Natural Problems**

- **Various Plant Diseases**



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

- **Natural Calamities**

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

- **The Scarcity of HYV Seeds**

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

- **Under Utilization of Land**

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

➤ **Socio-Economic Problems**

- **Consumption Oriented**

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

- **Farmer's Litigation**

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

- **Joint Family System**

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

- **Illiteracy and Ill health**

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

- **Political Instability**

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

- **Financial Problems**

- **Lack of Credit**

Basically, our farmer is poor and he has low level of income. Agricultural credit facilities are not common in Pakistan. Credit that can facilitate agriculture is not available easily. Moreover, non-institutional sources are available but these are

not reliable due to high rate of interest. About 50.8% poor borrow from landlords in Pakistan.

- **Poor Financial Position of Farmers**

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

- **Instability in Market Prices**

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

- **Shortage of Agricultural Finance**

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

### ➤ **Measures to Remove These Problems**

The following measures are suggested to improve the agriculture.

- **Supply of Agriculture Credit**

Poor farmers cannot afford the expensive technology from their own resources in Pakistan. So, the supply of agriculture credit at easy terms and conditions is very necessary. An amount of Rs. 85,177 million is disbursed by commercial

banks in 2009 and Rs. 49 billion was distributed by ZTBL. ZTBL issued credit or Rs. 37.4 billion during 2010-11.

- **Water Logging and Salinity Control**

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

- **Construction of Dams**

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

- **Provision of HYV Seed**

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

- **Mechanization**

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

- **Agricultural Research**

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

- **Agro-Based Industries**

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

- **Tax Concessions**

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

- **Training of Farmers**

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

- **Prices of Agricultural Productivities**

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

## ➤ **Conclusion**

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

## **Industrial Sector of Pakistan**

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

The backward industrial sector is the second major sector of the economy of Pakistan. Industrial sector plays an important role in the development process of any country. Since the latter part of the 18th century manufacturing as a human,

occupation got much importance. The modern concept of industry-manufacturing goods began in Great Britain in the late 18th century.

➤ **Problems or Causes of Industrial Backwardness**

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

➤ **Historical Causes**

- **The Policy of British Rulers**

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

- **Lack of Technical Knowledge**

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

- **Industrial Share**

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

- **Economic Causes**

- **Disputable Industrial Strategy**

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

- **Lack of Mineral Resources**

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



- **Low Investment and Low Savings**

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

- **Lack of Technical Know-how**

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

- **Lack of Infrastructure**

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

- **Inflationary Pressures**

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

***[Handouts for lectures]***

- **Inadequate Industrial Credit**

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

- **Unfavorable Industrial Structure**

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

- **Limited Market for Capital Goods**

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

- **Lack of Industrial Consultancy Firms**

The investment in modern industries is not only costly but also risky. The capitalists are regularly withdrawn and hesitant in investing their capital in new

**[Handouts for lectures]**

industrial ventures. No doubt, deficiency of capital is a problem in Pakistan, but the major problem is that existing capital is not properly utilizing due to lack of consultancy firms.

- **Lack of Industrial Research**

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

- **Frequent Breakdown of Electricity**

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

- **Economic Sanctions**

Advanced countries are not willing in the improvement of backward countries. They have created various trade zones among themselves. As a result, they import and export among themselves. Therefore, the export volume of

developing countries remains very low. On the other hand, developed nations have imposed various sanctions on import and export with poor nations.

- **Global Recession**

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

- **Adverse Balance of Payment**

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

➤ **Social Causes**

- **Lack of Education**

People have no idea how to set up the industry due to a high degree of illiteracy. They have no sufficient resources to start heavy projects. The efficiency of unskilled, untrained and illiterate labor is very low that causes in industrial

backwardness. The literacy rate is just 57.7 % and expenditures on education sector are only 1.8 % of GDP, which is the lowest in Asia.

- **Faith & Fate**

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

- **Corruption**

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

- **Climate and Weather**

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

- **Cultural Disturbance**

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

- **Political Causes**

- **Political Instability**

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

- **Kashmir and Water Issues**

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

- **Burden of Refugees**

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

- **Wars with India**

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

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

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

- More allocation of funds for industrial research is required, which is necessary, for the industrial development.
- Industrial sector can be promoted by increasing capital.
- Saving and investment should be increased to develop the industrial sector.
- To promote the industrial sector, there should be technical knowledge.

- Tax concession is also needed to increase the investment in new industries.
- In time, the supply of raw material is necessary for the improvement of the industrial sector.
- Advanced infrastructure is necessary for the industrial development of Pakistan.
- Financial institutions should provide credit facilities to the industrial sector at flexible terms and conditions.
- There should be an expansion of markets, at the domestic and foreign level, of industrial goods.
- Foreign investment should be encouraged; more incentives should be given to investors.
- Political stability is compulsory for the development of industrial sector.
- High degree of technical education is required to produce skilled, technical and efficient workforce.
- The problem of load-shedding and irregular supply of electricity should be removed.



- Commercial policy and self- reliance policy should be adopted to remove industrial backwardness.
- Foreign exchange reserves and the balance of payment position should be favorable to develop the industrial sector.

➤ **Conclusion**

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

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

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

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

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

## **Natural Resources and Culture of Pakistan**

### **Land and People of Pakistan**

## **More about Pakistan**

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

Pakistan has the following administrative setup:

- There are five provinces.
- Islamabad, the capital territory
- Federally administered tribal areas
- Gilgit Baltistan
- Azad Jammu and Kashmir

## **The Pillars of the Government**

The following are the pillars of the Government of Pakistan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **More Details about Pakistan**

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

### **Fishery**

***[Handouts for lectures]***

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

## **Forests**

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

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

## **Mining in Pakistan**

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

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

### **International Agreements**

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

- Specific regions and seas, law of the seas, ship pollution.
- Atmosphere and climate, climate change, ozone layer protection.
- Biodiversity, environment and forest, desertification, endangered species, marine life conservation, and environmental modification.
- Waste; dangerous wastes.

- Rivers Indus water treaty.

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

## **The Culture of Pakistan**

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

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

## **Literature of Pakistan**

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

## **Pakistan as a Multicultural and Socially Diversified Country**



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

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

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

## **Conclusion**

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

# **Initial Problems of Pakistan**

## **Initial Problems**

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

- Political Problems
- New Administration
- Division of Assets
- Integration of the Princely States
- Communal Riots and Arrival of Refugees
- Canal Water Dispute and Trade Issues
- Economic Problems
- Social Problems

### **1. Political Problems**

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

## **2. New Administration**

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

## **3. Division of Assets**

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

Military assets were also divided.

· Six armoured divisions were given to Pakistan while India got 14

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

#### **4. Integration of the Princely States**

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

##### **➤ Junagadh**

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

##### **➤ Hyderabad**

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

- **Kashmir**

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

## **5. Communal Riots and Refugee Crises**

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

## **6. Water dispute**

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

- **Economic problems**

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

workers were 0.5%, electrical capacity was 5%, and mineral deposits were 10%.

## **8. Social Problems**

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

# Dilemma of Constitution Making in Pakistan

## Background

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

## Definition of Constitution

***[Handouts for lectures]***



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

## **Constitution of Pakistan**

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

## **Reasons for Delay**

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

- Two wings of Pakistan – East Pakistan and West Pakistan
- Inexperienced Politicians
- Clash of Interests between two Wings
- Debate on 'State' and 'Islam'
- Federal State System
- Cultural and linguistic differences
- Lack of Homogeneity between two Wings
- Language Issue
- Administrative Problems
- Influx of refugees

- Politicians personal clashes and differences
- Lack of quality leadership
- Illiteracy
- Lack of mutual Understanding & Tolerance

## **History of Constitution Making**

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

### **1. Measures Taken by Jinnah**

Mohammad Ali Jinnah appointed the first constituent assembly of Pakistan in August 1947. Total 69 members elected in the 1945-46 election and 10 members were included from princely states. Dual responsibility of acting as the federal legislature and constituent assembly. The members, however, lacked the essential requirements of high competence, commitment, and political experience. Even though Jinnah wanted to improve this situation but his early demise in 1948 struck another shock to inexperienced Pakistan.

### **2. The Objectives Resolution (1949)**

***[Handouts for lectures]***

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

### **Main Features of Objective Resolution**

Following were the main features of objective Resolution.

- Sovereignty belongs to Almighty Allah alone
- Authority delegated by Him through the People to be exercised within the limits permitted
- Constitution is to be framed for Sovereign Independent Pakistan
- Power will be exercised through elected Representatives of People.
- Democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and Social justice will be as dictated by Islam.
- Enabling Muslims to live in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

- Minorities will have total freedom to profess and practice their religion and develop their culture
- Safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities, backward and depressed classes.
- Pakistan shall be a Federation with autonomous units. State's sovereignty and territorial integrity will be protected.
- People of Pakistan should prosper and attain their rightful place in the comity of nations and make contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity



### **Importance of Objective Resolution**

Sovereignty of Allah was declared as distinctive political philosophy



Unlike Western democracy where sovereignty lies with people



The limits were provided to exercise powers are to be the ones given by God



Minorities were given their due rights and respect in the benign society of Pakistan.



Provided a framework for future constitutions of Pakistan



It embraced the centrality of Islam in the constitutional framework



It remained the preamble of all constitutions of Pakistan.



### ➤ **Objections Raised by Non-Muslims**

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

- Government trying to mix religion with politics and was against the spirit of democracy

- Sovereignty of Allah will promote inequality in the society
- They viewed Sharia was not in conformity with modern time
- Will encourage the establishment of a theocratic state

### **3. Constitutional Issues**

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

- Federalism
- Representation
- Separate or Joint Electorate
- National Language Issue
- Parliamentary or Presidential system
- Islamic or Secular State

# Constitution of 1956

## · Constitutional Issues

Constitutional issues are as follows

- Federalism
- Representation
- Separate or Joint Electorate
- National Language Issue
- Parliamentary or Presidential system
- Islamic or Secular State

### 1. Federalism

There was consensus on federalism but there were many issues to be settled. Pakistan consisted of two parts. Division of power was the most difficult part between two wings and among the provinces. Provinces were demanding more



Autonomy and Provincial Rights. Strong Centre tradition continued in 1956 as well.

## **2. Representation**

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

## **3. Separate or Joint Electorate**

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

## **4. The National Language Issue**

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

## **5. Parliamentary or Presidential System**

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

## **6. The Islamic or Secular State**

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

### **➤ Issues to be Addressed**

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

## **1. Basic Principle Committee Reports1**

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

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

### **➤ Criticism**

Representatives of East Pakistan raised objections against the report. The main criticism was against the quantum representation in the Central Legislature. East Pakistan, with a majority of the population, was given an equal number of seats in the Upper House as West Pakistan, thus reducing the representation of the majority of the population in Pakistan by one-fifth. East Pakistan representatives also did not like Urdu being declared as the only national language of Pakistan.

- **Second BPC Report**

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

According to the Basic Principles Committee Report, the head of the state was to be a Muslim, elected by a joint session with the majority vote of the Central Legislature for five years. The Prime Minister was to be appointed by the head of the state. The Central Legislature was to consist of two houses: the House of Units with 120 members and the House of People with 400 members. There were to be three lists of subjects for the division of power between the Federation and the Units. Adult franchise was introduced. The judiciary was to be headed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan consisting of a Chief Justice and two to six other judges. The Chief Justice was to be appointed by the head of state. There was to be a High Court for each of the units of East Pakistan, Punjab, Sindh Baluchistan and the N. W. F. P. A Board of Ulema was to be set up by the head of state and provincial governors. The Board of Ulema was to

examine the lawmaking process to ensure that no law was passed that went against the principles of the Quran and Sunnah. The Objectives Resolution was adopted as a preamble to the proposed Constitution.

- **Criticism**

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

## **2. Muhammad Ali Bogra Formula<sup>2</sup>**

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

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

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

- **Reaction to Bogra Formula**

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

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

- **Dissolution of First Constitutional Assembly**

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

- **2nd Constitutional Assembly**

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

### **3. One Unit Scheme, Oct 1955<sup>3</sup>**

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

### **4. The 1956 Constitution<sup>4</sup>**



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

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<sup>3</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One\\_Unit](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One_Unit)

<sup>4</sup>[www.bookhut.net](http://www.bookhut.net)

# Constitution of 1956

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

## • **The Islamic Provisions of the Constitution (1956)**

Islamic provisions of the constitution of 1956 are as under:

- **Parliamentary System**

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

- **Prime Minister (PM)**

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

support. Cabinet was collectively responsible to NA. PM was the head of government assisted by cabinet.

- **Unicameral Legislature**

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

- **Federal System**

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

- **Provincial Structure**

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

- **Independent Judiciary**

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

- **Fundamental Rights**

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

- **Directive Principles of State Policy**

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

- **Islamic Character**

The name of the country was the Islamic Republic. Objectives Resolution was the Preamble. Other Islamic clauses were part of Directive Principles. No law can be made to violate Islamic principles and teachings. Existing laws would be brought in conformity with Islamic teachings. A Commission was to be appointed to examine the laws for bringing them in conformity. Whether a Law is Islamic or not, NA had to decide. The matter could be

taken up with the Judiciary. Islam was not declared state religion. Riba (Interest) will be eliminated from the country as soon as possible.

- **Sovereignty of Allah**

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

- **Organization of Islamic Research**

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

- **Protection to Minorities**

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

- **Relation with Muslim Countries**

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

- **Welfare State**

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

- **End of Racial & Provincial Discriminations**

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

- **End of Illiteracy**

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

- **Compulsory Teachings of the Holy Quran**

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

- **Free Judiciary**

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

- **Separate Electorate**

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

- **National language**

Urdu will be the national languages of the country.

- **Cancellation of the Constitution of 1956**

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

## Constitution of 1962

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



Mirza was the President of the country, but he was not clear about the situation of the Pakistan. He invited General Ayub Khan to implement Martial law and control the country situation.

## **Constitution Making**

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

The tasks assigned to the Commission were

- To examine the causes of failure of Parliamentary system.
- Recommend a new system keeping in view the
- Genius of people
- Standard of education

- Internal conditions of the country
- Need of development

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

### **Constitution of 1962**

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

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

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parliamentary system. Second was to make a system of standard education, focus on development and work on the internal conditions of the country.

## **Salient Features of Constitution of 1962**

Islamic Provisions of the constitution of 1962 are as under.

- **Country's name**

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

- **Muslim President**

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

- **Presidential System**

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

- **Powers of the President**

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

- **National Assembly (NA)**

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

- **Legislative Powers**

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

- **Financial Powers**

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

- **Federalism**

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

- **Provincial Governments**

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

- **Principles of Policy**

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

- **Fundamental Rights**

Fundamental Rights were provided in the constitution.

- **Political Parties**

Political parties were banned according to the constitution of 1962.

- **Islamic Provisions**

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

- **Advisory Council for Islamic Ideology**

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

- **Islamic Research Institute**

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

## **Working of the Constitution**

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

## **Cancellation and Abrogation of 1962 Constitution**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



# Constitution of 1973

## Background

Abrogation of the 1962 Constitution on March 25, 1969 led to second martial law in the country. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became first civilian chief martial law administrator of Pakistan on 20th December, 1971. After assuming power the most important task for Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was to frame a new constitution. He was in favor of presidential form of government as this would give him more power but due to conflicting opinions within the Pakistan People's Party he had to settle for parliamentary system. National Assembly approved an Interim Constitution, which was enforced on April 21, 1972.

## Constitution Making

Constitutional Committee comprised 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 the final draft was approved unanimously on April 10, 1973. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto amassed a lot of power in the 1973 constitution and gave only nominal authority to the head of the state. The new constitution was

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approved on 14th August, 1973. This constitution remained enforced from 1973 to 1977 and suspended from 1977 to 1985. Later in 1985 this constitution was enforced again with a major amendment called 8th amendment, also termed as the mini-constitution. Later, Zia introduced 58-2-B and made president more powerful giving him power to dissolve the national assembly.

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

### **Salient Features of 1973 Constitution**

All the Islamic provisions of the previous constitutions were included in the Constitution of 1973. Some more Islamic provisions were also added, which are as under.

#### **➤ Parliamentary System**

Parliamentary form of government was introduced. 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 of his orders were to be countersigned by PM. Prime Minister need to be elected by the NA. PM exercised all executive authority. PM was answerable to the National Assembly (NA).

#### **➤ Role of President**

Role of President was reduced to a mere symbolic figure. In 1985, powers of the President were increased through the 8th constitutional amendment. He had power to dissolve the NA. He had the powers of appointment of caretaker PM. He could give his consent to bills passed by the parliament or returns these.

According to the Constitution of 1973 the President must be at least 45 years of age. He must be Muslim and Qualified to become member of the NA. He is elected by the Parliament and the Provincial Assemblies for 5 years. President was to act on the advice of the Prime Minister.

- **Bicameralism**

Bicameralism was introduced in the country including Upper and Lower houses.

- **The Senate**

Upper House called Senate. In this house equal representation was given to Provinces. Seats were reserved for the tribal areas, women and technocrats. Its original strength was 63, which was later raised to 87 and then 100, while the latest number is 104. Senate was to be elected through indirect election. It's a permanent House as half of its members are elected after three years.

- **National Assembly**

Lower House called National Assembly is elected on population basis. Its Original strength was 210 but now it is 342. NA is elected for five years. National Assembly member are elected through direct elections. Voting age for the franchise is lowered from 21 to 18.

National Assembly is more powerful than the Senate. Budget is presented before national assembly (NA). Cabinet was to be answerable to National Assembly.

Prime Minister was to be elected by the national assembly. 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.

### **Federal System**

Federal form of government was introduced. 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**

The President on the advice of the PM appointed provincial Governors. Elected Chief Minister exercises executive powers. Parliamentary system was introduced in the provinces.

Size of the provincial assembly varied depending on the size of population and number of constituencies. Governor rule to prevail in case of breakdown of provincial government. Provinces to depend on centre for finance. Residuary powers were to rest with the provinces. Centre was given emergency powers. Sufficient provincial autonomy was ensured in the constitution.

### **• Principles of Policy**

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

### **• Fundamental Rights**

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Fundamental Rights are secured in the constitution and are implemented through the highest court. Supreme Court designated as the highest court in the country.

- **Islamic Provisions**

Title of the state is Islamic Republic of Pakistan. 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. Islam was declared the State Religion of Pakistan. Ahmadis were declared non-Muslims. Definition of Muslim was included by an amendment. Principles of Policy also carried some Islamic clauses.

Council for Islamic Ideology is established under the constitution. i. e. Federal Shariat Court was added in 1981. Council of Islamic ideology was established.

- **National Language**

Urdu was declared National Language; however, English may be used for official purposes until arrangements would be made for its replacement by Urdu. Provincial Assembly may prescribe measures for teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language. Provincial assemblies were allowed to prescribe measures for the promotion of provincial languages.

- **National Security Council**

National Security Council was added in 2002 in advisory capacity.

- **Judiciary**

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

### **Bhutto's Rule**

The 1973 constitution gave Zulfikar Ali Bhutto immense power, and therefore under this constitution, he tried to implement his will on the people but faced tremendous opposition, especially from the Baloch tribes. Nawab Akbar Bugti was made the governor of Balochistan to curb resistance there posed by Nawab Khair Baksh Marri and Ataullah Mengal. Nawab Akbar Bugti toed Bhutto's line and resorted to forceful violent of crushing the opposition. The matters that could be solved through debate and discussion in the provincial assembly were now subjected to the battlefield. Ultimately, in order to tackle the restless situation in Balochistan a full-scale military operation was launched under General Tika Khan, who was notorious for his role in the 1971 war.

Pakistan People's Party enjoyed enormous support in Sindh and South Punjab, but its popularity was significantly low in the other two provinces. It was for this reason that Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP at that time) were subjected to Bhutto's wrath. Consequently, the Federal Security Force (FSF), comprising of retired military personnel, was established to manage the Prime Minister's affairs through brutal measures. Formation of FSF gave rise to political assassinations as a means of settling scores with dissenters and opposing factions – Lahore, Karachi, Hyderabad and NWFP had to face an alarmingly high level of assassinations. As the political landscape of the country deteriorated, Hayat Ahmed Khan Sherpao was killed when Bhutto was on a **[Handouts for lectures]**

foreign trip. Upon his return, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto blamed Hayat Abdul Wali Khan for Sherpao's assassination and arrested him.

On the other hand, the retirement age of General Tika Khan was approaching, and Bhutto was posed with the challenge of looking for a loyal and submissive replacement. Bhutto's quest for appointing a docile army chief led him to select general Zia, bypassing many senior officials eligible for the post. This move compounded Bhutto's declining popularity among the army officers who were already dissatisfied and critical of his policies. At the same time, the political wing of Pakistan's premier spy agency, ISI, was created. The political wing of ISI was exclusively dedicated to helping Bhutto maneuver the upcoming elections in his favor.

Subsequently, elections were held on March 1977 and PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) was badly defeated. The elections were drastically rigged and managed by Bhutto's FSF to make sure that Pakistan People's Party scores a fantastic victory. PNA launched countrywide agitation movement to protest against the conduct of unfair elections; there were street violence and large-scale arrests in all major cities of the country. The economy of Pakistan had also suffered because of this, and it was on a downward spiral to the extent that Bhutto ran out of money to pay his FSF. Thus, FSF collapsed which made Bhutto more open to the idea of negotiating with PNA leaders for the smooth functioning of his government. However, PNA members and Bhutto could not reach an agreement vis-à-vis process of holding fresh elections in the country. This made military intervention inevitable, and on 5th July 1977, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government was toppled by his handpicked chief of army staff, General Zia-ul-Haq. Bhutto was arrested, the constitution was once again suspended, and Pakistan slipped under its third military rule. General Zia-ul-Haq re-activated this constitution in 1985. Later on this constitution was once again suspended by Pervaiz Musharaf in his regime twice partially in 1999 and 2007.

## **Importance of Constitution of 1973**

Constitution of 1973 has a great importance in the constitutional history of Pakistan because a lot of Islamic Clauses are added in the constitution as compared to the previous constitutions. This constitution cannot be dismissed (Cancelled or abrogated), any persons who will dissolve it will be hanged till death.

## **Introduction to Pakistan's Foreign Policy**



## **Background**

What is a Foreign policy? Why do we need a Foreign policy? How relations of countries are going to be with other countries? These are some of the questions that need to be answered. In today's world no country can survive on its own. In individual capacity, an individual can be employed by some employer and can earn his/her living. However, when it comes to states they cannot be employed by other states so, they must carry out business with other states to give boost to their economy and improve their socio-economic situation inside the country. Therefore, to cater the domestic needs, every state needs a viable foreign policy to take care of their interests.

### **What is Foreign Policy?**

Foreign policy is generally defined as the relation between the sovereign states. It is the reflection of domestic politics and an interaction among sovereign states.

It is the establishment and development of relations with other countries to protect the national interest by taking appropriate steps at an international level. The relationships between the two countries are established based on the principle of equality. It is the choice of any state to have relation with other state. For example, Pakistan and Israel are two sovereign states but the foreign policy of Pakistan states, not to have any diplomatic relations with Israel. At domestic front Pakistan, do not approve any Zionist state in occupied land of Middle East. That is why Pakistan has never accepted Israel as a sovereign state. Thus, termed these nonexistent relations as a reflection of domestic politics. At domestic level Pakistan, consider India as a threat for its security,

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survival and existence. That is why the foreign policy of Pakistan towards India is aggressive in nature and vice versa. At domestic fronts, we have good relations with Muslim countries and they are reflected in our foreign policy.

Pakistan is a Muslim state and it came into being as result of an ideology, so we have friendly relations with all of the Muslim countries. In this case too, the domestic aspirations are reflected in foreign policy.

Foreign policy also indicates *the principles and preferences on which a country wants to establish relations with another country.*

Pakistan has good relations with China because it is in its preferences. Pakistan considers China as her good friend and this relationship is beneficial in economic terms as well as the security. That is why we have good relations with China.

### **Pakistan's Foreign Policy**

No country today can think of a life independent of other nations, as this is an era of interdependence we need to achieve our own interest. Every country has to develop relations with advanced countries to meet its requirements in economic, industrial and technological fields and is dependent on economically strong countries to support us in various fields. Pakistan needs to maintain good bilateral relationships with other countries for the sake of trade and security measures. It is thus necessary for every country to formulate a sound foreign policy.

Pakistan is an important third world country in its developmental stage. It has formulated its foreign policy keeping in mind its geography, geopolitics and economics needs.

## **Principles of Pakistan Foreign Policy**

Following things should be taken care while formulating the foreign policy of a country.

- Peaceful coexistence (Live and let live others)
- Non-alignment (Be Neutral)
- United Nations Chartered
- Unity of Islamic world
- International and Regional Cooperation: Member of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC), Organization of Islamic countries (OIC), World health organization (WHO).

## **Objectives of Pakistan's Foreign Policy**

Pakistan's foreign policy intends to achieve the following objectives;

- National Security
- Economic Development
- Ideology

## **Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy**

The key determinants of foreign policy of Pakistan are as under:

- Security
- Ideology
- National Interests

- Diplomacy
- Public Opinion
- Decision making

## **Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy**

### **➤ Protection of freedom and sovereignty**

Pakistan came into being after great sacrifices of millions of the Muslims, like any other country. It also considers with deep regard the need for preservation of its independence and does not allow any country to harm its freedom. Therefore, the principle of protection of independence and sovereignty is the cornerstone of Pakistan's Foreign Policy.

### **• Cordial Relations with Muslim Countries**

Pakistan always tries to establish cordial and friendly relations with Muslim countries. It has always moved its concern against Israel, India and Russia capturing Palestine, Kashmir and Afghanistan respectively. It has shouldered high responsibilities and used its influence for safeguarding the rights of the Muslims. Pakistan is also an active member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

### **• Non-Interference in Internal Affairs of Other countries**

Pakistan has sought to establish normal and friendly relations with all countries especially its neighboring countries based on universally acknowledged principle of national sovereignty, by using force and interfering in the internal affairs of state. Pakistan should not interfere in the internal policy matters of other countries

- **Implementation of U.N Charter**

Pakistan's policy is to act upon United Nations Charter and to support all moves by the UN to implement it. Pakistan has been the member of UN since the year of its birth.

Pakistan must be implementing United Nations charter on the world stage. If United Nations' policy talks about fundamental human rights then United Nations should implement that policy.

We are also facing educational emergency in Pakistan because there are some millennium developmental goals (MDG) for sustainable development. They are the part of the United Nations charter. Pakistan is part of those implementation efforts such as the policies of (WHO) for eradicating POLIO which are diligently implemented in Pakistan.

- **Promotion of World Peace**

Pakistan's Policy is to promote peace among nations. It has no aggressive designs against any country. Neither does it support any such action. Pakistan has always held that the international disputes should be settled through negotiations rather than in battlefield. Pakistan plays the role of mediator to settle down the conflicts between various countries with negotiations and by peace talks. As a guiding principle of foreign policy, Pakistan raises its voice for oppressed countries as is the situation prevailing in Palestine and Kashmir. Pakistan is the part of many groups in which they play their role to promote world peace. Therefore, Pakistan is promoting those efforts.

- **Non-Alignment**

Pakistan followed the policy of non-alignment that is to keep away from aligning with any big power block and avoids taking sides in the cold war. It has also withdrawn its association with SEATO and CENTO.

We should play a neutral role, but this neutrality is related with cold war. In cold world war, there were two blocks socialist or communist and capitalists. There was another group which non-alignment group they were not part of any group and they remained non-aligned. Therefore, under a lot of constraints and security considerations Pakistan became part pf capitalist block as it just signed SEATO and CENTO with United States of America. So it formally became part of capitalist group, but when they thought, their interest has been fulfilled then they no longer remain aligned.

- **Right for Self-Determination and Condemnation of Racial Discrimination**

Pakistan is a staunch supporter of the right of self-determination and has been in the forefront of efforts to eliminate colonialism. It has advocated the right of self-determination of Kashmir.

## **Factors of Pakistan's Foreign Policy**

The guiding principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy are rooted in the country's Islamic ideology, its rich cultural heritage and historical experience. As an Islamic and non-aligned country, Pakistan supports Islamic values and firmly upholds the above mentioned principles, which hold out the promotion of a just and unbiased world order in which nations can live in peace and security

Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy are as follows

- Protection of freedom and sovereignty
- Cordial Relations with Muslim Countries
- Non Interference in Internal Affairs of Other countries
- Implementation of U.N. Charter
- Promotion of World Peace
- Support for Self-Determination and Condemnation of Racial Discrimination

**Important Factors of Foreign policy**

Important Factors of Foreign policy include internal and external factors, which are as under

- Internal factors included
  - Geographical location
  - Size of the State
  - Natural capacity
- External factors included
  - Alliances
  - Power structure
  - World opinion

### **Current Focusing Points**

The major focus of Pakistan's foreign policy is security against external and internal challenges to its national identity, territorial integrity and independence. Another foreign policy interest is the cultivation of close and brotherly relations with the Muslim states. Pakistan highlights sovereign equality of states, bilateralism, mutuality of interests, and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs as the cardinal features of its foreign policy. Pakistan firmly believes that it has to work within the norms and institutions of the international system but it supports their restructuring for bringing them in line with the realities currently obtaining in the International system.

Pakistan also identifies with the political and economic concerns of the developing countries. Pakistan, therefore, maintains a strong faith in the principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter and takes an active part in the deliberations of the UN and other International and regional organizations. Other leading foreign policy goals include support to the right of self-determination for the subjugated nations, oppositions to colonialism, peaceful resolution of inter-state disputes, arms control and nuclear non-proliferation, and promotion of peace and stability through international and regional cooperation.

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Pakistan is the second largest Muslim country in terms of percentage of population (after Indonesia), and its status as a declared nuclear power, being the only Islamic nation to have that status, plays a part in its international role. Pakistan has a violent independent foreign policy, especially when it comes to issues such as development of nuclear weapons, construction of nuclear reactors, foreign military purchases and other issues that are vital to its national interests. Pakistan has a strategic geo-political location at the corridor of world major maritime oil supply lines, and has close proximity to the resource and oil rich central Asian countries.

Pakistan is an important member of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), a major non-NATO ally in the war against terrorism, and has a highly disciplined military, which is the world's eighth-largest standing military force.

Historically, Pakistan's foreign policy has encompassed difficult relations with the Republic of India; especially on the core-issue of Kashmir, over which it has fought three wars. However it has had long-standing close relations with its other neighbors Afghanistan, Iran and China, extensive security and economic interests in the Persian Gulf and wide-range bilateral relations with the United States and other Western countries. Due to intention of Soviet expansion, Pakistan has strong relations with the People's Republic of China during much of the Cold War and good relations with the United States of America. Today, the People's Republic of China remains Pakistan's closest ally.

### **Major Alliance**

Pakistan has historically maintained brotherly and friendly relations with all the Arab and Muslim countries under the banner of OIC. Apart from friendly relations with Muslim countries, China and USA are also seen as major partners.

### **Major Revelries**

Pakistan and India have fought 3 wars in the past. The continuing dispute over the status of Kashmir inflames opinion in both nations and makes friendly relations difficult. Moreover, Pakistan and Israel maintain no diplomatic relations.

### **International Organization & Foreign Policy**

Pakistan is an active member of the United Nations. It was a member of the CENTO and SEATO military alliances. Its alliance with the United States was especially close after the Soviets invaded the neighboring country of Afghanistan. In 1964, Pakistan signed the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) Pact with Turkey and Iran, when all three countries were closely allied with the U.S., and as neighbors of the Soviet Union, worried about the expansionist policy of the USSR.

To this day, Pakistan has close relations with Turkey. RCD became obsolete after the Iranian Revolution, and a Pakistani-Turkish initiative led to the founding of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1985. Pakistan is the leading member of the Club which opposes Indian membership in the United Nations Security Council. Pakistan began with an independent foreign policy in 1947. However, it tilted towards the West in a period of 7 years due to serious economic and security pressures. It pursued independently to non-aligned foreign policy from mid-60s to the end of the 1970s and assigned a great importance to its interaction with the Muslim states and the issues and problems of the developing world. It maintained a policy of close interaction in the security and economic fields with the West in general and the U.S. in particular in the mid and late 1950s, the 1980s, and in the post 9/11.

Pakistan is currently an active player in the global efforts for combating religious extremism and terrorism with a policy that extremism and terrorism pose serious threats to global security as well as to Pakistan's internal peace, stability and economic development. Pakistan has made some difficult decisions in pursuing counter terrorism and for ensuring peace and stability in the immediate neighborhood in order to boost its image at the international level, **[Handouts for lectures]**

restore international confidence in the ability of the Pakistani state and government to put their socio-economic house in order, and shape up as a democratically oriented, modern and enlightened Muslim state that does not allow its territory to be used by extremist groups.

### **Different Phases of Pakistan's Foreign Policy**

After independence there were Indian threat on the Eastern borders. Pakistan opted non-aligned and independent foreign policy. At that time other Muslim countries were not strong enough to extend any military help. It was cold war era and the big power's rivalry made the country territorially unprotected. However Pakistani political leaders visited the US in search of ties to have guarantees of borders but in vain. Pakistan lived on developing with meager resources till 1955 and 1959 when Pakistan entered into a multilateral alliance system initiated by USA to contain communism. They were South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO-1955) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO-1959). Pakistan felt secure because one of the clauses of both the agreements was "attack on one will be considered attack on all". These agreements turned out to be useless when Pakistan-India clashed in 1965 and 1971. No country came to Pakistan's rescue. After its defeat in 1971 Pakistan instead on depending on any other world power began a massive venture of arms purchase. Due to this defense policy, expenditure raised and socio-economic needs of the country suffered. The nuclear and missile system program was started to maintain the balance of power in the region.

Pak-China relations were promoted due to unsafe borders and to counter the power imbalance of South-Asia. During the past three decades the Afghanistan issue, Kashmir struggle for freedom and Pakistan's nuclear policy has made the borders of the country more porous for cross border infiltration in and out of the country. Recent development in the world has put the country in the hot waters. Due to continue political disturbance and wars in Afghanistan has created serious socio-economic issues for Pakistan. Pakistan has been over burdened by

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unnecessary foreign aid which turned out to be useless for socio economic needs of common men. Consequently, Pakistan is included among the poor countries of the world therefore the country still requires to design its foreign policy to fulfill its economic needs and to ensure stable economy and cultivate capabilities by which the country comes out of the unkind clutches of loans.

## **Conclusion**

The guiding principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy are rooted in the country's Islamic ideology, its rich cultural heritage and historical experience. As an Islamic and non-aligned country, Pakistan supports Islamic causes and firmly upholds the above mentioned principles, which hold out the promise of a just and equitable world order in which nations can live in peace and security.

# **Political System and Political Parties of Pakistan**

## **Political System of Pakistan**

A political system is a system through which a state is run. As we have already discussed 1956, 1962 and 1973 constitution of Pakistan. So basically, these constitutions are defining political system of Pakistan. In 1956 constitution, we had a unicameral legislation or parliamentary system. Unicameral means there is one house of parliament and parliamentary system means that executive of the country (i.e. Prime minister) is from the members of parliament. In parliamentary system all members of cabinet will also be from parliament members. Then 1962 constitution which was given by President Ayub Khan, was basically unicameral presidential system. There was only one house of the parliament. The form of the government was presidential form of government. There was an electoral college that was elected by the people and in return the electoral college elects the president. In presidential system, president is the chief executive of country while in parliamentary system prime minister is the chief executive of the country. In presidential system, president has liberty to choose members of cabinet and those members should not be necessarily members of parliament.

1973 constitution was bicameral- parliamentary. Bicameral means one senate and one national assembly. In senate all provinces were given equal representation. While in national assembly (lower house) representation was given based on population. This constitution was parliamentary system which means executive of country and cabinet members should be from members of parliament. In parliamentary system, we have a multi-party system in Pakistan. We have different provinces and the presidential system is implemented in different provinces but there is unicameral legislation and there is no upper house and he can be elected from the leader of the political party by the people and part of that house of provincial, again the same process is repeated and becomes the chief minister and selects members from provincial assembly and then he makes his own cabinet.

### **Defining a Political Party**

A political party is defined as an organized group of people with at least roughly similar political aims and opinions, that seeks to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected to public office.

These political parties contest the elections by the people. Every political party have different aims and prospects e.g. voting for religion, voting for equality, voting for justice. These aims, and prospects must be aligned with the objective of people which haven't been fulfilled or people which are aspiring for it. Than these political parties devise their manifesto and slogan than ask people to vote them. When these political parties are implemented than they go to the public offices to implement their manifesto of whatever they promise with the people.

Another definition of political party describes political party as: An organization of people who share the same views about the way power should be used in a country or society (through government, policy-making, etc.).

Political parties usually say that power shall be used in a very humble manner not in an editorial manner. Political parties go to ground and they ask people

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that how power should be exercised and when they come to know about the opinions of the people than they devise their own aims of whatever the people are asking to do so.

## **Political Parties in Pakistan**

There are around 90 fringe political parties. Fringe parties are basically small parties which are confined to one district only. Around a dozen mainstream political parties are there in the country. Such as PMLN, Baluchistan National Party, PTI etc. These political parties and fringe political parties can combine with each other to increase their vote bank. These parties primarily try to find a breathing space and survive.

However, keeping in view the diverse issues in the country; Pakistan is considered as one of the fertile states for political parties. There are many issues in Pakistan and each political party claims to resolve different issues. So political parties have a lot to do in the country. Political parties in Pakistan have remained underdeveloped due to authoritarian political culture, imbalance between powerful state and weak political institutions. In west, there is no authoritarian political culture but in Pakistan usually parties are made by elites. So authoritarian political culture is more common in Pakistan. In west political parties there is no authoritarian political culture. A politician whom we elect or public elects consider to be as a very humble person because he hasn't seen the political approach by his predecessor but when we see this authoritarian culture in Pakistan those parties are made by elites in the country. If you take example of these political parties (NAWAB's). They were in the habit that they would serve the masses. If we see about Pakistan people party It was made by a landlord which was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the problem in this scenario that there were no any internal democracies in the party, then because if you introduce internal democracy in the party than it is a sort of procedure that persons from elite class would be voted out.

Except the right wing religious political parties, the majority of political parties in Pakistan are least interested in any form of political education of the masses. This is the major dilemma as political parties as they do not educate masses. As uneducated masses would vote for the wrong person who will not be eligible for this position. The followers of most of the political parties mainly rely on the speeches of their leaders in public gatherings or on the views of their leaders disseminated through print and electronic media. The tradition of study circles, position papers by the leaders and the workers prevailed in the late 1960's however, it vanished with the passage of time.

### **Historical Reasons of Weak Political Parties**

Within the colonial state structure that Pakistan inherited, the state institutions, like the military and civil bureaucracy, were far more developed than the political institutions such as legislatures and political parties.

The All-India Muslim League, to whom power was transferred in August 1947, was unable to transform itself from a movement to a genuine national political party. It was and remains an elitist organization and does not practice internal democracy.

### **Islamic Politics**

Since Pakistan's inception, the combination of self-interest and Islamic politics has complicated the problem of building a political organization with broad responsibilities to the larger society. Efforts by other parties to contest the power of the League were frustrated and the opposition politicians were often physically prevented from appealing to their constituents and by dubbing them unpatriotic.



The League governments used repressive measures against them. The Red Shirt (NWFP), Majlis-i-Ahrar, Jama'at-i-Islami, and the Pakistan National Congress were the targets at different.

## **The Problems of Political Parties in Pakistan**

### **(1)**

In democratic societies, political parties play a significant role in articulating citizens' aspirations. Upon gaining people's support and electoral trust, they serve as a vital link between the state and society.

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East Bengal's first province-wide elections in 1954, however, dramatized the weakness of the League and its programmes for constructing an Islamic state as the United Front - an organization of all provincial parties – won the elections. The League also lost its influence in West Pakistan when a Bengali, Hussein

Shaheed Suhrawardy, took charge as the prime minister in 1956. The Punjabi landlords sought refuge in a jerry-built organization, the Republican Party. In 1958, the military-led establishment decided to terminate the constitutional experiment, and the 1956 constitution was abrogated, the legislatures were closed, and all political parties were banned.

### **Pakistani Version of Political Party**

Between 1958 and 1971 President Ayub Khan, through autocratic rule was able to centralize the government without the inconvenience of unstable ministerial coalitions that had characterized its first decade after independence. The martial law was lifted only when Ayub bestowed his own constitution to the nation in 1962. Ayub believed that it was possible to conduct government without the formal establishment of political parties but had no recourse other than to resurrect his own political party in the parliament. He borrowed the name of the Muslim League, but when the real Muslim League members displayed their outrage, Ayub modified the name, as Convention Muslim league. It performed well under Ayub Khan's military umbrella but in December 1970, with official patronage, it polled only 3.3 per cent of the total votes cast. Along with other political parties, it was dissolved on July 5, 1977, when the third martial law was imposed. Again in 1986, Mohammad Khan Junejo recreated it after becoming prime minister in the non-party based elections. But on May 29th 1988 President Zia dissolved the National Assembly and removed the prime minister.

The growth of political parties within the parliament is a phenomenon confined only to Pakistan. Otherwise, citizens form parties that politically compete for power and if trusted only then enter power corridors. Besides the establishment's modus operandi to have obedient political parties in its pocket, personality centered Pakistan People's Party and Awami League were able to articulate people's voice and exhibited unique success in the country's first general elections in 1970 on the basis of adult franchise. General elections were held in Pakistan on 7 December 1970 (East and West Pakistan) and ultimately

only general elections held prior to the independence of Bangladesh. Voting took place in 300 parliamentary constituencies of Pakistan to elect members of the National Assembly of Pakistan. The politically shocked establishment, instead of transferring power, resorted to military action in East Pakistan, which resulted in the tragic break-up of the country in 1971. Later, Awami League assumed power in Bangladesh and the Pakistan People's Party remains a potent force in Pakistan.

### **Political Parties and Mass Contact**

The development of political parties is related to the level of development of a society, the quality of mutual relations and the nature of the state structure. It was the uneven political development in rural and urban areas that affected the growth of parties in the colonial period also persisted, though it gradually narrowed down in 1990s. The trend affected the development of parties in Pakistan. They mostly remained urban-based, with limited contacts with rural population. In the absence of regular elections there was no pressure on the city-based political parties to reach the 70 percent rural population and integrate it in the political process.

### **The Problems of Political Parties**

Almost all the political parties currently face certain problems. The first is the lack of democracy within the party structure. Second, they are preoccupied with the sole objective of grabbing power. They have failed to encourage the growth of alternate leadership. Third, most of our political parties lack a clear political vision. Corruption has also eaten into the heart of the society, a society that has few resources and great development demands. Thus, they have alienated the citizens from political sharing and participation.

### **Lack of Inner Democracy**

All major political parties are accused of democratic malpractices. Their leaders appoint themselves as life chairpersons. Heirs are groomed to take over their father's mantle. Party positions are distributed at a price to favorites. With a few exceptions, political parties in Pakistan have never held elections within their ranks. Often, influential politicians (landlords and industrial barons) sought and secured important positions in major political parties on the basis of nominations. The heads of major political parties are nominated by their so-called working committees or Central Boards, which again comprise non-elected nominated members.

Down to the lowest rung of the hierarchical ladder in the party, the leaders of the different tiers and/or Central Executive Committee nominate the office bearers. Consequently, influential people with clout within the party and high command get themselves nominated to important positions in the party. Social and business upstarts with political ambitions employ similar tactics. The heads of the country's two largest political parties often cry hoarse over the need to get rid of military dictatorship, yet they continue the dictatorial practice of nominations in their own parties. Such contradictions hinder the flourishing of normative democratic culture. The result of this situation is that the political parties were hardly prepared to cope with the situation arising out of the assumption of power by General Pervez Musharraf in October 1999.

### **Lack of Building Up of Leaders**

Both Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, the leaders of the two mainstream parties, never encouraged the growth of alternate leadership in their parties. The parties in Pakistan do not build politicians from workers to leaders, from low-ranking to high-ranking public activists

and from weak to powerful decision makers, commanding a progressively expanding jurisdictional territory. Hence these parties face a problem in

mobilizing their disenchanted workers who seem to be in no mood to make sacrifices for the leadership.

### **Corruption and Lack of Transparency**

The political leaders focus on personal or vested interests instead of national interests. They have always tried to achieve their vested interests in the garb of politics. They have never respected the norms of democracy. That's why our country has failed to develop healthy political institutions and lasting democracy. After the October 1999 military coup, many analysts described the two major political parties of Pakistan as "corrupt, incompetent, unpopular and highly damaging to the welfare of the people in Pakistan" and observed that it was plutocracy which was ripping millions of rupees away from the public exchequer. Such charges of corruption against the party leadership further strengthened the feeling of alienation among the people. Political parties' funding in Pakistan remains an unanswered question.

### **Political Parties and their Manifestoes**

Electoral manifestos play a crucial role in visions of party democracy and political science analyses of party competition. Ritualistically, every party has its manifesto issued at election time but these manifestoes hide many contradictions.

First, while they consciously try to be "all things to all people", they are also high nuance documents - nuances that only seasoned and native political analysts can adequately fathom. Second, while manifestoes tend to address a long list of problems, they evade prioritizing them

- as well as the pledged solutions. Third, while they promise an array of outputs, they rarely specify how resources, not only financial and economic but political, administrative, cultural and social are to be generated and allocated to mutually

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competing promises. Fourth, parties are rarely serious enough to sift through and solve even serious contradictions among pledges made in their manifestoes.

## **The Problems of Political Parties in Pakistan (2)**

### **The Political Vision or The Lack of It**

Almost all political parties were lacking proper vision in Pakistan as where they do stand and where they want to take Pakistan at a certain point. Some political parties might say that they are facing corruption in Pakistan while others say that they are lacking proper infrastructure in Pakistan. People's party was having their slogan to eradicate poverty and to redistribute equal power while the slogan of Pakistan Muslim league (N) was to build infrastructure in Pakistan. The slogan of Pakistan Tehreeq-Insaf revolve around to remove corruption and they use this slogan to counter the power of Pakistan Muslim league Nawaz supremacy. The main slogan of Muslim political parties revolves around to implement Islamic teachings, policies and Islamic system in Pakistan. So, the main problem which is here that political parties were lacking proper vision. The emergence of political parties is related to the material and cultural advancement of society in which citizens are free to form groups and associations and to articulate their demands and problems. The low level of such advancement and the lack of freedom in Pakistani society, particularly during the first decade, constrained the development of parties. Thus, the phenomenon led to their myopic vision of these political parties.

Because there was lack of freedom in Pakistan, People couldn't able to express their views freely. If you oppose PML (N) than PML (N) will brand you as a traitor which is a constrained on the freedom of speech not there is the society, or the freedom of thought is not in the society than you be incarcerated in the box that would produce vibrant political parties because I have already told you political parties as a one kind of representative of people. It represents the mindsets of people It represent either the true mindset of people or its ignorant masses. If that thing is not there than we see impact of those political parties on the growth of political parties and their myopic vision.

### **The Lost Vision**

General Zia-Ul-Haq was killed in a plane crash accident than PPP and PML (N) they got the opportunity to rule the country one after another. So, this curse political development was changed but the thing is that we were on the eve of 21<sup>st</sup> century so that political direction and the vision that was supposed to be there for us to enter into 21<sup>st</sup> century with all its changes and dynamics that was lost because both these political parties they were involve in the power grab. They didn't allow the other political parties like Pakistan People Party (PPP) was given an opportunity in 1998 and that was over thrown so PML (N) was involve in the conspiracy against and we lost the Political vision in such kind of those conspiracies against PPP and we lost the political vision in such kind of those conspiracies and political parties lost their vision.

However, in the 1990s the course of political development changed totally. The political direction and vision to enter the 21st century was lost. Major political parties, particularly the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Muslim League, set their direction for a power struggle, floor crossing and corruption throughout the decade. The lack of vision weakened them to the extent that the governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were struck by the dissolution syndrome, twice each.

The weakness of political parties in Pakistan is evident from their massive proliferation and high rate of mortality, their fragmentation into small and ineffective fractions, their regionalisation and ethnicization with appeal only to a limited number of citizens. This also reflects their indifference to formulate coherent programmes and policies for winning the support of the broad strata of society. With weak institutional roots in society, parties are amorphous groups tied together by their leaders; some charismatic, others not, some becoming party leaders because of their wealth and the others due to inheritance.

So, some of the leaders are charismatic but some other leaders are not that much charismatic. Political parties need funding and some of the wealthy rich political parties need funding's to win the election. Some rich people provide the funding to political parties, so some rich political parties become leaders because they are wealthy and rich, and others become leaders because their father and forefathers have established the parties. This inheritance prevails in all political parties except Jamat-e-Islami (JI). Pakistan people party got established after the death of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto succeeded the elections after the death of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Billawal Bhutto Zardari emerged and became renowned after the death of his mother.

### **Lack of Citizen's Participation**

The political parties can hope to play a meaningful role only if they succeed in gathering the masses around them. There are rarely any membership campaigns conducted by the parties. Even those who joined them on one or the other pretext have been demoralised. Part of the problem lies in the inner working of these parties, which does not provide a sense of participation to the members.



## **Lack of Mutual Understanding**

Pakistan's political parties lack mutual trust and understanding. The culture of political dialogue has never taken roots in Pakistan. It was only in 1977 that the two competing political parties entered a process of negotiations. Today, only circumstances have brought the Pakistan People's Party and the Muslim League together into the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy.

Mainstream, as well as the ethnic-regional parties, lack internal debate over policy alternatives.

Their priorities and preferences are not an outcome of household debates and discussion.

Instead, they are identified with their leaders.

The culture of dialogue has not been established and it lacks mutual understanding. In U.S. there are a lot of peaceful dialogues and meetings are to be held and carried out. We often see mutual political debates of political parties. They should articulate their vision and abandon their ego to talk on their manifesto and to develop mutual understanding apart from it they don't come closer to each other.

## **The Way Forward**

Accountable democracy cannot function in Pakistan until drastic changes are made in the formation and functioning of political parties, which can faithfully represent and serve the people through a transparent political system. Educated professional and progressive-minded middle-class citizens do not have any chance to participate in the democratic process. Our failure to recognise the

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need to restructure the political party system on fundamental principles of democracy has destroyed our national institutions by corruption and nepotism. Lack of accountability by the elected autocratic rulers during the past decades has become the accepted feature of our national policy. The chasm between the poor and the rich has reached alarming proportions. By squandering public funds on dubious projects and levying ever-increasing taxes to pay for their extravagant lifestyle, rulers have demoralized and crippled the tax paying middle class, which is the productive segment of any developing democratic society.

We have miserably fail to recognize the need to restructure the political party system in Pakistan on the bases of democracy because restructuring of the political parties on the bases of democracy means that they should be internal democracy that must be introduced in the political parties of Pakistan but this failure has basically brought to the stage to this point that we are facing in our country one after another and this is because of our failure to recognize we would always say that there is genuine democracy in Pakistan having genuine democracies in political parties themselves. So, this failure has contributed a lot to the current political miseries of the country. So, national institutions have been destroyed by corruption and nepotism whenever, there is a political leader you would have heard about from your cities and villages.

## **The Problems of Political Parties in Pakistan (3)**

### **The Way Forward**

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### **Pakistani Political System and its Different Aspects**

In Pakistani political system, many things need to be improved. It has been observed in last few decades that politicians once elected start thinking that they are not accountable or answerable to anyone in this country. Despite the presence of institutions like Supreme Court and other low level courts. Over the past few decades, a perception is built among politicians that once they are selected, they will enjoy the government office fully and will not be answerable to any institution or person.

There is a need of well recognized policy for political parties which so that it will be strictly followed once they are elected. Extra funds should not be used

against unnecessary projects. The gap between poor and rich should be minimized.

## **Main Features of a Good Political System**

After doing the survey of Pakistani political system, it has been suggested that there are certain features which should be adopted in order to create a balance between political entities and institutes etc.

- **Democracy**

Democracy means everybody with equal chance. In Political system, each and every member of political party should have an equal chance of expressing their views. In democratic system each and everybody should have a chance to vote, an equal opportunity to contribute towards development.

- **Accountability**

In democratic system where the leader is elected by other members who is answerable to them even after taking the oath. It is usually ignored and leaders start to think that they are above any law. In reality, it is not. It is observed that the best democratic political system has the strongest accountability system.

- **Financial Resources**

In a mature and democratic political system, financial resources are best utilized. Extra expenditure on unnecessary projects is always discouraged.

- **Mass Contact**

Political parties have to draw their strength from citizens for sustainable democracy instead of looking for behind-the-scene intrigues to grab power. They should consider public the main source of power in democratic system.

## **Civil Military Relations in Pakistan: A Brief Survey**

### **Civil Military Relations**

Civil military relations for a country describes the relationship between a society as whole and established military organization(s) to protect it (society). More narrowly it describes the relationship between the civil authority of a given society and its military authority. The term “civil–military relations”

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refers to the role of the armed forces in a society. It implies that the relations between the military and the civilian population are like labor-management relations, legislative-executive relations civil-military relations includes studies of how a military employs civilian contractor, how military bases interact with their neighbors, and how a nation's military affects its politics

Military organizations are generally established to protect the societies from all kind of threats like external, internal and existential threats. In other words, the civil military relationship outlines the scopes of civil authority, military authority and relationship between these two authorities. Nature of civil military relations can be used to measure the type of democracy in a country i.e. Good democracy usually have balanced civil military relations. Also, civil military relations refer to the role of armed various in various components of society like e.g. how military employ civilian contractors, how military bases are established how they interact with neighbors or how military effects the politics of a country. Balanced civil military relations can be managed by considering all the required factors for balanced civil-military relations. The most basic precondition of a true democratic setup is a healthy civil-military relationship. In all democratic countries, an elected civilian government enjoys full control over the military. However, in Pakistan, control over governance has oscillated between the two; a decade of civilian supremacy followed by a decade of military rule. The reasons for this periodic shuffling are incompetent political leadership, weak political parties and institutions, rising power of civil-military bureaucracy, serious security threats to the country and frequent use of military in aid of civil power.

### **Civil Military Relations in Pakistan**

From history, it can be analyzed that civil military relations of Pakistan mostly remain imbalanced due to various reasons, the control of Pakistan's governance remained shuffling between civilian supremacy and military rule. Supposedly there are more than one reasons for these imbalanced civil military relations, including the incompetent political leadership, weak political parties. Other factors to imbalanced civil military relations may include rising power of military bureaucracy, frequent use of military in aid of civil power e.g. for solving internal political disputes etc. Sometimes it is perceived that the military desired to rule the Pakistan but this perception is wrong as supposedly Pakistan has been suffering from incompetent political leadership and weak political parties that are apparent causes of most of the military interventions in governance.

Civil military relations can be affected by the existential, internal, external and even global factors. Pakistan has always remained under the existential and various other external threats that required a strong and efficient military to mitigate these threats. e.g. The eastern and western border always remained vulnerable to existential threats. Internal factors may include the incompetent leadership and weak political parties, involvement of military in internal especially the political disputes. These all factors including the external and internal factors require the active participation of military in country that can lead to imbalance in civil military relations.

Civil-military relations of Pakistan remained imbalanced, country has faced four military coups since its inception, military has ruled Pakistan for 33 years out of 71 years, due to effects and perception drawn from military rule civil military relation balanced has been badly effected it has been believed that the military is the most influential institutional player, even it is widely believed that military rules from behind the scenes in the civil governments. This trend of military supremacy can be observed in the other strong democracies on the

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globe as well. This is a one side of coin that military is the most influential player the other side of coin can be the competent leaders and strong political parties can work together with military in their respective domains to maintain healthy and balanced civil military relations.

Geo-strategically Pakistan is very important nuclear-armed country that need a strong military for its existential and other external threats, Pakistan has allegedly considered as heaven for terrorists, especially considering that war in neighboring Afghanistan, Pakistan needs a strong military for the counter-terrorism activities. Pakistan is also very central to America's Afghanistan strategy that is supposedly also causing the civil-military imbalances due to military to military direct cooperation instead of involving the civil government. Despite some analysts' regard Pakistan as soon to be failed state due to prevailing indicators but Pakistan is on the way strengthening democracy and balanced civil military relations

### **Factors to be Analyzed**

- External Threats
- Internal Threats
- Military Composition
- Condition of the State
- Military Institutionalization

#### **▪ External Threats**

### **Pakistan-India Relations**

The major external threat to Pakistan since its inception is its neighbor India, India has been remained threat due to various reasons one of the basic reasons is Hindu Muslim antagonism. India still consider Pakistan its part and expecting it be its part again in future because India consider Pakistan will not be able to survive and economically and strategically it is failed state. Pakistan should make his military strong in order to avert this threat or in order to counter that threat, so Pakistan has got civil military institutions and civilian society is not that strong in Pakistan. Military society is also well educated, and they are also well equipped, but our civilian people and institutions are weak. Most civilian societies are also dislike by the military societies. There were four wars were fought between India and Pakistan in the year of 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999. The war of 1947 and 1965 was due to Kashmir, war of 1971 was due to East Pakistan and the war of 1999 was due to Kargil and it was not a full fledged war. Another major issue is Kashmir issue from 1947-1999 Pakistan has faced four wars with India due to Kashmir issue, Kashmir issues has been considered is major cause of conflicts between India and Pakistan. The other Pakistan-India issues may include division of water resources, trade and its routes etc. For above mentioned major threats there is need of strong military to mitigate threats, because these threats can lead to the existential roots of country the need of strong military in such circumstances can be a cause of imbalanced civil military relations.

- **Terrorism**

Like other countries around the globe Pakistan has been facing terrorism challenges especially after the soviet invasion of Afghanistan, after soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan the 'Mujahidin' that were fighting during soviet invasion moved to Kashmir and started fighting against India, Unfortunately India blames Pakistan for these Mujahidin. These displaced Mujahidins of soviet war has relationships with neighboring countries like Afghanistan, during last few decades these Mujahdin remained the main cause of terrorism in countries

of this region and mostly the countries of region blame each other for anonymous terrorism. In past years major cities of Pakistan even sometimes Capital remained vulnerable to terrorism. To counter that terrorism there is need of extra strong and influential military, that can be the cause of imbalanced military relations.

## **Internal Threats**

### **➤ Leadership Crisis**

The first year of Independence was marked by heavy dependence on the charismatic personality of Jinnah; he was Governor-General and President of the Constituent Assembly. He had charismatic appeal, stature and unrivalled prestige that commanded and compelled unquestioned acceptance of his leadership all over Pakistan. However, he died on 11 September 1948, leaving behind an enduring political vacuum. After the untimely demise of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah Pakistan has been lacking the competent civilian leadership. If country lacks the civilian leadership ultimately there is need of replacement of that leadership for the existence of country, military leadership can be considered as the best replacement in such circumstances. Jinnah's lieutenant and Pakistan's first Prime Minister, guided the country with courage and confidence during a difficult period but lacked the authority of the Jinnah. He endeavored to strengthen the parliamentary system, but his tenure was cut short by an assassin's bullet in October 1951. Parliamentary democracy began to erode after the death of prime minister Liaqat Ali Khan from that time bureaucratic intervention started at various levels of state at provincial level bureaucratic intervention resulted into to governor's rule, many critics and analysts consider that early intervention of bureaucracy as a root cause of imbalanced civil-military relations in Pakistan. In 71 years of Pakistan's history about four times supposedly incompetent civil leadership was replaced by military that may cause the ongoing imbalance in civil military relations. With **[Handouts for lectures]**

Liaquat's death, the facade of "parliamentary democracy" began to erode. The bureaucratic elites did not take long to convert the office of Governor-General into an instrument of bureaucratic intervention. In the provinces, on several occasions, bureaucratic intervention occurred in the garb of the Governor's rule. The Chief Ministers were dismissed, even though their parties had a majority in the provincial assemblies.

### ➤ **Provincialism**

The geographic separation of East-West Pakistan caused the major administrative, social, economic and financial problems, East and west Pakistan were facing the major complexes that led to the separation. In such circumstance military played to major role that may be the reason to imbalanced civil-military relations. East Pakistan was economically worse off than West Pakistan. The Pakistan Muslim League policies were purportedly directed toward overall economic development, but focused on West-Pakistan, which contributed to Bengali deprivation and alienation.

### • **Constitutional Making Dilemma 1947-56**

The constitution making dilemma of 1947-56 has empowered the military elites instead of civil supremacy, Punjabi-Bengali controversy the differences Punjabi dominated West Pakistan elite and East-Pakistan elite caused the delay of about nine years in constitution making of Pakistan. Due to repercussions of aforementioned factors and difference of opinions between both groups, military was utilized to neutralize the situation that military intervention empowered the military and also the popularity of military has been enhanced in public and civil circles, that factor was not considered by the civil leadership of that time. Although the situation was not successfully neutralized and East-

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Pakistan was separated from west Pakistan that supposedly empowered the military that can be a cause of imbalance in civil-military relations.

## **Internal Factors**

- **Role of Judiciary:**

When we talk about the role of judiciary in civil-military relationship in Pakistan, the most important case that comes in to play is Maulvi Tamizudin Case (1954-1955). Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the Constituent Assembly in 1954 to save his own powers as assembly was trying to make legislative attempts to put checks on Governor General powers. This act of Ghulam Muhammad was challenged by Maulvi Tamizudin (Speaker of the assembly) in Sindh High Court. Sindh High Court ruled the decision in favor of Maulvi Tamizudin. Appeal was made in Supreme Court and Chief Justice of Supreme Court Muhammad Munir over turned the decision in the favor of Ghulam Muhammad in 1955 under the doctrine of necessity. This decision of Supreme Court was considered undemocratic and it became the basis of military interventions in civil politics/government. This decision of Chief Justice Muhammad Munir continued to haunt Civil government until suspension of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry by President/Chief of Army Staff Pervez Musharraf in 2007.

- **Absence of Land Reforms:**

Feudalism is opposite to democracy as in democracy people power is chosen to elect a government in the country. While landlords cannot empower people (peasants) working under them as it weakens their hold over their land and peasants. So, it is suitable for landlords to deal with a military dictator rather than a democratic government and likewise it is easy for a military dictator to deal with landlords as a lot of people work under them.

➤ **Absence of Independent Election Commission:**

Another factor that facilitated the rise of army to power in Pakistan was ineligibility of election commission to conduct free and fair multi-party elections in Pakistan. Free and fair elections result in a strong, democratic government of people's choice, which would lessen the conspiracies of army against civil government.

## **International Factors that have Influenced the Civil-Military Relationships**

### **World War II / Cold War Years:**

After World War II, world divided in to two blocs capitalist bloc led by the U.S. and Communist bloc led by USSR. Post-World War II, national independence movements and decolonization, observed an increase in the role of the military

in the developing countries. Military was considered the strongest institution in a new state due to the former monetary, colonial and training assistance.

In 1950s America invited India to join Capitalist Bloc against Communist Bloc, but Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru refused to join US and remained neutral in this Capitalist-Communist confrontation. However, Pakistan signed US sponsored military pacts SEATO (1954) and CENTO (1955), which further strengthened the position of army in Pakistan as army was on front in the negotiation in these pacts and it was easier for US to deal with army rather than political parties. During cold war years America provide tacit support to army which led to army intervention in Pakistani politics. These things were ignored as the main concern was security of Pakistan as our neighboring country India was busy in conspiracies against Pakistan.

## **Internal Threats**

Main ethnic groups that live in Pakistan:

➤Punjabi

➤Sindhi

➤Pashtun

➤Balochi

## ➤Mohajir

These different ethnic groups have linkages to different nations based on ethnicity i.e. mohajirs are migrated from India. These transnational links/relations should be used for betterment of Pakistan and not for its destruction.

When we fail to face or control the ethnic problems than it is natural for civilian elites to rely on military and to control these certain issues of ethnicity in East Pakistan. It is also an issue of disparity that civil elites are bound to follow the instructions of military. When these issues prevail in large frequency than civil relations are more dependent on upon military. This overdependence over military has given rise to the power of military in Pakistan which is a growing power of military politics in Pakistan.

## **Domestic Terrorism**

Domestic terrorism is one of most alarming threat for the Pakistan. Some security analysts consider internal terrorism is a greater threat to Pakistan than India about 35,000 killed from 2009-2016 from only terrorism. It became a big figure if we go beyond the last three years. These figure shows that it is more dangerous situation than conflicts with India. Many terrorist group are operating in Pakistan to destabilize the country due to cold war legacy. Some groups are implementing agendas of our enemies, some have their own intensions to control and enforce their ideologies in the country and some are using our soil



for cross border activities. All these groups are cause of law and order situation and terrorism in Pakistan.

- Other groups that operate in Pakistan are Anti-Shia (SSP, LEJ), anti-India (LeT), It doesn't mean that government has provided very much conducive environment to operate in Pakistan but still they operate and exist in Pakistan.
- The Haqani network (Afghan Taliban) operate in the tribal areas/belt of Pakistan.
- Local Pakistan Tehreek Taliban also operates in Pakistan.
- Most famous and renowned Al-Qaeda group is also operating in Pakistan.
- Another new brand of terrorism group which is operating in Pakistan are (ISIS) Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or it is also known as (ISIL) as Islamic state of Iraq in Lawant. Pakistan has also threats from ISIS and it considered to be as domestic terrorism threat for Pakistan.

For this domestic terrorism military is needed to take care of these issue of terrorism because military is antithesis of it as only military can able to handle it. Civilians need to rely on military or on such hardcore militants as the Militants have got power in this country. Government continuously order to curb and control threats of terrorism So this over-reliance on military has provided prominence to military over civilians of Pakistan. Hence, domestic

terrorism has played a role of imbalance relationship between civil/military relationship.

## **Military Composition**

- The Pakistan army is mainly comprised of Punjabis and Pashtuns (over-representation).
- Army as an ethnic movement due to internal unity and cohesion. If a person is serving Army as Pukhtoon, Punjabi, Sindhi and Balochi, It must operate the operations like a coherent unit netted together. So, it operates like this and considered to be as ethnic so that is why some analyst say it ethnic movement. People who join Army have generous benefits, meritocracy, control over promotion turns into discipline compliance. So that's why military has become a very strong candidate to rule the country because of a certain power which is currently missing in the civilian establishment.
- There is a culture of military superiority over politicians because of the incompetency of politicians because when incompetent politicians come into the job than they do not perform well, and they do not run the operations of the country according to the way it is supposed to be run or operated or to move economy forward.

## **Weak State**

- Pakistan is a weak state, the state cannot provide for economic or physical security for over 200 million citizens, 60% live in poverty, 22% people live in extreme poverty, 56% is the literacy rate so human

development index (HDI) is low and low global competitiveness. So, these are few of the factors which allowing the state of Pakistan to grow economically because we are not a very much competitive economy, our manpower is not very much skilled, and it is a burden over the resources of the country so that's why military is strong in Pakistan and state is weak.

- Corruption; systematic affecting PMs. Presidents, including current one's corruption is being affected by every person and affecting every person like prime minister and minister including current ones.
- Unstable constitutional history in Pakistan is also very important aspect which has weaken civilian establishment against the military establishment in Pakistan.
- Electoral cycles are not consistent. Elections are to be held after every 5 years but there is still inconsistency in our electoral cycles.
- Military seen as antithesis of civilian politicians so that's why a win-win situation need to be carried as every citizen must play a role and no institution is useless in Pakistan in any country. If this point is understood by politicians and military than a

collaboration can be developed and then military and state can be considered as two wheels of a vehicle otherwise there would be no balance.

## **Military Institutionalization**

- Pakistan Army has entrenched itself into the state because of its multi facet roles not only confined to defence but many other roles that it is playing as it is expected to play.
- Suspended and then rewrote constitutions to favor itself, giving the president, not Prime Minister, control of the executive.
- Controls large part of the economy, intelligence, and defense services, overrepresented in government.
- Culminated in the 2004 National Security Council under the presidentship of General Pervaiz Musharraf.
- Under Article 152A of the Pakistan Constitution, the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of Pakistan serve as Chairman and Vice Chair, respectively, and NSA membership also includes all major civilian and military leaders. The creation of the  
  
NSC formalized the Pakistani military's input into policymaking.
- Pakistan inherited the well-established tradition of supremacy of civil-political over military institution under British political theory.

- Within a few years of her independence, Pakistan encountered the ever-growing influence of military into politics.
- Ultimately, unlike India, Pakistan degenerated into a praetorian state with dreadful political, social and economic fallouts.
- This process of militarization of Pakistan owes its transformation to multiple variables as have been discussed. No single factor can be cited as the sole cause; rather, a cluster of causes led to the intervention of military into politics in Pakistan.

# Geo-Strategic Importance of Pakistan

## Introduction

Pakistan (the only Muslim country that has the nuclear capability) is located in a region which has a great political, economic, and strategic location. It has been the hub of activities of great powers for the past few decades. It has witnessed intervention of three great powers i.e. Britain, USA, and USSR. CPEC (China Pakistan Economic Corridor) is the game changer for Pakistan. Both countries

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(Pakistan and China) are keen to enhance the trade activities, improving infrastructure, development of dams, and stability of economy by investment in different sectors.

## **Geographical Location of Pakistan**

In the Southern Asia, Pakistan lies between 24 and 36.75 northern latitude and between 61 and 7505 eastern longitude. Total area of Pakistan is 7,96000 sq.km. Pakistan shares bordered with Afghanistan, China, India, and Iran.

- **Afghanistan**

Pakistan is bordered by Afghanistan to the west. These two neighbor countries are separated by the Durand line that covers 2250 km of lengths. A narrow strip of Afghanistan knows as Wakhan separates Tajikistan from Pakistan that covers about 20 km to 40 km lengths.

- **China**

Pakistan is bordered by China to the north and shares 400 km long border.

- **India**

Pakistan is bordered by India to the east and shares the 1650 km international border lengths.

- **Iran**

Pakistan is bordered by Iran to the southwest.

- **Arabian Sea:** Arabian Sea is situated in the south of Pakistan, and 700 km is the length of Arabian Sea coastline with Pakistan.

## **Strategic Significance**

Following are the major strategic significance of the geo-strategic importance of Pakistan.

- Proximity of great powers
- Gateway to central Asia-oil and energy game
- Significance as a transit economy
- Significance as an important in the chain of Muslim countries
- Only Muslim country having nuclear capability

## **Strategic Significance**



The major strategic significance of the geo-strategic importance of Pakistan are discussed below.

### **Proximity of Great Powers**

Pakistan is located at the junction of great powers i-e Russia and China. So, in this context Pakistan has higher significance. Any alliance among world powers enhances its significance and these world powers cannot ignore importance of Pakistan. This factor has been utilized by Pakistan after 9/11. Pakistan's importance has been increased after 9/11 incident. Security and business are two main US interests in the region while Pakistan is playing a front-line role in the war against terrorism. Apart from this US interest in the region to contain the growing China, nuclear Iran, and Afghanistan and to benefit from the market of India. US is also interested in Afghanistan from business perspective as it wants to control resources of Afghanistan and want to use it for personal advantage.

Iran's nuclear program, India's geopolitical muscles (strategic deal with US) to gain hegemony and to counter the rise of China, which has the potential to change unipolar world into a bi-polar or multi-polar one.

Amidst these issues, Pakistan is directly or indirectly involved. The US policy makers have repeatedly accepted that war against terrorism could never be won without the help of Pakistan. The US has time and time again reiterated that Pakistan should play its due role to bring the Afghan Taliban to the negotiation table with the Afghan government.

## **Gateway to Central Asia - (Oil and Energy)**

The quest for oil and energy resources in the Central Asia is the center stage of new Great Game. After the collapse of the USSR, the new quest started which is manifested by the politics of oil. Pakistan is located very close to the oil rich Middle Eastern countries. The belt starts from Iran and extends to Saudi Arabia.

In the energy starved world, Pakistan is located in the hub of energy rich countries i.e., Iran and Afghanistan: both are energy abundant while India and China need energy for economic growth. Thus, Pakistan is a bridge between energy rich and energy starved countries. China finds way to Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea through Karakoram highway (CPEC about to be completed).

### **➤ Significance as a Transit Economy**

The potential to develop transit economy on account of its strategic location. The land locked Afghanistan is currently in the phase of reconstruction and finds its ways through Pakistan to connect to the world for trade. The nearest port in China is about 4500 km away from Sinkiang, however, Gwadar is 2500 km away. It offers Central Asian countries the shortest route of 2600 km as compared to Iran 4500 km or Turkey 5000 km. Gwadar port with its deep waters attracts the trade ships of China, CAR and south East Asian countries. The coastal belt of Baluchistan can provide outlet to China's western provinces to have access to middle eastern markets with the development of coastal highways and motorways.

### **➤ Important Link in the Chain of Muslim Countries**

Pakistan occupies a central location in the Map of the Muslim World. Towards west of Iran, China extends to North Africa. Thus, it can actively participate in the activities of Muslim world's economic development, transport of resources etc.

### **Only Muslim Country with Nuclear Capability**

Pakistan is the only Muslim country having nuclear capability which has great influence on the political, socio-economic activities in the region and the maintenance of status quo.

### **Conclusion / Analysis**

Geo strategic means the importance of a country or a region as by virtue of its geographical location. While history has been unkind to Pakistan, its geography has been its greatest potential. Pakistan is a junction of South Asia, west Asia and central Asia; a bridge between resource efficient countries to resource deficient countries.

The world is facing energy crises and terrorism. Pakistan is a route for transportation and a front-line state against terrorism. Moreover, Pakistan has been traditionally ally of emerging economic giant; China. So as a result of any significant change in world politics, Pakistan's geo-strategic significance would further.

## **Defining Terrorism**

The quest for a satisfactory definition of terrorism, described by Nicholas J Perry as the search for the ‘Holy Grail’, is one pursued by law and various other branches of the social sciences. To define terrorism, however, assumes that such a phenomenon exists. As a concept, terrorism has oscillated in meaning, reflecting ideas contextually specific to the time period and location to which it is being applied. Many etymological studies of the origins of terrorism trace the term back to the aftermath of the French Revolution and Maximilien Robespierre's ‘reign of terror’ between 1792 and 1794.

The Oxford English Dictionary first mentions the word ‘terrorism’ in 1795, shortly after this violent period, and today the Oxford English Dictionary still starts its definition of terrorism with this ‘at once too literal and too historical’ definition. As a result, this definition is, according to Bruce Hoffmann, not ‘of much use’ when trying to understand the concept of terrorism. Terrorism has deviated from this original meaning of State-sponsored violence designed to induce fear and terror in order to control and dominate an otherwise anarchical society, to describe the exact opposite: political violence directed against the State.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, terrorism was often used to refer to anarchists, particularly following the assassination of US President William McKinley in 1901 by Leon Czolgosz—a self-confessed anarchist. At

the same time, in Europe terrorism was gaining its connection with ‘freedom fighters’ as a result of renewed struggles for Irish independence from Britain using tactics such as bombings, assassination techniques and guerrilla warfare. This evolution from State-sponsored to State-targeted terrorism was not linear, however; in the 1930s, terrorism again became associated with State-sponsored violence due to the rise of violent, authoritarian regimes in Italy, Spain and Nazi Germany.

Following the end of World War II and the decline of the European empires, terrorism again became linked with freedom fighters and the violent methods used by various anti-colonialist groups seeking self-determination. Today, these two issues of whether States can commit terrorism, and whether one can distinguish the terrorist from the freedom fighter struggling against an oppressive regime are the fundamental problems afflicting attempts to provide a definition of terrorism in international law. For this course following definition of terrorism will be used “*The unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims*”. For more details please see **International and Comparative Law Quarterly, Volume 66, Issue 2.**

## **How War Against Terrorism Started**

On the morning of September 11, 2001, 19 terrorists hijacked four planes at Boston's Logan airport. They chose planes headed for the West Coast because they would be loaded with fuel. They planned to cripple the U.S. economy by destroying three centers of power: Wall Street, the Pentagon, and the White House. The first two planes hit their targets. American Airlines Flight 11 crashed into Tower One of the World Trade Center at 8:46 a.m. United Airlines Flight 175 crashed into Tower Two at 9:03 a.m. At 10:05 a.m., millions of television viewers saw Tower Two collapse. Tower one collapsed from the top down at 10:28 a.m. Tower Seven collapsed at 5:20 p.m.

American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon at 9:37 a.m. Portions of the building collapsed at 10:10 a.m. United Airlines Flight 93 never made it to its target, the White House. At 9:23 a.m., after the World Trade Tower crash, dispatcher Ed Ballinger texted all flights he was following, including Flight 93. He said, "Beware any cockpit intrusion two a/c hit World Trade Center." Five minutes later, the terrorists killed the pilots and took control of the plane. By that time, at least 10 of the passengers had talked to loved ones via cell phone. They heard about the World Trade Tower attacks and figured out their likely fate. At 9:57, the brave passengers attacked the terrorists. Flight 93 crashed into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania at 10:03 a.m., killing all 30 people aboard.

On September 20, 2001, President Bush called for a War on Terror. He said, "Americans should not expect one battle but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen." Then he put it into action. Bush launched the War in Afghanistan to find and bring to justice Osama bin Laden. He was the head of the al-Qaida organization that launched the 9/11 attacks. In its first year, Congress appropriated \$29.3 billion in emergency funding for the war. On March 21, 2003, President Bush sent troops into Iraq. He said the Central Intelligence Agency had found weapons of mass destruction. He added that Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, was aiding al-Qaida operatives. Congress appropriated \$36.7 billion in emergency funding for the War in Iraq in its first year.

The 9/11 incident had strong connections with Cold War conflicts during the 1980s. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979 to halt the fundamentalist rebellion against the Kabul regime and forestall the possibility of western involvement in the civil war. At the same time another great change occurred across the western border of Pakistan, where a revolution ousted the

Shah of Iran. The cumulative effect of these historic events at Pakistan's doorstep was an upsurge of terrorism in its many manifestations in the country.

It is generally believed that the main reason for the growth of terrorism in Pakistan was the involvement of the US in Afghanistan in the 1980s. The border region between Pakistan and Afghanistan had been turned into a base camp in the war against the Soviet Union. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) trained Arabs, Afghans and Pakistani militants were organized to fight against the "infidel" and assisted the operations of the Mujahideen from the Jihadi components in the tribal areas of Pakistan. They established a very large secret infrastructure for training guerillas on the Pak-Afghan border.

After the withdrawal of Soviet Union in 1989, Pakistan assisted in forming an Afghan government in Kabul composed of war lords. But civil war broke out and they were replaced by the Taliban. However, the events of 9/11 changed the whole scenario turning erstwhile Mujahideen into terrorists. As a result the US and its coalition forces invaded Afghanistan and ousted the Taliban from power. The US and coalition forces launched Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) to save Americans from another 9/11. Pakistan supported and cooperated with the US and the coalition forces in OEF.

Pakistan has also deployed a large number of troops along the Afghanistan border in support of OEF and employed a large portion of its logistical reserves to support the coalition. The Taliban and al Qaeda members, on the other hand, have managed to re-assemble in the tribal areas between Afghanistan and Pakistan. As terrorist activities are increasing, the economy of Pakistan has been sliding downward. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has fallen due to high level of security risk. The cumulative economic impact runs into billions of dollars

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and Pakistan is likely to continue to suffer as long as there is no peace in Afghanistan.

### **International Community Response on War on Terror**

The international community fully supported strikes on the Taliban. Indeed, over a month after Operation Enduring Freedom began, the Security Council condemned the Taliban “for allowing Afghanistan to be used as a base for the export of terrorism by the al Qaeda network and other terrorist groups and for providing safe haven to Osama Bin Laden, al Qaeda and others associated with them. “The ‘war on terror’ launched with a broad base of international support and the Northern Alliance ousted the Taliban from power. Germany, France, the Netherlands and a few other countries contributed towards development assistance in Afghanistan

In 2002, strong majorities supported the U.S.-led War on Terror in Britain, France, Germany, Japan, India and Russia, according to a sample survey conducted by the Pew Research Center. By 2006, supporters of the effort were in the minority in Britain (49%), Germany (47%), France (43%) and Japan (26%). Although a majority of Russians still supported the War on Terror, that majority had decreased by 21%. Whereas 63% of Spaniards supported the War on Terror in 2003, only 19% of the population indicated support in 2006. 19% of the Chinese population still supports the War on Terror and less than a fifth of the populations of Turkey, Egypt, as well as Jordan support the efforts. The report also indicated that Indian public support for the War on Terror has been stable.



Andrew Kohut, while speaking to the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, noted that and according to the Pew Research Center polls conducted in 2004, "the ongoing conflict in Iraq continues to fuel anti-American sentiments. America's global popularity plummeted at the start of military action in Iraq and the U.S. presence there remains widely unpopular. Marek

Obrtel, former Lieutenant Colonel in Field Hospital with Czech Republic army, returned his medals which he received during his posting in Afghanistan War for NATO operations. He criticized the War on Terror as describing the mission as "deeply ashamed that I served a criminal organization such as NATO, led by the USA and its perverse interests around the world.

### **Global War on Terror and Pakistan's Position**

The previous lecture was about the cold war and how it links with the war against terrorism. It covered how Pakistan was embroiled into the war against terrorism. Pakistan's position in the "War on Terror" is quite significant. Pakistan played a key role in facilitating the U.S.-led intervention in Afghanistan from shortly after 9/11 up to the present.

### **War Against Terrorism**

The US needed Pakistan's support due to Pakistan's geographical location and its links to major regional players like India, Iran, Afghanistan and China. So, the United States of Pakistan needed Pakistan to support against terrorism. Pakistan provided different types of support demanded by the US such as:

- Pakistan approved to provide over flight rights to the United States of America over Pakistani airspace
- Naval and land bases were provided to large its attack against the Taliban, Al-Qaida and Afghanistan
- Pakistan agreed to the US that it will be willingly eliminating all those elements who would be supporting terrorism against the US and its allies.
- Pakistan opposed all those who were against the United States of America in the war of terrorism.

As a result, it corporates Taliban and its regime that is why Pakistan cuts off diplomatic ties with the Taliban in Afghanistan. Hence, every logistic and diplomatic support to Taliban became ended. The slogan by George W. Bush ‘either you’re with us or you’re against us’ made this happened. So, Pakistan had to show its support with the United States of America and clearly gave the message that we are not against you. That slogan divided the whole world into two compartments without leaving any grey area in between. The whole world was now looking towards Pakistan and without its help it was unlikely the US would have been able to pursue its interests in the region.

Pakistan’s role in the War against Terrorism is pivotal. The US preferred Pakistan’s cooperation over India’s due to two reasons:

- One was Pakistan’s geographic proximity to Afghanistan
- The second was that the Indian army was equipped with Russian weapons and training.

Pakistan not only has a long border with Afghanistan, but it has a long coastline which was very significant for US forces and they stationed in the Indian Ocean because it wanted its forces to reach Afghanistan rapidly and easily. Due to diplomatic relations between Pakistan and the Taliban, the US had been keen to get its support in the war against al Qaeda and its networks operating in Afghanistan. This relationship of Pakistan and the Taliban regime was very significant in pursuing US military and political interest in the region. The Taliban regime was basically run by the Pashtun, an ethnic group of Afghanistan, who have the same culture and traditions as the Pashtun's of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan in Pakistan.

### **Pakistan: The Most Useful Ally**

Being the most useful ally due to the support provided to the US in terms of war against terrorism. To make the bond stronger, the US demanded that Pakistan cut itself off completely from al Qaeda activity and break their diplomatic ties with the Taliban. It must freeze all of their assets and to stop the fuel supplies to those against the US.

The US demanded Pakistan to provide the intelligence information about both organizations and allow it to use its airspace for offensive military operations in Afghanistan and bases for US forces in Pakistan, logistics, and the like.

### **Steps Taken by the Government of Pakistan after 9/11**

Pakistan is a country whose strategic position in the region is the most delicate due to which the post 9/11 developments profoundly affected its bilateral relations, defense and strategic concerns, national integrity, internal stability and economic situation. Pakistan in this regard supported all UN resolutions concerning prevention of terrorism. It cooperated with the international coalition to curb terrorism. Immigration control measures were initially taken to keep a check on the movement of potential extremists. Many actions were taken against fanatical and extremist organizations and groups. Jihadi leaders were imprisoned, and Jihadi organizations were banned by the government of Pakistan

Following steps were taken for the reformation and regulation of madrassahs:

- NOC (No Objection Certificate) for the opening of madrassahs. No illegal madrassah shall be operated in the premises of the state.
- The registration of madrassahs was made mandatory.
- A review of their syllabi was another condition to be fulfilled by the Jihadi organizations.
- There'll be a check on the number of foreign students attending them.

Few steps were also taken for the regulation of Mosques:

- NOC became a requirement for opening a mosque.

- Political activities in mosques were made unlawful.
- The use of loudspeakers became restricted to only Azaan (the call to prayer).

### **Provision of Air Bases**

Pakistan allowed the US and its coalition forces to use its air bases/airfields in Pasni, Jacobabad, Shamsi and Dalbadin. It also permitted the US to land planes anywhere in Pakistan in the case of an emergency and access to Kohat and Zhob air bases was also provided.

### **Support of an Air Corridor:**

Pakistan provided an air corridor for the use of the US and its coalition forces in launching air strikes on Afghanistan because it would have been difficult for the US to keep launching ground operations into Afghanistan. In providing such a resource Pakistan's government had to reschedule/redirect many commercial flights; 2/3rd of Pakistan airspace was provided to US forces for OEF operations and about seven thousand air force personnel were allocated to the role.

### **Support of Naval Facilities**

Support in landing ships at Pasni and even curtailed its Navel training operations in order to accommodate the US and Coalition Navies. Around 25000 Pakistan Navy personnel, 50 aircraft and 2,000 Coalition military personnel were imbedded in these locations, using up to 100,000 gallons of fuel a day. The US Amphibious task force (TF 58) was involved for a hundred days of surface operations and landed 275 craft for offloading. US 400 C-17 and C-130 helicopters were used in various sorties, about 8000 Marines, 330 vehicles and 1350 tons of cargo were regularly used throughout the operation. An officer from Florida stated “these efforts may be the largest amphibious operation conducted by the US Marine Corp since the Korean War.”

### **Support for Logistic Supply by Road**

Pakistan allowed the US and NATO to use Pakistani supply routes for about 75 per cent of its gas, food and military equipment requirements. This supply route made a significant contribution to the success of operations in Afghanistan, but many were destroyed or damaged by tribal militants.

### **Sharing Intelligence Information**

Pakistan provided the US with vital information on various terrorist and extremist outfits helping avert terrorist attacks and facilitating arrests that broke the back bone of major terrorist organizations. In August 2006 Pakistan shared its intelligence information with the UK and played a pivotal role in attack prevention, allowing them to take pre-emptive action against terrorists planning to use chemical explosives on a civil airplane.

## **Steps Taken By Pakistan in Curbing Terrorism<sup>1</sup>**

The air bases of Dalbadin and Jacobabad were very close to Afghanistan and proved vital when the US launched its major military operations of which there were more than 57,000 attacks from these bases. Pakistan also allowed the US to install radar at three of its airfields. Pakistan banned some militant religious organisations and took measures to prevent their re-emergence under other names.

Due to US invasion of Afghanistan, al Qaeda and the Taliban entered the lawless tribal regions of Pakistan where there was no presence of forces. Afghan leaders and fighters who had fought against the Red Army returned to fight against US and coalition forces in Afghanistan. The tribal people welcomed them, allowing them to consolidate their existing network of facilitators and sympathisers. When Pakistan deployed the army to clear the region of militants, Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan emerged led by Baitullah Mehsud after the killing of Nek Muhammad.

TTP started to attract militants and rebellious groups in Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from 2006 to resist the action of the Pakistan armed forces. Thus emerged the problem of homegrown insurgency and militancy for Pakistan as a result of which there was the rise of extremism within the borders of Pakistan. An alarming manifestation of widespread extremism was the Lal Masjid saga that unfolded in the capital city of Islamabad.

Pakistan made peace agreements with the Taliban, but when they violated the agreement reached with them in Malakand, Pakistan was forced to take the

strategic decision to launch military operations aimed at marginalising and eliminating terrorist outfits from tribal areas.

- Most of the text has been copied from [www.ipripak.org](http://www.ipripak.org)



## **Major Military Operations to Fight Militancy**

- Al-Mizan Operation
- Sheradil Operation
- Zalzala Operation
- Rah-e-Haq Operation
- Rah-e-Rast Operation

## **Agreements with Local Tribes**

Continued conflict is not the solution and brings peace to South Waziristan, on June 27, 2002, Pakistan Army entered into an agreement with the local tribes of the area. It was mutually agreed within the agreement that any person found harbouring a foreigner would be destroyed. Pakistan also signed another agreement in Waziristan Agency called 'Nek Muhammad' at Shakai. Peace agreements were also signed with Ahmedzai Wazir militants and Ahmedzai tribes in 2004. Sargodha

***[Handouts for lectures]***

agreement was signed with Baitullah Mehsud in February 2005. Then in 2006, the government of Pakistan entered into another agreement called ‘Miramshah agreement’ with local commanders of the Taliban. A sincere attempt to bring peace in the Bajaur agency resulted in Bajaur Agreement on February 23, 2009. The government promised to compensate militants and tribesmen for the loss of life and property during military operations.